

TWO ATTIC RED-FIGURED KRATERS IN SAMOTHRACE

(PLATES 51–62)

IN a recent issue of this journal Mary B. Moore has published fragments of two large black-figured column-kraters in Samothrace.¹ Numerous other figured sherds were found in the same areas, and prominent among them were portions of a very large bell-krater and a gigantic column-krater, both dating from the second quarter of the 5th century B.C.² As was the case with one of the black-figured vessels, the debris of the red-figured column-krater has been augmented by some pieces from earth fills in other parts of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods excavated during the campaigns of 1939 and 1948.

Like the black-figured sherds, some of these fragments were scorched, pitted and

¹ Mary B. Moore, "Attic Black Figure from Samothrace," *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 234–250.

² It has been my good fortune to have had unselfish assistance from many friends and colleagues. James R. McCredie invited me to participate in this project and has made many of the photographs (Pls. 51:a; 53:a; 54:a; 55:a,b; 56:a,b,d–h; 57; 58; 60; 61:a). Dietrich von Bothmer kindly read a preliminary manuscript and made numerous valuable suggestions. Mary B. Moore has been more than generous in giving ready help of all kinds and in sharing her great knowledge of horse gear. She has also allowed me to use her photographs of details (Pls. 51:b; 52:c; 54:b,c; 55:c; 56:c). I have been aided by the careful cataloguing of the 1971 sherds done jointly by Richard Mason and Herbert Abramson. The reconstruction drawings were made by Mary K. Dabney and Leslie M. Simon. Fred R. Cohen calculated dimensions. I have also had much help from Ioannis M. Akamatis, Phyllis Pray Bober, Anastasia Dinsmoor, Phyllis W. Lehmann, Elaine P. Loeffler, Martin Robertson and many others. I heartily thank each one. Any errors of fact and judgment are my own.

Abbreviations of frequently cited works:

Anderson, *Horsemanship* = J. K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1961

Anderson, *Military Theory* = *Idem*, *Military Theory in the Age of Xenophon*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1970

ABV = J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters*, Oxford 1956

ARV² = *Idem*, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1963

Beazley, *VA* = *Idem*, *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Collections*, Cambridge, Mass. 1918

Beazley, "Kleophrades" = *Idem*, "Kleophrades," *JHS* 30, 1910, pp. 36–68

Paralipomena = *Idem*, *Paralipomena*, Oxford 1970

Boardman, "The Kleophrades Painter at Troy" = J. Boardman, "The Kleophrades Painter at Troy," *Antike Kunst* 19, 1976, pp. 3–18

Johnson, "Career of Hermonax" = F. P. Johnson, "The Career of Hermonax," *AJA* 51, 1947, pp. 233–247

Johnson, "Late Vases of Hermonax" = *Idem*, "The Late Vases of Hermonax," *AJA* 49, 1945, pp. 491–502

Johnson, *Studies Oldfather* = *Idem*, "A Pelike Painted by Hermonax," *Classical Studies in Honor of William Abbott Oldfather*, Urbana 1943, pp. 73–81

Pallottino, "Hermonax" = Massimo Pallottino, "Studi sull'arti di Hermonax," *Atti della Reale Accademia d'Italia, Memorie*, ser. 7, 1, i, 1940, pp. 1–77

Peredolskaya, *Hermitage* = Anna A. Peredolskaya, *Krasnofigurnye attischeskie vazy*, Leningrad 1967

Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour* = A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks*, London 1967

Weill, "Un cratère d'Hermonax" = Nicole Weill, "Un cratère d'Hermonax," *BCH* 86, 1962, pp. 64–94

shattered, although, in general, the surfaces are in good condition. Only the two rim fragments attributed to the column-krater (fragments 15 and 16) are severely damaged, pitted on their upper surfaces and deeply abraded on their inner edges. These scars are probably due to long use rather than sudden destruction.

1. Column-krater³

The group of fragments attributed to this krater have been associated because most of the figures fit a single theme—the preparations of departing warriors—and the style and technique are surely the work of one very individual hand. Moreover, the fragments are compatible in shape, even though there are many gaps between them, and their exceptionally large size indicates a single and remarkable vessel.

In view of as yet unresolved problems concerning parts of the representation and also the identity of the painter, it has seemed necessary to describe the extant fragments as fully as possible in the following catalogue and to stress many details which may not readily be visible in published photographs. All contours on all these fragments are framed by narrow contour bands (most *ca.* 3 mm. wide), and, save for a few tufts of hair, completely lined in relief. Fragments which seem to find their places comfortably on each of the two sides of the vessel are considered first.

Side A:

1. Two fragments which evidently belong together but do not quite join.

1a (68.250, 71.1002). Pls. 51, 52
Pres. H. 0.16; pres. L. 0.186 m.

Seven joining pieces from the shoulder preserving some of the tongue pattern below the joint of body and neck, some of a band of egg pattern around a handle root, the heads of a chariot team

facing right and the head and chest of a bearded man gazing downward to right. The tongues on the shoulder are solid, separated by vertical relief lines. The eggs at the handle root are alternately solid and reserved, with red dots in the interstices. In the field, just below the frieze of tongues, is the signature of a previously unknown potter, painted in accessory red over the glaze (Pl. 52:a,b):⁴

³ Most of the sherds to be considered here come from an earth fill in the level terrace east of the Stoa and from earth from this area washed over the terrace wall to a region of dining rooms below (cf. J. R. McCredie, "Samothrace: Preliminary Report on the Campaigns of 1965–1967," *Hesperia* 37, 1968, pp. 203–204, and "A Samothracian Enigma," *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 454–459). A few fragments (1: 2b–d, 6, 7, 15, 16, 17; 2: part of 3) are finds from fills in other parts of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, notably east of the Anaktoron and the Rotunda of Arsinoe. The sherds were undoubtedly all in the debris of a burned structure or complex whose location has not yet been found.

Part of fragment 4 of 1 was published by J. R. McCredie, "Samothrace: Preliminary Report on the Campaigns of 1962–1964," *Hesperia* 34, 1965, p. 116, pl. 35:e. The same fragment with subsequent additions, as well as parts of fragments 1a, 2a–c and a portion of fragment 5, was illustrated in *Δελτ* 24, 1969, pl. 373. Many of the additional fragments were found during the campaign of 1971.

⁴ The traces of the first five letters have been strengthened in Pl. 52:b.

Erasinos is a common name for brooks and watercourses (Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, s.v. Erasinos), but is rare as a proper name. It appears in an Attic funerary list of *ca.* 413 B.C. (*IG* I², 957, line 13).

The form ΕΠΟΙΕΝ is seldom used for signatures on Attic vases, although some potters and painters signed ΕΠΟΙΕ or ΕΠΟΕ (*ABV*, pp. 59, no. 14; 159, no. 1; 293, no. 7). Exekias has signed one cup with both ΕΠΟΙΕΝ and ΕΠΟΕΣ, and Beazley remarks that both these inscriptions are complete (*ABV*, p. 147, no. 3).

ΕΡΑΣΙΝΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΝ

Below the two final letters of the potter's name are two more letters with traces of another to the left. The meaning of this inscription is not clear. There is space for six or seven more letters to the left of these three, but nothing is visible on the damaged surface. No trace of letters remains to the right of the omega:

The bearded man wears a chlamys and a pilos which has a button for a tie (Pl. 52:c). No indications of tie strings are preserved. His hair and beard are drawn in thick relief lines over thin dilute glaze, his mustache in slightly thinned glaze above the lip and very thinned glaze where it descends to join the beard. The line separating the lips is doubled back upon itself at the corner and the underside of the somewhat pendulous lower lip is marked by a pale glazed line. What is left of the nostril on the damaged surface is a heavy black stroke, possibly doubled. The pupil of the eye is a large black dot surrounded by a doubled circle for the iris. The frame of the eye, open at the inner corner, is also heavily marked with a doubled line. A bit of glaze is now missing from its outer corner. A strongly hooked line behind the sideburn marks the earlobe. The man's left arm is outstretched and his right hangs over a knotted staff on which he leans.

To the left are the heads of the chariot team (Pl. 51). Only part of the forelock of the far pole horse and the ear, forehead and forelock of the near pole horse are preserved, but the heads of the trace horses, whose muzzles overlap the man's right arm, are almost complete. The near one has its ears slightly back, the far one has its ears

pricked forward. Their manes are short, upright and solid, the individual hairs not indicated. The forelocks curve forward and here the hairs are rendered with fine relief lines. The frames of the eyes are doubled lines, like those of the man. The pupils are irregular glazed ovals enclosed by relief lines, the irises have rings of dots of very dilute glaze, and the bony structure surrounding the eyes is carefully drawn in fine relief lines. The thin relief lines of the bridle straps may represent thongs. The cheekpieces of the bits are slim arcs terminating in finials. The one seen whole on the near trace horse is shown passing through the end of the mouthpiece of the bit. One of its terminals is thrust through one end of a long, narrow fitting and the drawing seems to indicate that this finial was kept in place by a flap of metal. Between the cheekpiece of the bit and the animal's mouth is a rectangular bit burr with a notch which fits over the bit. The reins, painted in accessory red, are shown fastened through a perforation at the other end of the long fitting. The teeth and gum of the near trace horse are bared.

1b (71.1043, 71.1167).

Pl. 51: a

Pres. H. 0.087; pres. L. 0.1225 m.

Five joining sherds preserving the lower necks and chests of the trace horses of the chariot team. The fronts of their breast bands are decorated with a central circular or oval ornament and a pattern of arcading. On the visible back part of the band of the near horse the pattern changes to a row of Z's.⁵ These decorations are not reserved but made by scraping through the glaze.

2. A group of fragments which evidently belong together but do not all join.

2a (68.251).

Pl. 53: a

Pres. H. 0.088; pres. L. 0.122 m.

Fragment from the lower part of the figured

ΕΠΟΙΕΝ seems not to appear in red figure save here, although ΕΠΟΙΕ is sometimes used (*ARV*², pp. 7, no. 5; 53, no. 2; 54, no. 5; 59, no. 57; 764, no. 7).

⁵ Double patterns on breast bands are unusual. Closest to this, although much earlier in date and more elegantly executed, are the spirals and Z's on the band of the near trace horse of the chariot team of Achilles on the kantharos fragment by Nearchos (Acropolis 611; *ABV*, p. 82, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 30). Breast bands decorated only in front are occasionally found, e.g., in black figure, on the chariot horses of the François vase (*ABV*, p. 76, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, pp. 29–30); in red figure, on fragments of an unattributed column-krater of 470–460 B.C. (A. Hundt and K. Peters, *Greifswalder Antiken*, Berlin 1959, no. 348, p. 66, pl. 39).

scene. On the left, facing right, is a male figure wearing a chlamys and short chiton. In his right hand is the bottom of a greave which he holds in the direction of a taller warrior standing frontally. On this sherd only the warrior's right knee, his thighs, the skirt of his short chiton and the round ends of three pteryges are preserved. Overlapping the legs is part of a chariot: portions of the decorated box, wheel and a spoke. A heavily inscribed but unpainted circle near the inner contour of the wheel may represent the felloe, since additional, but lightly scribed, compass lines are visible in their usual places, close to the black outlines of the rim. The estimated diameter of the wheel is 0.15 m.

2b (39.261 A).

Pl. 53

Pres. H. 0.064; pres. L. 0.064 m.

Fragment preserving the left hand of the youth clasping the upper end of the greave, and parts of the right arm and cuirass-clad right side of the warrior. The backs of the warrior's fingers rest behind his hip with the thumb jutting upward in an unusual and strangely tense position, perhaps indicating impatience.⁶ The painter has carefully

indicated a small portion of the hand near the body behind one pteryx which stands away from the hip.

2c (39.267).

Pl. 53

Pres. H. 0.109; pres. L. 0.058 m.

Four joining sherds which preserve parts of the left arm and side of the armored warrior, who is seen to be wearing a double row of pteryges, and the rear part of the rail of the chariot. The arm, preserved from shoulder to elbow, is outstretched and the hand may have been holding the chariot rail or the reins. Between the warrior's arm and side is a bound staff topped by a finial whose form is no longer clear. There is a group of hanging ends, like a tassel, in the damaged area between the staff and the body. This staff is probably a goad, perhaps with thongs of a whip wound around it.⁷ A partly destroyed relief line running from the staff toward the shoulder, stopping there at a cap of drapery, may represent a thong on which the implement could be hung when not in use (cf. fragment 3c).

2d (39.261 B).

Pl. 53:b

This fragment joined 2b and 2c. It was lost in

⁶ I have not found this position exactly duplicated in vase painting and nothing similar has been collected by G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in griechischen Kunst*, Berlin 1965. Usually when a hand is placed at the hip or waist, the fingers are spread and the figure is seen as listening to speech or music, or simply waiting (*ibid.*, p. 11). The more vigorous gesture of the hand clenched with the knuckles braced against the body, as here, is a much rarer pose. On the aryballos in Berlin by the Clinic Painter (*ARV*², p. 814, no. 97), the scene of the Mission to Achilles contains a labeled figure of Diomedes in a pose similar to that of this warrior, but lacking the jutting thumb. This has been interpreted as a "defiant, half-averted posture" (K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art*, Copenhagen 1967, pp. 172, 178). This is based not only on the stance, but also on what the *Iliad* tells us of the mood of Diomedes at this time. The posture might also be read as expressing anger, disgust or impatience. On side B of a cup by the Telephos Painter in Boston (*ARV*², p. 816, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 420), one of the men similarly braces the backs of his fingers against his waist. Again, the jutting thumb is lacking. The subject of the cup is unexplained, so the precise meaning of the posture there is not clear.

⁷ I am grateful to Dietrich von Bothmer for suggesting this explanation of the hanging staff. Illustrations (e.g. Peredolskaya, *Hermitage*, no. 74, pl. 54, cup attributed to the Foundry Painter [*ARV*², p. 403, no. 25], showing both racing riders with whips and a charioteer with a goad) suggest that the whip on a short staff was usually used in riding racing horses, while charioteers in quadrigas made use of a long, thin rod with a sharpened point (cf. P. Vigneron, *Le cheval dans l'antiquité*, Nancy 1968, pp. 120, 192). In a few cases, the chariot goad is shown as a relatively short rod with a small tripartite head (e.g. in the hands of Zeus and Diomedes on the François vase [*ABV*, p. 76, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 29]; a charioteer on an amphora attributed to Euthymides [*ARV*², p. 27, no. 3]). An unattributed black-figured hydria in Athens (N.M. 401) shows Athena and Herakles boarding a chariot. The goddess holds both a spear and a bifurcated goad in her right hand. Examples of two- and three-horse chariot teams being driven with whips appear in Etruscan art from an early period (cf. R. Hampe and E. Simon, *Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst*, Mainz 1964, pls. 2-4).

the looting of the expedition storerooms in Samothrace during the Second World War and is known only in unfortunately blurred photographs made in 1939.⁸ From these it is clear, however, that the warrior behind the chariot wore a full muscle cuirass with shoulder lappets tied down to buttons on the chest above the nipples. Hair drawn in thinned glaze, most likely a beard, hung in front of his right shoulder, suggesting that his head was turned to the viewer's left. This sherd shows that the cuirass curved down in the center to cover the abdomen, as the positions of the pteryges on fragments 2b and 2c suggest.

Side B:

3. A group of three fragments from the middle zone of the figured scene which do not join but seem to be in sequence.

3a (71.1000). Pl. 54:a,b

Pres. H. 0.103; pres. L. 0.24 m.

Fragment composed of five joining pieces. The left portion bears a so-far inexplicable assemblage. The right portion preserves parts of a male figure wearing a cloak and facing to right. He holds a variety of Thracian helmet in his right hand, with his thumb through an aperture for the eye (see below, p. 222). In his left hand, he holds a large, round shield drawn with a compass (est. diam. 0.162 m.); two gripping fingers are visible in front of his drapery. The interior of the shield faces us and the staple, with part of a terminal palmette painted in dilute glaze, can be seen. This figure may be somewhat shorter than the warrior he is facing (3c). In front of the helmet-bearer's bare upper legs is a hand holding a sword point down, its blade passing in front of the left leg. To the right of the sword is a narrow, irregular reserved area with a relief line in it. This is apparently the lower end of a helmet crest (cf. fragment 3b). At the right edge of the fragment is a bit of reserved area which must be part of the right leg of the swordsman (3c).

Behind the figure holding the helmet and

crossing in front of his shield is a horsy tail, drawn, like the forelocks of the chariot horses, with fine relief lines. To the left of the tail is a straight, almost vertical relief line, which bounds a reserved area containing a few curving relief lines. Near the top of the sherd is a nearly horizontal black band. Lower and to the left is a vertical stripe containing two black dots, which might represent some form of carpentry (cf. fragment 4). In the angle between the stripe and the black band are part of a loop and a vertical line, thinly drawn in relief and probably representing a tied thong. At the bottom left of the fragment is the upper part of an element with squared top framed by a pair of relief lines and, seemingly, a black interior.

If the tail means that there is a horse or mule to the left, despite the long, straight rear contour, then the black band must be a crupper, and the wooden object may be some kind of pack saddle (see below, p. 224). That this object is part of, or similar to, the one on fragment 4 seems likely. For a possible equine figure, see fragments 5 and 10.

3b (71.1021). Pl. 54:a

Pres. H. 0.04; pres. L. 0.048 m.

This fragment almost joins 3a. To the left, a bit of reserved area with fine, hair-like relief lines, surely belonging to the helmet-crest tail on 3a. To the right, a section of the pteryges of the warrior on fragment 3c.

3c (71.1001, 65.1046, 65.1047, 65.1048).

Pl. 54:a,c

Pres. H. 0.084; pres. L. 0.142 m.

Fragment from the middle zone of the figured scene, composed of four joining sherds. To the left, a warrior stands frontally. Preserved are parts of his bare upper legs, the skirt of his short chiton and lower parts of his square-ended pteryges. Faint sketch lines, visible in a raking light, show that the pteryges were planned to terminate about 6 mm. lower than they now do. A small part of the warrior's left side is preserved and near it hangs the lower end of a bound staff

⁸ I express my warmest thanks to Willard R. Bonwit of Rydal, Pennsylvania and Dr. G. W. Stroke, Director of the Electro-Optical Sciences Center of the State University of New York, Stony Brook, for their interest and efforts to produce legible photographs from the old negatives.

or goad with narrow moldings at the bottom (cf. fragment 2c). This warrior's left arm is extended, and he holds a lock of fair hair, painted in thinned, yellowish glaze, which he is handing to a child. An outstretched small hand is all that is now preserved of the child. It and the hand grasping the lock meet in front of the nude body of another warrior facing to right. A small reserved area to the right of the armed warrior may be the elbow of the nude warrior's bent arm. The lower belly, buttocks and parts of the upper legs of this figure are preserved. The lower part of a scabbard decorated with patterns in dilute glaze appears just below and behind the buttocks. The man is infibulated, and there is a slight trace of pubic hair in very dilute glaze. To the right, at the edge of the fragment, are relief lines suggesting drapery which may indicate that this figure carried a cloak or scarf.⁹

4 (62.583, 65.611, 68.1059, 71.1004). Pl. 55:a,c
Fourteen joining fragments from the shoulder and upper body of the krater. At the top the ends of five tongues of the upper border are preserved. Below are the head and upper body of a man wearing petasos and cloak, facing to left. His hat is held by a chin band painted in accessory red. His back hair is confined by a broad, reserved band. His eye is a circle and dot with iris and frame rendered in slightly dilute glaze (cf. fragment 1a). The nostril is drawn with a rather thin black line which has been delicately doubled along part of its lower edge. The mouth is slightly open, showing a suggestion of teeth. The profile of the lower lip is outlined with a relief line, but its underside is not framed like that on fragment 1a. The mustache is drawn in relief lines and slightly dilute glaze, and the beard is composed of relief lines over dilute glaze; these

lines also pass over the red chin band. The locks of hair on the neck are framed with heavy black lines and filled in with irregular touches of dilute glaze.

