

THE LUXUS PHENOMENON

I. THE TAUCHEIRA PAINTER AND CLOSELY RELATED HANDS

PLATES 50–61

*In memoriam D. A. Amyx*¹

WE THINK OF THE KYPSELIDS as sponsors of arts and crafts, but surviving histories (scant as they are for early Corinth) tell us nothing concrete about an industry that must have contributed substantially to the city-state's economy. Reconstructing the operation and economic mechanics of the pottery industry in Archaic Corinth will remain impossible, but every small gain in understanding will come from study of excavated pottery and from connoisseurship of styles, not merely to put names to them but to untangle the relationships among different kinds of styles with a view to recovering an intelligible picture of the industry based on such evidence as actually exists.²

Each new, or newly published, piece of painted pottery slightly alters our understanding of the whole body of material, but when well-considered attributions and useful publications reach a critical mass, we can use them to consider whether sense inheres in all those hands and determine the place of less strongly characterized pieces in a picture that has reached the stage of a half-completed jigsaw puzzle, with the ill-defined areas still undone. For the Luxus vases,³ most of the subassemblies of pieces themselves require further work before the whole Luxus picture (if the analogy may be pursued) can be correctly framed or brought into relation with other coherent pictures.⁴

The "White-Dot Style." Catalogues and fascicles of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* still usually refer to the Corinthian alabastra and aryballoi studied here as representing the "White-dot Style." The term is Humfry Payne's⁵ but has proved too convenient; some vases with abundant white dots are not closely related stylistically,⁶ and white dots were not new at the end of the Early

¹ This is the first installment of work on Luxus alabastra, work that D. A. Amyx urged me to undertake. In an earlier form (see Lawrence 1993) it was the last piece of work that I could share with him, although his responsibility for my conclusions is limited to his encouragement.

² I do not mean to suggest that specialists in vase painting can answer the questions surrounding the Kypselids! We can, and we ought to, supply historians with the relevant results of our studies in a form that they can appreciate and use, since pottery studies can fairly be called more arcane than source-based history. Nonspecialists, for their part, must make the same sort of investment as art historians must make when having to work with epigraphical publications. Results based on the study of vase painting must not be accepted as *ex cathedra*.

Before being tempted to compare with Kypselid Corinth, for example, the Saxon patronage of early Meissen porcelain (see the historical survey by Ingelore Menzhausen [1990, pp. 6–24]), one should consider the economic and political gulf between 7th-century B.C. Greece and 18th-century Dresden. On the other hand, they may resemble each other more than either does our democratic-capitalist and postindustrial economies.

³ *CorVP*, pp. 87–93. All measurements in this article are in meters unless otherwise indicated.

⁴ I have tried (1996, pp. 104–111) to make such sense of the evidence resulting from two generations of study of Corinthian plates and bowls.

⁵ *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 284–285, NC 380–439; p. 290, NC 600–609 (here, and in the following, references to the catalogue of *Necrocorinthia* are prefaced "NC").

⁶ Examples include not only mature work by the Columbus Painter (*CorVP*, pp. 85–86) but the Middle Corinthian alabastra and aryballoi by his pupil, the Painter of Louvre E 574 (*CorVP*, pp. 171–172). As Amyx has already noted, Middle Corinthian work like that of the Erlenmeyer Painter and the Populonia Painter (*CorVP*, pp. 160–163) had its stylistic source among Payne's "White-dot" vases and so is practically a continuation of Luxus work, but the

Corinthian (EC) period, when the most typical Luxus vases appeared.⁷ Many Luxus vases, in particular those by the Painter of Delos 330 and the Painter of Berlin F 1008, have white dots no more numerous than on other vases, such as mature work by the Sphinx Painter,⁸ or even none at all. On those that are egregiously white-dotted (the Painter of Berlin F 1003 and, especially, the Taucheira Painter's Luxus work), the distinctive effect, which defines the Luxus manner, is achieved rather by the use of shaped fillers and extremely abundant added red (sometimes with added yellow-orange as well as white overlays and white dots) than by white dots as such used with normal amounts of added red.

"*Delos Group*"⁹ would be an excellent name to subsume the vases in question, since there is such a concentration of them from the excavation of the Heraion at Delos,¹⁰ except that the styles related to NC 600 (Delos 330) are not closely linked, in their antecedents or successors, to those related to the Taucheira Painter, while the Painter of Berlin F 1008, the Painter of Berlin F 1003, and the Vaccarella Painter (unless, as I have thought, Delos 450, NC 380, is his) are not represented at Delos at all.¹¹

"*Luxus Group*." D. A. Amyx's epithet is a happy choice, but the word "Group" may prove inappropriate to the range of hands (and unattributed vases) listed within it; only some of them seem actually to have worked in close association. Furthermore, once the impetus to produce the exceptionally elaborate, oversize perfume bottles abated, these very hands produced non-Luxus wares, as some of them, indeed, had done before it occurred.

Thus, I retain Amyx's epithet but characterize Luxus as a phenomenon, involving varied hands, rather than as a Group. The Taucheira Painter and those closely related to him, on the other hand, are a genuine group, which we may call the Taucheira Group.¹² They all do some, at least, of their best work on round aryballoi (but in a style quite unlike Delos 330, NC 600), they all have stylistic links to the Taucheira Painter, and they all are represented among the vases from the Heraion on Delos. Although, of course, they are not the only stylistic group there, theirs is the style that persons who have used Charles Dugas's publication tend to remember and associate with the site.

"*Luxus Manner*" defining "*Luxus Phenomenon*." As Payne already observed,¹³ this suddenly popular style, or manner, of decorating "certain well defined groups of alabastra and aryballoi" is defined not

Columbus Painter's associations are with other alabastra in Payne's Gorgon-bird Group (*Necrocorinthia*, pp. 285–286, NC 440–456A), to be discussed in a projected article as tangent to the Luxus styles, and with the Chimaera Group, once the Painter of Louvre E 574 joined that Group: see Lawrence 1996, esp. pp. 74–75 and 115. The Columbus Painter, furthermore, as Amyx says (*CorVP*, p. 85), was the pupil of the Painter of Palermo 489, but the compositions and subject matter of core Luxus alabastra, such as Delos 450 (NC 380) and Delos 451 (NC 381), hark back, ultimately, to the Transitional Griffin Group and the Typhon Painter (*CorVP*, pp. 53–57), as do most of the Gorgon-bird Group, the Columbus Painter apart.

⁷ White dots appear together with rich polychromy (yellow as well as red and white) in Late Protocorinthian, especially with the black-polychrome technique.

⁸ *CorVP*, pp. 70–73.

⁹ Suggested in Benson 1953, p. 38, List 58, to replace "White-dot Style."

¹⁰ *Délos X*.

¹¹ Luxus styles are rare at Corinth and Perachora. These outsize, elaborate round aryballoi and alabastra, on the evidence of geographical distribution (so far known from published excavations), were used primarily as votive objects when sold to peninsular and island Greek cities and as impressive grave goods when shipped to the West. Rhodian cemeteries, however, would be an exception. For very important observations on the limited distribution of Corinthian kraters, see de la Genière 1988.

¹² All are represented at Delos, at the Heraion, but "Delos Group" (having been used in print to designate everything that Payne called "White-dot Style") would be a confusing name.

¹³ *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 284–285.

by the use of white dots as such but of white dots used systematically in rows between parallel incised lines¹⁴ on vases with abundant polychromy and with extremely dense filling ornament, often shaped to “echo” the contours of the figures, suggesting a possible inspiration from “some particular fabric of textiles or embroideries.” This *manner* of decoration defines the *Luxus phenomenon*: a commercially successful innovative manner, rapidly burgeoning, taken up by decorators already trained in various styles, in the production of oversize perfume bottles. These were useless except for show. As Payne and others have seen, the phenomenon had not run its course until near the end of the Middle Corinthian (MC) period.¹⁵

The vases that exemplify the *Luxus* manner most perfectly, and represent the peak of the phenomenon, are Tocra 31 and its replica Delos 451, Amyx’s Taucheira Painter.¹⁶ Their motif is the *potnia thērōn*, presumably an Artemis, but the goddess-image as such is the stiffly frontal¹⁷ Early Archaic (Orientalizing) image well known in “Daedalic” statues and statuettes, plaques, and jewelry.¹⁸ A Late Protocorinthian fragment from Aigina¹⁹ is contemporary with some of the finest statuettes, like the wooden Hera from the Samos Heraion.

By the middle of Early Corinthian such images will have begun to look antique, in much the same way as Tuscan-Byzantine Madonnas did after Giotto’s and Giovanni Pisano’s works of ca. 1310. Payne, indeed, called the “White-dot” alabastra from Delos “a mannerist tradition which may well be archaistic” and spoke of “artificial primitiveness in the faces of the people on nos. 380–5 which recalls the work of the Athenian ‘affected painter.’ There is not simply,” he said, “in both cases an innate tendency to distort for formal reasons, but a somewhat similar type of distortion.” Also, I still think that Payne was right (p. 285) in suggesting that the artist of Delos 450, NC 380 (who will be discussed at length in another section of these studies), invented the *Luxus* manner, at a moment developmentally equidistant from the beginning of Early Corinthian and the beginning of Middle Corinthian. He introduced large shaped fillers between the arms and thighs of the Potnia and in the curve of the swans’ necks (Pl. 50:a), he used broad areas of added red, and he decorated the large fillers as well as every possible part of the Potnia herself systematically with rows of white dots, all on an alabastron very large for its date (nearly 26 cm). The back of

¹⁴ Payne (*Necrocorinthia*, pp. 284–285) says that the white dots are new at the time that large alabastra to be decorated “with a single sprawling design” began to be made. Kraiker 1951, no. 391, pl. 30, which is Late Protocorinthian, however, certainly has them, and the bronze helmet in the Louvre (Payne’s fig. 122) with a walking sphinx, incised and with punchwork dots between parallel lines, which he illustrates to show that the inspiration for White-dot embellishment was in metalwork, is also Protocorinthian: very close, developmentally considered, to the sphinx on the Chigi olpe (*CorVP*, p. 32, A 3).

¹⁵ At NC 433, Payne remarked that many of the large alabastra (listed in the EC section of his catalogue) were Middle Corinthian. One of my aims is to determine just which traits in these unusual vases correspond to the shift from EC to MC taste in more typical vases, such as animal-frieze containers. Among MC painters of large alabastra, the Erlenmeyer Painter (Benson 1953, p. 41, List 64; 1964a; *CorVP*, pp. 160–162) and the Populonia Painter (Benson 1964b; *CorVP*, pp. 162–164) maintained the *Luxus* manner throughout their decades of activity.

