

## A CALYX-KRATER BY EXEKIAS

In the recent excavations<sup>1</sup> on the North Slope of the Acropolis in Athens the krater shown in figures 1–10 was discovered.<sup>2</sup> The subjects of decoration are: A, the introduction of Herakles into Olympos; B, the fight over the body of Patroklos; lower zone, A and B, two lions bringing down a bull; over each handle, a female figure (maenad?) sitting beneath a vine; below each handle, a running satyr. Nearly all the fragments were found together close to the bottom of a well, *ca.* 18 m. deep, but a few insignificant pieces were subsequently recognized among the sherds culled from the late fill in the vicinity, and one fragment came from another well filled up in the first half of the fifth century B.C. The first well seems to have been filled up not much later than 520 B.C. The fragments of the vase were probably brought from some nearby sanctuary, and as they were dumped into the well a few small pieces were scattered about, one of them later finding its way into the second well. A coarse pithos had been broken up and thrown into the well together with the krater, and a large circular stone mill and one rectangular mill stone had been thrown down at the same time. In view of the fact that most of the fragments were recovered from the fill directly below these heavy stones, the condition of the krater as shown in figures 1 and 2 is remarkably good.

About one third of the vase is missing with rather more than half of the rim and all the upper part of side B. Most of the lower part of the vase and practically the whole base are preserved. Both handles are missing, but the ends are preserved, and one handle has been restored in plaster. The krater was broken and repaired in antiquity. The base is mended with lead in five places, and one of the handles shows similar signs of repair. In most places the ancient lead rivets still remain, but some had to be removed in order to fit the pieces together properly.

Plaster reconstructions in the figured areas show clearly in the photographs. On face A three figures at the left, Dionysos, Athena, and Herakles, are missing, but the spear of

<sup>1</sup> A detailed account of these excavations will be published in a subsequent number of this journal, but the unusual interest aroused by the discovery of the krater makes it desirable to present this discussion in advance of the general report. Some photographs of the vase with a brief description appeared in the *Illustrated London News* for August 28, 1937. I am indebted to Miss Lucy Talcott for invaluable help and for many corrections in the manuscript, and to Mr. Eugene Vanderpool for important suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Measurements: Total height, 0.445 m.; outer diameter at top, *ca.* 0.53 m.; diameter of base, 0.29 m.; height of upper zone of decoration, 0.222 m.; height of lower zone, 0.097 m.; height of border of double palmettes at upper edge, 0.037 m.; thickness of fabric at top, 0.011 m.; at thinnest point, 0.006 m.; at bottom, 0.013 m.



Fig. 1

Athena is preserved, and part of Herakles' name appears above the head of Apollo. On the right side of the same scene a triangular break cuts away the chests and forelegs of the horses and the lower part of three of the figures. The warrior scene is preserved in its entire width, but the upper part is missing. Two figures, that of Diomedes and the body of Patroklos, are practically complete. Of the decorations in the lower zone one scene is almost intact; of the other, one lion and the front part of the bull are missing. The motif above the handle is entirely preserved on one side; on the other, only the lower part of the woman and a bit of the vine remain. Beneath the handle to the right of the warrior scene the head of the running satyr, part of his right arm, his right foot, and the tip of the tail are preserved; of the corresponding figure below the other handle all but his legs and tail is lost.

The clay is brick red, fired somewhat lighter at the core than at the surface. The inside is covered with glaze, black except at the bottom which has fired red. The base and the rim are mottled red and black.<sup>1</sup> The red background, covered with a thin wash and highly polished, is slightly darker than the clay itself, but the surface has suffered from being immersed in the water of the well so that on many of the pieces the true color of the clay is exposed. The accessory colors, freely used on the figures, have largely disappeared, but in most cases it is possible to determine with certainty where they were applied.<sup>2</sup> The surfaces, once painted white or purple, have a somewhat dull texture which reflects the light in a special way, distinguishable from the reflection on the truly black glaze. Very little white remains. One small fragment, preserving the right hand of the female figure who stands in front of the horses on face A, was found higher up in the well, before the

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the mottled effect on the base is due partly to the heating of the pieces when the lead was poured for the repairs. The variation in color in some cases tends to follow the ancient breaks.

<sup>2</sup> White was used for the nude parts of all the female figures, on the upper part of the lyre of Apollo, on the thorax of Diomedes and on the shield of the figure directly in front of him. The teeth of the lions and the lower part of their bellies were also painted white. Furthermore all the incised lines appear to have been filled with white color. See note 3 on p. 472.

Purple was applied, in alternating stripes and in the centres of the rosettes and swastikas on the outer garments of Apollo, Artemis, Poseidon, and Aphrodite. It was further used for the dots and upper border of the chiton of Apollo, the dots on the chiton and the small crosses on the chlamys of Hermes, the leaves on the wreaths worn by Apollo and Poseidon, the fillet and bracelet of Aphrodite, the brim of Hermes' hat, and the crosspieces of Apollo's lyre. Furthermore the face of Poseidon was painted purple. Purple was used for rows of small dots on the chiton of Diomedes, dots and stripes on the chiton worn by the protagonist on the Greek side, the crest and sword belt of Diomedes, the preserved rims of the shields, various decorations on the greaves of the three Trojans and on those of the protagonist of the Greeks, and for the blood issuing from the wounds of Patroklos. On the lions in the lower zone purple is used to indicate the ribs, and the muscles of their haunches, and there is a row of purple dots on the shoulders directly behind their manes. The ribs of the bull, the ripples on his neck, and the blood dripping down his side from the mouths of the lions are likewise purple. The best preserved of the two "maenads" has a purple fillet and purple stripes alternating with black on her peplos. The corresponding figure on the other side has purple stripes on the upper part of her garment. Purple is used on the hair and beard of the satyr whose face is preserved. Finally the decorations at the attachments of the handles consist of alternating purple and black tongues.