This man fingers his beard with his right hand in a gesture of puzzlement or concern.¹⁰ In his left hand he holds the shaft of a spear or staff whose top is not preserved. To our right, above his left shoulder, is part of an unexplained reserved area with a horizontal interior relief line.

This man is seen as in or behind an enigmatic structure or piece of equipment. It preserves two upright members with spaced black dots which suggest nailheads or studs (cf. fragment 3a). These are joined or connected by a reserved panel which curves up to the uprights. The curves are not equal; the one to our left is shallower. A small reserved area preserved at the lower left of the fragment indicates that something contiguous continued beyond the break.

5 (65.1045, 71.1003).

Pl. 55:b

Pres. H. 0.12; pres. L. 0.134 m.

Fragment composed of five sherds from the lower part of the figured scene. At the lower left corner the fragment is pierced and bears a large scar from a swallowtail repair.

In the left portion are the bare legs of a man facing to left, his right leg in profile. At his left side hang two triangular corners of a garment which end in tiny tassels. The fabric is not marked with folds and may represent leather. To the right is a pendant bovine tail and what seems to be the rear right quarter and thick-jointed leg of a bovine (P. 55:b).¹¹ This is overlapped by the front leg and shoulder of a longer-legged animal which seems likely to have been a horse or mule (cf. fragments 3a and 9). A narrow, vertical object with a bordered bottom and a loop and

⁹ It would have been carried on one arm, as it is sometimes seen in pictures of warriors preparing, e.g., cup attributed to the Brygos Painter in the Vatican (*ARV*², p. 373, no. 48). Here the warrior is wearing a corselet and carries, but has not yet put on, his cloak or shawl.

¹⁰ Neumann, *op. cit.* (footnote 6 above), pp. 109–112.

¹¹ It has been suggested that this tail belongs to a leather garment worn by the male figure to the left. However, it has not been possible to find any example in Greek art showing a tailored leather garment which retains the tail, and I am unable to reconcile two legs of such different lengths to a single animal. Usually the whole tail is in sight in a profile view, but it can disappear behind the haunch of a leg extended backward.

line of dilute glaze suggesting a tie are preserved at the upper right. This object could have been

attached to an animal or carried by the man to the left.¹²

The fragments catalogued above seem to take their places on sides A and B of the krater. The fragments in the following section surely belong to the figured frieze, but their position is more difficult to determine.

6 (39.1021).

Pl. 56:a

Pres. H. 0.064; pres. L. 0.07 m.

Fragment from the middle zone of the figured scene.

Preserved is part of a male facing to left and holding a variety of Thracian helmet in his left hand with his thumb through the eye aperture. He wears only a chlamys, and his genitalia are visible below the helmet. A slight amount of thinned glaze indicates a fuzz of pubic hair. The edge of the cloak falls in loose zigzag folds. The splendid helmet was decorated with a volute and a palmette, the latter in dilute glaze. To the right is a partly destroyed curved relief line which may have defined the figure's buttocks. Above this is part of a large compass-drawn circular object, probably a shield, facing, with black surface and broad, reserved border. The diameter can be reconstructed as *ca.* 0.16 m., and, if it is a shield resting on the ground line, the figure holding the helmet must be bending. This position would explain what seems to be a pronounced protuberance of the buttocks.

7 (48.140).

Pl. 56:c

Pres. H. 0.082; pres. L. 0.108 m.

Fragment from the shoulder of the krater.

Preserved here is part of the upper border of tongues and the groove at its top, a large part of one male head and a tuft of hair of a second head facing him. The contour band descending from the tuft, visible along the broken right edge of the fragment, indicates that the head was facing to left. The preserved head faces right. The hair lies close to the skull, has a fringe of loose locks

and is separated from the background by an incised, wavy line. It is plain that the painter made a correction in the rendering of this head, painting out a previously outlined taller skull which had already been defined with a reserved border, contour band and a relief line.¹³ He also painted out a first fringe of hair and added some locks to the tuft over the forehead, which now obscure the outline of the brow. Although incised outline appears on one other fragment attributed to this krater (15), the use of this archaic technique here can be seen to be an emergency measure. Slight traces of the ruined eye and eyebrow can be discerned.

It is possible that the heads may belong to the warrior and his shorter companion on fragments 2a-c.

8 (65.1044, 71.1013 B).

Pl. 57

Pres. H. 0.34; pres. L. 0.24 m.

This fragment, composed of eight joining sherds, gives a large piece of the lower body of the krater, as well as the scheme of the lower border of the figured frieze and the only feet known at present. There are traces of two swallowtail repairs (cf. fragment 5), both still containing lead.

The figure stood to right with right leg advanced. The left ankle bone is marked with a reverse J. The only preserved legs in this position are those of the greave holder on fragment 2a (however, cf. fragment 9).

In the meander border pairs of units, facing alternately left and right, are separated by saltire crosses, alternating up and down. Part of a frieze of sepals is preserved at the base of the body.

¹² It seems possible that this might be the lower part of another goad or animal prod, as those of 2c and 3c. See footnote 7 above.

¹³ Such drastic corrections are not unknown. For example, on the calyx-krater attributed to the Kleophrades Painter in New York (*ARV*², p. 185, no. 36; *Paralipomena*, p. 340) a shield was put in a new, lower position after the higher circles had been inscribed and the blazon and a contour band, still clearly visible, had been painted in.

9 (71.1013 A). Pl. 57

Pres. H. 0.043; pres. L. 0.415 m.

Fragment preserving a knee and upper shin. The knee slightly overlaps a rounded, rimmed object. There is no evidence that a compass was used, so the object may be a shield seen from the side or at an angle, a common view in scenes of arming.¹⁴

Although they do not quite join, it seems possible that this fragment carries part of the advanced leg on fragment 8. If so, it cannot be the leg of the greave holder (2a) because there is no space in front of him for the rounded object; it must then belong to another figure, possibly a missing one (see below, pp. 225–226).

There is a third group of fragments which seem, by their size, style, fabric and glaze, to belong to this krater, but present more problems than the nine listed above. The scrap of representation on the fragment with upper border (10) lacks the delicacy of execution we have observed in our painter; the other figured fragments are obscure in subject. The handle and rim pieces seem likely to belong, but raise questions about the shape and program of decoration of the krater (see below, p. 220), and thus are included here.

10 (71.1032). Pl. 56:h

Pres. H. 0.043; pres. L. 0.102 m.

This fragment preserves parts of fourteen tongues of an upper border and a small figured area which seems to represent a tuft of coarse hair. If the equine of fragment 5 is a mule, this might be its forelock, much less elegant than the fine hairs of the chariot horses. Another possibility is that it is a tall feather on a helmet.¹⁵

11 (71.1054). Pl. 56:b

Pres. H. 0.05; pres. L. 0.061 m.

It is not certain which is the top of this sherd, but the representation suggests animal body(ies) and leg(s).

12 (69.529). Pl. 56:d

Pres. H. 0.047; pres. L. 0.042 m.

Again, it is not clear which is the top of this sherd. It shows a portion of a structure. The style, appearance and condition of the interior

and exterior suggest that it belongs to this krater, but it may come from another large pot.

13 (71.1062, 71.1106, 71.1108). Pl. 58:a,b

Pres. H. 0.225; Diam. of handle 0.04; pres. L. of top surface 0.107; pres. W. of top surface 0.053 m.; est. original dimensions of handle-plate 0.164 × 0.115 m.

Element composed of three joining fragments, including part of the handle-plate, its outer face with deep grip (H. at center 0.058; H. at outer corner 0.08 m.), and a complete roll handle.

The handle-plate preserves parts of the legs, rear quarters and tail of a feline animal, possibly a sphinx. The creature is poised upon the volutes of a double palmette, the lower one of which was framed. Under and behind the figure is a spiraling tendril; in the field are isolated teardrop-shaped leaves. All elements are bordered with relief lines.

¹⁴ In arming scenes the shield is often shown standing on edge on the ground and leaning against a hip or leg, e.g., signed cup of Douris (*ARV*², p. 427, no. 3; *Paralipomena*, p. 374); cup of the Brygos Painter (*ARV*², p. 373, no. 48); the Kleophrades Painter cup listed below, a) on p. 228; and the Kleophrades Painter's calyx-krater in New York (*ARV*², p. 185, no. 36; *Paralipomena*, p. 340).

¹⁵ A mule would have to be lifting his head, like the pole horses on fragment 1a, to be so close to the upper border. For a helmet decked with two tall feathers, see the fragmentary pot by the Kleophrades Painter, below, e) on p. 228. Boardman, "The Kleophrades Painter at Troy", p. 18, notes that feathered helmets are associated with Lycia by Herodotos (7.92).

14 (62.1220).

Pl. 58:c

Pres. W. 0.088; pres. D. 0.03 m.

Fragment of a handle-plate. The original dimensions were close to those of fragment 13. Although here the center of the pattern is not preserved, the fragment shows a similar deep hand grip (pres. H. 0.07 m. below the corner) and a swelling on the side marking the upper end of the roll handle in the same place.

Spiraling tendrils, isolated teardrop leaves and the lower part of a lotus blossom remain of the decoration. Its original scheme was obviously different from that of fragment 13, but it may well have had a complimentary device. All elements are bordered with relief lines.

15 (48.134).

Pl. 56:f

Pres. L. 0.138; pres. W. of rim 0.062 m.

Fragment composed of three joining sherds from the horizontal rim of a very large vessel. The surfaces are woefully damaged. The interior of the neck is glazed.

To the right of the upper surface is what looks like the trunk of a sapling or a small tree, and another is visible to the left. Between them is what may be the ruined figure of a satyr wearing a skin or that of an animal with lowered head seen in three-quarter view. Preserved of it is, at our right, an untidy horsy tail rendered entirely by incision, part of a leg, the hanging head of an

animal (calf?) and scars which suggest where other elements may have been.

16 (from 39.356 [potsherd group]). Pl. 56:g

Pres. L. 0.145; pres. W. of upper surface 0.06 m.

Fragment, composed of two sherds, of a broad rim, similar to fragment 15.

The ruined upper surface shows traces of red-figure decoration. To the left, the leg of a human or animal figure.

17 (39.107 and two unnumbered fragments from World War II debris). Pls. 56:e, 59

Pres. H. of 39.107 (a flake) 0.031; pres. L. (39.107) 0.036; pres. H. of larger fragment 0.058; pres. L. 0.089; pres. H. of smaller fragment 0.032; pres. L. 0.051 m.

The height of the whole band was *ca.* 0.042 m. It has a somewhat concave surface. The back was smoothed but not glazed. One edge, *ca.* 0.03 m. thick, was obviously attached to another element; the other edge, *ca.* 0.01 m. thick, was apparently a finished edge. It seems probable that these sherds were part of a vertical rim flange.

The decoration was a double frieze of enclosed seven-leaf palmettes alternating with opening lotus flowers. Included in the pattern are isolated reserved leaves and dots. All elements are bordered with relief lines.

SHAPE AND SCHEME OF DECORATION

It is clear from the dimensions of the fragments and the size of the figures (*ca.* 0.28 m. in height) that the krater found in Samothrace was exceptionally large. Unfortunately, big as many of the pieces are, they provide such short arcs of very large circles that repeated attempts to calculate diameters gave results which sometimes varied by several centimeters.

If the complete handle (fragment 13) is accepted as belonging to the krater, it provides the one sure measurement. The handle-plate should give approximately the level of the rim. Since at all times the distances between the handle roots and tops of handle-plates of Attic red-figured column-kraters seem never to have been more than one third of the full height of the pot, nor less than one quarter of it, the handle height of 0.225 m. means that the krater must have been at the least 0.675 m. high and at the most 0.90 m. high. Reconstruction on paper and experiments with the sherds (in a sandbox) indicated a total height of *ca.* 0.80 m. Most of the calculations for both

shoulder and rim diameters came close to 0.72 m. for each. Give or take some centimeters, this must have been an Attic column-krater with few peers in size.¹⁶

Although in size, clay and style, the column-krater handle, handle-plates and rim fragments seem to belong to this vessel, fragment 1a might be thought to belong to a volute-krater. The man in the pilos facing the handle root is attentive to something in or beyond the handle zone, and this suggests that there was a continuous scene around the body. The standard pictorial decoration of red-figured column-kraters consists of separate scenes on each side, possibly related in subject, but independent in composition and with each picture often framed. I have not found any Attic red-figured column-krater with a continuous scene, although a number, of which the most famous is the Lydos krater in New York,¹⁷ are to be found in black figure.

The use of figured decoration on the top of the rim and of figured devices on handle-plates is also easier to parallel in black figure. What figured decoration is found in red figure is confined to conventional decorative motives or, occasionally, to friezes of animals in black silhouette on top of the rim or on the rim flange. Figured handle-plates were, of course, common on Archaic Corinthian column-kraters and are found on many Attic black-figured kraters around the middle of the 6th century.¹⁸ Usually the figured handle-plates are counterparts, but that does not seem to be the case here. If the feline on fragment 13 is a sphinx it is a lonely, late echo of a long earlier tradition.¹⁹ One can only wonder what was the complementary device on the other handle-plate.

Only one other Attic red-figured column-krater with such elaborately decorated rim and handle-plates seems to be known. It is represented by two fragments, one preserving a large part of one handle-plate and the other, part of the rim. The rim fragment also shows part of a female head from a figured scene on the neck.²⁰ The dimensions of these fragments—the handle-plate is estimated to have been *ca.* 0.145 to 0.15 m. wide—suggest that this krater, too, was very large. Its use of figured decoration is even more elaborate than that of the krater in Samothrace. Not only the top of the handle-plate, but also the vertical flange of the rim and the outer face of the handle grip were decorated with Dionysiac scenes, including silens as symposiasts. The top of the rim was figured as well, with battle or hunting episodes, but the figures

¹⁶ For example, the series of big kraters from Spina range from *ca.* 0.40 m. in height to such monsters as the volute-krater by the Chicago Painter (*ARV*², p. 628, no. 1) which has a height of 0.798 m. (with volute handles, 0.912 m.). Column-kraters in this group range between 0.405 and 0.56 m. high. Cf. N. Alfieri and E. Arias, *Spina*, Munich 1958, *passim*; S. Aurigemma, *Il R. Museo di Spina*, Ferrara 1936, *passim*.

¹⁷ *ABV*, p. 108, no. 5; *Paralipomena*, p. 43; Tiberios, 'Ο λυδὸς καὶ τὸ ἔργον, Athens 1976, pls. 53–55.

¹⁸ T. Bakir, *Der Kolonnenkrater in Korinth und Attika zwischen 625 und 550 v. Chr.*, Würzburg 1974, pp. 60–64.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, table of handle-plate motives, p. 66, gives examples of the first half of the 6th century. Attic examples go back to Sophilos (*ABV*, p. 40, no. 24).

²⁰ Private collection; cf. K. Schauenburg, "Silene beim Symposion", *Jahrb* 88, 1973, pp. 11–14, figs. 11–12.

are rendered in black silhouette with some incision. When he published these fragments, Konrad Schauenburg was unable to find any red-figured column-krater with a comparable scheme of decoration, but he reviewed most of the fairly numerous black-figured examples.²¹ Dating his red-figured example to the later 6th century, Schauenburg concluded that it continued and probably ended the elaborate black-figure tradition and must have been one of the earliest of red-figured column-kraters.

It does not seem possible that the style of the krater in Samothrace can be earlier than the second quarter of the 5th century, but there seems no doubt that it too harks back to the same, by then hoary, black-figure tradition.

EQUIPMENT

The warriors of the fragments use a wide variety of military equipment, and such diversity is usual in red-figured vases depicting heroic episodes.²² The nude warrior (fragment 3c) has hung his sheathed sword on his shoulder and will apparently go to battle in heroic nudity. On the other hand, the warrior of fragment 2 is elaborately armored in a muscle cuirass with two rows of pteryges.²³ The true muscle cuirass seems to have appeared during or shortly after the Persian wars, developing from the Archaic bell cuirass with its ornamental modeling.²⁴ Formed by two bronze plates meeting along the sides of the body and over the shoulders, it closely imitates the

²¹ One should add to his list the fragments Acropolis 646 which include parts of two large handle-plates showing frontal quadrigas and a portion of the rim with a Homeric fighting scene on its top surface, cf. B. Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* I, Berlin 1925, no. 646 a, b, pl. 42. Comment by K. Friis Johansen, *op. cit.* (footnote 6 above), no. B 3a, pp. 200–202, 250, fig. 82. Beazley did not make an attribution, but concurred with Johansen's opinion that the painting was close to Exekias and dated *ca.* 540 B.C. (J. D. Beazley and L. D. Caskey, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* II, Oxford 1931–1963, pp. 17, 19).

The width of the handle-plates of Acropolis 646 is 0.15 m.; the width of the top surface of the rim is 0.09 m.

²² E.g. the volute-krater with Amazonomachy in Palermo attributed to the Niobid Painter (*ARV*², p. 599, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 394). This picture is almost a compendium of painted armor, with the participants wearing a variety of corselets, metal cuirasses and helmets. The figure of Achilles is often used to illustrate the developed muscle cuirass. Cf. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 90–91; Anderson, *Military Theory*, pp. 20–22.

²³ I follow Anderson, *Military Theory*, p. 21, in using "cuirass" only for plate armor and "corselet" for body armor of other materials, even when it has metal additions.

²⁴ The history of this development has been briefly noted by Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour*, p. 92. Anderson, *Military Theory*, pp. 20–28, discusses it in more detail and gives a list of vases illustrating the development in painting. The standard work on Greek armor is still A. Hagemann, *Griechische Panzerung*, Leipzig/Berlin 1913.

The transitional cuirass, usually with spirals on the chest and more naturalistic modeling over the abdomen and ribs, is frequently represented during the first quarter of the 5th century and its form varies considerably. Perhaps the earliest true muscle cuirass shown is in the sketch (not carried out) on the Kleophrades Painter's amphora at Harrow (*ARV*², p. 183, no. 11; *Paralipomena*, p. 340).