¹⁶ *CorVP*, pp. 89–90, pl. 41:1.

¹⁷ In two-dimensional representations, and not only in vase painting, the head may be shown in profile. See the bronze repoussé belt from Fortetsa (Rolley 1994, pp. 124–125, fig. 103), where, in a shrine, two such goddesses flank a male deity.

¹⁸ The statue from Delos dedicated by Nikandre, the “Dame d’Auxerre,” the wooden Hera from the Heraion on Samos, the bone plaque from Megara Hyblaea, and the gold plaques, from pectorals, from Kameiros on Rhodes are among the best examples. All now are conveniently illustrated by Claude Rolley (1994, figs. 116–117, 123, 125–126, 128, 135).

¹⁹ Kraiker 1951, no. 336, pl. 29, which he rightly compares (she wears the shoulder cape) with the “Dame d’Auxerre.” Amyx (*CorVP*, p. 618) says that the Potnias start in the Transitional period, but he does not mention Kraiker’s no. 336, which is surely still Protocorinthian and, by Payne’s dating system, appears to date from early in the third quarter of the 7th century. As Rolley (1994, p. 132) points out, the excavations of 1977–1978 on Ortygia (Pelagatti 1982) reestablish the validity of the chronological outlines for Protocorinthian styles proposed by Payne.

the alabastron, however, has normal EC filling ornament, which, like the shape of the vase, is comparable with most of the alabastra in Payne's Gorgon-bird Group (NC 440–456A).

THE TAUCHEIRA PAINTER

In the analogy to a jigsaw puzzle in progress, the Taucheira Painter's work is like a subassembly depicting an ostentatious Southern plantation house (whose outbuildings are much plainer); it is the first part of the picture to be grasped and pieced together.

Although Tocra 31 and Delos 451,²⁰ replicas of each other, are so exceptional that their deliberate elaborations hampered the recognition of the artist's style when he worked in other manners,²¹ certain traits are frequent in all his work. The Taucheira Painter liked to make eyes and rosette centers perfectly circular and to emphasize them (by filling the rings with white dots or incising out the whites of the eyes); the decorative effect of his best work owes much to insistent repetition of circles. One of his favorite renderings of a human ear (but not the only one) is that on the Potnia of Delos 451 (Pl. 50:b): a neat © tipped forward, which may be placed wherever it seems decorative (here, on top of one of the tresses over the shoulder); this tipped-C ear may be uniquely his. He draws human profile faces of exceptional charm, with, somehow, an expression of ingenuous alertness.²² These contrast oddly with the heavy shapes of the arms (on the Potnias) and with the leaden swans. Stumpy avian tails are the rule. As the long, curved lines in the Potnias' wings show, he has fine control of his incising point (even much later in his career, he can always draw finely if he will). On the other hand, he has no sense of structure; the amazing jumble of wing elements on Delos 451 (Pl. 50:c) is more shocking because it occurs on such an ambitious and painstaking vase, but it is typical of his work.²³ His filling ornament, even later, when the large rosettes turn into "sunflowers"²⁴ and the shaped fillers may be amorphous, is quite consistently distributed and always with great contrast between very large, double-centered rosettes and tiny dots and blobs.

The alabastron London 1860.4–4.11 (NC 385), no. 6 in Amyx's list of "Unattributed" Luxus vases,²⁵ is only a little less painstaking and, so far as the photographs show, has fewer white dots. In the Boread, the shape of the skull, orientation of the eye, distribution of the three tresses, and border patterns all agree with the Potnias. The use of separately drawn feathers on the *insides* of the wingbows, just to set off the solid red chest area, and the extraordinary disconnection of the lower body at the waist are not surprising in the Taucheira Painter. The sickle wing feathers, especially at the wing tips, are drawn exactly as on the Potnias. On the back, the siren's only slightly plumper profile face and White-dot drumsticks are consonant with the Taucheira Painter. Three details to note are the double eyebrows (on both Boread and siren), the elaborate ears (from which, however, the forward-tipped C could be abstracted), and two special kinds of shaped fillers: one "echoing" the rosette petals on either side of it (below the Boread's thigh), the other mutating to a lotus flower, evidently because (Rorschach-wise) the shape of the black-paint area suggested a petal.

²⁰ *CorVP*, pp. 89–90.

²¹ The fine unrolled drawing, *Délos X*, pl. LXVII (reproduced in *CorVP*, pl. 41:1), also makes the style (in the strict sense) of the incised line and contours slightly less idiosyncratic than it really is. Compare the birds' beaks in the drawing and the photo (pl. XXXIII, no. 451), where, as on Tocra 31, their bulbous shape recalls old engravings of dodoes' beaks.

²² Francis Croissant (1988, esp. pp. 101–122) acutely distinguishes different *kinds* of Corinthian female faces as well as successive developmental phases. His approach is equally important for studying figures in vase painting.

²³ The swans on Tocra 31, so far as the published photos are legible, have less illogical wings: it seems possible to tell which wing feathers are in front. Its drawing is slightly less painstaking, though, with respect to the tiniest fillers, here apparently unincised, on Delos 451 all incised as tiny rosettes, with a + or an x. The Taucheira Painter's antistructural decorative bias is *not* that of Early Archaic art in general. Artists like the much earlier Hound Painter (*CorVP*, pp. 26–27) or the sculptor of the New York and Dipylon kouroi, for example, compensate for limited incorporation of empirical observation into their schemata by making those schemata all the more logically structured.

²⁴ I borrow the term from Finster-Hotz; see below, p. 313, note 56, on Würzburg K. 1786.

²⁵ *CorVP*, p. 91, pl. 42:1a, b.

These odd fillers are not typical for this hand, but the elaborate ears and the double eyebrows recur on pieces that confirm this attribution. So does the strongly trowel-shaped beard.

The next piece to be added, also from the Luxus “Unattributed” list,²⁶ is Moscow, Pushkin Museum, inv. I 1a 5799, like the London alabastron just under 25 cm tall and also with a Boread. On the London vase the style is tight and reticent, very much “mannered” in the sense Payne described, and probably inspired by others’ Boread alabastra, but the Moscow Boread (Pl. 51:a) shows the Taucheira Painter in unreined indulgence of his innate spirit. The profile face is a perfect counterpart to the Delos Potnia, and he has the tipped-C ear. The headband pattern and trowel-shaped beard, as well as the double eyebrows, agree with the London alabastron. The shape of the wings and the drawing of their feathers most perfectly match the two Potnias. The fillers are consistent but more evolved: on the shaped fillers, the white dots between lines have been moved within the shapes, and the double-centered rosette is a true sunflower, red-centered and with white dots in the ring. The drawing of the knee should be noted, with the large but elastic contours of calf and thigh. Across the shoulders the border pattern is tightly packed chevrons (rather than dotted continuous loops) between double lines; these recur on a later alabastron. The Moscow Boread is quite certainly by the Taucheira Painter. The heads alone would suffice to guarantee the attribution. The back of the vase is a wonderful surprise (Pl. 51:b, c). The contorted bull is quite enjoyable in its own right, but it is also one piece of potent evidence to tie the four alabastra already discussed to those that will follow. Notice the saucer-shaped eye (double-centered, like the Boread’s, and even larger) with incised-out whites, the many parallel wrinkle lines on its brow, and its rounded (not very taurine) muzzle. Oddly enough, when the Taucheira Painter puts together something really *outré*, like this bull, its assembly is remarkably convincing, however unanatomical. Whatever space is left for fillers on this densely packed surface is filled with Luxus-type shaped fillers and sunflowers and very tiny scrap fillers, but even most of these are neatly incised with a +, as on the Potnia alabastra.

With the Moscow Boread, the flying siren on Essen, Ruhrlanmuseum, RE 19 (Pl. 52:a, b), is easily added to our list.²⁷ The same facility in making decorative structures that work convincingly in the bull (precisely because the Taucheira Painter was unhampered by any interest in real mammalian or avian structure) informs the flying siren. The large “Luxus” rosettes are nearly as sunflower-centered as on the Moscow alabastron, and the panthers have just such saucerlike eyes with incised whites as the contorted bull has. Placing white dots all around the panthers’ ears and within the double lines that constitute their nose wrinkles is an extreme expression of Luxus taste (compare the swans’ beaks on Delos 451). The filling ornament and drawing suggest that Essen RE 19 is not much earlier than Moscow I 1a 5799. The flying siren’s head is certainly in the same, very distinctive style as that of the Moscow Boread, and she has a stumpy tail to compare with Delos 451 or Tocra 31. Her ear is the hallmark tilted-forward C of the Delos Potnia and the Moscow Boread. Clearly she is later than the siren on the back of the London alabastron, which is not radically different but certainly more conservative. The panthers that cover two-thirds of the vase are familiar to all who grew up with Max Hirmer’s books or had access to a set of prints from Foto Marburg.²⁸ They are earlier than but by the same hand as that flat-bottomed aryballos, Berlin F 1090.²⁹ Essen RE 19 is not the only piece that belongs in both lists. In fact, the Painter of Berlin F 1090 list is the Taucheira Painter in Middle Corinthian. Both painter-names are Amyx’s,

²⁶ *CorVP*, pp. 91–92, no. 9. Sidorova (1985, no. 3, pl. 6) attributed Moscow inv. I 1a 5799 to the same hand as Berkeley 8/351 (*CorVP*, p. 92, no. 10). Their resemblances are significant and will be discussed once the full range of the Taucheira Painter’s activity is established.

²⁷ *CorVP*, p. 316, add as A 4*bis*. Froning 1982, p. 90, no. 30, pp. 91–92, illus.; I thank Ann Brownlee for calling to my attention this and several other illustrated catalogues. The reference to Froning and the correct inventory number are also given by Neef (1991, p. 51).

²⁸ Arias and Hirmer 1961, pl. 31; Foto Marburg LA 1084/28, 29, whence *CorVP*, pl. 67:1a, b.