Fig. 2

water level was reached, and this accounts for the excellent preservation of this piece. The purple of the bracelet on the white hand and of the drapery stands out in sharp contrast to the other parts of the same figure where both white and purple have largely disappeared. Large parts of the black figures have turned reddish brown (plainly visible in the photographs, especially on the bulls and lions and on the horses). The lighter spots are limited to the inner parts of the figures, the reason being that the black glaze round the edges was more thickly applied. The discoloration is due to the effects of the water and mud, as is

plainly shown on some of the fragments that have suffered less from such agencies. The rear part of the bull in figure 8 has turned red, whereas the black glaze on the front part is unimpaired, the change in color following the line of the break.

A. The scene shows a procession of divinities conversing and moving from left to right. In the foreground, in front of the figures, is a chariot drawn by four horses, which were not distinguished by different colors. The near horse, largely hiding the others from view, wears a wreath of ivy as a collar,<sup>1</sup> and on his haunch is a small rosette.<sup>2</sup> Above his back appears the yoke of the harness through which the reins pass. It is joined to the chariot by one line at the top and double lines below. Tails and manes of the horses are rendered by fine wavy lines, incised and filled with white.<sup>3</sup> Of the chariot only the pole, part of the wheel, and the front line of the guard (*δίφρος*) are preserved at the edge of the break. Most probably three figures are lost. Athena, whose spear is preserved, must have stood in the car, and Herakles probably appeared in front of her, walking beside the chariot. His name is partly preserved at the upper edge of the vase. The last figure in the procession was probably that of Dionysos.

The first preserved figure, from left to right, is Apollo, who stands, facing right, holding the lyre in his left hand and the plectrum in his right. He wears an embroidered outer garment richly decorated with various designs, swastikas, rosettes, and small hooks, and edged with a border of simple guilloche within double lines. The chiton, reaching to his feet, is covered with small purple dots in rows, and at the bottom is a border rendered with incised lines. His name, which appears above the harp, is written with a single *lambda*. Next to him is Artemis, facing left, who wears a peplos with a pattern of squares and disconnected maeanders, and an outer cloak held up in front with her right hand. It has alternating purple and black stripes, further decorated with small stars. She wears a tall, elaborately wrought crown, but is not otherwise distinguished by any attributes. Her name is written behind her. The next figure is Poseidon who is walking along with the

<sup>1</sup> The larger leaves of the wreath were made by scratching away the black glaze within the incised outline. There is no indication that any other colors were applied on the clay exposed in this manner.

<sup>2</sup> An amphora in the Louvre bearing the signature of Exekias (Hoppin, *Handb. of B.F. Vases*, pp. 100–101, No. 6; Beazley, *Attic B.F.*, p. 18) shows a similar rosette on the haunch of a horse, and on the amphora in New York attributed to Exekias (Tillyard, *Hope Vases*, No. 15; Richter, *A.J.A.*, XXVI, 1922, p. 61, fig. 1; Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 4) there are two rosettes on one of the horses. Similar marks appear on other vases, cf. Swindler, *A.J.A.*, XX, 1916, pl. XII, and see Dar. & Sagl., *Dict. d. Ant.*, H A, p. 800, where there is a brief discussion of marks (*ἐγκάματα*) on horses. Figures of Pegasos on Roman monuments sometimes have a small cross on the chest, cf. *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 173, No. 428, and similar marks are found on horses from early Christian times. Presumably these marks reflect a practice, common throughout ancient times, of branding horses to show ownership or to distinguish them for some other purpose.

<sup>3</sup> The white filling of the incised lines is clearly distinguishable on the better preserved fragments, especially in the heads of the horses, the hair of Poseidon, the face of Apollo and in the harp, the strings of which are incised in the red background. E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, p. 242, inclines to the view that the practice of filling the incised lines with white is the exception rather than the rule.

horses, his head turned in the opposite direction, but his body seen in full view. Like Apollo he wears a wreath of olive, and he holds his trident in his right hand. His right shoulder and chest are bare, but his embroidered cloak, possibly thought of as blown over his left shoulder from the back, can be seen behind his right arm-pit and, falling in full folds, behind the horses' bellies. Directly in front of the horses is a woman's figure moving