The dip over the abdomen which appears on the warrior of our fragments 2b–d is said to be a hallmark of the fully developed muscle cuirass (Anderson, *Military Theory*, p. 21), but it appears on a transitional type on a cup by Douris which is generally dated *ca.* 490 B.C. (*ARV*², p. 434, no. 74; *Paralipomena*, p. 375).

musculature of the male torso. In the many representations of this armor in vase paintings, the manner of fastening the plates together is not visible, although actual examples from the 5th century show a variety of latches.²⁵ The cuirass on this warrior clearly has ornamental flaps securing the plates at the shoulders and tied down to buttons on the chest (fragment 2d). Shoulder flaps are common on corselets depicted on vases, but there seem to be no other examples of the cuirass secured in this way in vase painting. Representations in sculpture seem to begin in the 4th century in Athens and it has been thought that the addition of the flaps to the muscle cuirass was a development of that period.²⁶ Recent re-dating of the splendid sculptured cuirass flaps from Siris, in the British Museum, has indicated that they were in use a bit earlier, but the Samothracian picture far antedates these.²⁷

The warrior with the sword and lock of hair (fragments 3b, c) also wore body armor. It is not preserved, but is made certain by the fact that he, too, wore pteryges. These are not the round-ended type usually associated with the metal cuirass, but the square-ended variety used with various forms of corselet.²⁸

If the cuirass is singular, so are the two partially preserved helmets (fragments 3a, 6). They are of the same type and may be unparalleled among survivors and representations of Greek helmets. At first glance they appear to be Thracian helmets, a type believed to have been introduced during the first quarter of the 5th century.²⁹ It was characterized by a jutting rim over the forehead, cheekpieces, a neck guard, and

²⁵ Latching along the side of the body seems to be visible on a pelike of the Lykaon Painter in the Vatican (*ARV*², p. 1045, no. 4; illustrated in Hagemann, *op. cit.*, fig. 40). Some actual full muscle cuirasses, dated in the 5th century by their sculptural style, preserve parts of their fastenings: front of a muscle cuirass, dated in the second quarter of the 5th century, has pins preserved on the left side for the attachment of the rear plate; there are no preserved fastenings on the shoulders (*Classical Antiquity*, André Emmerich Gallery, Inc., Basel 1975/1976, no. 55). Another, said to be from Metapontum, in the Antikenmuseum, Basel, dated 470–460 B.C., shows a ring attached to a small palmette on the left shoulder (K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst*, Basel/Stuttgart 1960, no. 242). Neither of these preserves flaps or buttons for flaps on the chest.

²⁶ Hagemann, *op. cit.* (footnote 24 above), p. 21.

²⁷ Cf. D. B. Thompson, "Mourning Odysseus," *Hesperia* 38, 1969, p. 250, note 37 with bibliography. She accepts a date in the late 5th century. At the British Museum, this earlier dating is apparently not altogether accepted: A. Birchall and P. E. Corbett, *Greek Gods and Heroes*, London 1974, no. 45, "400–350 B.C."

²⁸ There are innumerable examples. Cf. the armored figures in the works of the Niobid Painter, *ARV*², pp. 598–612, etc.

²⁹ The basic work on the Thracian helmet is B. Schröder, "Thrakische Helme," *Jahrb* 27, 1912, pp. 317–344. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour*, p. 95, thinks that the type developed soon after the Persian wars and Anderson (*Military Theory*, p. 29) remarks that the Thracian helmet appears in Attic painting soon after the Persian wars. Some depictions, however, seem to date from earlier in the century, e.g., name-piece cup of the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy (*ARV*², p. 417, no. 1); arming cup by the Brygos Painter (*ARV*², p. 373, no. 48; *Paralipomena*, p. 367) where a Thracian helmet appears under one handle. (A. Cambitoglou, *The Brygos Painter*, Sydney 1968, p. 34, note 166, remarks that all the helmets on this cup are Attic, surely an error.) A borderline case is a cup by the Pistoxenos Painter, usually dated ca. 470 B.C., showing combat scenes with all the participants wearing Thracian helmets (*ARV*², p. 860, no. 5). Also see below, footnote 30.

often a crest. Save for the cheeks, the face was bare beneath the rim. Those pictured on the krater, however, seem to have had a covering for the nose similar to the nasals of Corinthian helmets. Moreover, the thumbs of the men holding these helmets are clearly hooked through shaped apertures for the eye, a feature never seen on Thracian helmets.³⁰ The pilos and petasos seem, by the softness of their forms, to be ordinary traveling hats, although bronze helmets were made in both these shapes.³¹

The rest of the armor preserved on the sherds is more usual. The inner relief lines of the greave (fragments 3a, b) have vanished so that it is not known whether the sculptural form was portrayed as ornamental or naturalistic. A row of black dots along the edges of the greave must represent tie or lacing holes used to fasten an inner lining. These holes are rarely seen in red-figured painting but are well known from preserved greaves.³² The compass-drawn shields are clearly of the round Argive type which became the standard hoplite shield of the 5th century.³³ The only sure weapon preserved is the sword,³⁴ although the staff carried by the man in the petasos could have been a spear.

It is a question, of course, whether the carefully depicted types of cuirass and helmet actually existed or whether they were invented by the painter. The muscle cuirass with shoulder flaps had a long later history and may well have existed.³⁵ The helmet seems never to appear again. If these examples were not concocted by the painter they may represent a brief experiment, otherwise unknown, in the development of the Thracian helmet.³⁶

The horse and the chariot gear present few problems. The decoration or body brace in the shape of an inverted T on the chariot is not uncommon, although on lesser pots it is usually plain black.³⁷ The fine lines on the braces of the spoke inside the wheel rim are unusual, but can be paralleled on a fragment by the Pan Painter.³⁸ The unique objects are the rods hanging from the two warriors (fragments 2c, 3c) which seem to be goads or whips ready to hand.

³⁰ Two examples of Thracian helmets which seem to have short nasals, and are thought to date *ca.* 480 B.C., are on works of the Matsch Painter in New York (*ARV*², p. 284, no. 4) and the Antiphon Painter in Vienna (*ARV*², p. 336, no. 20). These apparent nasals may be gaps in the background glazing, which could be determined only by close inspection of the paintings.

³¹ Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 94–95, for petasos-shaped Boiotian helmets; Anderson, *Military Theory*, pp. 29–34, for the pilos. Anderson points out that the fabric or leather pilos was also worn in battle.

³² Anderson, *Military Theory*, p. 24 and note 56.

³³ Anderson, *Military Theory*, pp. 15–17; Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour*, p. 95.

³⁴ Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour*, p. 97.

³⁵ Cf. C. C. Vermeule III, "Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues," *Berytus* 13, 1959, pp. 1–82.

³⁶ See footnote 29 above.

³⁷ Such braces are found on the chariots in the pictures of the Seven against Thebes on the cup by the Kleophrades Painter, cf. a) on p. 228 below, and on the lekythos by the Terpsalos Painter, cf. c) on p. 228 below. Many other examples could be cited.

³⁸ In the Louvre (*ARV*², p. 558, no. 130; illustrations: *Jahrb* 87, 1972, p. 83).

The headstalls of the horses are very detailed. Of special interest are the bit burrs, the cheekpieces and the fitting which holds one terminal of the cheekpiece to the reins. The reality of such an attachment has been questioned.³⁹ The bit burr with a notch which fits over the mouthpiece of the bit is unusually large and liberally bespeckled with dots. It seems agreed that these plates were equipped with inner points or spikes which pressed urgently against the mouth of the animal, perhaps as an aid in turning. That the dots were to remind us of the inner spikes is doubtful.⁴⁰ It is more likely that they represent either tack-like elements forced through the plate or punctured holes with the jagged metal left protruding inside to serve as the irritant. Although such Greek bit burrs are often illustrated, no actual example seems to be preserved.⁴¹

The enigmatic wooden object (fragments 3, 4) is probably a freight saddle modified for riding, but its form seems different from the few others depicted in Greek art. Animals carrying loads must have been common in ancient Greece, and we are familiar with them in Assyrian, Etruscan and Roman reliefs, but they were not objects of much interest to Greek artists.⁴²

Only one vase painting seems to exist showing a pack animal laden with freight.⁴³ Another saddled animal appears on an Attic volute-krater of the end of the 5th century.⁴⁴ There, there is no freight on the saddle, and, indeed, its shape suggests that it may have been intended to be ridden. The saddle has a high-rising curved armature fore and aft with a deep curve between. It is secured by crupper, breast band and three braces passing under the animal's belly.

A few other representations show people riding on pack saddles, as we know they did in antiquity and as they still do in Greece today. Sometimes we can make out that a horizontal member was installed as a footrest and occasionally armrests may be seen. Unfortunately, in these representations the riding figures obscure the structures.⁴⁵

³⁹ Anderson (*Horsemanship*, p. 63) found it curious to have reins attached to the ends of the cheekpieces: "A few monuments, both Assyrian and Greek, seem to show the reins attached to the end of the lower bar of the cheekpiece." He is not certain that these representations are reliable, "... though they seem clear enough."

⁴⁰ Anderson, *Horsemanship*, p. 59.

⁴¹ Crucial for bits and burrs: M. A. Littauer, "Bits and Pieces," *Antiquity* 43, 1969, pp. 289–300, especially p. 291 and pl. 40: c,d, showing a brush burr and a tack burr. I thank Prof. M. B. Moore for this important reference.

⁴² Cf. Vigneron, *op. cit.* (footnote 7 above), pp. 130–134, 147–149, pl. 56. Examples which should be added are the loaded pack horses in relief on the Etruscan Sperandio sarcophagus (cf. L. Banti, *The Etruscan Cities and their Culture*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1973, pl. 80, and the loaded mule in a painting from the House of Julia Felix at Pompeii. Here breast and belly bands are clear and there seem to be traces of a crupper. Two members of the saddle framing rise fore and aft, somewhat like the structure on fragment 4 of the Erasinos krater, cf. A. Maiuri, *Roman Painting*, Geneva 1953, p. 141).

⁴³ By the Antiphon Painter, in Boston (*ARV*², p. 337, no. 26; *Paralipomena*, p. 361).

⁴⁴ By the Kadmos Painter, Ruvo, Jatta (*ARV*², p. 1184, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 460).

⁴⁵ Vigneron, *op. cit.* (footnote 7 above), pp. 134, 157–159, pl. 66. In vase painting, Hephaistos is sometimes shown riding on a chair-like saddle with footrest for his return to Olympos (e.g. *ARV*², p. 597,

PROPOSED RECONSTRUCTION OF ELEMENTS OF THE SCENE

The reconstruction of what seems to have been a continuous scene must be tentative because of the large amount that is missing, the uncertainty about the precise dimensions of the vessel and the difficulty of restoring such elements as the puzzling animal group and the possible pack saddle (fragments 4, 5). The fortunate preservation of one handle root (fragment 1a) gives a starting point which permits the attribution of most of the major fragments to side A, with the signature, or side B. A number of problems remain, especially in the areas under the handles and in the vicinity of the man with the petasos.

Side A:

| | | | | |
|-------------------|---------|------------|----------------|-------------|
| | | | signature | handle root |
| youth with greave | warrior | horse team | man with pilos | |
| 2 | | | 1 | |

Side B:

| | | | | | |
|-----|---------|----------------|----------|--------------|---------|
| | | man in petasos | | | |
| | | pack saddle | man with | warrior with | warrior |
| man | animals | | helmet | sword | child |
| | 5 | 4 | | 3 | |

This arrangement seems to account best for the first five groups of sherds. Not only are large parts of extant figures and objects missing, however, but probably all traces of additional figures and accessories. Based on the space used by the preserved figures (for example, on fragment 3 the distance from the center of each head to the next would have been *ca.* 10 cm.) and relying cautiously on the estimated shoulder circumference of *ca.* 2.00 to 2.20 m., there would have been space for at least eight, or possibly nine, full-sized figures on each side, and room for other elements beneath the handles. In general, red-figure quadriga teams on kraters and closed vessels occupy the space of approximately three figures, with their heads taking up one and a half or two spaces of the upper zone. Thus it seems possible, or even probable, that there was

a calyx-krater bearing a resemblance to the work of the Altamura Painter). A Persian rides on a similar saddle on a donkey in a picture on an oinochoe in London, by the Painter of Brussels Oinochoai (*ARV*², p. 775, no. 1). An interesting variation is a saddle between the humps of a Bactrian camel (only the footrest and two belly bands are visible) on an unattributed late Attic red-figured oinochoe in the British Museum (E 695; C. H. Smith, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum* III, London 1896, p. 344; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge 1903, fig. 115). On an Apulian bell-krater in Leningrad a short couch is seen set on the back of a donkey, with no visible lashings, as a seat for Dionysos and Ariadne. This seems a flight of fancy, unlike other depicted saddles. Cf. A. Cambitoglou and A. D. Trendall, "Addenda to *Apulian Red-Figure Vase-Painters*," *AJA* 73, 1969, p. 424, pl. 115:1. It should be noted that real saddles appear on some Hellenistic terracottas from Myrina (cf. S. Mollard-Besques, *Myrina*, II, *Catalogue raisonné des figures et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs et romains*, Paris 1963). The clearest examples are CA 2217 (*ibid.*, p. 84, pl. 102:c) which shows a woman in an armchair-like saddle with footrest, and Myrina 956 (*ibid.*, p. 147, pl. 108:b) which shows a riderless horse wearing a saddle, held by breast band and crupper, over a fringed cloth.

at least one figure overlapping or overlapped by the horses and that there were one or two more figures on each side than are now preserved.

The zones under the handles are difficult to fill. The child may have stood under a handle root and the male holding a helmet (6), if he was bending, may have been in a handle zone with the round shield behind him under a handle. If he was the squire of the nude warrior (3c), facing him across the child, the handle zone would have been nicely filled. However, his position, and his posture as well, are speculative.

The problems of placing such figures, of deciding whether the men in the traveling hats are heroes or bystanders,⁴⁶ of determining whether the young men holding accoutrements (1, 3a) are squires or youthful warriors,⁴⁷ all add to the difficulty of recognizing the subject of the scene if it is mythological. It should be noted that there is no female figure preserved nor any fragment which would suggest that a woman was present.⁴⁸

SUBJECT

The subject of the scene on the krater has been difficult to identify. At first view, the fragments suggest an ordinary arming and departure scene with several warriors, some possibly attended by squires. Because of the two men in traveling hats, stories come to mind of young heroes, such as Achilles or Neoptolemos, being recruited by pairs of mature heroes who travel to seek them out.⁴⁹ Such scenes, however, do not

⁴⁶ The somewhat unkempt beard of the man in the pilos, the untidiness surprising in so careful a painter, and the separated, straightish locks of his back hair and that of the man in the petasos might indicate that these two are supernumeraries, perhaps onlookers from the countryside, as A. Dinsmoor has suggested.

⁴⁷ Usually the younger males helping warriors to arm themselves are evidently boys, not almost-grown youths—see for example the Brygos Painter's arming cup in the Vatican (*ARV*², p. 379, no. 156). Here, on fragment 2, the shorter male seems to be holding the greave toward the cuirassed warrior, but surely the latter is fully prepared, even though he wears no greaves, and would certainly have difficulty bending over to put them on. Cf. Anderson, *Military Theory*, p. 24.

⁴⁸ The slight trace of an object behind the head of the man on fragment 4 is puzzling. It has been suggested that it was a phiale, although it would have been held rather high. Departing warriors are often shown pouring libations, usually assisted by a woman holding an oinochoe (e.g., side A of an amphora in Munich attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, *ARV*², p. 182, no. 4; *Paralipomena*, p. 340). Rarely, a scene shows a warrior at the edge of the battle field in a scene with males only in attendance (e.g., Patroklos taking leave of Achilles in the Achaian camp, on a stamnos attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, *ARV*², p. 188, no. 63; *Paralipomena*, p. 341). The phiale is seldom held by a woman. One example is found on a volute-krater by the Niobid Painter in Boston. Here a woman holds both phiale and oinochoe, but it seems likely that she will hand the phiale to the warrior when his hand is freed from the clasp of another woman (*ARV*², p. 600, no. 12; *Paralipomena*, p. 395). Another possibility is that the object was the neck-piece of the corselet of a missing figure facing to right. Cf. such a figure, there facing to left, with head bent forward, on a volute-krater fragment attributed to the Niobid Painter (*ARV*², p. 299, no. 7; illustration: J. Boardman "Old Smyrna: The Attic Pottery," *BSA* 53/54, 1958/1959, no. 118, pp. 170–172, pls. 40–41).

⁴⁹ E.g., the volute-krater from Spina attributed to the Boreas Painter (*ARV*², p. 536, no. 4; *Paralipomena*, p. 384). On one side Neoptolemos in the center says farewell to a man and a woman, while Odysseus and Phoinix wait, conversing, on the other side of the hero. On the second side of the krater is

really correspond to the one on this vase. Usually there are women and elderly men present, representing family members or other civilians. The core of the usual departure scene consists of a young hero, armed or arming, and his parents. Additional figures may fit the scene to a special story. Such groups are often shown, by the inclusion of an architectural element, as taking place in or just outside a dwelling or palace, and the warrior is evidently preparing for a journey to the scene of conflict. Another common scene of arming shows a group of men and youths fitting themselves out indoors, sometimes attended by squires and onlookers.⁵⁰

As far as we now know, there are no women present in this painting (cf. fragment 4), and no libations are poured.⁵¹ Moreover, the action takes place outdoors, as is clear from the presence of the chariot and team. It seems that a battle near by may be imminent. We know of scenes of arming in the field with a ready chariot waiting. If there are seven warriors, one is tempted to think of the Seven against Thebes, not leaving home, but preparing directly before the assault. In one case, at least, this subject is confirmed by an inscription naming Parthenopaïos, and this picture brings in its train several others with similar elements: a chariot and the most completely armed warrior associated with it, a warrior holding a metal cuirass and, most important for this krater, the figure cutting a lock of his hair.⁵² These seem to be standard elements, no matter how the pictures vary in details.

The cutting of the hair seems particularly significant and is an important element in the story of the Seven. The leaders of the Argive host knew that only Adrastus would live to return home. Therefore, according to Aischylos, before their attack they sacrificed a bull, dipping their hands into its blood while swearing awful oaths. Then they fastened mementos of themselves—locks of their hair—to the chariot of Adrastus.⁵³ This chariot, whose team included at least one divine horse, would then bear these memorials of the fallen heroes back to Argos.⁵⁴ Of the eight previously known examples

a youth among women identified as Neoptolemos again, or as Achilles on Skyros (cf. E. Simon, "Polygnotan Painting and the Niobid Painter," *AJA* 67, 1963, pp. 57–58). For recruitment of heroes, see also C. Dugas, *Recueil Charles Dugas*, Paris 1960, p. 22.

⁵⁰ Cf. footnote 47 above.