²⁹ *CorVP*, p. 175, A 5 (p. 316, A 4*bis*, in fact, attributes Essen RE 19 to that hand).

so in choosing one I do not hesitate to prefer (with Amyx's knowledge) the mnemonic "Taucheira" to the Furtwängler catalogue number. Amyx, of course, saw that "The Painter [of Berlin F 1090]'s roots, as his earliest works indicate, should be sought somewhere within the vases of the so-called 'White-Dot Style'" (*CorVP*, p. 175). Quite simply, those roots are his very own. Although the style of the panthers evolved from Essen RE 19 to Berlin F 1090, it is clearly the same hand: the line of the thin tail between two large rosettes, the two tiny arcs placed well within the contour of the back, the placement of the row of short arcs (for rib marks), and the several strongly curved lines on the haunch are all typical (on a panther facing right, the rib marks are often straight slashing lines, as on the second panther on Essen RE 19). The griffin's drumstick is consistent with those on the Taucheira Painter's swans and London siren, and its knob, marked with concentric circles, just like the eye directly below it, is typical of his fondness for repeated circular motifs. The panther's nostril marks on Berlin F 1090 will prove important but do not occur on the Essen round aryballos.

Tarquinia RC 6247, a round aryballos attributed by Amyx as an "Early" work by the Painter of Berlin F 1090,³⁰ shows us that before he saw Essen RE 19 he was content to attribute panthers nearly indistinguishable from the Essen ones to the same hand as those on the flat-bottomed aryballoi listed in *CorVP*, pp. 175–176. On the Tarquinia round aryballos, we have a siren compatible enough with the London one but drawn with all the panache of the Moscow Boread, and with the same pattern on her headband as both Boreads. The face (nose, mouth, and eye in relation to one another) is particularly close to the Moscow Boread. The panthers' faces still have white dots on the ears; there is also a blob of pale added color in the "keyhole" at the top of their heads and, above that, a short vertical stroke, which will be important in another connection. Like Essen RE 19, Tarquinia RC 6247 is a true Luxus vase rather than one that has grown out of Luxus roots, but its exact relative date and, indeed, those of all the best examples of the Luxus manner, will be plain only when the careers of all the major contributors to the "Phenomenon" have been clarified. Note, for now, that its large rosettes have nearly sunflowerlike centers, and, on the other hand, the tiny fillers, incised with +s, are still close to Delos 451. This siren gives us a third kind of human ear, small but generic; the Taucheira Painter, early and late, has an extensive repertory of alternative markings for details. The panthers on Tarquinia RC 6247 share all the critical traits of those on Essen RE 19, including the use of curved ribs on the panther facing left and straight slashes on that facing right. Notice, besides, the alternation of red with rows of white dots between the haunch marks. The arrangement of tails and huge rosettes under the handle at the back of the aryballos is also characteristic. One detail here is closer to Berlin F 1090: the strictly vertical "whisker" marks (actually, perhaps, a female ruff—if the artist had ever seen a living big cat).

The flat-bottomed aryballos Berlin F 1090, with its longer-legged animals and use of broad areas of added red at the expense of white dots, raised in principle the question of whether attributing the "Early" round aryballoi in Essen and Tarquinia to the Taucheira Painter implies not combining the lists but giving him the "Early" works and assigning the advanced MC flat-bottomed aryballoi (as well as the alabastron *CorVP*, p. 175, A 2) to a pupil or younger associate. C. W. Neef, indeed, has questioned the integrity of the Painter of Berlin F 1090 list itself.³¹ In what

³⁰ *CorVP*, p. 175, A 3. To be published in *CVA*, Tarquinia, forthcoming, by Stefano Bruni.

³¹ Neef 1991, p. 51: "As I feel quite certain that more than one hand is involved." Although I shall not depart from my focus on the Taucheira Painter as the epitome of the Luxus phenomenon, in order to investigate adequately the integrity of the Berlin F 1090 list, I think that, when we have seen how great a range of manners and quality (on the scale from painstaking to slovenly) is covered by pieces that are inextricable from the Taucheira Painter (by reason of interlinked recurrences of ingrained habits of drawing), we shall understand the varied repertory of markings, and the failure of pride in good work, evident in many of them. Amyx, indeed, never published a paper dedicated to explaining and characterizing the whole list, but over a quarter century I was witness intermittently to its growth and can vouch for its gradual formation under his continuous critical scrutiny, although (as Beazley was always ready to admit, gladly accepting a better attribution even from an unknown person) no one is infallible, and I cannot vouch for such of the lesser works as I have not actually studied.

follows, we shall see that assorted pieces, early and later, good and poor, in that list are individually attributable to the Taucheira Painter. It hardly matters which we start with; each adds, as it were, new axons to an increasingly intricate network of connections.

The flat-bottomed aryballos in Urbana (University of Illinois)³² can be no earlier than the introduction of aryballoi decorated in this way with huge human protomai, probably no earlier than the midpoint of Middle Corinthian. The best published examples are those by the Otterlo and Galera Painters.³³ Stylistically, the Urbana aryballos is unlike those, but it participates in the same fad. The head, with its trowel-shaped beard, profile, and incised mouth, is consonant with the Pushkin and British Museum Boreads. The nose is a little more exaggerated, the whole somewhat simplified (note the ear) although enlarged. The panthers (the basis of the original attribution to the same hand as Louvre MNB 630) are perfectly consonant with the advanced-MC panthers in the Berlin F 1090 list; even the hooked-loop shoulder on these two (hardly exclusive to the Laurion Painter)³⁴ recurs on other pieces to be considered here. As on Essen RE 19, therefore, the anthropoid part of the decoration entails “Taucheira,” the feline “F 1090.”

Heide Froning, six years before Amyx’s *CorVP* was published,³⁵ independently associated the MC alabastron Essen RE 18 (Pl. 53:a–d) with one formerly in a private collection in Basel (Benson 1953, pl. 6),³⁶ as is obviously correct. Of all the vases in the F 1090 list, the Basel alabastron (Pl. 54:a, b) is most significantly similar to the panther on Essen RE 18.³⁷ Not only do the panthers have the same type of “double shoulder” (again, a type not confined to this artist; in a slightly different form, the Otterlo Painter also favored it)³⁸ but also the white dots on the face and haunch observed above on Tarquinia RC 6247 and Essen RE 19 (the flying-siren round aryballos), and, in a more pronounced form, the “snorting” nostril marks seen on Berlin F 1090 itself. The single panther on Essen RE 18, which faces right, has straight, slanting rib marks; the Basel winged panther, facing left, has curved ones—a distinction already noted—and alternate interstices have white dots. The Basel winged panther is strongly mannered, notwithstanding the sketchy incisions in some of its filling ornament; it has a perfect circle incised at the top of the face, picking up the concentric eyes and the circular shapes of the muzzle. Probably unique is the double line filled with white dots bisecting the red neck (preferred in advanced Middle Corinthian to the time-consuming flecked neck). Another *bizarrerie* is the filler in the shape of a large rosette, most oddly incised after the fashion of some shaped filler, under the panther’s tail, but Essen RE 18 has a similar one.³⁹ The three next-largest rosettes are true Luxus sunflowers, with added red and with white dots in the ring. The hatched fillers recommend caution lest it be placed too early. Although the panther’s face on Essen RE 18 has different jowls, and the corners of the eyes are oriented vertically, as on

³² World Heritage Museum 22.1.111 (CM 320), now *CVA*, World Heritage Museum and Krannert Museum 1 [USA 24], pl. 4[1174]:1, 2; *CorVP*, p. 176, A 14, attributed as early as 1943 (Amyx 1943, p. 230, note 75) to the same hand as *CorVP*, p. 176, A 18 (Louvre MNB 630), accepted by Benson (1953, List 65, forming a nonce list of two pieces).

³³ Benson 1971, pl. 2:8, 9, pl. 3:9 (both heads are illustrated in Langlotz 1932, pl. 11), pl. 5:9, the last (clearly more closely related to the Otterlo Painter although obviously with a lion by the Chimaera Painter [Lawrence 1996, p. 111, note 224] as a model, proximate or remote) attributed to the Galera Painter. Amyx (*CorVP*, p. 291) questions the integrity of that list.

³⁴ As on Leyden I 1950/7.4, *CorVP*, p. 182, A 15, pl. 67:3b.

³⁵ Froning 1982, p. 89.

³⁶ *CorVP*, p. 175, A 2.

³⁷ Although Amyx did not add Essen RE 18 to the Painter of Berlin F 1090 list (doubtless because his addenda were in page proof before Froning’s catalogue reached him), Neeft (1991, p. 51) noted it, although with the general reservation cited above, note 31.

³⁸ Benson 1971, pl. 1:2, 5. The Otterlo Painter himself was willing to adopt a variety of schemata for animal parts.

³⁹ On the Basel alabastron the incised lines in the half-winged panther’s haunches scramble elements that ought to look as if they overlapped in the same way as in the swans’ wings on Delos 451. One might almost think that this draftsman had a visual disability analogous to verbal dyslexia or dysgraphia.

Essen RE 19, Tarquinia RC 6247, and Berlin F 1090 itself, the Basel winged panther is manifestly by the same hand as those three.

The evidence afforded by Essen RE 18 is not limited to its panther (though we have not yet used its vertical seated haunches). The profile face of the goddess (presumably Artemis, facing a stag) is easily understood as by the same hand as the Urbana protome (but smaller and female) or the much earlier, neater siren on London 1860.4–4.11, and there will be further examples of standing “goddesses” on flat-bottomed aryballoi in the Berlin F 1090 list (*CorVP*, pp. 175–176). The stag, contorted to fit the available space, is perfectly analogous to the finer, earlier contorted bull on the back of the Moscow alabastron, and the stag’s face and antlers will be important for another attribution.

Louvre MNB 630 (*CorVP*, p. 176, A 18), the flat-bottomed aryballos already attributed (long before a Tauchera Painter or a Painter of Berlin F 1090 had been isolated) to the same hand as Urbana 22.1.111, as sharing the hooked-loop shoulder incision and having in its panther’s face the same accidental expression that recalls a cartoonist’s stereotype of a hobo alcoholic, also has foreleg markings (Pl. 54:c) especially like those on the Basel alabastron. These were drawn, however, with shocking haste, like the rosette incisions, with no care at all. On the front, much more carefully drawn, is a palmette-lotus cross (Pl. 54:d), the inspiration for Benson’s nonce name.⁴⁰ This leads to a flat-bottomed aryballos, Taranto 4989 (NC 834), which Amyx and J. L. Benson⁴¹ agree in attributing to the hand of Berlin F 1090; here the floral cross is made of four palmettes, and the tendrils are curtailed, but the panther is much more obviously like those on the round aryballos Tarquinia RC 6247 (the structure of the panther’s face and shoulder and the neck covered with incised flecks should mean, also, that it is earlier than Louvre MNB 630 or Berlin F 1090). The three from Siana in Berlin,⁴² by the same criteria, should not be much later. It is here that it becomes difficult to believe that the Artemis (with a bow) is by the same hand as the Tocra and Delos Potnias. Her ear is too ill drawn to tell whether a C-shape was meant or not, and her arms look like a caricature of children’s art. Yet the distribution of filler types and the panthers’ contours and incision-structures give perfect justification for the attribution, which would be more palatable if it were not obvious that some of his much better work is also later: this is neither palsy nor failing eyesight (indeed, persons so afflicted typically take pains to compensate). Berlin 2955, the Artemis aryballos, if the introduction of some fillers incised with slashes and the swirling incisions on the largest rosette are indicative, may be a little later than Taranto 4989, but although these are small flat-bottomed aryballoi (H. 0.135 and 0.129, respectively), the potter’s work is fine, and the mouth-and-handle assembly is still closer to the round aryballoi than to Louvre MNB 630 and Berlin F 1090.