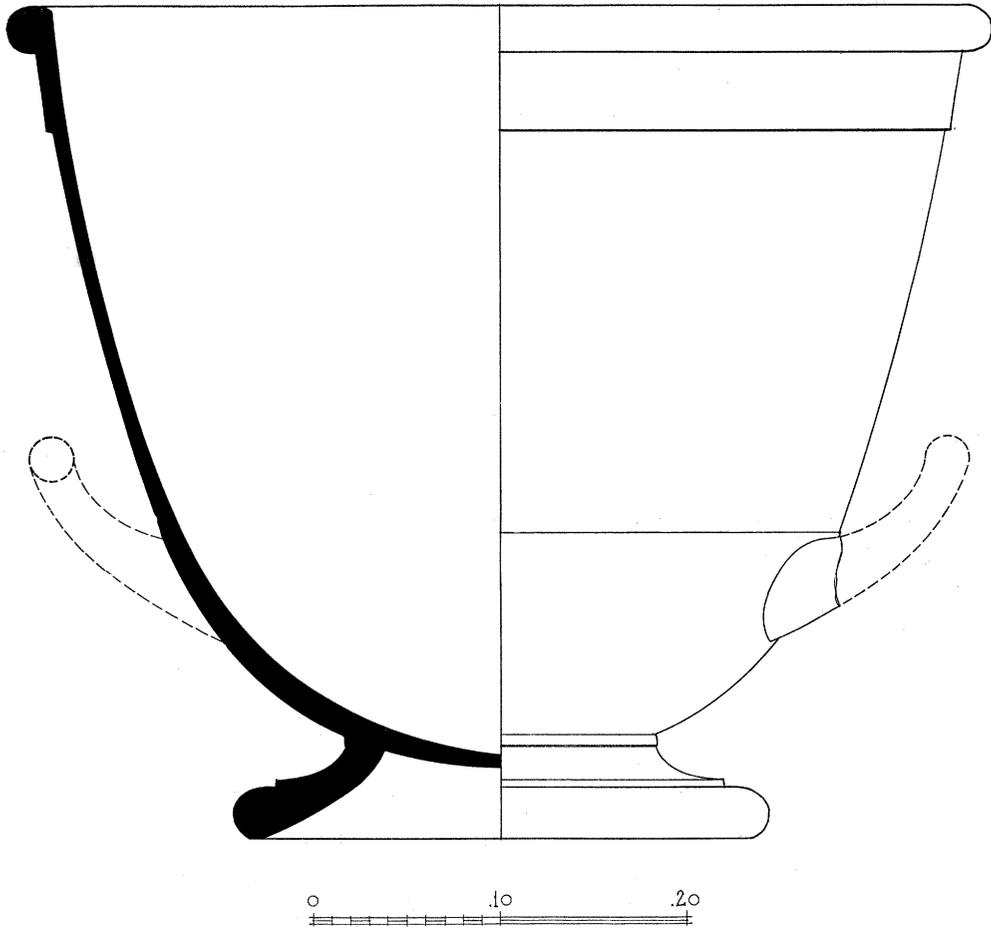


Fig. 3

toward the right. Her face, and the lower portion of her body, from her waist to her ankles, is missing. She wears a bracelet, and has a fillet round her hair, but she has no attributes to distinguish her. Her peplos resembles that of Artemis but the ornaments within the squares are slightly different. If her name was written out, it has been lost with the missing part of her body. She is presumably Aphrodite. Above her appears the inscription **ONETOPIΔE[ς] ΚΑΙΟΣ**. In front of her is Hermes, leading the procession but looking back at the group of deities behind him. He wears the petasos, a chiton with purple dots,

and an embroidered cloak decorated with incised swastikas and rosettes and with small crosses in purple color, and he has the kerykeion in his right hand.

B. Although much is missing on this side of the vase the composition of the scene is clear. In the centre lies the naked body of Patroklos on the ground with his arms stretched out above his head and his eyes closed. On his left thigh blood issues from a fresh wound. The artist has sacrificed naturalism to his composition or to convention by representing the dead body in the common archaic manner with the right knee raised. Over the body stand three warriors on either side, with Hektor as the protagonist on the Trojan side, probably facing Ajax, whose name is not preserved. The only complete figure of the warriors is that of Diomedes on the extreme left. He wears a thorax which is painted white, a helmet, and greaves covering both thigh and shin. The drapery beneath the thorax is decorated with purple dots and edged with a border of hook patterns. He has a circular shield in his left hand and in his right a long spear reaching back across the decoration over the handle. His name is written retrograde between his legs. In front of him a second warrior, perhaps Menelaos or Odysseus (upper part lost), is in the act of thrusting his spear at one of his adversaries. The shaft of the spear appears across the palmette pattern at the upper edge below the rim. Of the protagonist on the Greek side the lower part from the hips down and part of his shield are preserved. The three warriors were apparently armed in the same way, but their chitons and breastplates are different.

Of the three Trojans only the legs, from slightly above the knees, are preserved. Hektor, whose name is spelled with a *gamma* and written retrograde, stands directly over the head of Patroklos. He is followed by two heroes, probably Glaukos and Aineas.<sup>1</sup> If the signature of the artist appeared on the vase, it was probably written above this scene to correspond with the kalos-name on the other side.

The space between the handles in the lower zone is filled with a group of three animals on either side. Two lions are tearing a bull, who has already fallen on his knees, with streams of blood dripping from the mouths of the lions or issuing from the wounds inflicted on the bull. The two lions are arranged in a formal manner with their heads in profile in front of the bull, their claws digging into his flanks, but they are not biting across his back as is common in similar groups of animals. The scene is powerfully rendered but with less attention to detail than is the case with the figures in the upper zone. The head of the bull is badly drawn, probably due partly to the difficulty of working on the lower curve of the vase and partly to a deliberate neglect of details which do not readily appear to the eye. The two groups of animals are practically identical.

<sup>1</sup> According to Homer the chief among the Achaians in the battle over the body of Patroklos were Ajax and Menelaos, while Ajax, son of Oileus, Idomeneus, and several others are named. Neither Diomedes nor Odysseus are mentioned in connection with this battle. Among the Trojan heroes Hektor, Glaukos, and Aineas play the leading rôles. A kylix by Oltos (Hoppin, *Attic R. P. Vases*, II, 249), with the same theme has Aineas and Hipasos on the Trojan side, and Ajax and Diomedes on the Greek.