⁵¹ Cf. footnote 48 on fragment 4, above.

⁵² Former views that a sword held to a tress of hair in vase paintings illustrated combing or rolling seem to have been correctly refuted by J. K. Anderson, "Parthenopaïos," *AJA* 75, 1971, pp. 191–192, and N. Kunisch, "Parthenopaïos," *Antike Kunst* 17, 1974, pp. 39–41. The latter also discusses the meaning of hair cutting. The cutting of a forelock by a warrior to deprive an enemy of a handhold has been discussed and dismissed for representations in the Archaic and Classical periods by J. Boardman, "Heroic Haircuts," *ClQuart* 23, 1973, pp. 196–197. For surveys of the significance of locks of hair and the cutting of hair, cf. Sommer, Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, s.v. Haaropfer; S. Eitrem, *Kristiania Videnskapsselskaps Skrifter* (Hist.-filol. Klasse), II, *Opferrites und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer*, 1914, no. 1, pp. 344ff.

⁵³ For the chariot of Adrastus with locks of hair attached: W. Schadewaldt, "Zu einer Londoner Kanne aus Cervetri," *RömMitt* 38/39, 1923/1924, pp. 490–491; E. von Mercklin, "Antiken des R. Museo Artistico Industriale in Rom," *RömMitt* 38/39, 1923/1924, p. 102, pl. 4. For the olpe: *ARV*², p. 1065, no. 1.

⁵⁴ Aischylos, *Hepta*, 42–50.

of hair cutting in vase paintings, four almost surely depict the Seven (a–d, below). Another, in an arming scene on a very fragmentary and incompletely published vessel, probably belongs to the same group (e). Two more, in which the hair cutter is the only figure, probably derive from such scenes of the Seven,⁵⁵ while the eighth is a unique illustration of a scene from a different story.⁵⁶

a) Fragmentary red-figured cup attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, from the Persian debris of the Acropolis.⁵⁷ It preserves part of a chariot, the team of horses and most of five warriors; the feet of two more figures are to be seen by the chariot. One warrior holds a muscle cuirass, another cuts his hair. Two partly preserved helmets seem to be Corinthian.

b) Red-figured hydria by an early mannerist, dated “not before 470”.⁵⁸ Here are seven warriors and a chariot. One man holds a bell cuirass, a Thracian helmet adorned with feathers (cf. fragment 10) is on the ground and a youthful warrior labeled Parthenopaios cuts his hair.

c) Early red-figured lekythos attributed to the Terpsalos Painter.⁵⁹ Again there are a chariot and team and seven warriors. One man holds a bell cuirass, another is cutting his hair. The military gear includes both Attic and Corinthian helmets.

d) Red-figured cup attributed to Makron.⁶⁰ Here are the chariot with team and seven warriors. One man wears an Attic helmet, another is holding a transitional bell cuirass and a third is cutting a lock of hair.

e) Fragmentary red-figured pot attributed to the Kleophrades Painter.⁶¹ The subject was arming warriors. Beazley thought that the vessel was probably a neck-amphora with two figures on each side.⁶² If so, the cutting of a tress of hair suggests that the figures were excerpted from the iconography of the Seven. One of the published sherds shows a Thracian helmet with feathers (cf. b).

These five pictures, despite variations in postures and accessories, are evidently drawn from a common iconographic tradition and, insofar as it is preserved, the scene

⁵⁵ 1. Red-figured lekythos attributed to the Oinokles Painter (*ARV*², p. 648, no. 37; *CVA*, Cleveland 1 [U.S.15], 31[711]). The warrior wears the true muscle cuirass and the helmet awaiting him is Thracian. 2. White-ground lekythos by the Painter of the Yale Lekythos, in New York (*ARV*², p. 660, no. 71). No cuirass is shown, but the helmet again is Thracian. These two figures are surely inspired by scenes of the Seven, whether they are meant to portray Parthenopaios, as Schefold assumes (“Sophokles’ Aias auf einer Lekythos,” *AntK* 19, 1976, p. 75), or to suggest the tragic heroism of a dead contemporary youth, as Kunisch has suggested (*op. cit.* [footnote 52 above], pp. 39–41).

⁵⁶ Orestes offering hair at his father’s tomb: *ARV*², p. 1516, no. 80; R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 2nd ed., London 1972, pl. 50.

⁵⁷ Acropolis 336; *ARV*², p. 192, no. 105.

⁵⁸ In a private collection: G. M. A. Richter, “Newcomers,” *AJA* 74, 1970, pp. 331–333.

⁵⁹ In Agrigento: *ARV*², p. 308, no. 5. Boardman, “The Kleophrades Painter at Troy,” p. 16, now also identifies this as a scene of the Seven.

⁶⁰ In the Louvre: *ARV*², p. 461, no. 33. I am grateful to Dr. Anna Pagoulatos for an opportunity to examine this cup.

⁶¹ In Florence: J. D. Beazley, *Campana Fragments in Florence*, Oxford 1933, p. 15, pl. 8:6, 8–11.

⁶² *ARV*², pp. 189–190, no. 82.

on the krater in Samothrace seems close to them. The arming is taking place outdoors, there is a ready chariot, women seem to be absent and hair is cut. One could possibly muster seven warriors among the extant figures, though it should be recalled that it is likely that whole figures are missing. The large size of the krater would have given ample space for the addition of subsidiary figures to the basic cast of characters found on smaller vessels. Although the activities of the departure are similar, the painter of the krater has shown some of the actions a few moments later than they are seen in the other pictures: the hair is already cut, the metal cuirass is already on a warrior. If we are right in seeing a bovine present (fragment 5), this might be the sacrifice mentioned by Aischylos, although the animal should already be dead. The child receiving the lock of hair presents a problem. Who is he? The heirs of the heroes are not known to have been along on the campaign, so if the scene concerns the Seven, the child might be a servant who will attach the hair to the chariot. At least according to Aischylos, however, the men fastened these solemn mementos to the chariot with their own hands bloodied by the sacrifice.

Other myths in which warriors cut locks of their hair are few and illustrations are lacking. At the funeral of Patroklos, Achilleus cut the lock of hair he had promised to the river Sperchios on his safe return. He placed it on the bier with his own hands and his followers added theirs.⁶³ We recall that in preparing for the funeral, Achilleus also bade his followers put on their armor and mount their chariots, and one might construe this scene as referring to those preparations.⁶⁴ The wooden object, however, cannot be recognized as a bier,⁶⁵ and the child seems out of place.

There is one famous scene of haircutting in which a child plays an important part, but of it, too, no illustration is known. In poetry it appears as a moving incident in the *Ajax* of Sophokles. Here Teukros cuts a lock of his hair and gives it to the small son of the dead hero, telling him to kneel by the body. On the krater in Samothrace, however, there is no female figure which could be Tekmessa, no sign of bier or body, and the supernumeraries seem all too numerous.

Although it would be gratifying to have an illustration of either of these two celebrated episodes, it is most unlikely that the krater in Samothrace provides one. In addition to the other objections must be added the fact that the haircut, which should

⁶³ Homer, *Il.*, 23.141.

⁶⁴ Homer, *Il.*, 23.129–130.

⁶⁵ Apart from beds in pictures of prothesis, biers are rarely represented. There are two black-figured one-handled kantharoi in the Cabinet des Médailles (*ABV*, p. 346, nos. 7–8), one of which shows the wrapped corpse lying on a litter with short legs, carried on the shoulders of several men. The second shows the corpse on a similar litter placed on a country cart. Fragments of a red-figured calyx-krater by Polygnotos, said to be an illustration from Aischylos' trilogy *Myrmidons*, *Nereids*, *Phrygians* (Vienna University, *ARV*², p. 1030, no. 33), show a cart with bolsters and mattresses, possibly on a flat litter, from a representation of Priam with a retinue on the way to ransom the body of Hektor, cf. A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama*, New York 1971, no. III: 1–19, p. 54, figs. These examples do not resemble the object on the krater in Samothrace.

be a central action, is found off to one side of what may, in fact, be the less important face of the krater, without the potter's signature.

It is most likely, then, that the subject of this krater is the final preparation of the Seven for the attack on the city of Kadmos, with the scene expanded, by comparison with representations on cups and lekythoi, to fill the large space on the great body.

Unless or until more fragments of the krater appear in further excavation, we can hardly speculate on the identities of the figures, except to suppose that the haircutter is Parthenopaios. A number of attempts have been made to identify the individual figures in other works portraying, or thought to portray, the Seven.⁶⁶ These characterizations, however, are based upon the heroes as they are given in the plays of Aischylos and Euripides, and as Kunisch has already pointed out, the representations, except for the white-ground lekythos in New York, are either earlier than the earliest play, or about contemporary with it, and thus this iconography had been established before the plays were produced.⁶⁷

The fragments of the krater in Samothrace suggest that the painter took care to differentiate the characters by means of physical appearance and emotional response. There is the swarthiness of the man in the pilos, the ordinary dark hair and brown eye of the man in the petasos and the fair coloring of the warrior who has cut a lock of his hair. Each character also reacts to the situation in an individual way. The man in the pilos stares and extends his left arm (one would give much to know how his left hand was engaged). The eye of the man in the petasos seems riveted as he makes his gesture of puzzlement, concern or astonishment, and surely the hand-on-hip pose of the warrior behind the chariot expresses impatience.⁶⁸

It is not impossible that one day a specific key to more than Parthenopaios will be obtained. A red-figured cup fragment in Marseilles, somehow related to the Painter of the Oxford Brygos, should be added here.⁶⁹ Although no hair cutting is preserved, this sherd is clearly from a scene similar to those listed above. It preserves the head and upper back of a bearded warrior with Attic helmet and round shield who evidently

⁶⁶ E. Simon, "Der Goldschatz von Panajuriste—Eine Schöpfung der Alexanderzeit," *AntK* 3, 1960, pp. 11–17; K. Jeppesen, *Ἑπτάκλειους Σύμβαισις*, Copenhagen 1968.

⁶⁷ Kunisch, *op. cit.* (footnote 52 above), p. 40.

⁶⁸ The impatient man at the chariot might be thought to be Adrastos, ready to fight because he knew that he would survive. It should be recalled, however, that in Aischylos' version the Argive king, although present at the battleground (*Hepta*, 50), did not attack a gate. On the famous volute-krater from Spina on which the Seven are shown engaged in single combat with the defenders (*ARV*², p. 612, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 397), a man in petasos and chlamys stands to right under a handle root, watching the battle. It has been speculated that this was Adrastos, in the version in which he does not participate, or, as the authors thought, more likely Oidipos seeing the horrible result of his curse: Alfieri and Arias, *op. cit.* (footnote 16 above), p. 44. Adrastos as a spectator on the Erasinios krater cannot be excluded.

⁶⁹ G. Vasseur, "L'origine de Marseille," *Annales du musée d'histoire naturelle de Marseille* 12, 1914, list of plates, text to figs. 8–10, pl. 13; *ARV*², p. 400, "compare also". I would like to suggest that a fragment of a cup of the second quarter of the 5th century, preserving part of a cuirassed warrior standing frontally with hand on hip is from yet another scene of the Seven: H. Metzger, "Les ceramiques archaïques et classiques de l'acropole lycienne," *Fouilles de Xanthos* VI, Paris 1972, no. 355, p. 156, pl. 79.

stands behind a chariot facing to our left, as does the chariot on the Makron cup, d) above. The front rail of the chariot and reins are preserved. To left is a greave held in the air by a missing figure and to right, a spear, obviously held by another missing person. Best of all, above the greave are the remains of a painted inscription NEIKE, no doubt Polyneikes, and at either side of the spear head at the right AΦ and ΙΑ, most certainly Amphiaraios.⁷⁰ If this scene were complete we would surely have a group similar to those listed above and we would find a figure with a metal cuirass and another cutting his hair, as well as valuable name labels.

A scene of small scope, such as on the Marseilles cup, apparently will not solve all the problems on the krater in Samothrace, especially the problem of the possible pack saddle and the identity of the child. We are left at present to think of the latter as a servitor or, more daringly, as one of the Epigones, perhaps present in a version of the story which has not come down to us.

TECHNICAL DETAILS AND STYLE

Up to now, and despite close scrutiny and persistent searches, the painter of this krater has not been identified. The drawing is plainly the work of an experienced and skillful artist. The vessel must belong to the second quarter of the 5th century, most likely to the decade 470–460 B.C. This was a period when many large pots were produced, a great proportion of those now known going to market in the north of Italy. Few contemporary column-kraters can have been as grandiose as this one. Perhaps it was the very scale of the painting that produced a response in the painter which, if he is someone we know, led him to alter his customary style.⁷¹ Perhaps, too, the Archaic program of decoration made a use of some archaic conventions, for example in the drawing of the eyes, which seem appropriate to the artist who in other ways, as in the drawing of the hands and the draperies, seems fully in touch with the contemporary progressive style as we see it in such masters as the Penthesilea Painter and the early Achilles Painter.

TECHNIQUE

Some technical details have been mentioned in the descriptions of the fragments, and they and a few others may be summarized here to help give an insight into the painter's approach.

⁷⁰ The inscriptions were read by E. Pottier (G. Vasseur, *op. cit.*, *sub* fig. 8) and someone identified the scene as the transportation of the body of Polyneikes on a vehicle. It is clear, however, that what was taken for a foot is really the left hand of the warrior, seen from the back, grasping the *antilabe* of his shield. This warrior may be Amphiaraios or, more likely, that seer is the missing man holding the spear.

⁷¹ The problem and the possibility may be illustrated by a big calyx-krater in Bologna (*ARV*², p. 891). Beazley places it near the Penthesilea Painter, but shows the difficulty of feeling sure about a monumental work which seems to be by a cup painter. To quote from his listing: "One of the grandest among early classic vases was attributed by Furtwängler to the Penthesilea Painter (in *FR*. ii, 88 [A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Munich 1909]), and Bothmer has pointed out resemblances (*Am*. 165 [D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford 1957])." Schefold (*op. cit.* [footnote 55 above], p. 76) accepts this as the painter's boldest masterpiece.

It has been noted that all reserved areas were outlined with contour bands. The glaze used for these was not of great density and the bands are almost imperceptible where the background glaze is well preserved. In addition, save for a few locks of hair, the contours were reinforced throughout with relief lines.⁷²

The painter was adept at handling relief line, both thin and thick, and used it freely for principal lines and also for inner details where one might expect thinned or dilute glaze.⁷³ Thus, most anatomical markings are in fine relief lines, for example in the drawing of the structure of the inner arm (2c, 3c) and in areas with miniaturist details, such as the headstalls of the horses (1a).

In several places portions of a preparatory sketch may be seen, particularly in passages of drapery where the final relief lines diverge from the sketch (cf. fragments 2a, 3c). It is difficult to tell how elaborate the preparation was, or what caused the change in height on fragment 7.

The painter made occasional use of dilute and thinned glaze, as in loops and ties (e.g. 3a, 5), for the ornament of the scabbard (3c), as a base for relief lines in beards, and in the yellowish cut tress. He also made sparing use of accessory red: a hat strap (4), the reins of the horses (1a), the inscription. There is no preserved trace of white.

More idiosyncratic for red-figure work near the middle of the 5th century is the use of incision. Among the sherds are three examples: the arcading and Z's on the breast bands (1b), the hair contour of the altered head (7), the horsy tail entirely drawn in incision on the rim fragment (15).⁷⁴

DECORATION

A word should be added on the decorative parts of the design. The meander band below the figures (8; Pl. 57) is carelessly executed and does not seem to be consistent with the disciplined hand of the painter of the scene. It may have been

⁷² The use of relief lines for contouring was widespread among the earliest masters of red figure, e.g., among many, the Euphronios krater in New York, briefly published by Dietrich von Bothmer, "Greek Vase Painting: An Introduction," *BullMMA* 31, fasc. 1, 1972, no. 15. The custom of using such relief outlines fades as red figure develops, but the lines still appear from time to time, especially on some monumental vases. Even the Achilles Painter, who seldom used relief lines to reinforce contours, employed them on his three largest vases, as Beazley has noted (J. D. Beazley, "The Master of the Achilles Amphora in the Vatican," *JHS* 34, 1914, p. 207).

⁷³ After the Andokides Painter, the earliest red-figure artists tended to rely on relief lines for the drawing of much interior detail (cf. J. D. Beazley, review of J. C. Hoppin, *Euthymides and His Fellows*, in *JHS* 37, 1917, pp. 233–237). Here Beazley remarks (p. 234) that brown lines for interior details are "... regular in the ripe archaic period." In discussing the Achilles Painter (*op. cit.* [footnote 72 above], p. 207), Beazley notes that on the same three vases which show relief contour (see preceding footnote) "... most of the inner marking of the body is not in brown, but in thin black relief-lines. The use of relief-lines for inner markings is more extensive in the free style than in the developed severe style..." Thus the appearance of such markings on the krater in Samothrace could be regarded either as an advanced or a *retardataire* characteristic.

⁷⁴ See footnote 77 below.

filled in by an assistant. However, the other passages of ornament on fragments attributed to the krater are painted with great delicacy and regularity. All the elements, even the isolated teardrop leaves and the little dots in the field (17; Pl. 59) are bounded by relief lines. This painstaking execution seems entirely in harmony with the scrupulous attention to details observed on the figured fragments.

The palmettes and spiraling tendrils on the fragmentary handle plates (13, 14; Pl. 58) are made of common elements, arranged to accomodate and embellish figured representations. The decoration of the rim flange (17; Pls. 56:e, 59), also composed of traditional elements, includes an unusual version of the opening lotus flower. A rare, although not unique, detail of this ornamental frieze is the crossing of the stem-like tendrils leading from the lotuses over, rather than under, the frames of the palmettes. This interruption of the framing of the palmettes has few parallels, and all are considerably earlier in date than this.⁷⁵

STYLE

Beyond all these details, something can be said of the general composition of the figured frieze. It is evident that there was no central, climaxing action on either side. One might like to find the lock of hair as a focus because it is such a rare and touching motive, but this group is only one of a number of equally significant, simultaneous actions of the departure. As we have seen, this composition brings us closer to the depictions of the Seven than to stories of individual heroes who would be at the center of the action or emotion of the scene.

However, even if the interest is evenly divided among the actions here, some of the fragments seem to convey a tension which may have charged the whole scene. There are the riveted gazes of the two preserved faces, the impatient pose of the warrior behind the chariot and the rolling eyes of the chariot horses. These elements give such an impression of vitality that it is almost astonishing to realize that none of the men nor the animals seems to be in motion. None runs or even walks, but all are apparently in a balanced moment of stillness. Even the warrior handing the lock of hair to the child stands motionless with his body facing us, poised between his outstretched arms. The source of the tensions here, then, is implicit in the incidents of the frieze and not made explicit through vigorous action.