A much larger (H. 0.180), and certainly very late, flat-bottomed aryballos, Naples 80323,⁴³ must be by the same potter as Berlin F 1090 and is painted in the same late manner, with profuse added red replacing white dots altogether.⁴⁴ Here the woman or goddess has not only all that

⁴⁰ “Nonce name” only because any list consisting of two pieces is likely to be absorbed into some longer list once the style is better understood; on this principle (Lawrence 1960) I did not name the hand of Leipzig T 317 and Delos 322, of whom, at the time, I had no further understanding.

⁴¹ *CorVP*, p. 176, A 17. See now also Dehl 1995, p. 77, no. 300.

⁴² *CorVP*, p. 176, A 9, A 21, A 22. The simple-looking drawing in *AA* 1886 is remarkably accurate and probably was made using the *camera lucida*. A small, but sharp, image of Berlin 2955 is included in *Antikenmuseum Berlin* (W.-D. Heilmeyer, ed., 1988), pp. 54–55, no. 14. One of the worst of the flat-bottomed aryballoi that Amyx was confident in attributing to the hand of Berlin F 1090, London 1867.5–8.890 (NC 825; *CorVP*, p. 176, A 6), also is not among the latest. (*Note*: it is not illustrated in the latest edition of Stobart’s *The Glory That Was Greece* and was never a good illustration of glory.)

⁴³ *CorVP*, p. 176, A 11.

⁴⁴ It is worth asking whether the running-man motif does not provide a relative chronological link to the Otterlo Painter’s aryballoi with the same motif, or even was borrowed from him (not a rare occurrence in this industry); it seems more characteristic of the Otterlo Painter. For illustrations, see Benson 1971, pl. 2:1–2, 5–6, 7.

“expression of ingenuous alertness” that gives the Taucheira Painter’s faces their charm but also the forward-tilted, C-shaped ear of the Potnia on Delos 451 and the flying siren on Essen RE 19. Certainly the face is softer and the eye smaller, but the chronological interval may be as great as that between the Eurytios Krater’s Iole and the Medallion Painter’s namepiece.⁴⁵ The woman’s figure is “nicer” than that of the Berlin Artemis simply because her (presumed) arms don’t show at all; we have reached a period when a *purely* conceptual assemblage of parts is hardly an option even to represent antique goddesses, but as we already observed in his Potnias and Boreads, the Taucheira Painter was of all elderly Corinthians least capable of embracing, let alone forging for himself, forms based on optical experience. The panther on Berlin F 1090 at least has “whiskers,” yet the arcs on the panther faces on Naples 80323 may go back to the bounded white dots framing the half-winged panther’s face on the Basel alabastron or the panther’s face on Essen RE 18, which are not much earlier (it will have to be considered whether they are necessarily earlier at all).

A round aryballos, Middle Corinthian by any definition, Taranto 4973,⁴⁶ has as its principal ornament a sprawling lotus cross. Such a lotus cross is not a late type, but this round aryballos, unlike those in Essen and Tarquinia, is not (is no longer?) a White-dot vase; only profuse red is added. That it is by the hand of Berlin F 1090, and so by the Taucheira Painter, is given not only by the panther mask improvised in the center but also by the shape and incisions of the panther’s hindquarters on the back. These recall other squatting haunches by this hand.

Preeminent among these is a new attribution to the Taucheira Painter, the extremely large, fragmentary alabastron Louvre Campana 12322 (Pl. 55:a, b).⁴⁷ So much as is preserved of one sphinx’s face agrees perfectly with the Potnia on Delos 451; it is utterly charming. The chevrons in the band on her neck (and on the lotus centerpiece) agree with Moscow I 1a 5799. So does the filling ornament, with shaped fillers incised with double lines well away from the edge and the tiniest fillers incised with a +, although the double-centered rosettes are less sunflowerlike. The rib markings, slashing on the sphinx facing right, tightly curved on the sphinx facing left, agree with Essen RE 19 and Tarquinia RC 6247. The forelegs are elongated versions of those on Essen RE 19 (or neater, earlier versions of those on the Basel winged panther). The haunches of the sphinx facing right match the haunches of the seated panther on the back of Essen RE 18 (the alabastron with a contorted stag), although the Campana sphinx is finer; those of the sphinx facing left recall the haunches on Taranto 4973 and, most exactly, those on Tarquinia RC 1671 (see below). The placement and curvature of the pairs of incised arcs on the back are the Taucheira Painter’s. The wings, finally, in every detail, not least in their tips and the way that feathers are incised all the way to the tips, match both Potnias and both Boreads. There are two reasons, I think, why this

⁴⁵ *CorVP*, p. 147, 1; *Necrocorinthia*, NC 780, pl. 27, and *CorVP*, p. 195, A 3, pl. 76:1a–c.

⁴⁶ *CorVP*, p. 175, A 4.

⁴⁷ Brigitte Tailliez, DAGER, Musée du Louvre, informs me *per litteras* (24 July 1996) that 12322, not 11322 (as in the *CVA*), is the correct number, “car il y a eu des erreurs dans le registre Campana.” F. Villard, *CVA*, Louvre 13 [France 21], pp. 60–61, pls. 72:2, 74:1 [962, 964]; pres. H. 0.245 (lacking all of neck and mouth). Not visible in the illustrations is the floral centerpiece, vertically opposed lotuses: “au centre de la corolle et entre les deux fleurs, bande de chevrons incisés; une bande de chevrons semblable, formant collier, orne le milieu du cou du sphinx de gauche, le seul dont une partie de la tête soit conservée.” Also, the upper section of the wingbow is in added yellow, the second section is red, the wing feathers, rib interstices, and haunch divisions have added yellow and red alternately, and both red and yellow are added in the centers and petals of the lotus centerpiece, in alternate petals of the red-centered double-centered rosettes. Villard placed this alabastron under the heading “Corinthien ancien à figures noires,” which Amyx, in his review of the fascicle (1966), did not question. This is a true Luxus alabastron, even egregiously so. The triangular shaped fillers have their double lines (with white dots?) *within* the shape, as on Moscow I 1a 5799, rather than at the edge of the shape, as on Tocra 31 and Delos 451; these fillers, in combination with the sphinxes’ very long necks and legs and horizontal bodies with very tall vertical haunches, suggest that whether or not Delos 451 and Tocra 31 are contemporary with vases (in other manners) unanimously regarded as Middle Corinthian, Campana 12322 and Moscow I 1a 5799 surely cannot be chronologically Early Corinthian. Luxus work at its purest is just as Payne said (*Necrocorinthia*, p. 285): manneristic and archaizing. The lavish use of added *yellow* fairly trumpets the painter’s archaistic intent.

attribution was not made earlier: first, François Villard forbore making new painter attributions in the text of his *Corpus* (and the photo, pl. 74:1, foreshortens the sphinx's face) and, second, it depends at least as much on the pieces from the Berlin F 1090 list as on those in the Taucheira list. Consequently, it also cements the argument presented here. Further, whatever its relative date, Campana 12322 exemplifies the *Luxus* manner in its purest form and to the utmost degree, proving the Taucheira Painter's unique involvement in it (using Protocorinthian yellow more than Protocorinthian vase painters themselves had done!),⁴⁸ at least through his best years.

The sphinxes on Tarquinia RC 1671⁴⁹ look almost like reduced copies from a true *Luxus* alabastron like Campana 12322. This rather large alabastron (H. ca. 0.290; the mouth is restored) is decorated with two friezes.⁵⁰ Amyx calls it "early" in the Painter of Berlin F 1090. It certainly is earlier than Berlin F 1090 itself, or Naples 80323, or the Basel half-winged panther alabastron. The panthers have flecked necks but also "double" shoulders as on Essen RE 18. The running youth has a wholly scale-patterned chiton, like the Moscow Boread, and with the same hem pattern, but his figure is less massive and his eye smaller in proportion to his face; so much as is legible of the woman or goddess (above him, in the upper frieze) has the same scale pattern and probably the same border (much paint is missing in this figure). The panthers' faces and forelegs certainly are by the Taucheira Painter, but they may well be later than those on Essen RE 19 and Tarquinia RC 6247 (the round aryballo). The seated sphinxes flanking the woman in the upper frieze leave no doubt that Campana 12322 is by this hand; the only difference is that they walk with their forelegs while seated behind. They may actually have been copied from his larger work.⁵¹ The long torso and legs and the undulating hemline of the running youth, as well as the proportions of his face, the use of parallel hatch marks on a few of the fillers, and the sphinxes' vertical haunches (attached to slender, nearly horizontal bodies) all caution against dating this alabastron too early.

Two questions are critical here. To what extent can criteria used in the relative dating of some groups, some traditions in Corinthian vase painting, be applied to all? And, in this painter himself, do squat and elongated figures succeed each other or are they merely two manners of working? The second possibility is strong in a hand prone to specialized mannerism. A two-friezed round aryballos⁵² has the same spacing between the bands below the picture (though with fewer, slightly fatter petals on the bottom) and the same double dicing between double lines, between the upper and lower friezes, as Tarquinia RC 1671 (on which the upper banding is lost). Is it

⁴⁸ Delos 330 (NC 600), the round aryballos with a splendid Gorgon, uses added yellow, but it is properly Early Corinthian, and the yellow is confined to the Gorgon, almost as if the artist were quoting the color usage of a painted Gorgon at Corinth, such as (by way of speculation) on a metope on an early temple.

⁴⁹ *CorVP*, p. 175, A 1. To be published in *CVA*, Tarquinia, forthcoming, by Stefano Bruni.