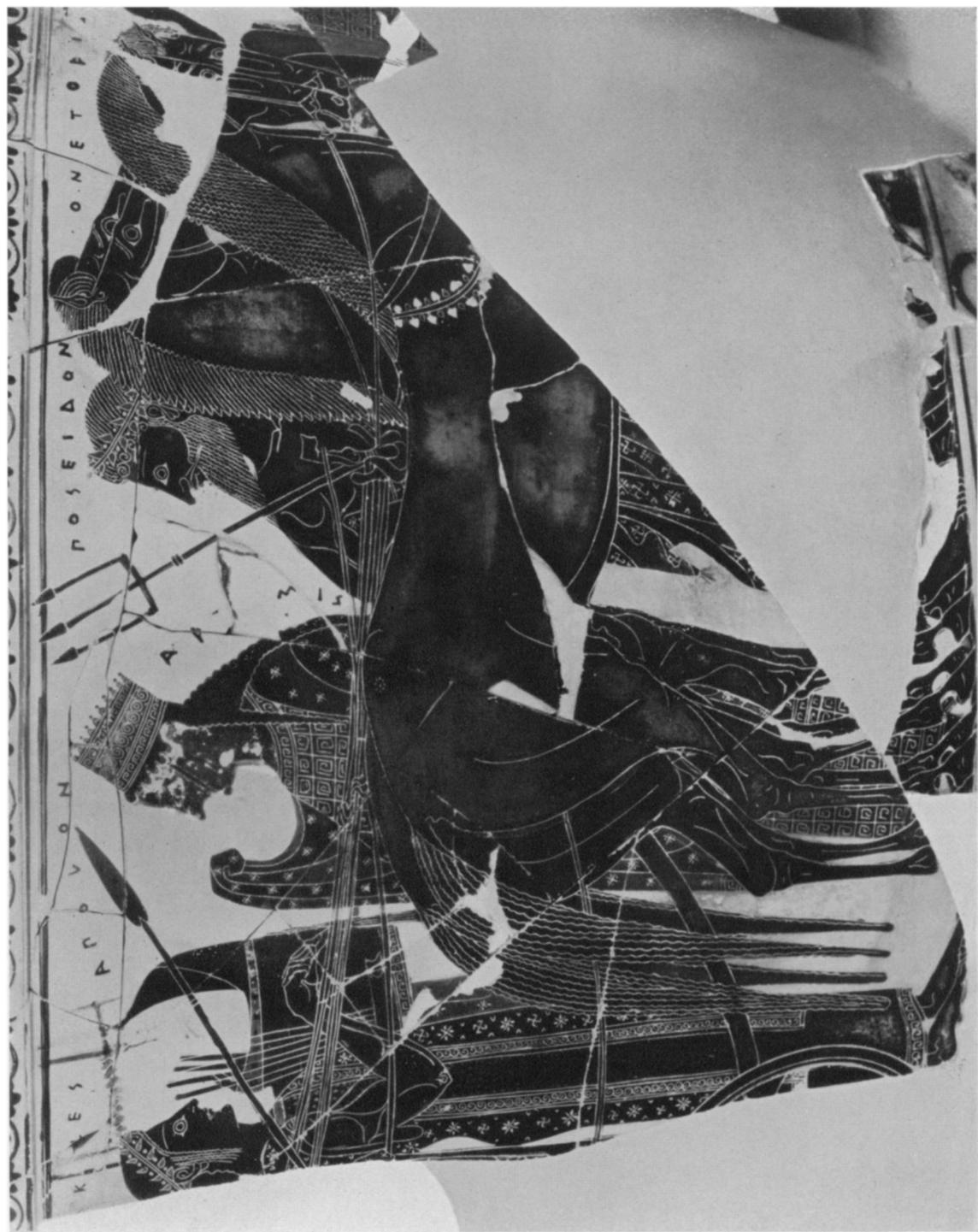


Fig. 4

The two scenes of the upper zone are separated above the handles by intertwined grapevines and a seated female figure. On the side which is best preserved, to the right of A, the vines begin from above the right attachment of the handle, and the woman's figure is nearly in the middle. Below her is a curving line of dilute glaze, probably intended to indicate a rock on which she is sitting. Beneath the handle between the two circles of tongue pattern which surround the attachments there is a figure of a satyr running toward the right. There is no indication of the woman's identity, but it is obvious that she has nothing to do with the two main groups of figures. Her position beneath the grape-laden vines and the presence of the satyr below would seem to show that she was intended as a maenad, although there is nothing in her pose or appearance to support such an identification.

The picture over the other handle was of a similar nature but differed in some details. The woman, who is more elaborately attired, is here sitting on a box, although her pose seems to have been the same as that of the corresponding figure on the other side. Of the vine very little is preserved. The two satyrs were not alike, but they are too poorly preserved to tell for certain what the difference was. The seated women face each other with their backs toward the warrior scene. The two satyrs, on the other hand, are running in the same direction, though one at least is looking back.

Decorative patterns apart from the scenes described above are few, the chief one being the broad band of double anthemia below the rim. This border is painted black without the use of incised lines or purple color. The tongue patterns at the base of the handles, on the other hand, are rendered with alternating purple and black units. There are also two little horn-like knobs at each handle. Below the animal zone there is an undecorated band, 0.045 m. wide.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the name of the maker there is little room for doubt. When the vase was first discovered, as soon as the larger fragments began to appear from the well they conveyed an immediate impression that none but Exekias among the masters in the black-figured style could have designed and executed it. So strong was this impression that for two days, while the pieces were being removed one by one from the mud and water in the well, each new fragment was eagerly examined for traces of the signature. Although our hopes in this respect were not realized, the style of decoration, as revealed more fully after the fragments had been cleaned and assembled, is so unmistakably Exekian that no further proof is needed. In connection with the description on the preceding pages a few points of comparison have been noted; the relationship between the new vase and Exekias' other works will be discussed below. There is every probability that the missing portion above the warrior scene contained the artist's signature, as it appears on three of the amphoras

<sup>1</sup> The corresponding bands on all the amphoras of Exekias as well as on the Munich cup are decorated with a pattern of rays.