Such pictures, full of psychological tension rather than action, in which participants in a crucial situation are seen before or after the event rather than in the midst of it, are typical of early Classical art, as is the balanced moment in the course of action. It has already been noted that the picture on the Erasinokrater differs from

⁷⁵ Some examples of this kind of crossing: stamnos in London attributed to Oltos (*ARV²*, p. 54, no. 5); fragmentary loutrophoros from the Acropolis, possibly a late work of Phintias (*ARV²*, p. 25, no. 1); cup attributed to the Chelis Painter (*ARV²*, p. 112, no. 1); cup attributed to the Thalia Painter (*ARV²*, p. 113, no. 3; *Paralipomena*, p. 332); late parade cup from the Acropolis (*ARV²*, pp. 399 and 1650); lekythos attributed to the circle of the Berlin Painter (on the Basel market, *Kunstwerke der Antike, Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Auktion 51*, 1975, no. 157, p. 69, pl. 41).

the other, earlier scenes presumed to be of the Seven, in that actions shown in progress on all of them, such as the cutting of the hair and the donning of the metal cuirass, are shown here as completed. It seems likely that these slight changes in the iconography were made to bring the participants to the early Classical moment of stillness and equilibrium and that this treatment of the scene is one of its most advanced aspects.

It is in contrast with the painter's use of archaizing details and with his organization of space with its slight dependence on the recession of forms in perspective. Only one preserved shield, and that not surely identified (8), is seen in other than full round. Despite the powerful athletic forms suggested by the full outlines of the figures, the space seems two dimensional. Figures and objects are linked by overlapping, but there is no suggestion of space and bulk intervening between one element and another. This is clearly felt in such passages as the superposition of the muzzles of the horses on the arm of the man in the pilos (Pl. 51:a) and in the relationship of the man in the petasos to the enigmatic structure (Pl. 55:a).

The deliberate use by a painter of old-fashioned modes for special purposes is not unknown in Attic vase painting. Conspicuous examples are found, for example, among loutrophoroi, which were used for solemn occasions.⁷⁶ One cannot say at present that the krater in Samothrace was made for a special purpose, although its exceptional character suggests this. The modernization of the Archaic iconography shows a subtlety in the painter which goes beyond facility in drawing. Surely he consciously chose his forms and his archaisms. Where did he get them?

It seems possible that our painter was at some time associated with, perhaps even trained by, the Kleophrades Painter. To be sure, the painter of the krater in Samothrace does not display the energy, the physical movement and the great variety of poses characteristic of the Archaic master; his is the ethos of a later period. In their links with black figure, however, and in many details of form and technique there seem to be real connections between them.

Long ago Sir John Beazley remarked that the Kleophrades Painter was the latest of the red-figure masters who could still employ black-figure technique with sure skill, and that details derived from black figure appear even in his best works.⁷⁷ We

⁷⁶ There is no doubt that some painters of vases could modify their styles for special situations. Beazley notes the archaistic character of loutrophoroi in general and in an example which he first attributed to the Kleophrades Painter: Beazley, "Kleophrades," p. 67.

⁷⁷ Beazley pointed out ("Kleophrades," p. 44, note 20) that incision was used for hair contour in the developed red-figure Severe Style only on Kleophradean vases and on a few cups; at the time he was able to list only six examples not by the Kleophrades Painter. He also noted (p. 44), speaking of the cup signed by Kleophrades in Paris (*ARV*², p. 191, no. 103), that incised lines were used on a dark brown stripe on an animal-skin garment. Rarely, other examples of incision turn up in late Archaic or Severe Style red figure. For example, there is a boar entirely rendered in incision on a krater in the Louvre with the death of Aktaion, attributed to the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs (*ARV*², p. 613, no. 3; *Paralipomena*, p. 397) and bunches of grapes drawn with incised contour on a bell-krater in Palermo by the Pan Painter (*ARV*², p. 550, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 386).

have seen how our painter harks back to both Archaic red figure and to black figure in the prime of that style.

This is a very general comment, of course, but in smaller details real relationships to the technique of the Kleophrades Painter may be found. There are the shape and drawing of the eyes,⁷⁸ the doubled line for the nostril and the meeting of the lips,⁷⁹ the outlined lips,⁸⁰ the thinned glaze for the mustache⁸¹ and the use of black for the physical details.⁸² Other particulars might be mentioned, such as the drawing of the tibia of the frontal lower leg as a curved line starting at the inner contour of the leg below the knee instead of the traditional drawing of a straight shinbone starting downward from the base of the kneecap. The Kleophrades Painter started with the straight line,⁸³ but seems to have changed his drawing of this line late in his career.⁸⁴ The younger Achilles Painter characteristically drew the tibia with this curve.⁸⁵

The elegantly drawn hands on the Erasinokrater recall those by the Pistoxenos and Penthesilea Painters and by the Achilles Painter, whose drawing of hands continued to be a wonder until much later in the 5th century. Such elegant hands, with the fingernails carefully depicted, are, however, also adumbrated in the later works of the Kleophrades Painter.⁸⁶

The painter of the krater in Samothrace shares another mannerism with the Kleophrades Painter, as well as with several others. This is what has been called "battlement style" drapery, seen here in the simple pleating of the chitoniskoi (2a, 3c).⁸⁷ At first glance this drapery seems to be one of the most advanced characteristics of the drawing. The light fabric of the garments shows no trace of the traditional Archaic arrangement of folds in regularly repeated groups which give the hemline deep ornamental dips. Here there are spaced single pleats and little irregularities in the curves of the bounding lines which give a freer, less obviously patterned effect than

⁷⁸ The "brown" dot-in-circle eye (Beazley, "Kleophrades," pp. 40, 43, *et passim*) with a heavy, angular frame open at the inner corner may be found on a number of the Kleophrades Painter's works, such as the pointed amphora in Munich (*ARV*², p. 182, no. 6; *Paralipomena*, p. 340). Ancestral to the eye of the man in the pilos on the Erasinokrater fragment 1a must be such eyes as that on the Kleophrades Painter's fragment with a citharist from the Acropolis (*ARV*², p. 190, no. 92; now illustrated in B. Philippaki, *Vases of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens*, [1973], fig. 34).

⁷⁹ For the nostril: Beazley, "Kleophrades," p. 40. He does not remark on the meeting of the lips, but the doubled line is visible on the same example.

⁸⁰ Beazley, "Kleophrades," pp. 43-44, *et passim*. The Kleophrades Painter differs in using a heavier black line (except for women, p. 43), and in usually outlining the upper lip as well.

⁸¹ Beazley, "Kleophrades," p. 43.

⁸² See footnote 73.

⁸³ Cf. U. Knigge, "Neue Scherben von Gefässen des Kleophrades-Malers," *AthMitt* 85, 1970, pl. 2.

⁸⁴ For example, the stamnos with the departure of Patroklos (*ARV*², p. 188, no. 63; *Paralipomena*, p. 341; Boardman, "The Kleophrades Painter at Troy," p. 5, fig. 1).

⁸⁵ For example, the Achilleus of his name piece (*ARV*², p. 987, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 437).

⁸⁶ For example, the hands, with fingernails, of Menelaos on fragments at the Kerameikos: U. Knigge, *op. cit.* (footnote 83 above), pp. 14-15, pl. 6:3.

⁸⁷ Johnson, "Late Vases of Hermonax," p. 449; Johnson, "Career of Hermonax," p. 237.

in Archaic draperies. "Battlement style", however, seems to appear only in the work of a few later Archaic painters and that of a few more of the next generation trained by them. These painters include the Kleophrades Painter, the Berlin Painter, the Pan Painter, the Telephos Painter, the Niobid Painter and Hermonax.⁸⁸ The examples by the Kleophrades Painter are not only the most numerous, but probably the earliest. It seems possible that he may have introduced this type of drapery to vase painting.

Some influence by the Kleophrades Painter upon the painter of the Erasinokrater might also be seen in the use of the uncommon subject. The Kleophrades Painter is the author of at least one, and possibly two (see above, p. 228), versions of the preparation of the Argive heroes for the storming of Thebes. These examples seem the earliest of those preserved, and in view of his iconographic innovations it should be considered whether he might have brought this subject to vase painting.⁸⁹ In any case, the theme does not seem to have been extremely popular, and the expanded and subtly altered version on the krater in Samothrace is not only the most elaborate, but probably the latest of the preserved examples.

2. Red-figured bell-krater.

This vessel is even more fragmentary than the approximately contemporary column-krater 1. It, too, however, is of interest because of its exceptionally large size and for what remains of its rich decoration. Beyond this, it seems likely that it can be attributed to an important vase painter: Hermonax.

1 (71.1064 A-C, 65.1051). Pl. 60:b
Pres. H. 0.085; pres. L. 0.246 m.

Six joining fragments from the figured scene. At the left edge is part of a circular repair hole below which is a short, deep gouge, perhaps made by a tool in the course of the repair; to the right, beneath the handle root, is a round lead plug.

At the left of the fragment are parts of the left arm, chest, back of neck and head of a young man facing to the left. The short curls on his neck are painted in dilute glaze, and he wears a wreath of reserved laurel leaves, edged with relief lines, over which tendrils of ivy are painted in accessory red.

Between his side and his left arm is a bit of drapery belonging to the figure behind him. To the right are the nude chests, shoulders and upper arms of two male figures characterized as stout, with bulging flesh. More folds of flesh than are indicated by relief lines, including rolls on the belly of the man to the right, are indicated in nearly invisible, faintly shining reddish lines which are also used to mark recurving hooks on the collar bone, the tendons of the throat (Pl. 61:b) and the muscles of the upper arm and shoulder of the youth. The plump pair is evidently seated on a couch (see fragment 2). The

⁸⁸ Examples by the Kleophrades Painter: Vivenzio kalpis (*ARV*², p. 189, no. 74; *Paralipomena*, p. 341); calyx-krater in the Louvre (*ARV*², p. 186, no. 47); amphora in Würzburg (*ARV*², p. 182, no. 5; *Paralipomena*, p. 340); amphora in London (*ARV*², p. 183, no. 15). Berlin Painter: stamnos in the Louvre (*ARV*², p. 208, no. 160). Pan Painter: bell-krater in Boston (*ARV*², p. 550, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, pp. 386-387). Telephos Painter: on both his cups in Boston (*ARV*², p. 816, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 420; *ARV*², p. 817, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 420). Niobid Painter: e.g. volute-krater fragments in Halle (*ARV*², p. 599, no. 4). Hermonax: stamnos in Leningrad (*ARV*², p. 484, no. 10); pelike in Manchester (*ARV*², p. 486, no. 42); lekythos in Hartford (*ARV*², p. 490, no. 120). Similar drapery may also be found on works of the Foundry Painter, Tyszkiewics Painter, Flying Angel Painter and Oreithyia Painter.

⁸⁹ On the innovations of the Kleophrades Painter: Boardman, "The Kleophrades Painter at Troy," pp. 3-18. See also, Adolf Greifenhagen, *Neue Fragmente des Kleophradesmalers*, Heidelberg 1972, p. 27.

right end of this fragment preserves part of a handle root framed with tongues separated by relief lines which end in dots at the border. Beneath the handle is an irregular reserved area with a few interior relief lines, probably the draped knees or feet of a reclining figure belonging to the other side.⁹⁰

2 (65.1049, 68.805, 60.806). Pl. 60:c

Pres. H. 0.155; pres. L. 0.371 m.

This fragment, from the lower part of the figured scene, is mended from seventeen joining pieces. It includes a lead staple and a circular repair hole.

Fragment 2 does not join 1 but is clearly related to it. At the right, it preserves parts of a couch and table and the legs and buttocks of a nude figure advancing to the left. These surely belong to the stripling moving to our left on fragment 1. To the right of the buttocks there is drapery and parts of two black-bordered mattresses resting on the horizontal frame of a bed. The lower mattress is decorated with a simple running meander and dots, both in dilute glaze. Similar dots appear on the small preserved portion of the upper mattress, and loops, also

rendered in dilute glaze, hang from both. On a table below the bed stands a reserved stem cup with offset rim and a pomegranate painted in accessory red. Ivy fronds hanging from the table, which were painted in accessory color, are preserved only in shadows. The nude youth crosses in front of the partially preserved lower legs of a standing figure and the lower part of a tall lamp-stand, as well as the couch and table. In front of him, to the left, is the foot and lower body of a krater which overlaps the base of another object with broad, low foot and pillar-like support, probably the leg of a second couch. Facing to the right across these elements was a standing draped figure of which only the feet, ankles and lower edge of the garment are preserved. To the left of this figure is part of a spreading foot, surely belonging to a couch, and a bulbous object which may have been part of a hanging bolster or piece of drapery.

Below the figures, the fragment preserves a length of the lower border: two units of eight-stroke meander alternating with nine-square dotted checkerboards.

In addition to these two fragments, six pieces of the rim of a bell-krater, only two of which join, are tentatively attributed to the same vase.

3 (71.1047, 39.58, 71.1023, 48.135, 39.74).

Pls. 60:a; 61:a; 62

a) Pres. H. 0.071; pres. L. 0.091; b) pres. H. 0.059; pres. L. 0.154; c) pres. H. 0.059; pres. L. 0.065; d) pres. H. 0.061; pres. L. 0.051; e) pres. H. 0.067; pres. L. 0.062 m.

All the fragments are much worn and chipped; the inner surfaces are largely eroded or flaked away.

Vertical, recessed inner lip, much worn and broken. Below it is a projecting ovolo molding decorated with an ivy vine composed of an undulating incised line with alternating leaves and clusters of berries pointing up and down (Pls. 60:a, 62). The leaves are reserved while the berry

clusters were in accessory color, now preserved only in faint shadows. Below this molding is a reserved groove and then a wreath of olive leaves facing to left. The central vein of each leaf is a relief line. Below this frieze is another reserved groove and a jutting ledge with a band of dotted eggs (Pls. 61:a, 62). The underside of the ledge is reserved. Two of the fragments preserve part of the black wall of the body of the krater. On fragment 3d there are parts of two lines of an inscription which had been added in red (Pl. 61:c). The letters, widely spaced, are K and L above and A K! below. An interpretation of the inscription does not seem possible.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Cf. a stamnos in the British Museum, attributed to the Peleus Painter, with the wrapped feet of a symposiast under a handle (*ARV*², p. 1039, no. 8).

⁹¹ Surely not the signature of the painter to whom I should like to attribute the painting. Perhaps it is a kalos inscription.

TECHNIQUE

Indented sketch lines are faintly visible in various places in the figured areas, for example on the legs and shoulder of the nude youth and in the arms of the fat men. They were drawn lightly but firmly, with few interruptions. They seem to have been used principally for the main outlines and appear three to four millimeters inside the final contours.

The reserved areas are clearly defined with contour bands of dense glaze, and nearly all the contours on the preserved fragments were reinforced with relief lines. An exception is at the back of the right ankle of the draped figure. The glazing of the background was done less densely than the outlining of the forms, and sometimes the coating is very thin, allowing the contour bands to be seen clearly and the warm color of the clay to show through, as, for example, behind the head of the youth (Pl. 60:b).

Strong relief lines were used to mark many interior details of figures and objects. These lines vary only slightly in thickness, and nothing is preserved to suggest the kind of virtuoso use of relief lines of varying thicknesses which is seen on the Erasinokrater.

The firm relief lines here were used to mark some principal anatomical features of the figures, but secondary physical details, as noted in the catalogue, were drawn in lines of red glaze which is nearly invisible on the background clay. These lines might be taken for preliminary sketches, except that they are not indented and they have a reddish shine in a glancing light. It seems that these markings were drawn first; this is especially visible at the base of the throat of the symposiast to the right, where the relief lines pass over them (Pl. 61:b).

True dilute black glaze was used for the nape curls of the nude boy and for the decoration of the mattresses. The use of accessory red on black glaze has been noted in the catalogue. No trace of added white is preserved and there is no clue to the original added color of the fronds hanging from the table or of the berry clusters on the rim.

It should be observed that the area of enveloped feet or knees under the handle root on fragment 1 lacks both contour band and contour lining, suggesting that side B may have been less carefully worked than A.⁹²

SUBJECT

This bell-krater was evidently of unusually large size, and the few portions which remain have allowed only approximate dimensions to be calculated. The diameter

⁹² This would have been unusual for Hermonax (see below), but not unknown. The krater in Argos was worked with equal care on both sides (Weill, "Un cratère d'Hermonax," p. 69). However, on an amphora in Leningrad attributed to him (*ARV*², p. 486, no. 52), "...the two sides differ considerably in execution; this is hardly paralleled in Hermonax, but common in later work" (Johnson, "Late Vases of Hermonax," p. 491). Weill notes a Hermonax pelike in Marseilles whose reverse is by a different hand ("Un cratère d'Hermonax," p. 92; *ARV*², pp. 486, no. 43 and 1655).

of the pot at the handle zone seems to have been about 0.50 m. and that at the top of the lower border of the scene about 0.44 m. The only other bell-krater known to have been painted by Hermonax, to whom this one is tentatively attributed, has a body, excluding the foot, as high as it is wide.⁹³ Similar proportions would have given this krater, when it was complete, a total height of at least 0.50 m. It has been calculated that in the figured scene of the krater in Samothrace a full-grown standing figure would have been about 0.27 m. high, and the height of the figured frieze would then have been close to 0.30 m.⁹⁴

With so few fragments of the complex scene on this large krater now at hand, it is difficult, if not dangerous, to try to reconstruct the missing elements in detail. The *oeuvre* of the proposed artist provides no comparable scene and, although on contemporary vases, especially cups, there is a multitude of symposia, none seems to be on such a grand scale as this. The splendid big pots of Euphronios and Smikros, from an earlier generation, give some notion of how such scenes could be arranged on large vessels. The fragmentary Euphronios calyx-krater in Munich presents five figures on side A: two men on each of two couches provided with tables (a footstool went with at least one), and a standing draped female flute player.⁹⁵ Three serving youths, a lampstand and a standed dinos appear on side B. Side A of the stamnos by Smikros contains six persons: three men on three couches with tables, two of the men with seated hetairai and the man labeled Smikros alone on the central couch overlapped by a standing female flautist.⁹⁶ On side B are two servitors with amphoras flanking a standed dinos. Here there is no lampstand. Such elements, although the dinos is rare, appear in complex symposia on later vases, especially cups, but occasionally on larger pots as well. Music making with flute or cithara is frequent. Tables usually appear with couches, but not invariably, and couches are sometimes seen end on.⁹⁷ Other objects, like footstools and paraphernalia hanging above the figures, appear in many of these scenes.

One of the curious features of the krater in Samothrace is that so many of the

⁹³ Weill, "Un cratère d'Hermonax," p. 64; pres. H. (foot lacking) 0.308; pres. Diam. 0.30 m. (*ARV*², p. 485, no. 2). Together with this krater in Argos were found fragments of another bell-krater by the same potter but with the painting attributed to the Methyse Painter (Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 68; *ARV*², p. 633, no. 1).