⁵⁰ It is decorated like an EC olpe, which is about the same size. See Rizzo 1990, cat. XXV, 2, figs. 322, 323, stylistically very like the latest work of the Sphinx Painter (*CorVP*, pp. 70–73), Villa Giulia inv. 87975, from Vulci, Necropoli dell'Osteria, tomb 171, which Rizzo (*loc. cit.*) places, surely correctly, at the end of Early Corinthian. The Sphinx Painter's EC olpai, all with two friezes, are nos. A 18–A 21 in Amyx's list; A 18 and A 21 (NC 759 and NC 760) are illustrated by Payne (*Necrocorinthia*, pls. 21, 25). Both count as "late" Sphinx Painter, both are manifestly earlier than Villa Giulia inv. 87975, and both suggest that the latter is by the Sphinx Painter himself rather than a close follower; his own two-row alabastron, Würzburg L. 101 (*CorVP*, p. 71, A 13; NC 459, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 21:3; Langlotz 1932, pl. 10), also demands the attribution, and it is probably as late as Villa Giulia inv. 87975; it also has white dots, like the olpai NC 759 and NC 760 (*Necrocorinthia*, pl. 21:1, 2, 9). It seems just to regard the two-row oversize alabastron as a quasi-olpe (the olpe shape was becoming rare at the end of Early Corinthian), probably introduced by the Sphinx Painter, enjoying a minor vogue for a couple of decades. We shall see other reasons to posit some connection between the late work of the Sphinx Painter and the Taucheira Group.

⁵¹ Whenever the Taucheira Painter tries to work at animal-frieze scale, the figures seem overloaded, because he cannot sufficiently, it seems, scale down the patterns and features. The same kind of awkwardness is seen in the Chimaera Painter's pyxides (Lawrence 1959, pls. 90, 91; 1996, pls. 40, 41, 46–48), evidence that these vase painters naturally drew large, just as some persons naturally write large.

⁵² Basel Market, Münzen und Medaillen AG, 1977; *CorVP*, p. 316, add as A 4ter, "Early," to the Painter of Berlin F 1090.

only because the alabastron afforded him taller friezes that its figures seem to adumbrate late MC proportions? Has he deliberately reverted to a stocky manner on the round aryballos? In either case, his style here seems painfully constrained. The sphinxes' markings, although they are compressed, are compatible with Tarquinia RC 1671 and Campana 12322, and the filling ornament is right (allowing that he lacks space to make really large rosettes in contrast to small scrap), but it must have been the panthers in particular that prompted the attribution. This round aryballos is most interesting as further evidence of the Taucheira Painter's willingness to turn his hand to all sorts of decoration.⁵³

Before deciding that the Taucheira Painter was ill advised to take on frieze decoration, we should consider his contribution to another, briefer "phenomenon," the Middle Corinthian manufacture of huge, deluxe olpai, the swan song of the Corinthian olpe shape. As Amyx has shown, the Dodwell Painter decorated two of the largest ones,⁵⁴ emphatically his although in a rather different manner from his pyxides and broad-bottomed oinochoai. But he didn't do the Kiseleff olpe, now Würzburg K. 1786 (Pl. 56:a-d), nearly as large and arguably even finer; it is by the Taucheira Painter. The vase is not so slender as the Dodwell Painter's pair, although it is clearly later than Corinth C-62-565, stratified with later-EC pottery in the Anaploga Well.⁵⁵ Ursula Finster-Hotz very astutely dates it early in Middle Corinthian,⁵⁶ citing the sunflower rosettes in particular.⁵⁷

The general effect of the Kiseleff olpe (like that of the Dodwell Painter's, relative to his pyxides and oinochoai) is quite different from the Taucheira Painter's work on aryballoi and alabastra. Both artists might as well be asserting their competence to decorate an olpe properly (*inter alia*, eschewing white dots, although the Sphinx Painter's olpai have some: see note 50 above), and since it is a dying vase shape, in its prime a generation earlier, their concern to do it properly (only much larger) is analogous to insisting on appropriately formal, symmetrical Potnias and sphinxes on (very much larger) alabastra. The evidence that this is indeed the Taucheira Painter's work is cumulative: no single comparison alone is proof. It is all the stronger, however, because the comparanda range over his entire career. First, the head of the grazing stag (II, on the back) is obviously by the same hand as the messier head of the contorted stag on Essen RE 18. The Kiseleff stag has (an earlier instance) the hooked-loop shoulder that the Essen stag and some of the panthers on his flat-bottomed aryballoi have. With the Kiseleff stag, compare also the Moscow bull, closer in date; the arcs enclosing the face and the close-packed recurring lines between the eye and the horn are important. Inappropriate to an olpe, shaped fillers are absent, but the rosettes (exceptionally large with sunflower centers, much smaller with all the tiniest ones carefully plus-incised) are most like those on Moscow I 1a 5799. The Taucheira Painter's fondness for distributing emphatically circular motifs of different sizes, mostly with concentric circles, to unify the overall pattern, is fully indulged. On the Kiseleff olpe every creature is saucer-eyed, the lions (three here; it is not an animal in his ordinary repertory) have ring ears, and the (quite common) circles on the panthers' brows

⁵³ Even more remarkable, for a painter specializing in perfume bottles, is his kotyle from Perachora (*CorVP*, p. 176, A 23).

⁵⁴ Milan, Museo Civico (ex Rome, Lerici), *CorVP*, p. 208, A 44, p. 320, and p. 347, add as A 44bis; Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 80.16. If these olpai were much larger, they could serve as grave markers. Certainly, no one can have served wine from them, just as no one can have used liter-capacity alabastra for personal scent. Note that the Dodwell Painter, naturally a painter of small figures in friezes, is as awkward at enlarging his style as the Taucheira and Chimaera Painters are at reducing theirs: he has to devise unaccustomed elaborations to fill space.

⁵⁵ *Corinth* VII, ii, p. 142, An 219, pls. 57, 100, 102. Just as Tarquinia RC 1671 is an alabastron with olpe syntax, Corinth C-62-565 is an olpe with alabastron syntax: salamander between cocks.

⁵⁶ Simon 1989, pp. 38–39, no. 74, pls. 23, 24. There Finster-Holz reports that Amyx, in a letter (1986), said that he knew of no parallels for the style. The attribution I defend here (first presented in a 1992 paper and published in abstract [Lawrence 1993]) is now endorsed by Christine Dehl (1995; see "Afterword," pp. 320–321 below).

⁵⁷ One detail, linked tails, can be seen in Blomberg 1983, no. 23, pl. 19:a. The conceit is not common, but it goes back, at least, to the Sphinx Painter: Amyx 1996, p. 11, no. 19, pl. 4 (*CorVP*, p. 70, A 1).

are prominent and carefully drawn. The siren (II, center front) has a profile face that compares especially well with the Moscow Boread, because of the large eye, but (although the glaze-paint in the lips is thin and does not show well) also with the Potnia on Delos 451, the small siren on London 1860.4–4.11, and the sphinx on Campana 12322; she could be ancestral to the more loosely drawn “standing goddesses,” but they are much more idiosyncratic. Here, as on the London siren, the ear is elaborately detailed: of all the ears he employs, only the tipped-forward C is really his own. The Kiseleff olpe also shows us something like a catalogue of current shoulder types; besides the hooked loop on the stag, ram, and goat, we have the classic EC elongated, enclosed, and divided shoulder (on the lions on the front and on the panther on the back: note that all three times the enclosing line is discontinuous) and the simple, strongly curved open shoulder (in most of the animals in the lowest frieze). The panthers’ faces all have carefully drawn snorting nostrils in muzzles enclosed by double arcs, all have vertical “whiskers” and vertically oriented eyes, and all have a short vertical stroke right in the center at the top of the face mask.⁵⁸ We have seen the snorting nostrils in every degree of degeneration (e.g., on Taranto 4989) and patterning (on the Basel winged panther), and the short vertical stroke recurs in the panther facing right on the late flat-bottomed aryballos Naples 80323 (see also Louvre A 454, below). The rows of incised flecks on the panthers’ necks are correct for the Taucheira Painter, like Slavic diacriticals: √√√√.⁵⁹ The panthers and the stag most obviously recommend attributing the Kiseleff olpe to the Taucheira Painter, but the bull and siren are as important, and the profusion of carefully distributed concentric circular motifs may be most telling of all. Here, for a highly superior potter, the Taucheira Painter spared neither ingenuity nor his best efforts. For one who as a rule avoided lions, his are remarkably good.

Once the attribution of the Kiseleff olpe is accepted, that of two other fine vases (and a third attributed by Payne, now lost)⁶⁰ can be assessed more confidently. Louvre A 454 (Pl. 57:a–d) is the earliest known work of the Taucheira Painter, although not necessarily much earlier than London 1860.4–4.11 (which also has early-looking filling ornament and very few white dots, limited to border patterns on the figure of the Boread himself and the siren’s wing bow). The panther’s shoulder, of course, with its sharp point, is yet another type to add to his repertory, but the shapes of all hindquarters (noting the arcs for the iliac crest and the special double curve of the numerous haunch markings), the slashing rib marks on the panther (facing right) and the ample curve of its belly line, the foreleg marks (although of a generic type), the panther mask (although it is generic, note the emphatically double-outlined muzzle,⁶¹ the “handwriting” in its whiskers, and its nearly ring-shaped ear and the incised-out whites of its eyes, both of which are also in the bull facing it)—all these agree with later panthers by the Taucheira Painter, first those on Essen RE 19 and Tarquinia RC 6247, thence on all the rest.⁶² Clinching the attribution, this panther has the vertical stroke at the top of its head that all the panthers on the later Kiseleff olpe have (it recurs

⁵⁸ The panther in I, in the center, is too poorly preserved for ascertaining facial marks.

⁵⁹ This is not universal; the Anaploga Painter (*CorVP*, p. 139, although he is Middle Corinthian), for example, used flecks like French circumflexes: ^^^^ . Flecks like rows of rounded apostrophe marks, >>>>, are used on the panthers on Corinth CP-3133 (Amyx 1996, p. 29, no. 104, pl. 26).

⁶⁰ *Necrocorinthia*, p. 290, at nos. 613, 614. Benson’s and Amyx’s Painter of Louvre A 454 (Benson 1953, List 40; *CorVP*, p. 100) is simply this pair. Benson (1953, List 40) listed Würzburg 254 (L. 98) as “perhaps by” this hand (see p. 315). Ursula Kästner (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen Berlin) informs me *per litteras* (6 August 1996) that the aryballos F 1065 was lost in World War II, that no photograph exists, and that Furtwängler’s description is the only source for this vase. Any person or archive possessing a tracing or even a rough sketch of F 1065, that is (absent an identifying label), of a round aryballos corresponding to Furtwängler’s description and closely resembling Louvre A 454 (which, however, has no hoplite), is urged to publish it.