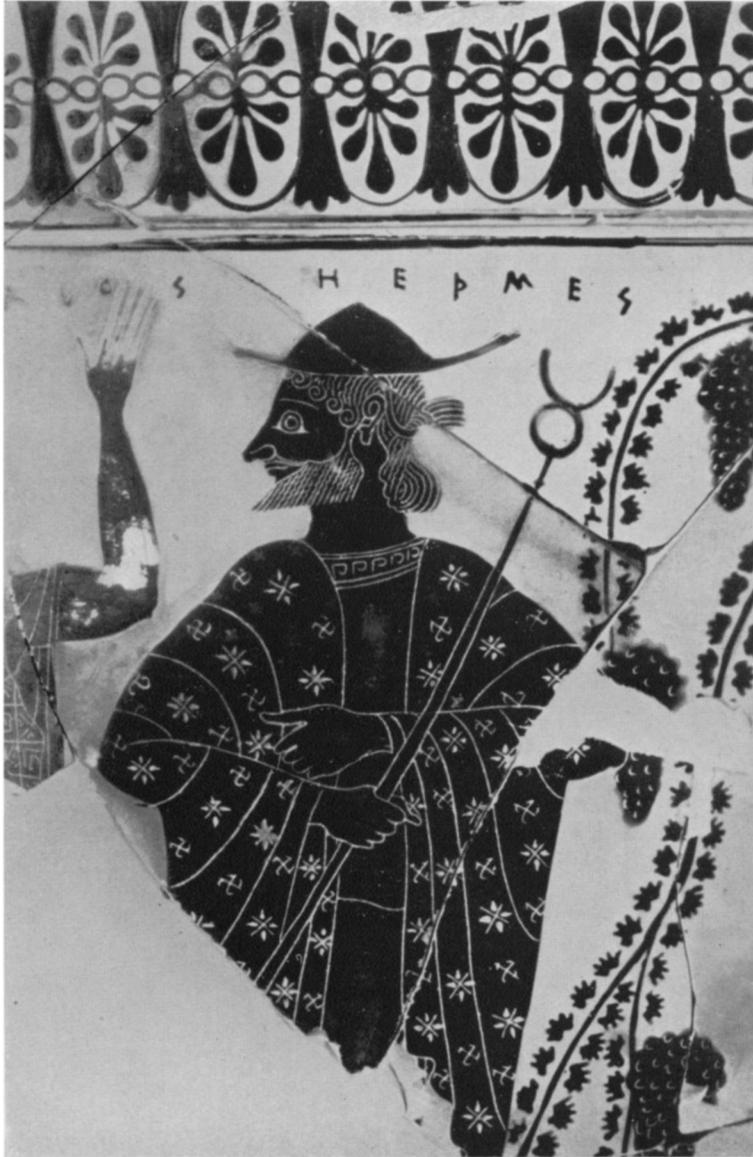


Fig. 5

which carry the kalos-name Onetorides. This name, we may recall, is used chiefly by Exekias and his immediate circle.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name appears on three signed amphoras of Exekias: on the Berlin neck-amphora (Technau, *Exekias*, No. 12), the Vatican amphora (*ibid.*, No. 8), and on the London amphora (*ibid.*, No. 13; cf. Hoppin, *Handb. of B.F. Vases*, Exekias, 2, 3, 9); and on other vases attributed to Exekias (Hoppin, *op. cit.*, 16,

The difficult problem of fitting figured scenes to the various shapes of vases occupied the attention of the black-figure masters, and in the solution to this problem Exekias played an important rôle. In general three distinct tendencies may be noted. In the first of these the available space, with complete disregard of the shape, is divided into strips, each decorated with pictures unrelated to each other and to the space which they occupy on the vase. This tendency is best represented by the François vase, but the tradition continued into the red-figure period as exemplified especially by the two-zone kraters. The second tendency is the antithesis of the first. The dominating importance of the vase shape is recognized, and the figured decoration, limited to a panel on either side or to a single panel in front, is applied to the vase like a painting hung on a wall.<sup>1</sup> The third is the most difficult but certainly the most satisfactory solution to the problem. The vase is regarded from every point of view; shape and function, as well as purely decorative considerations are taken into full account. This type of decoration would test the ability of the greatest of masters, and rarely is the result wholly successful. In many cases, as in some of the neck-amphoras, there is too strong a contrast between the picture proper and the ornamental designs. The latter must not be allowed to degenerate into mere space fillers. Obviously the shape of the vase determined to a great extent the choice between these types of decoration. Among the extant works of Exekias there are examples of all three tendencies. The neck-amphoras with figured zones on the shoulder and on the lower part show lingering traces of the first, but in general Exekias did not favor this type of decoration, which in his day, partly through his influence, was on the wane. Most of his products belong to the second and third types.

In view of these observations a comparison of our krater with other vases of Exekias will throw an interesting light on the development of his art. He loved chariot scenes in his pictures, and the perfection of his art can best be appreciated in his masterful rendering of the horses. A row of figures, human or divine, against the background, standing or moving with the procession, and conversing with each other, with a four-horse chariot in the foreground: this is a common type of picture on many of his amphoras as well as on

17 bis), or associated with his school (A. Greifenhagen, *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, 419, and 1936, 403 f., No. 419 and fig. 1; see also Hoppin, *op. cit.*, p. 109, note 1).

A hydria in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (*Bull. Metr. Mus.*, X, 1915, pp. 122 f. and fig. 2), on which the kalos-name Onetorides occurs, is so similar to our krater in many details as to appear like a simplified copy. The heads and hind quarters of the horses, the single rosette on the haunch, the incised lines indicating musculature, details of collars and reins are practically identical. The figures of Apollo with the harp, though much simplified on the hydria, are alike in all essential details. These similarities cannot be explained on the basis of stylistic relationship alone; repeated duplications of individual lines can only be due to deliberate imitation. Is this a case of a less renowned master copying figures from the krater of Exekias, or is the hydria by the hand of Exekias himself, a preliminary study in preparation for the more important vase?