⁹⁴ It is of interest to compare the krater in Samothrace with the great bell-krater in New York attributed to the Methyse Painter (*ARV*², p. 632, no. 3) and called by Beazley, "...perhaps the largest vase of its shape existing" (Beazley, *VA*, p. 160). Here the proportions are not the same as in the Argos kraters, the mouth diameter (0.565 m.) being greater than the whole height of the vessel, including the foot (0.495 m.). Another bell-krater almost as large (H. 0.48; Diam. 0.52 m.) is attributed to the Altamura Painter (*ARV*², p. 592, no. 41). The krater in Samothrace was evidently of this giant company.

⁹⁵ *Paralipomena*, p. 322, no. 3bis; D. Ohly, *MünchJahrbBK*, ser. 3, 22, 1971, pp. 245–247; M. Ohly-Dumm, *MünchJahrbBK*, ser. 3, 24, 1973, p. 241 and 26, 1975, p. 215.

⁹⁶ *ARV*², p. 20, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 322.

⁹⁷ For example, couch without table on a cup of the Foundry Painter (*ARV*², p. 401, no. 11; *Paralipomena*, p. 370); couches end on, on a cup by Douris (*ARV*², p. 432, no. 58; *Paralipomena*, p. 374), and on the stamnos (name piece) of the Painter of the Louvre Symposion (*ARV*², p. 1070, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 447).

usual accessories of the painted symposia appear crowded together on the right-hand side of A. Here are not only the pair of symposiasts, but also two attendants, the couch, a table and a tall lampstand. If our calculations of the diameters of this vessel are close, the krater on the ground line is at the center of the representation. The draped figure, which seems likely to have been a musician, would then have stood just to the left of center, probably in front of a couch. There would have been no table in front of this couch, and judging by the average amount of space allowed the figures on the extant fragments (about 0.075 m. at shoulder level), it may have held a single figure, making a central group similar to that on the Smikros stamnos. This would leave space for at least three more participants in the left portion of this side. One could imagine two more symposiasts on a couch and another attendant, but without more pieces, it is bootless to speculate on these or other accessories which would have allowed the left side of the picture to balance the right in complexity.

The wrapped knees or feet under the handle root on fragment 1 suggest that the symposion continued uninterruptedly around the krater, although it seems likely that the workmanship was less careful on the second side.⁹⁸

The pair of fat men is surprising, although vase painters depicted interesting and occasionally ungainly types.⁹⁹ The hurrying nude figure looks, at first glance, like the brother of the naked youthful server on side B of the Euphronios symposion krater, but the arm flung back across the chest is in an unusual gesture. It is possible that the figure is dancing, but the body seems strangely out of balance, with the torso leaning back from the forward pace, the arms reaching backward, but the head facing in the direction in which the figure is moving. Perhaps he is to be thought of as having just whirled around. It is difficult to find a parallel for this figure moving so swiftly in front of the stolid symposiasts.¹⁰⁰

STYLE

Although many of the familiar hallmarks of the style of Hermonax are lacking, it seems possible tentatively to attribute this vase to the famous master. Even without the characteristic faces with the profile eyes rendered in his special manner,¹⁰¹ and without enough drapery to assign confidently to his or anyone's style, there are many elements that suggest the hand and mind of Hermonax as we know him from his signed works and those universally attributed to him.

⁹⁸ See footnote 92.

⁹⁹ Fat fellows on vases are generally silens (cf. Beazley, *VA*, pp. 37, 57–58). Such characters would seem unlikely here with human attendants. Cf. K. Schauenburg, *op. cit.* (footnote 20 above), pp. 1–26.

¹⁰⁰ The way one would expect such a nude youthful servitor to look may be illustrated by a figure passing in front of occupied couches on a cup by the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy. Here the figure is stable and neatly balanced with one arm forward, the other stretched back and the head turned back (Beazley, *VA*, p. 96, fig. 64; *ARV*², p. 421, no. 78).

¹⁰¹ Widely noted. For example, Johnson, *Studies Oldfather*, p. 81; Johnson, "Career of Hermonax," p. 237; Pallottino, "Hermonax," pp. 28, 48, *et passim*; Weill, "Un cratère d'Hermonax," p. 69.

Among the details of execution which can be observed on the fragments in Samothrace, most fit with frequently noted characteristics of Hermonax. There is the use of densely black contour bands throughout, and the relative thinness of the background glazing. Pallottino has remarked that it is characteristic of Hermonax to miss, or nearly to miss, applying background glaze in certain places, especially in angles formed by contours.¹⁰² Such thin places can be observed here in the corners under the horizontal frame of the couch and under the top of the table. There is a similar near miss behind the head of the nude youth. The soft little curls of dilute glaze on the neck of the youth, which have been noted as a novelty with respect to Archaic practice, are like those encountered fringing hair and beards in many of the painter's works.¹⁰³ A more curious use of glaze is in the almost invisible drawing of secondary physical details in red. This drawing, as it is on the fragments in Samothrace, is so reticent that it is difficult to observe and to photograph. It would not be possible to tell how consistently the painter used this technique without examining all of his vases in a raking light. There are, however, published photographs of two amphoras in Leningrad attributed to Hermonax which show it very well.¹⁰⁴

One of the painter's occasional calligraphic peculiarities appears in the rendering of the hand flung across the chest of the youth. The long, slender fingers are drawn with two strokes of unequal thickness, one extending slightly beyond the other, giving the impression of projecting fingernails in profile.¹⁰⁵ Other details, too, recall Hermonax.¹⁰⁶ The profile feet show his strongly articulated toes and the ankle bone in a J, here reversed, made with two connected strokes and with a short line in front.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² "Hermonax," pp. 2, 31.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 50, 58.

¹⁰⁴ *ARV*², p. 488, no. 67; Peredolskaya, *Hermitage*, pl. 83; *ARV*², p. 488, no. 73; Peredolskaya, *Hermitage*, pl. 85. Pallottino, "Hermonax," p. 2, speaks of a reddish glaze applied directly on the clay, but with its use limited to crowns, laces, shoe soles and fillets. He makes no mention of physical details in reddish, only in dilute (p. 28, *et passim*). Johnson, *Studies Oldfather*, p. 76, remarks, on the pelike in Chicago (*ARV*², p. 485, no. 29), "Shiny traces show where some medium... was used for anatomical details..." In the present installation (September, 1976) at the Louvre of the stamnos with the death of Orpheus attributed to Hermonax (*ARV*², p. 484, no. 17; *Paralipomena*, p. 379) the pale lines can be faintly seen on the abdomen of Orpheus.

The use of this pale glaze is not confined to Hermonax but can sometimes be observed in the works of other painters in photographs and well-lighted museum cases. For example, on a column-krater in New York, attributed to the Pig Painter (*ARV*², p. 563, no. 13), there are shiny red wrinkles drawn on the forehead of a satyr; on a Nolan amphora attributed to the Briseis Painter (*ARV*², p. 409, no. 51), a published detail of the figure of Ganymede shows the abdomen detailed in shiny lines (*CVA*, Cambridge 2[G.B. 11], RS 17 [526]:3). There is no comment in the text. Other examples could be cited, most of those I have observed from the second quarter of the 5th century, and no doubt many more could be found.

¹⁰⁵ Examples include the left hand of Oreithyia on the signed pelike from Cervetri (*ARV*², p. 485, no. 33; *Paralipomena*, p. 379); a right hand overlapping the shoulder of the old king on the Boreas stamnos in Leningrad (*ARV*², p. 484, no. 10; *Paralipomena*, p. 512; Peredolskaya, *Hermitage*, pl. 78:2); a left hand chucking a man's beard on a cup fragment in Bryn Mawr (*ARV*², p. 491, no. 133; *CVA*, Bryn Mawr 1[U.S. 13], 21[601]:1).

¹⁰⁶ I have not, however, found hooked clavicles on any work of Hermonax.

¹⁰⁷ Johnson, "Late Vases of Hermonax," p. 492; Johnson, "Career of Hermonax," p. 242.

The toes of the frontal foot are given in open arcs, now somewhat abraded, similar to the method recognized in the later vases of Hermonax.¹⁰⁸ The ear is less usual for the painter, but may be paralleled, for example, on a pelike in the British Museum attributed to him.¹⁰⁹ The ivy wreath painted in red is also a favorite device of Hermonax, seen on many of his komos figures.¹¹⁰ One unusual feature for Hermonax is the uniformity of thickness of the relief lines, but we are missing faces, thin drapery and other elements for which he customarily used lines of varying strength.¹¹¹

In larger ways, too, the painting seems to fit the style of Hermonax. In his lengthy study of the painter, Pallottino has shown how he moved away from the orderly rhythms and descriptive clarity of the Archaic period and experimented, in a very individual manner and not always successfully, with new forms and new expressions of movement. Pallottino points out Hermonax' efforts to express corporeality in his figures,¹¹² and this endeavor is striking here in the porcine chests and arms of the symposiasts and in the firm, shapely legs and buttocks of the hastening youth. The latter's nether parts are particularly close in form and drawing to those of a satyr on a stamnos in Leningrad attributed to Hermonax.¹¹³ It should be added that despite the firmly drawn contours, Hermonax' figures in movement have a curious weightlessness and seem hardly to touch the ground. Pallottino speaks of the originality of posture and the impression of flexibility, particularly in the painter's dancing figures,¹¹⁴ and alludes to the static inconsistencies of his oblique figures in motion.¹¹⁵ The youth on the fragments in Samothrace, with his unusual posture, seems part of this company.

In composition too, Pallottino points out, Hermonax struggled in a most individual way with the problems of early Classical style. His scenes, which often continue all around the vessel,¹¹⁶ show a dense grouping, a tendency to crowding, particularly in the lower zone of the picture.¹¹⁷ In his effort to link his figures together in new and meaningful ways as his style developed, Hermonax often broke from isocephaly,¹¹⁸ and lost a formal balance of design.¹¹⁹

If the rim fragments (3) do belong to the krater they may suggest another link to

¹⁰⁸ Johnson, "Late Vases of Hermonax," p. 491.

¹⁰⁹ *ARV*², p. 486, no. 40; *Paralipomena*, p. 379.

¹¹⁰ Pallottino, "Hermonax," p. 19.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2; Weill, "Un cratère d'Hermonax," p. 69.

¹¹² Pallottino, "Hermonax," pp. 14, 27, 41, 59–60.

¹¹³ *ARV*², p. 484, no. 11; *Paralipomena*, p. 512; Peredolskaya, *Hermitage*, pl. 77:3.

¹¹⁴ Pallottino, "Hermonax," pp. 19–21, 23, 28–29, 42.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 44, 61.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 21, 47, 50, 57, on the extension of the scene all around the pot, blurring or obliterating the structural divisions between sides A and B. On the bell-krater in Samothrace, however, side B seems to have been subordinate (above, p. 238). On the bell-krater in Argos, the two sides have separate compositions.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 59, 73.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Hermonax. The use of decoration on the top of the rim of a bell-krater is unusual and it may recall the equally unusual use by Hermonax of an ivy wreath around the necks of four of his stamnoi.¹²⁰

The type of the lower border of the scene with its dotted checkerboard is rare in this period, although it was favored in the later 5th century, and it is not known among the works of Hermonax. It does, however, appear in the tondo border of the cup from the Acropolis by the Kleophrades Painter (above, p. 228) and on the famous Busiris pelike by the Pan Painter,¹²¹ both somewhat earlier in date than this bell-krater. On an amphora attributed to Hermonax checkerboard units do appear, none dotted to be sure.¹²²

Some who have examined these sherds in Samothrace have suggested, because of the stout symposiasts, that there might have been an atmosphere of humor pervading the scene. If humor is present here it does not seem alien to the painter's character. F. P. Johnson long ago pointed out that Hermonax must have had his tongue in his cheek when he painted "a troupe of fluttering youths" in a scene of the abduction of Tithonos.¹²³

With a few exceptions, major unsigned works attributed to Hermonax, because of their highly individual style, have found no opponents.¹²⁴ The painter seems to have had few imitators and no following strongly influenced by him.¹²⁵ Thus it seems likely that a work showing so many of his characteristics as does the fragmentary bell-krater in Samothrace is from his own hand.

ELSBETH B. DUSENBERY

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¹²⁰ B. Philippaki, *The Attic Stamnos*, Oxford 1967, pp. 46–47.

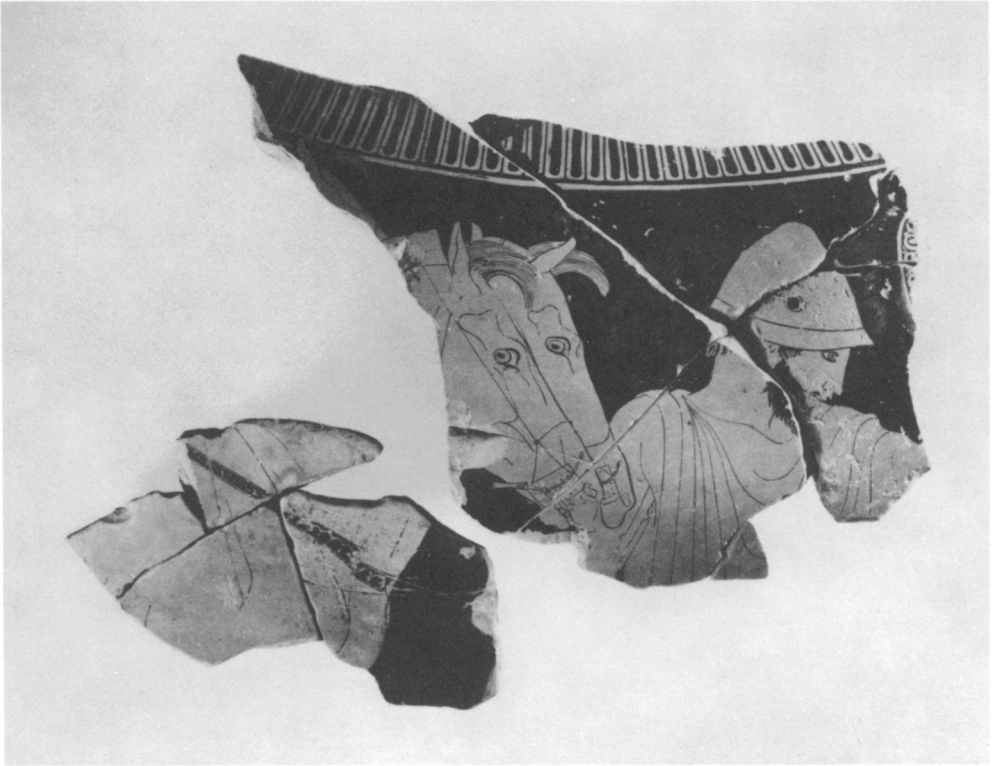
¹²¹ *ARV*², p. 554, no. 82.

¹²² *ARV*², p. 486, no. 52. See above, footnote 121.

¹²³ Johnson, *Studies Oldfather*, pp. 79–80.

¹²⁴ An important exception is the famous stamnos in Munich with the birth of Erichthonios, long accepted as a masterpiece by Hermonax. Pallottino rejected the attribution in a detailed analysis ("Hermonax," pp. 70–71), and Beazley later followed him (*ARV*², p. 495, no. 1).

¹²⁵ Pallottino, "Hermonax," p. 75.

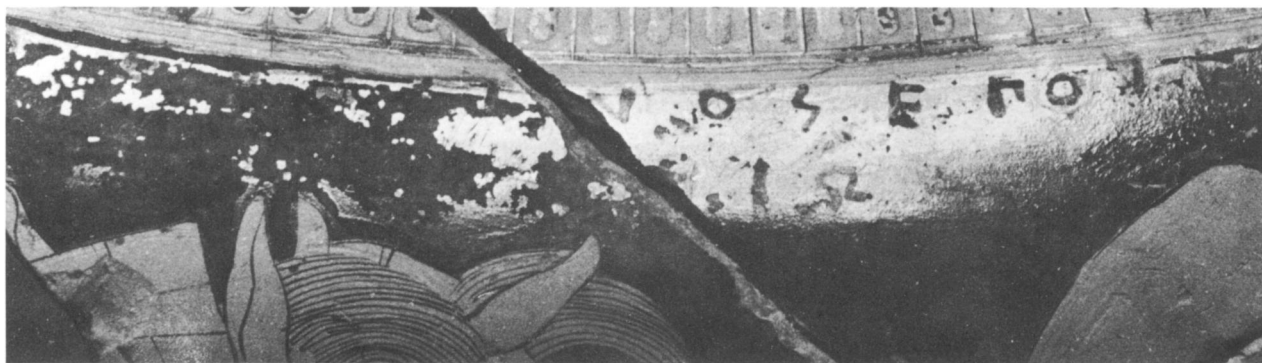


a. 1b and 1a. Scale 1:2

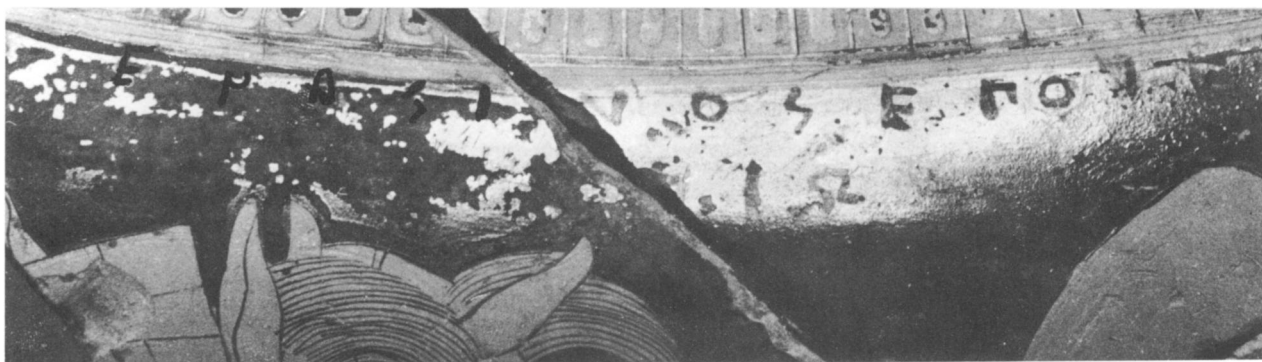


b. 1a, detail

Calyx-krater 1: Side A



a. 1a, signature

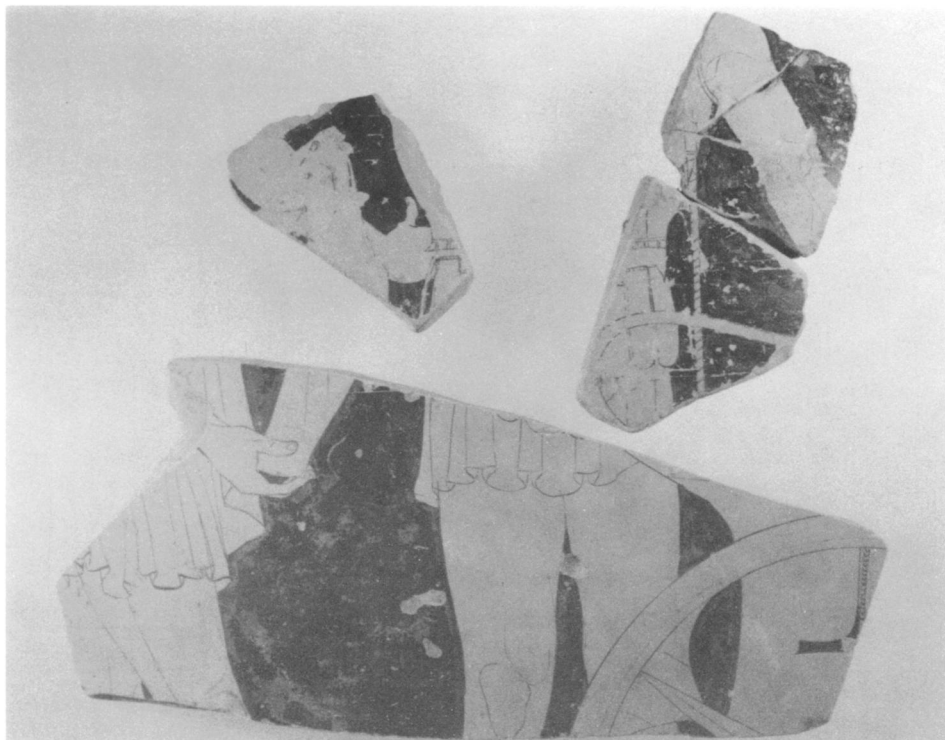


b. 1a (photograph retouched to emphasize signature)