⁶¹ Compare the panther masks on the two-friezed aryballos in the Basel market in 1977 (p. 312 above).

⁶² The combination of a nearly circular left ear and a tulip-shape right ear on a panther recurs, for example, on the carelessly drawn Berlin inv. 2955, from Siana (*CorVP*, p. 176, A 9). The hindquarters of felines by this hand are so characteristic that he can be recognized even in part of the walking haunches with the far hind leg on an uninventoried sherd of a flat-bottomed aryballos, Naples, storage in “Cuma, ambiente C.”

sporadically throughout his career, on Tarquinia RC 6247, on Urbana 22.1.111, and on Naples 80323). The bull on the Kiseleff olpe is more mannered and patterned, but this one already has a hooked-loop shoulder, and their general shape and aspect are (I think) convincingly similar. Finally, at the back under the handle, the swan is just as dodolike as those on Tocra 31 and Delos 451 (compare also those by the very old Sphinx Painter, note 50 above) and in all its essential parts marked identically, although without white dots. In particular, in all the Taucheira Painter's swans, although the bulge for a wing is farther back on the contour, the bow of the folded wing is incised beginning at the very base of the neck. The swan's head most strongly confirms the attribution.

The second attribution that involves the Kiseleff olpe is a tentative attribution that has been overlooked.⁶³ Benson nearly a half century ago suggested that Würzburg 254 (L. 98; Pl. 58:a-c) was "perhaps by" the Painter of Louvre A 454. From the photos available then, and without the understanding of the Taucheira Painter gained from knowing his whole career, the attribution of this absurdly mannered panther⁶⁴ was hard to grasp. Here is yet another kind of shoulder, a broad red shield shape outlined in bounded white dots, but by now we have learned to look beyond shoulders on Luxus alabastra. The panther's mask is elaborated beyond any resemblance to a cat, with spiral nostrils inside the double outline of the muzzle and outlined pouches above and below concentric-circled eyes. The forelegs, the rib marks (although with white dots in alternating interstices, as on the haunches on Tarquinia RC 6247), and strongly arced iliac marks (high on the back) closely match the corresponding sphinx on Campana 12322 (where the potter's work looks somewhat later). The hare's exaggerated ears remind us of the bull's and stag's on Würzburg K. 1786. The filling ornament (no full-blown sunflowers) still resembles that on Louvre A 454, although it has the full range of Luxus shaped fillers; developmentally, the latter fall between London 1860.4-4.11 and Delos 451, with their white-dotted borders still at the edge of the shape. The conclusive evidence that Würzburg 254 (L. 98) is a thoroughly Luxus, extremely elaborated work by the Taucheira Painter, fairly early in his career, is in the unusual fig-shaped fillers in the arc of the recurving tails (where there is usually a rosette); the sphinx facing left on Campana 12322 also has one, and a small, careless "fig" recurs in the same position inside the panther's tail on Essen RE 18 (under the handle). Under the handle at the back, the vertical sequence of fillers relative to hindquarters is often like an unlettered signature. Here it is generally consistent with London 1860.4-4.11 and Tarquinia RC 6247. It is not only because both are attributable to the Taucheira Painter that Louvre A 454 and Würzburg 254 are certainly (not "perhaps") by one hand. Benson, I now see, must have noticed a truly rare marking that they share, the anklebone marking (within and attached to the double-line hind foot enclosure) on all three panthers on both vases. Once again an additional attribution cements those made on other grounds.

THE PAINTER OF LEIPZIG T 317⁶⁵

As Amyx says, "related to the early work of the MC Painter of Berlin F 1090," the Painter of Leipzig T 317, now with at least five pieces attributed to his hand,⁶⁶ does almost everything

⁶³ Amyx (*CorVP*, pp. 92 [no. 27], 337) provides the reference to *GkV* (= Benson 1953), List 40, no. 3, but does not comment further and leaves the alabastron "Unattributed." Although I first studied Benson's List 40 as early as 1956 (as a student), then and later I did not see the reasons for his suggested attribution, which we shall now consider.

⁶⁴ There are, of course, two panthers, confronted, flanking a vertical hare, in a composition (classic for an alabastron) going back to the Transitional period (compare NC 77, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 15; *CorVP*, p. 58, A 2), but the panther facing left is nearly effaced.

⁶⁵ More easily remembered names have been suggested to me for this hand and for the next. I agree that museum inventory numbers are awkward for this purpose and best relegated to undistinguished hands and groups, but a name that has appeared three times in print probably ought not to be changed. I make this decision with regret, since the alternative name in question is more mnemonic.

⁶⁶ Amyx (*CorVP*, p. 91) listed the two round aryballoi, Delos 322 and Leipzig T 317, which in a review (Lawrence 1960) I had noted were by the same hand. To these Neeft (1991, p. 34) added, as no. 3, "Princeton 5814 (L 64-532).

that the Taucheira Painter does but in his own handwriting, making his work a perfect foil to the latter's. With so few attributed pieces, our notion of his style remains incomplete. There is at least one more certain attribution, Paolo Orsi's Bitalemi fragment, published ninety years ago (Pl. 59:c).⁶⁷ Delos 322, a round aryballos,⁶⁸ has all his traits. He draws a "pupil" floating in the center of an amygdaloid eye. He uses plenty of white dots on all parts of the creatures and splashes of red (also on the large fillers). On animals' bodies his markings are generically like the Taucheira Painter's, meaning, of course, those in the Berlin F 1090 list, *except* for the hind legs. His birds have two curved marks at the back of the head (as the Taucheira Painter's never have), and their heads and beaks are not at all dodolike. On his panther masks he makes horizontal "whiskers" just as consistently as the Taucheira Painter makes them vertical, and he never encloses the muzzle with double arcs. The most obvious habit that distinguishes him is his use of added white dots all over panther necks, where the Taucheira Painter uses √√√√ flecks. The panther masks on the Delos, Philadelphia (The University Museum), and Basel Market aryballoi show just how closely the Painter of Leipzig T 317 was associated with the Taucheira Painter. They are like a poor man's version of those on Würzburg 254 (L. 98). The hindquarters of the panthers (Philadelphia) and lions (Leipzig), exactly alike, are significantly different from any by the Taucheira Painter; one can hardly doubt that he wanted to revive the Transitional-period musculature seen on the Painter of Palermo 489's namepiece.⁶⁹ Note also, in comparing these, that he tends on both to flatten the petals of his large rosettes; that is, he incises plain round shapes with centers and petals. Feathered and knotty-muscled haunches are quite alien to the Taucheira Painter. The lions' heads on Leipzig T 317 also descend from the Painter of Palermo 489.⁷⁰ Comparing those on the Kiseleff olpe, we find that the Taucheira Painter's have a stronger personal style, real panache. Note, too, that neither felines by the Painter of Leipzig T 317 nor those by the Painter of Palermo 489 himself have the anklebone marking noted on Louvre A 454 and Würzburg 254.

Hind legs and haunches evidently emulative of the Painter of Palermo 489, and extremely similar in their "handwriting" to those on the Leipzig and Philadelphia aryballoi, do occur on a pair of earlier alabstra, which constitute the list of the Painter of Delos 447.⁷¹ The smaller of these, London 1883.11–24.2 (Pl. 59:a, b), also has a genuinely early-looking lotus flower, and neither of them has Luxus Manner white dots (i.e., between double lines or in rosette centers). Both have conspicuous white dots, however, where those are extremely rare: replacing flecked patterns on the panthers' necks, as on all four vases with panthers by the Painter of Leipzig T 317. The long, narrow panther mask, although with spiral nostrils, and the very tapered necks also seem to me to anticipate his. Several typological details link Delos 447 to the Taucheira

As A 2" and, as no. 4, certainly correctly, "Basel Market [Cahn]. Photo [D. Widmer] 6150. As nos. 2–3." The Princeton listing, but not the stylistic attribution, is incorrect; in *CV4*, The University Museum 2 [USA 29], p. 53, Benson attributed Univ. Mus. L-64-532 (pl. 32:3–5 [1504]) to the hand of Delos 322 and Leipzig T 317, certainly correctly. He did not mention Neef's attributions or comment on a round aryballos at Princeton with a similar inventory number. Inquiries to the University Museum, Princeton, confirm that "Princeton 5841 (L 64-532)" does not exist as a vase separate from University Museum (but at Philadelphia) L-64-532. Since The University Museum, inv. L-64-532 was the gift (1909) of Mrs. Charles Platt, Benson also suggested calling this artist the Platt Painter (but see note 65).

⁶⁷ From Gela, *dal santuario suburbano di Bitalemi*. Orsi 1906, col. 637, fig. 452; col. 636: "Di un esemplare colossale dai colori vividi e smaglianti, che nella sua vivace policromia ricorda assai da presso i vario pinti tessuti orientali da cui copiava il decoratore, ci pervenne la sola estremità superiore con una bella maschera di pantera." Was Orsi the source for Payne's suggestion (*Necrocorinthia*, p. 285) that the dense, all-over design of the Luxus (White-dot) manner was inspired by textiles? The fragment is in storage in Syracuse.

⁶⁸ *CorVP*, p. 91, no. 2, pl. 40:2a, b.

⁶⁹ *CorVP*, p. 58, A 1; *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 15:11.

⁷⁰ It is for this reason that, generically, they are similar to lion heads by the Columbus Painter, his pupil (see *CorVP*, p. 85), in comparison with which we may seek a relative dating.

⁷¹ *CorVP*, p. 90. Amyx's comparison of this style with the Polyteleia Painter, with which I disagree, will be discussed elsewhere.

Painter as well. The panthers have a “crewcut” of vertical strokes across the top of the head (cf. Würzburg 254); that facing left has a vertical line on its brow and the whites of the eyes are incised out, and the panther facing right has the shoulder enclosure drawn with a discontinuous line (cf. Würzburg K. 1786, but this may be a meaningless coincidence). We shall need a wider range of work to be sure of our conclusions, but the Painter of Delos 447 seems to be the early, pre-Luxus phase⁷² of the Painter of Leipzig T 317, just as Louvre A 454 represents the pre-Luxus phase of the Taucheira Painter.