<sup>1</sup> Jacobsthal, *Ornamente Gr. Vasen*, p. 25, declares this to be "eine untadelige Lösung des Problems." To me it seems the least satisfactory solution to the problem; it is certainly the easiest.

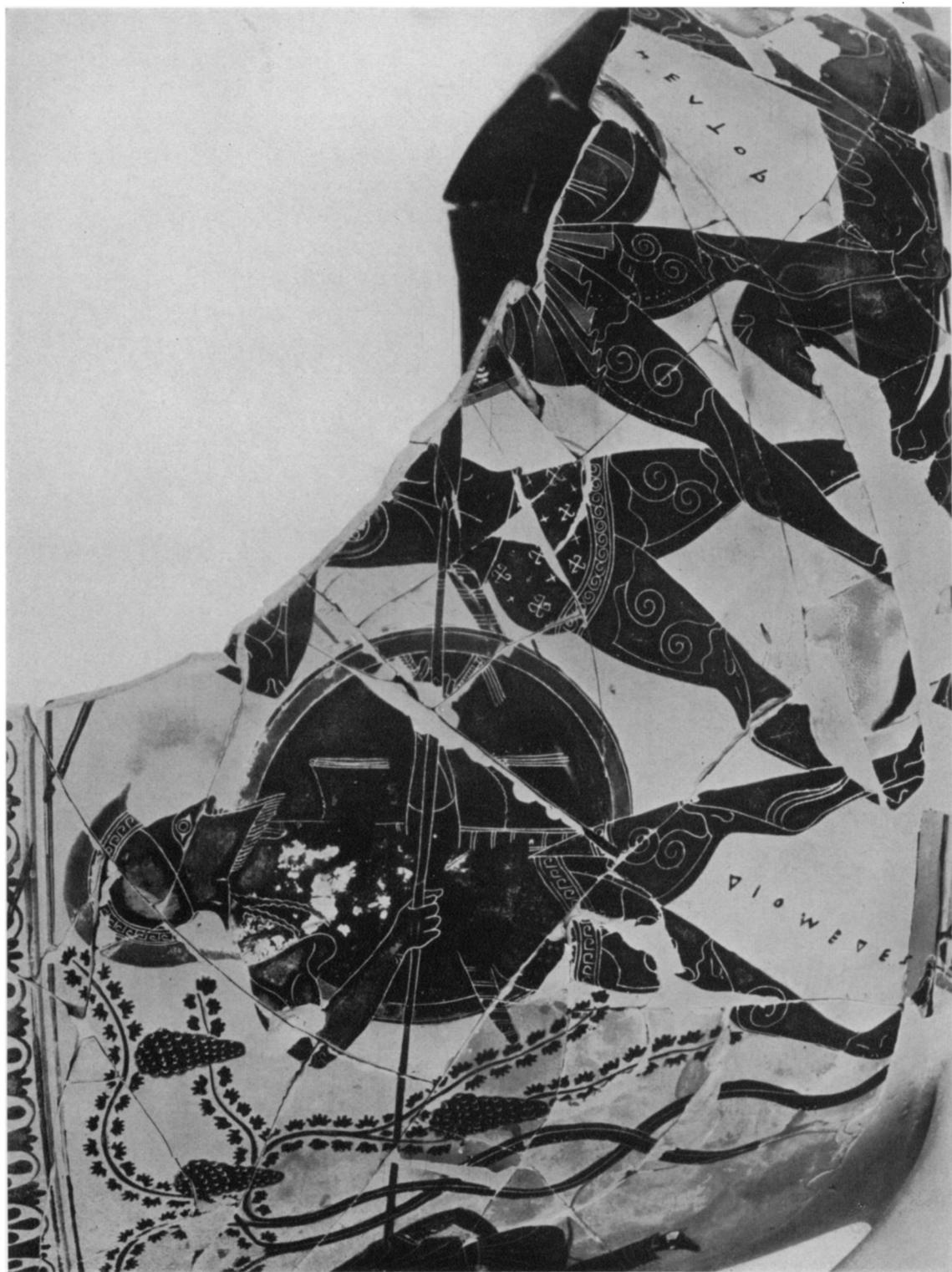


Fig. 6

most of the funeral plaques. On one of the amphoras from Orvieto<sup>1</sup> he has treated the same theme as in the chariot scene on our krater, the introduction of Herakles into Olympos. The number of figures on the two vases was probably the same and the order in which they appear varies but slightly. On the amphora Dionysos stands at the left extremity of the scene directly behind the chariot, and the same was probably true of our krater. Athena stands in the chariot and very close to her Herakles walks along with the procession but looks back at his patron goddess. The name of Herakles and Athena's spear on the krater show that their relative position on the two vases was probably the same. Then follow on the amphora: Artemis (?), Apollo, Poseidon, Hermes and Aphrodite (?), whereas the krater has the same deities in this order: Apollo, Artemis, Poseidon, Aphrodite (?), and Hermes. The order is unimportant, but the grouping is not. On the amphora Artemis and Apollo stand near the middle of the picture with their backs to each other, dividing the eight gods into two groups of four each. The picture falls apart at this point, and the horses with the chariot are necessary to preserve the unity. On the krater, too, there is a break in the grouping near the centre of the scene, but here the same two deities face each other, thus focusing the attention at this point instead of dividing it. The division which would naturally appear between Artemis and Poseidon the artist has avoided by making the latter look in the opposite direction from that in which he is moving.