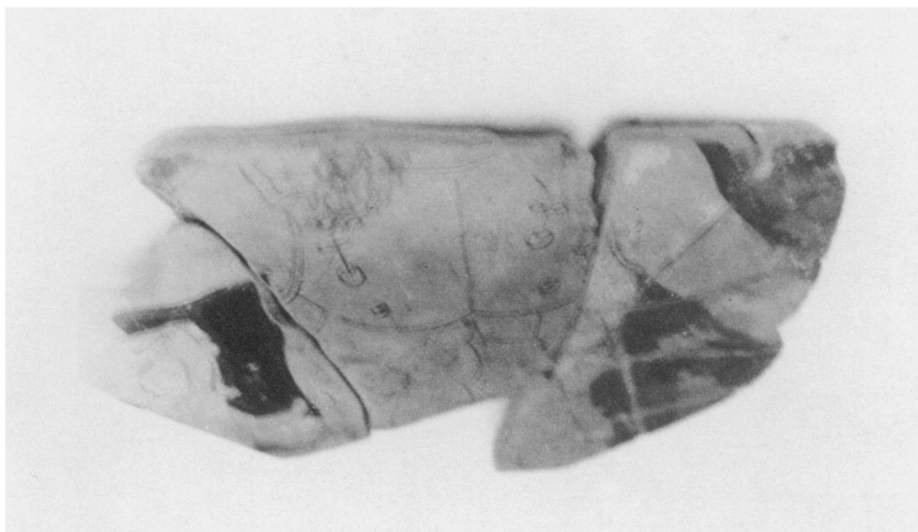
Calyx-krater 1: Side A



c. 1a, detail

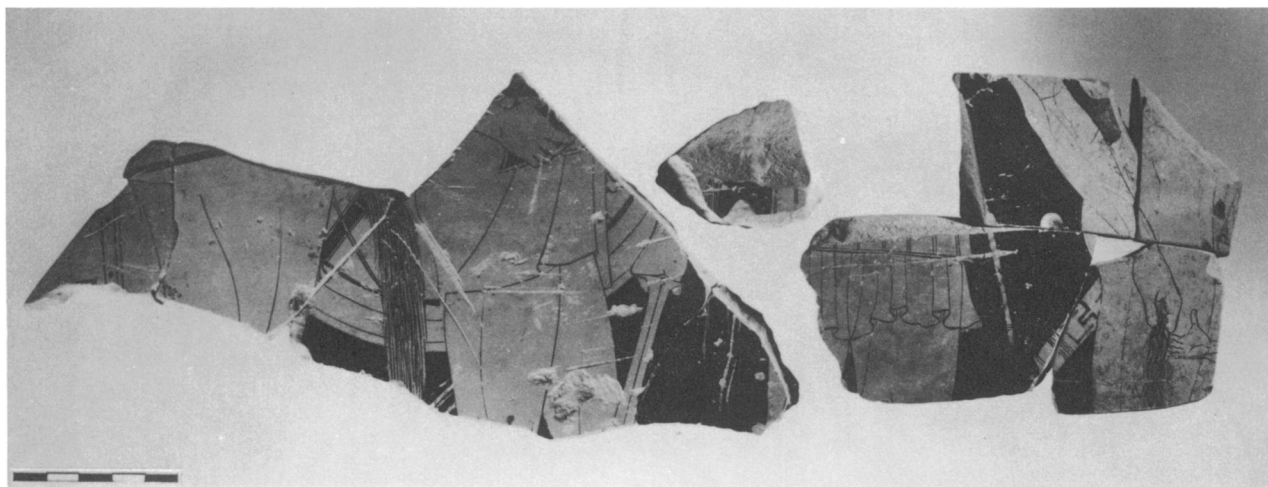


a. 2a (below), 2b and 2c (above). Scale 1:2

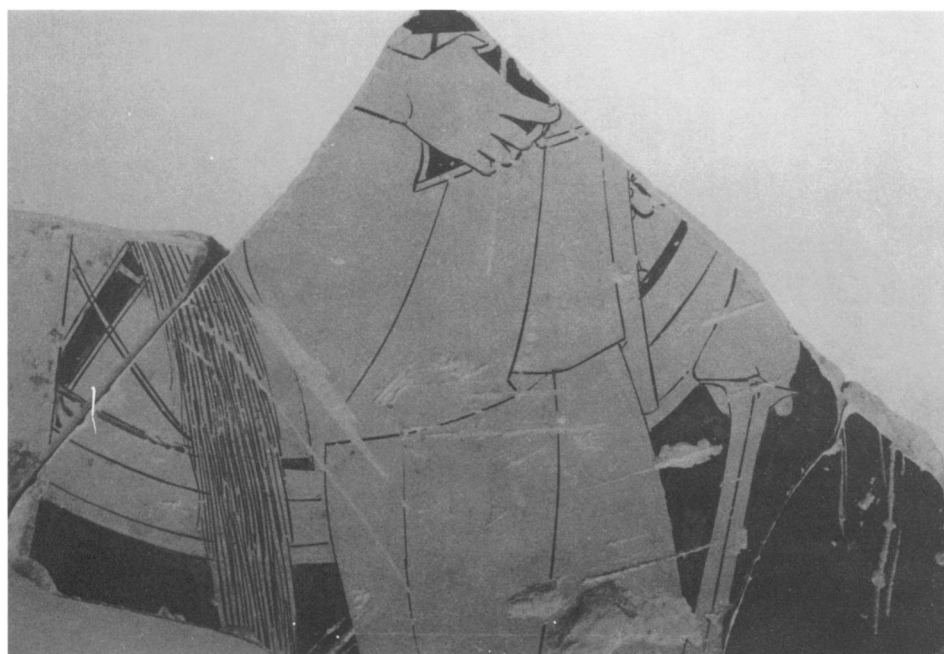


b. 2d between 2b and 2c

Calyx-krater 1: Side A

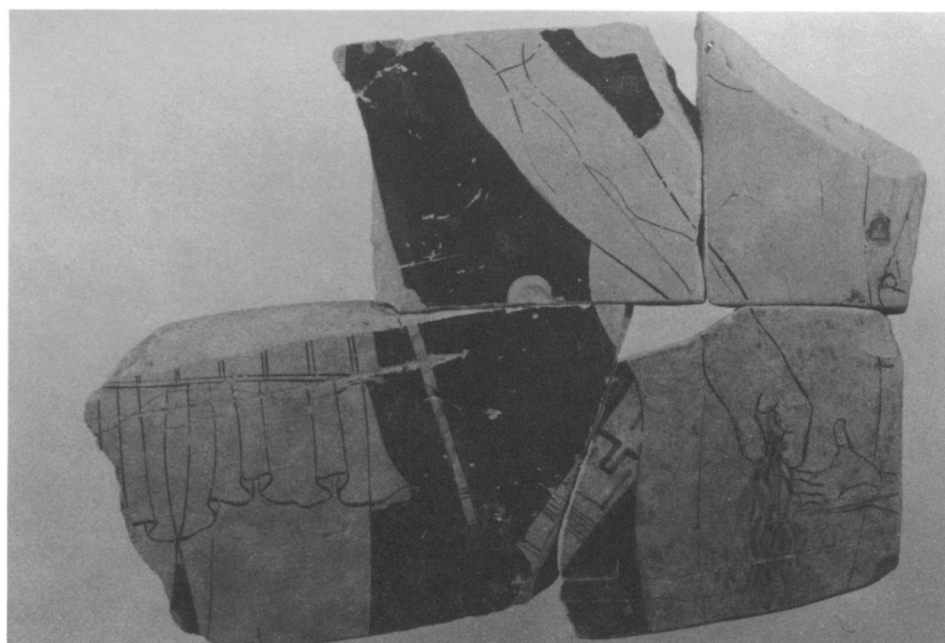


a. 3a, 3b, 3c. Scale 1:2

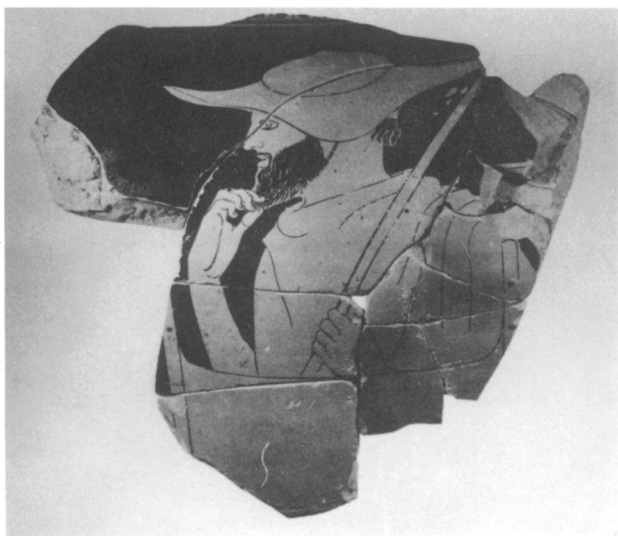


b. 3a, detail

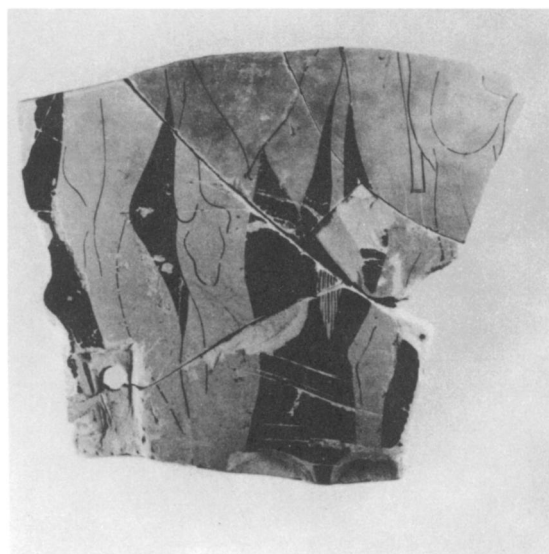
Calyx-krater 1: Side B



c. 3c, detail



a. 4. Scale 1:2



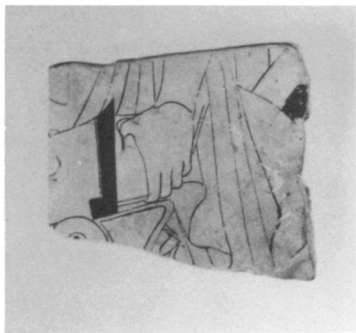
b. 5. Scale 1:2



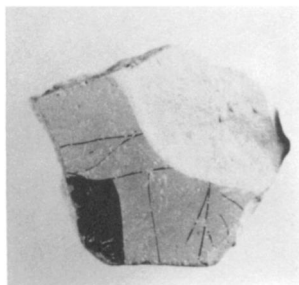
c. 4, detail

Calyx-krater 1 : Side B

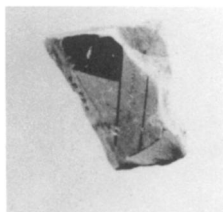
ELSBETH B. DUSENBERY: TWO ATTIC RED-FIGURED KRATERS IN SAMOTHRACE



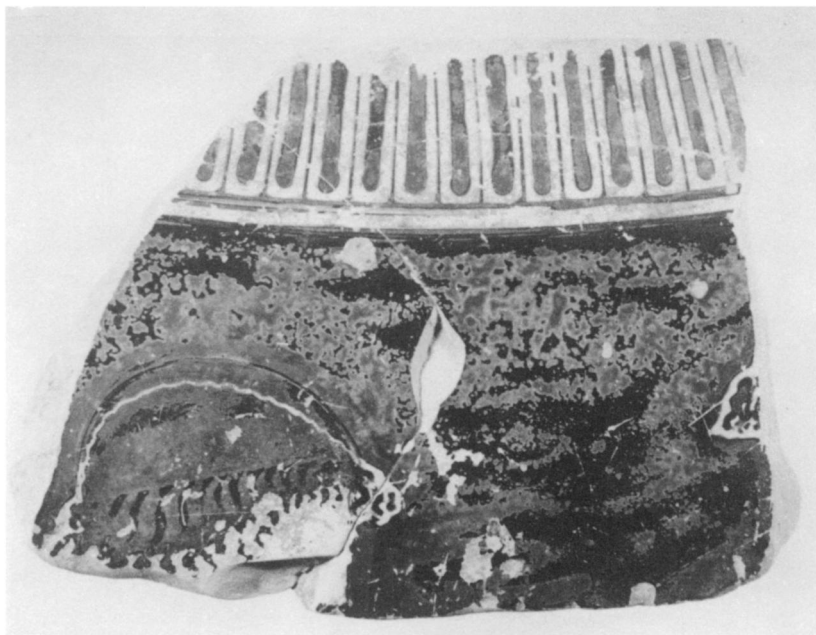
a. 6. Scale 1:2



b. 11. Scale 1:2



d. 12. Scale 1:2



c. 7. Scale 1:1



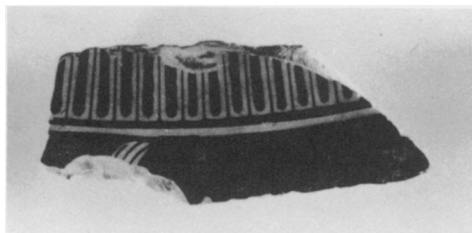
e. 17. Scale 1:2



f. 15. Scale 1:2

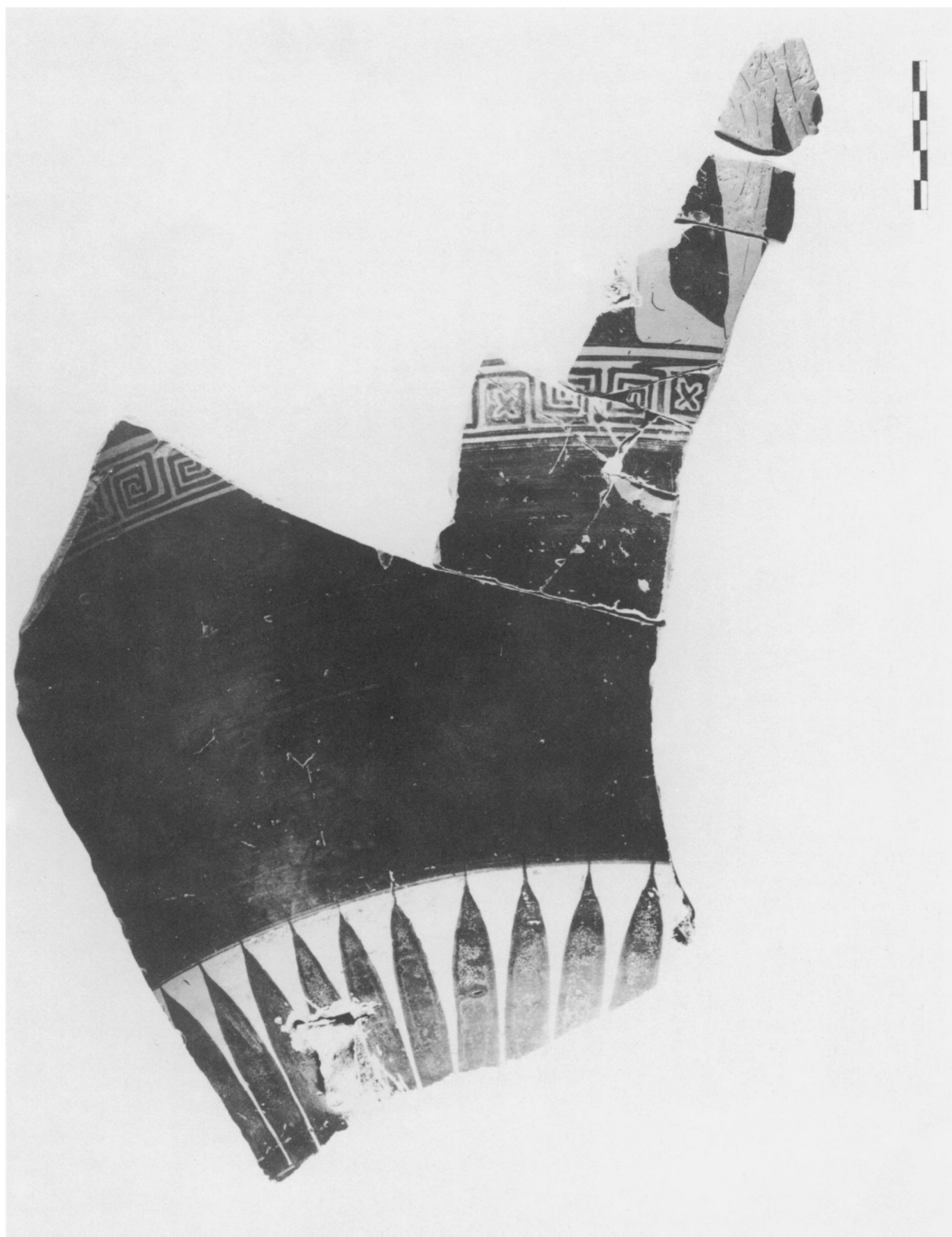


g. 16. Scale 1:2