THE PAINTER OF LOUVRE E 516⁷³

Represented, like the foregoing hands, in the Delos Heraion and with a career parallel in important respects to that of the Taucheira Painter, this new hand, recognized in different aspects of his work by Neft and myself independently,⁷⁴ may, like the Painter of Leipzig T 317, actually have worked alongside the Taucheira Painter. His use of shaped and standard fillers, arranged to leave regular canals of the pale clay color around all his figures, is as distinctive for him as the repetition of circles is for the Taucheira Painter. This habit, along with the broad, plain shape of his spread and folded wings, produces his virtual signature: the organization of wing shapes at the back of the vase (Evans aryballos, Louvre E 516, Naples 80322, and, more simply, Dunedin E 48.209). Equally, the heads of the Dunedin cocks are compatible with the Louvre eagles, and all of his waterfowl, from the dignified creature on the Evans aryballos to the grossly inflated bird on Berlin F 1007 to the humbler swan on the Mormino aryballos to the squashed ones on the Dunedin aryballos and the alabastra “Taf. 21, Nr. 29,” Delos 442, and Naples 80322, have the same head and drumstick configurations and the same “expression.” The sirens and the Potnia have unmistakable, unusual shrewish profiles. These are shocking when placed beside the Evans collection siren, whose profile face is as lovely and rationally structured as Iole’s on the Eurytios krater.⁷⁵ The Boread on Berlin F 1007, however, is intermediate, apparently by the same hand as both the Evans siren and the Naples Potnia. The aimless character of this hand’s wavy incised lines (Boread and Potnia) is noteworthy, and the medium-sized shaped fillers are alike on the plain Dunedin aryballos and the heavily elaborate Berlin alabastron, at once related to the Taucheira Painter’s and not exactly the same. Although the Evans aryballos is the most beautiful, it is Louvre E 516 (most distinguished in design) and the Boread and Potnia alabastra that hold the list together.

⁷² As noted, the white dots *on the neck* do not count in this connection.

⁷³ See the remarks in note 65, although “Painter of Louvre E 516” may be only a nonce name, since the privilege of naming this hand is properly Neft’s (besides what he has already contributed, he has under consideration several more unpublished pieces). The Louvre round aryballos, E 516, in any case, though not the most elaborate of his works, is the key piece for my list; the pattern formed by the wings at the back was my point of departure.

⁷⁴ In 1991, when I was beginning to realize that the stylistic roots for some Luxus hands might be sought among advanced EC round aryballoi, I attributed to one hand the advanced MC alabastron Naples 80322 and the round aryballos Louvre E 516. Early in 1996, Neft sent me photos of a very fine round aryballos, Vero Beach (Fla.)/Wilmington (Vt.), Evans collection, noting that Louvre E 516 and Delos 442 (NC 395, *CorVP*, p. 92, no. 20) were by the same hand and, tentatively, that Berlin F 1007 (NC 390, *CorVP*, p. 92, no. 13) was “in his manner.” He also sent, for comparison, a copy of an illustration of an alabastron from a German catalogue, labeled “Taf. 21, Nr. 29,” which, in May 1996, I recognized as by the same hand as Naples 80322. Comparisons convinced me that all six are by one hand. In July 1996, I saw that a non-White-dot round aryballos, Dunedin, Otago Mus. E 48.209 (*CVA* [New Zealand 1], pl. 36; J. R. Green dates it “Early MC, first quarter of the sixth century”), is also by this hand. A few weeks later, Palermo, Banco di Sicilia, Coll. Mormino inv. 83 (ex coll. Politi di Sciacca, *La collezione archeologica del Banco di Sicilia*, Palermo 1992, pp. 44–45, cat. no. C8), with a *potnia thērōn* grasping swans, caught my eye and with study proved to be also by this hand. Vittorio G. Rizzone, *ibid.*, himself cited “*gli aryballoi stilisticamente affini di Parigi, Louvre E 516 . . . e di Mannheim Cg 12*” (on the latter, see below). Doubtless this list of eight is only the core of an important artist’s list, just emerging. Neft, *per litteras* (July 1997), has brought to my attention several additional pieces by or closely related to this hand, whom he has suggested calling the Royal Athena Painter.

⁷⁵ Louvre E 635 (NC 780), *CorVP*, p. 147.

On the latter, Naples 80322, the Potnia's swans have the same ruffled breast (a dozen closely spaced parallel lines) as the swan below the handle on the much earlier Evans aryballos.

ANTECEDENT STYLES

An hour's study each in *Necrocorinthia* and *CorVP* will show that EC aryballoi and alabastra decorated with large, centered figures, rather than friezes of duelers or padded dancers, are among the least studied Corinthian vases. When a particular motif is chosen, whether ox heads or padded dancers, and collected exhaustively,⁷⁶ acquired familiarity leads to recognition of discrete hands. The longest list in *CorVP*, section III, chapter 18, pp. 118–126, however, is that of "The Lion Group: Unattributed Vases." The Concordance of *Necrocorinthia* catalogue numbers (*CorVP*, pp. 777, 779), shows inches of EC alabastra and aryballoi without corresponding page numbers, even counting "Lion Group: Unattributed" as an attribution. As Payne said, and Amyx concurred (*CorVP*, p. 118), some of even the small round aryballoi (H. less than 0.070) must be Middle Corinthian; after all, it is at this size that a perfume bottle is useful to living mortals. The relative date of the first wave of medium-sized alabastra (average H. 0.180), at about the middle of EC development, is seen in the best examples of Payne's Gorgon-bird Group (NC 440–456A). Payne says, in the introduction to the EC alabastron (p. 281), that "towards the end of the century it begins to be displaced by the globular, footless aryballos," and indeed, small round aryballoi become commonest at this time. Perhaps that shift coincided with the introduction of alabastra better suited to exhibition (in sanctuaries or in funerary contexts, even, for all we know, as *bibelots* in homes), too large to hang from the wrist. Perhaps larger round aryballoi coincide with them. Even the Sphinx Painter's sole surviving example, Syracuse inv. 11708, is already more than ten centimeters tall.⁷⁷ Examples as large as typical flat-bottomed aryballoi, as large as those in the Luxus Group, could be contemporary with it and (at least) closely related to Luxus hands. Among these I count Mannheim Cg 12, which Amyx added⁷⁸ as "perhaps by the Sphinx Painter." The Mannheim round aryballos is a full-fledged Luxus vase. Rather than assume that its artist (as well as the Painter of Louvre E 516 and the Vaccarella Painter)⁷⁹ studied with the Sphinx Painter, we should ask (without expecting a ready answer) why the Sphinx Painter, near the end of his career, transferred to an aryballos, Syracuse 11708, a motif (Pl. 59:d) that he had used in the upper frieze of olpai.⁸⁰ Perhaps it was made by the same potter as his alabastra.⁸¹ In any case, the sirens on Mannheim Cg 12, on the Painter of Louvre E 516's aryballos in the Evans collection, and on the Vaccarella Painter's twin namepieces⁸² are based on the Sphinx Painter's model. Although nearly as large as the Evans aryballos, and like it in having canals of pale clay color between the figures and the fillers, the Mannheim aryballos is not certainly by the Painter of Louvre E 516, although the exact markings

⁷⁶ Seeberg 1971 (reflected in the preponderance of specialist hands, *CorVP*, pp. 101–118) showed what could be done with padded dancers. Only the most charming round aryballoi, however, are regularly well published.

⁷⁷ H. 0.107; *CorVP*, p. 71, A 14. Kassel T 710, H. 0.110, *CVZ*, Kassel 1 [Germany 35], pl. 9 [1689]:1–3; *CorVP*, p. 86, C 1, "related to the Columbus Painter," is not much larger and only a little later.

⁷⁸ *CorVP*, p. 306, AP 1, H. 0.152. *CVZ*, Mannheim 1 [Germany 13], pls. 6 [592]:10–12; 8 [594]:13.

⁷⁹ *CorVP*, p. 88. To be studied in a separate article.

⁸⁰ *CorVP*, p. 72, A 18 and A 21, conveniently illustrated in *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 21, NC 759 and NC 760.

⁸¹ *CorVP*, p. 71, A 11–A 13. One of these, Würzburg L. 101, A 13, is quite large (H. 0.218) and is decorated like the olpai, with two friezes. Even larger (and it seems to be his) is Villa Giulia inv. 87975 (H. 0.246), for which see Rizzo 1990, cat. XXV, 2, figs. 322–323.

⁸² Taranto 20682 and 20691, from Vaccarella (*CorVP*, p. 88, A 1 and A 2). Also relevant in this context, as an EC antecedent to end-of-EC sirens, is Valleggia K 54, which Neeft, *per litteras* (January 1996), mentions in connection with the Evans aryballos (I owe my knowledge of this piece to his photograph). If, as I have suggested elsewhere (1996, p. 110 and note 221), perfume bottles were generally made by specialist potters, by putting in time with them as youngsters our hands might have learned useful formulas from the Sphinx Painter when he worked nearby. Surely, having been an important vase painter for decades and still drawing with undiminished charm and authority, he should have commanded unusual respect in the trade.

on the head of the bird on the back of the vase are not, to the best of my knowledge, found in any other hand. Its linear configurations, as Amyx's placement suggests, are still close to the Sphinx Painter. Yet it is exactly the same kind of Luxus round aryballos as the Evans one. All three of the hands we have studied here, then, not only do some of their best early work on round aryballoi but have real links, in their formative period, with the late Sphinx Painter's work on perfume vases.

WHY A "PHENOMENON": IMPLICATIONS FOR CONNOISSEURSHIP

By the time the Taucheira Painter's Potnia alabastra were made, the profusion of work in the most varied styles but all in the Luxus manner, besides work shunning the manner but adopting more abundant rows of white dots than mid-EC hands had used, proves that the ornate (and, especially in new condition, gaudy or even garish), large, often mannered alabastra and aryballoi were a raging success. The Boread alabastron in Berkeley⁸³ that Natalia A. Sidorova thought was by the same hand as Moscow I la 5799 (i.e., by the Taucheira Painter) is one of many that are part of the commercial phenomenon, a spontaneous response to the latest thing. If the Berkeley alabastron (which is not by the Taucheira Painter) can be attributed, its siren and filling ornament will determine its hand. Another alabastron that has a Boread with a flecked beard and upright forelocks, Villa Giulia inv. 46774, *dall' corredo della tomba IV "del colonnello"* (Cerveteri),⁸⁴ is later and uncommonly vigorous. It is certainly not by the same hand; although it does not use shaped fillers systematically, the very heavy use of added red and the density of the overall pattern may make this a Luxus alabastron. Other hands, like that of Gotha, Ahv. 3,⁸⁵ are better characterized as following the Columbus Painter's Boread⁸⁶ than the Taucheira Painter's. An utterly charming Typhon, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 135,⁸⁷ on an alabastron only 22 cm tall, is not truly Luxus-manner work, although Payne listed it (NC 392) among the "white-dot" vases (it has a few, on borders and headband only). It is rather early, perhaps contemporary with the Taucheira Painter's London alabastron 1860.4-4.11⁸⁸ but in a sweeter, milder style.⁸⁹ On the other hand, although they are without shaped fillers and have only a few white dots, the two alabastra that constitute Payne's and Amyx's Painter of London O.C. 376,⁹⁰ highly mannered and with elaborated heads on the griffin-bird and panther-bird, are thoroughly infected by a spirit analogous to the Taucheira Painter's.⁹¹ Related to these by the bird's inflated body, but egregiously Luxus in all respects, is

⁸³ *CorVP*, p. 92, no. 10. H. 0.227.