Another no less important difference is due chiefly to the exigency of space. On the amphora the panel narrows abruptly at the top, in such a way as to leave too little space for the heads and upper parts of the figures. The head of Hermes is entirely hidden behind the heads of the horses, and Dionysos' face is partly cut off by the figure of Athena. There is no such crowding among the figures on the krater. The figure of Apollo holding his lyre stands almost free between the horses and the chariot, and there is ample space in front of him for Artemis to show to advantage her richly embroidered peplos and delicately wrought crown.

For the other side of the krater we have no equally close analogy among the works of Exekias, but similar scenes of six warriors fighting over the body of a fallen hero appear at the handles of the Munich cup. Here again the composition on the krater is vastly superior, but the comparison is not quite apposite. On the cup the handle intervenes between the two groups of warriors who stand stiffly arrayed with left foot forward and spear raised as if rehearsing their parts in a play. On one side only is there a variation in the pose, motivated by a varying action on the part of one of the champions who is bending down to raise the body of the fallen. The scenes are well adapted to the space round the handles, but there is an obvious absurdity in interposing the handle between the contending warriors as if it constituted the object of their attack. Even Exekias cannot successfully convert a major composition into a handle ornament.

<sup>1</sup> Conte Faina 187, Technau No. 3, and pls. 9—10.



Fig. 7

The composition of the warrior scene is extremely simple, but variations in dress and armor as well as in the pose of the individual figures lend life and interest to the whole picture. It may be compared to the scene of Herakles and the Lion on the neck amphora in Berlin, and, less aptly, to the figures of Ajax and Achilles on the famous Vatican amphora.

The animals in the lower zone are no less successfully grouped and rendered. As separate pictures they are monumental and yet full of vigor and action,<sup>1</sup> and they are especially well adapted to the space which they fill on the vase. Though far more interesting than the stereotyped ornaments which are usually found in this space on calyx-kraters of the red-figure period, they are nevertheless subordinated to the main compositions above.

The decorations above the handles are likewise so designed as to enhance the main compositions at the same time as they serve to fill the space. The two female figures seated among the vines face the group of deities which is the more loosely composed of the two scenes. The warrior scene, already closely held together by the arrangement of its own figures, needs no such outside aid to focus the attention on the main point of action.

At the same time as these subordinate scenes admirably fill the artistic requirements, they are appropriately chosen with a view to the use of the vase. The grape-vine is not a common handle ornament. It is used frequently in Dionysiac and Satyr scenes where it plainly has a symbolical meaning. Here it serves the same purpose. The krater was used for mixing water and wine, and we may assume that the particular vessel under discussion was employed at ceremonial functions. An allusion to these functions is embodied in the decoration without being allowed to become the dominating idea. The artist was above all interested in making a beautiful vase; his themes were chosen and the compositions developed with this aim in view. The twofold restrictions governing his choice of decoration, imposed on the one hand by the exigencies of space as determined by the shape of the vase and on the other by the function which the krater was destined to serve, Exekias here met by letting the one problem solve the other. Having relegated the symbolical elements, the vine, the maenads, the satyrs, to subordinate fields, more commonly filled with conventional designs, he was free to develop his main compositions as he desired.

Our vase occupies a unique place in the history of the calyx-krater and throws much new light on the art of the great master. The calyx-krater has been considered a creation properly belonging to the period of red figure.<sup>2</sup> This view is no longer tenable. There is no necessity to suppose that the career of Exekias extended into the red-figure period, but

<sup>1</sup> The similarity of these groups to the poros pediment groups on the Acropolis is most striking. See Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1922, pp. 92 f., who traces the influence of the poros group on similar scenes in the vase paintings, and Graef-Langlotz, *Akrop. Vas.*, I, 2120 a-b, and 2691.

<sup>2</sup> The following quotation is taken from Beazley's *Attic Black-Figure*, p. 24: "calyx-krater, stamnos, pelike, calpis appear for the first time (after the introduction of red figure)," and on the next page we read: "The relation of Exekias to the red-figured period is clear. He did not reach into it." The two statements are now contradictory. "That reminds us what gaps there are in our material, and what surprises may await us from new finds," *ibid.*, p. 16. Cf. Richter-Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, p. 8.



Fig. 8

we are justified in crediting him with the introduction—or invention—of the calyx-krater.<sup>1</sup> Jacobsthal lists nine black-figured vases of this shape, three of which are mere fragments, too small to be of importance for a comparison of shapes.<sup>2</sup> Two others are unpublished. The remaining four, one in Vienna,<sup>3</sup> one in the Villa Giulia,<sup>4</sup> and two in the Louvre, are all obviously later than ours. The Vienna krater comes nearest to it in shape, but the sides, though straight, taper more toward the bottom, and the curve of the lower part is less pronounced. It shows a second step in the development of the shape toward the red-figured calyx-krater. A further development in the same direction is shown in one of the kraters from the Louvre<sup>5</sup> by the painter of the Vienna krater. In the second krater in the Louvre<sup>6</sup> and in the Villa Giulia krater the sides have a more pronounced inward curve, the lower part has begun to develop the outward bulge, and the base is separated from the body by a short stem.<sup>7</sup>

All the black-figured kraters have one element of decoration in common, the vine pattern over the handles. Since this is by no means a common handle ornament on other vases, we may assume that this feature was copied from Exekias by his successors. In another respect the nine calyx-kraters listed by Jacobsthal are all alike, but differ from the Exekias krater. The ornament below the rim on the latter consists of a double palmette pattern, which occurs with some variations as neck ornament on all the amphoras of Exekias, whereas all the other black-figured calyx-kraters have in the same place a double ivy pattern. This simple ornament, obviously inappropriate as the crowning design above the figured decorations, is frequently employed by Exekias on the narrow flat edge of his amphoras' handles. It occurs not infrequently on red-figured calyx-kraters, but more commonly a broader and more elaborate design, such as interconnected slanting palmettes, is preferred. The small knobs on both sides of the handles are found on the krater in Vienna but on none of the other calyx-kraters of the sixth century.