h. 10. Scale 1:2

Calyx-krater 1



8 and (upper right) 9

Calyx-krater 1

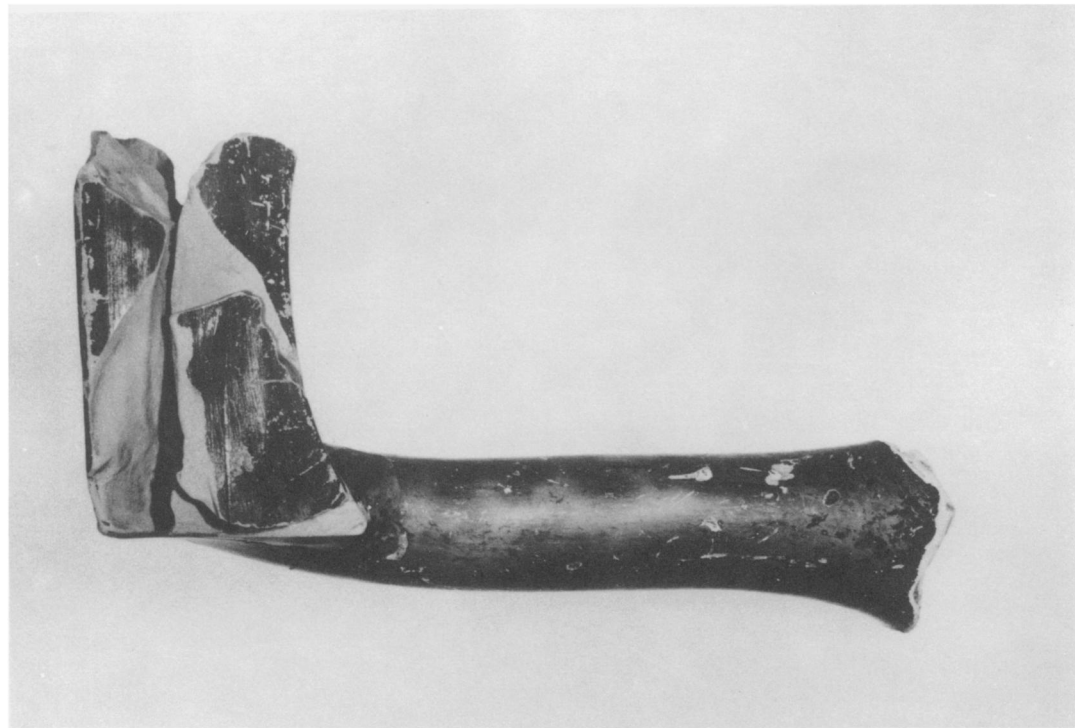
ELSBETH B. DUSENBERY: TWO ATTIC RED-FIGURED KRATERS IN SAMOTHRACE



b. 13, handle-plate



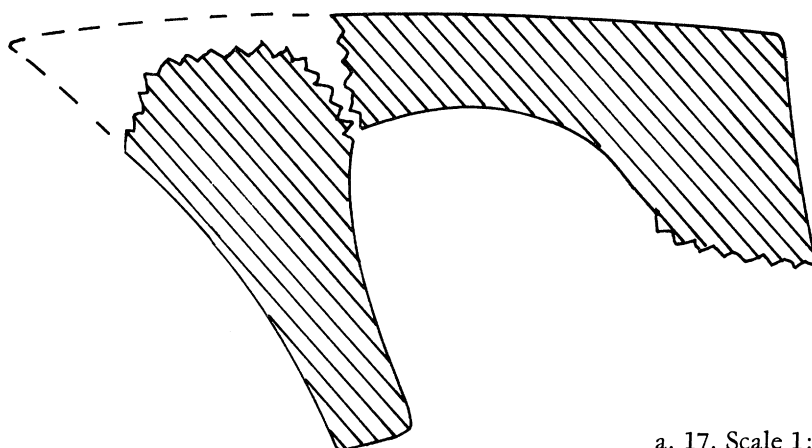
c. 14, handle-plate



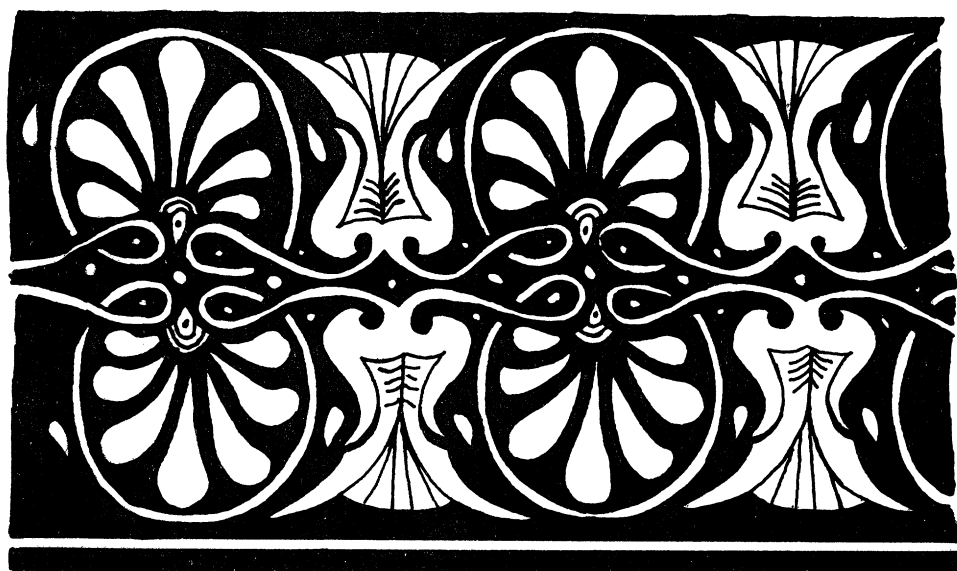
a. 13, side view

Calyx-krater 1

ELSBETH B. DUSENBERRY: TWO ATTIC RED-FIGURED KRATERS IN SAMOTHRACE

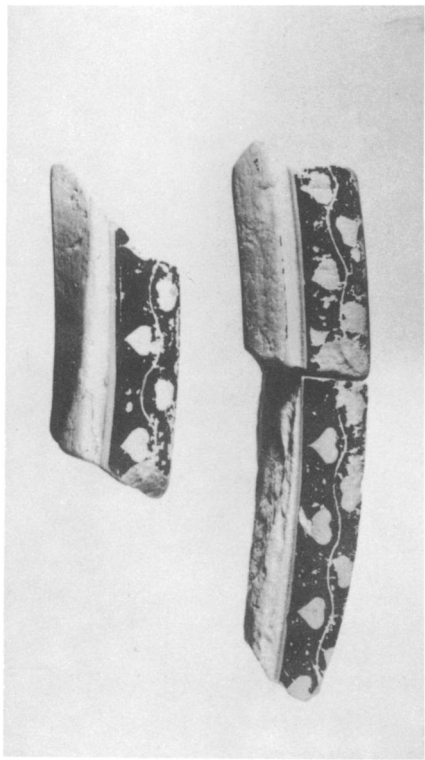


a. 17. Scale 1:1

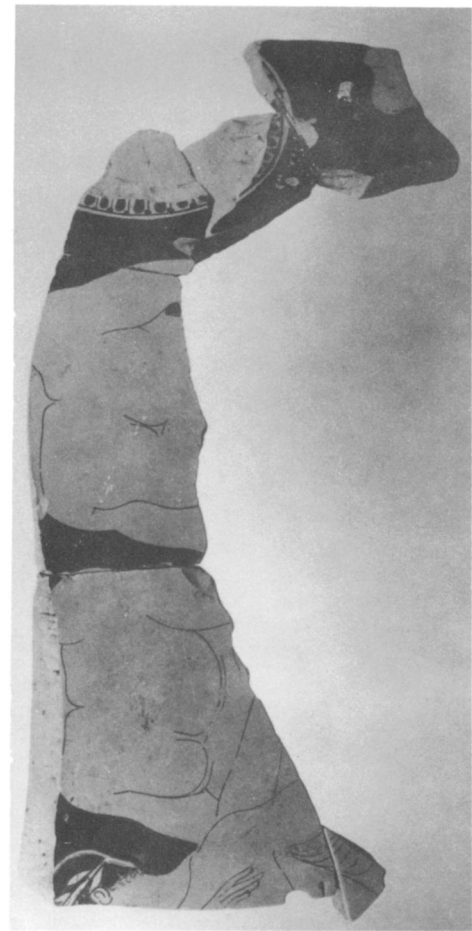


b. 17, decoration on vertical rim flange. Scale 1:1

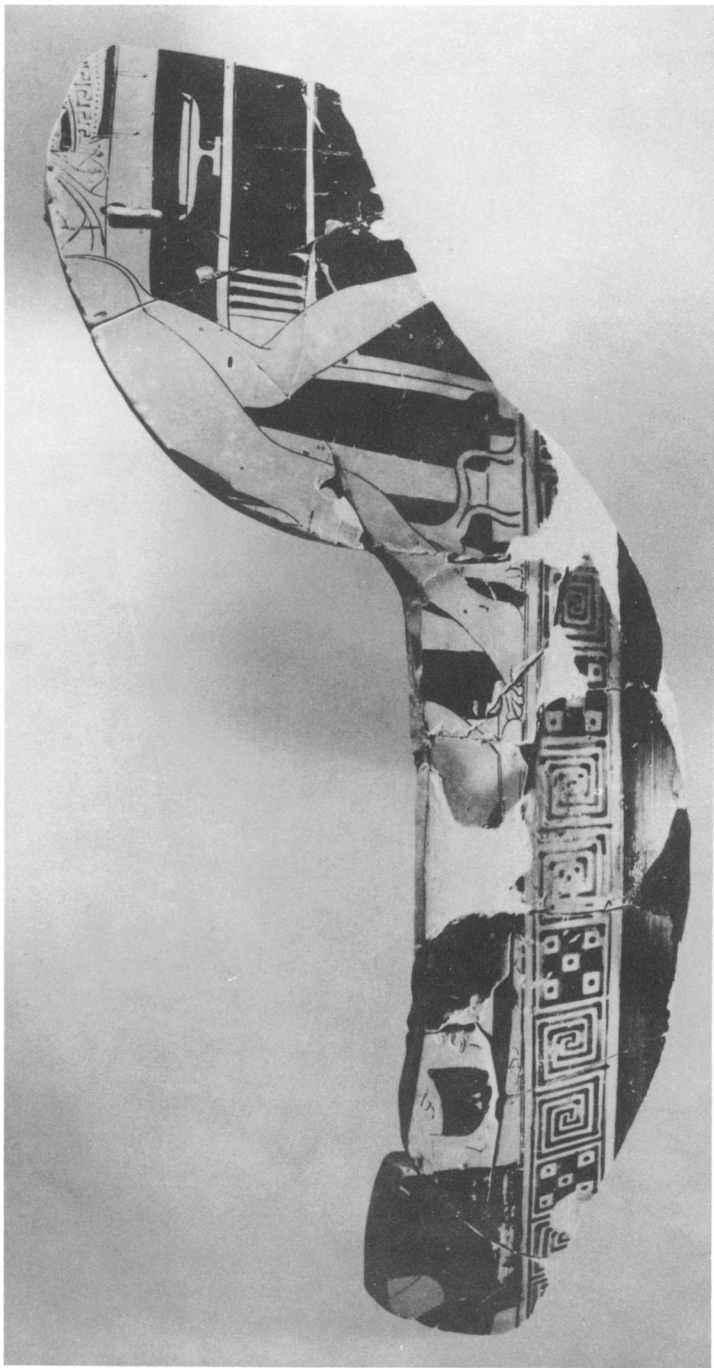
Calyx-krater 1



a. 3a (below), 3b (above). Scale 1:2

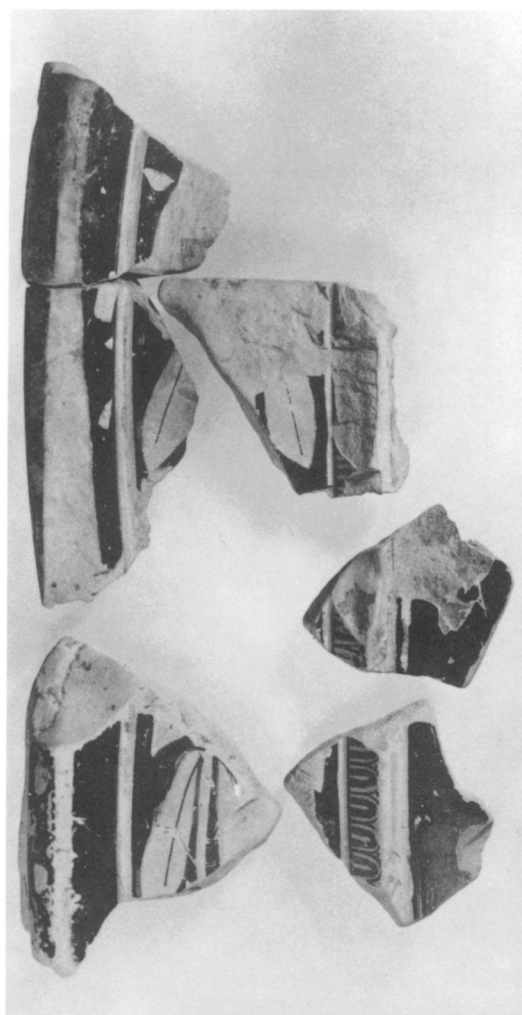


b. 1. Scale 1:2



c. 2. Scale 1:2

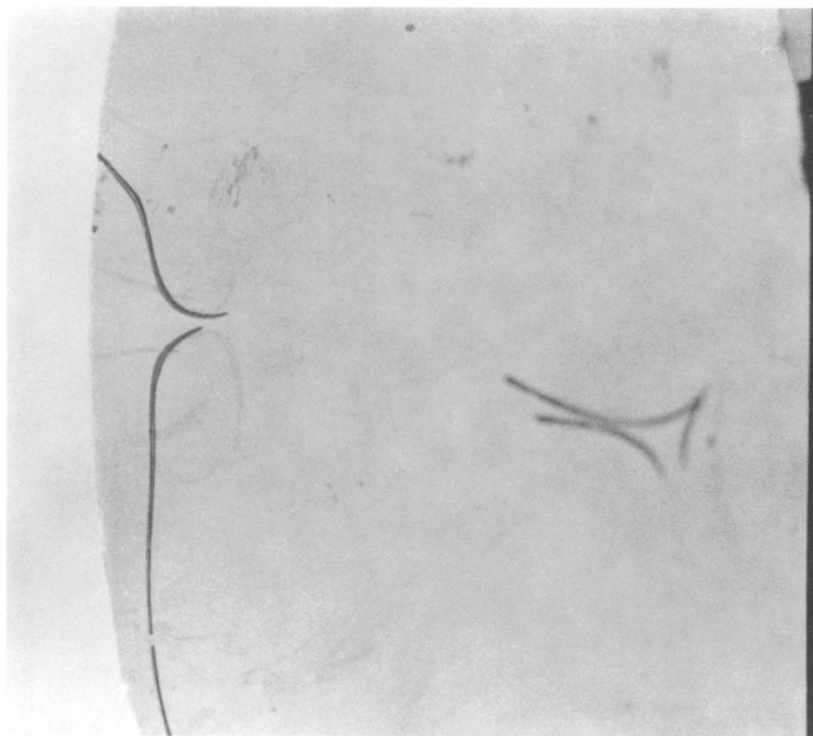
Bell-krater 2



a. 3a (above left), 3b (above right), 3c-e (below). Scale 1:2

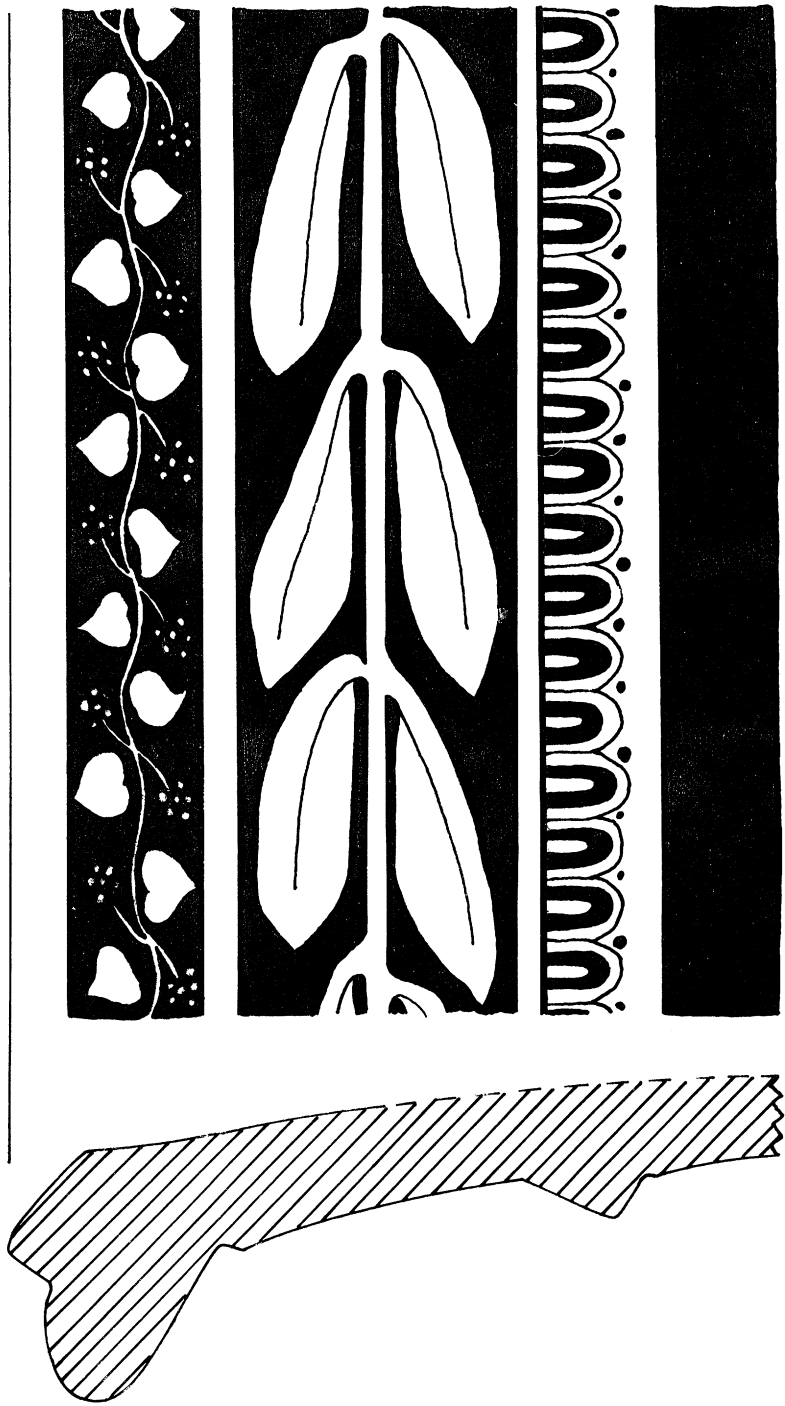


c. 3d, detail



b. 1, detail

Bell-krater 2



3a, decoration on rim. Scale 1:2

Bell-krater 2