It remains to consider the date of the krater relative to other works of Exekias, but this is a problem in which personal opinion is likely to play too great a rôle. The chronological arrangement of his works belongs to the same category as the problems concerning the authorship of the Homeric poems and the order of Plato's dialogues. The facts will not fit the findings. One of the disturbing facts in this case is the presence of the name of Onetorides on three of the signed amphoras, dated on stylistic grounds at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of Exekias' artistic career. Our krater, which praises the beauty of the same youth, will probably shed some new light on this vexed problem, though at first it seems to add to the difficulty. Without entering into a detailed discussion of this question I should like to suggest that both shape and decoration of the krater point to a late

<sup>1</sup> For the various steps leading to the development of the calyx-krater see Jacobsthal, *Metr. Mus. Studies*, V, pp. 117 f. He, like Furtwängler (*Gr. Vasenm.*, II, p. 172), derives it from Ionic originals, the Naukratite chalice being its nearest relative among the non-Attic vases.

<sup>2</sup> *Metr. Mus. Studies*, V, pp. 133–134.

<sup>3</sup> Masner, *Österreich. Museum*, 237, pl. IV; Jacobsthal, *Metr. Mus. Studies*, V, p. 133 (1), fig. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *C. V. Italia*, pl. 136, 1–2. <sup>5</sup> *C. V. France*, pl. 79, 1–2.

<sup>6</sup> *C. V. France*, pls. 79, 3–4, and 80, 1. <sup>7</sup> The foot in the Villa Giulia krater is modern.



Fig. 9

stage in Exekias' career. On no other vase of his is the decoration so well adapted to the shape. The amphora with its reserved panel and the elaborate handle ornaments of the neck-amphoras were conventions with which he did not break. But no conventions governed the decorations of the calyx-krater, since in all probability it was Exekias himself who "made" the shape.

The krater, with its almost straight sides and expansive surface, is better suited to large pictures than any other form of vase. Why, then, did he not make more vases of this

shape? Perhaps future discoveries will show that he did; perhaps he did not have time to profit further by his own invention. Perhaps, at the height of his career, having tired of the amphora with its limitations of space, he chose and perfected, if not created, a new shape which gave fuller scope to his talents—and then his artistic career was cut short.<sup>1</sup> These are guesses arising from the discovery of the krater, and we shall probably never get beyond conjecture. The calyx-krater, at any rate, did not become a common shape until

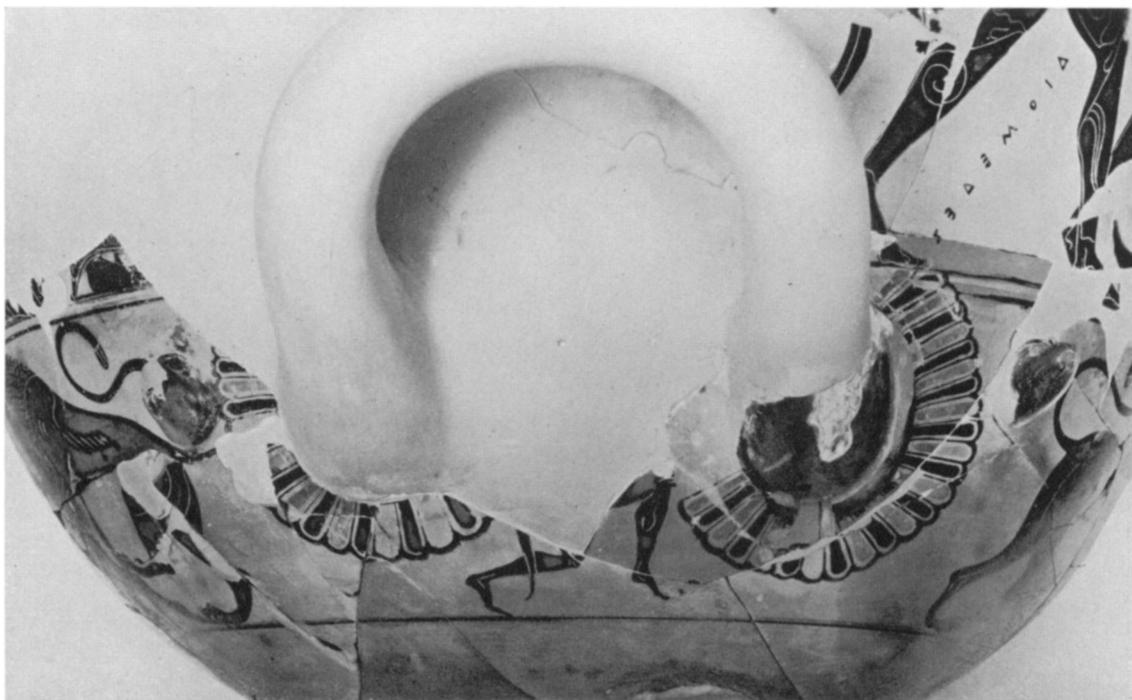


Fig. 10

the red-figure period, and most of the existing black-figured calyx-kraters show the influence of the master who first used the shape.

Other products of Exekias' hand may be equally or more precious. In the rendering of the separate scenes the Vatican amphora is unexcelled and is likely to remain so. But few scholars, I think, will find fault with our conclusion that the new krater as an artistic unit is unsurpassed by works of the same master and rarely equalled by the products of any of his colleagues in the black figure technique.

<sup>1</sup> Others have suggested that the known vases of Exekias were probably made within a brief period of time. Cf. Technau, *op. cit.*, p. 12.