⁸⁴ Helbig⁴ III, p. 552, no. 2587; not *CorVP*. From the same tomb group as a Transitional olpe, with three friezes, evidently *CorVP*, p. 77, C 1 ("related to the Painter of Vatican 76"), Villa Giulia inv. 46781.

⁸⁵ *CVA*, Gotha 1 [Germany 24], pl. 9 [1133]:4-6.

⁸⁶ Louvre MNB 500, one of the three surviving alabastra with foot ring, contemporary with the invention of the flat-bottomed aryballos (*CorVP*, p. 86, A 15). Two of the alabastra in Amyx's list "The Luxus Group: Unattributed Vases" (pp. 91-92, nos. 5 [Boread] and 33 [Cocks]) are said specifically to recall the Columbus Painter. When Payne said (*Necrocorinthia*, p. 285) that the Gorgon-bird Group were "often influenced by the white-dot style," he meant, not least, the later Columbus Painter. The line between vases affected by the Luxus phenomenon and vases that are part of it is difficult to draw. I should suggest that the absence of genuine shaped fillers ("echo" fillers), especially when, also, added red is not used in the centers and petals of double-centered rosettes, is good grounds for exclusion.

⁸⁷ *CorVP*, p. 92, no. 15.

⁸⁸ *CorVP*, pl. 42:1, 2.

⁸⁹ Rhodes 13686, H. 0.270 (*CIRh* 6/7, 1932, pp. 22; 28, fig. 16:2; 30, fig. 18; 31, fig. 19), judging from the photo (p. 30, fig. 18), is by the same hand. This hand, as Amyx's placement (*CorVP*, p. 88, B 1, "Near the Painter of Berlin F 1003") shows, represents Luxus(?) work in a different strain from the Taucheira Group (the subject of this article).

⁹⁰ *CorVP*, p. 89.

⁹¹ The Painter of London O.C. 376 list is closely related to the earlier Painter of RC 2117 (*CorVP*, p. 308; Neef 1991, p. 34) and to Neef's (unpublished) Joslyn Painter and several related pieces. It may be, when all these have been adequately studied, that we can isolate one aspect of the Luxus phenomenon distinguished by its leading to the Populonia and Erlenmeyer Painters.

Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum inv. 715⁹² (Pls. 60:a, 61:a), now cleansed of early restorations, in a wonderfully exuberant style using freely invented shaped fillers. It is obviously inspired by the Tauchera Painter but stylistically remote, closer in the drawing of the blouse and ear to the Villa Giulia Boread from Cerveteri (above). The presence of a dolphin and the type of the panther-bird's face are foreign to the Tauchera Group.⁹³ With new photographs of all three in hand, Allard Pierson 715 seems, in fact, to be by the hand of Hermitage B 1391 and Brussels R 224 (Pls. 60, 61),⁹⁴ named for the latter piece. Although all three alabastra exhibit strong variations, in their border patterns, headbands, hair forms, and ears, all three share calligraphic peculiarities in the rather curly shaped fillers in front of the Typhon's face. The Allard Pierson alabastron looks most evolved, although no great span of time need be invoked; the filling ornament is tidiest on Hermitage B 1391, but the Typhon on Brussels R 224 (Pl. 60:b) is more firmly drawn and might be earliest. This hand is an already experienced vase painter, drawing wildly but with assurance. Did he begin with Typhons? If he began in Early Corinthian, his formative period may be hard to identify. Where else is there such a panther mask with ruffled cheeks as on Allard Pierson 715?⁹⁵

Considering pieces like the Amsterdam Typhon shows how much too simple our notions of continuities in Corinthian workshops may have been, and it is in the study of continuities that progress must be made.

AFTERWORD

In 1992, both the contents of this article concerning the identity of the Tauchera Painter and the Painter of Berlin F 1090, with my attributions to that hand (Lawrence 1993), and Christiane Dehl's manuscript for her publication of the Corinthian material from the Demeter Malophoros sanctuary at Selinous (Dehl 1995, preface) were complete, but I obtained her book only when this article was forthcoming. The material from that sanctuary attributed to the hand of Berlin F 1090 is fairly abundant (see her index, p. 432) and extremely important: (i) none of it is in the *Luxus* manner (rightly, she can cite only no. 421 as a *Luxus* alabastron, and it is not by our hand); (ii) it includes fragments (nos. 883–887) of at least one more *olpe*; (iii) it includes a large standard *oinochoe*, no. 708, indubitably his;⁹⁶ and (iv) it confirms independently the attribution of Würzburg K. 1786 to the hand of Berlin F 1090, which Dehl saw is certainly his. Her no. 708 bears a lion facing a stag unmistakably like those on the Würzburg *olpe*. Therefore, the Würzburg lions do not stand alone, and the large *oinochoe* takes its place beside the large *olpai* as an exceptional shape for exceptional work.⁹⁷ Dehl's independent attribution of the Würzburg *olpe* is most valuable, since

⁹² *CorVP*, p. 92, no. 16. The correct inventory number is still Scheurleer's: 715 (Neeft 1991, p. 34). Allard Pierson 715, in my opinion, by no means verges on Late Corinthian, as Benson (1953, List 58, no. 7) suggested, but it cannot be earlier than the Erlenmeyer Painter's significantly similar London alabastron (note 93).

⁹³ The use of a dolphin and the general disposition of decoration on the vase invite comparison with the Erlenmeyer Painter's early alabastron in London (*CorVP*, p. 160, A 1, pl. 62:1a, b), but the drawing is different in every detail, although the vases may be contemporary and their hands aware of each other's work. Both seem later than that painter's Yale alabastron (*CorVP*, p. 160, A 8), itself having as a necessary antecedent Louvre E 574 (NC 801; *CorVP*, p. 171, A 1; Lawrence 1996, pp. 87–88, 110–111, 122, L 1).

⁹⁴ *Necrocorinthia*, sub NC 389; *CorVP*, p. 91.

⁹⁵ There are not a few other Boread and Typhon alabastra, mostly Middle Corinthian, that can be described in language similar to the foregoing and, in fact, must be related in some way to them. I am grateful to Neeft for sending me photographs of some of them. Sorting them chronologically, attributing them to hands, and determining whether any of them are specialized ("Luxus") work by hands known for their work in other manners, or whether the large floral alabastra (*CorVP*, p. 93) were done by any of the same hands, may not be easy. For now, we need to forbear making nonce lists that might need to be re-sorted and re-named later, since any named list is bound to be cited and prove harder to eradicate than to author.

⁹⁶ The style of no. 708 recalls also a fragment, *Corinth* VII, ii, no. 66, pl. 11, which is not certainly, however, by the same hand.

⁹⁷ See also Dehl 1995, pp. 144–145.

she came to it from an entirely different angle and without invoking any of the Luxus-manner work by the Taucheira Painter or on the EC–MC alabastra and round aryballoï that unite the Berlin F 1090 list with the Taucheira Painter. She also repeatedly cites among comparanda in her catalogue Louvre Campana 12322, without discussion and without, I think, attributing it to the hand of Berlin F 1090; even so, her independent citations (she nowhere cites the abstract of my paper, Lawrence 1993) are corroborative and most welcome.⁹⁸

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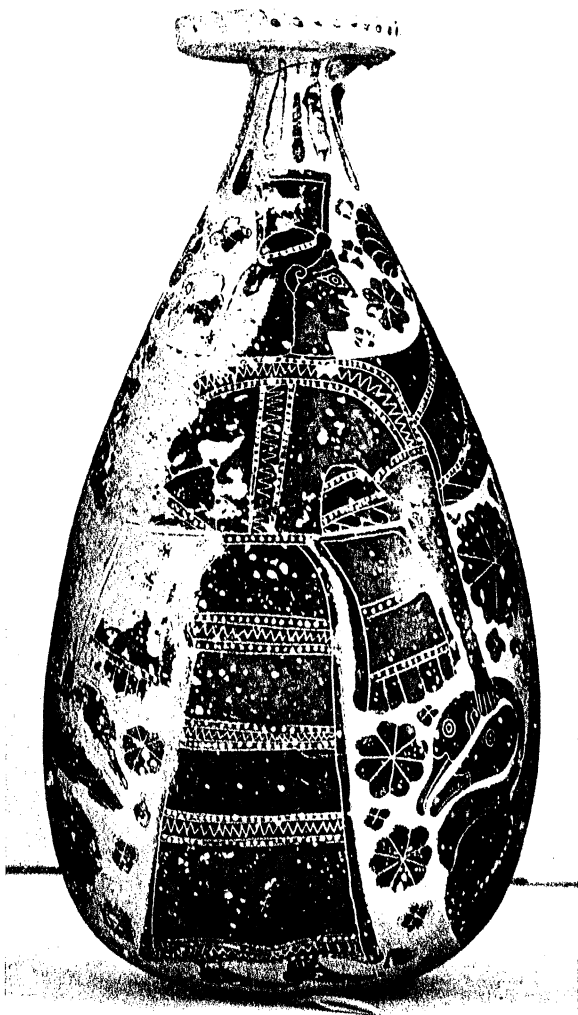
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⁹⁸ She also follows an idea that was originally Amyx's (*Corinth* VII, ii, p. 87, note 52, although I authored the note in which it occurs), linking the hand of Berlin F 1090 with my Anaploga Painter. There are doubtless important links of some kind, but the drawing (hesitant and carefully structured in the Anaploga Painter) is different, as are the bulls (on Louvre A 454 and Würzburg K. 1786), and, as already noted (note 59 above), the flecking on the panthers' necks (Λ Λ Λ Λ vs. V V V V) is a decisive difference of pure handwriting.

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PATRICIA LAWRENCE

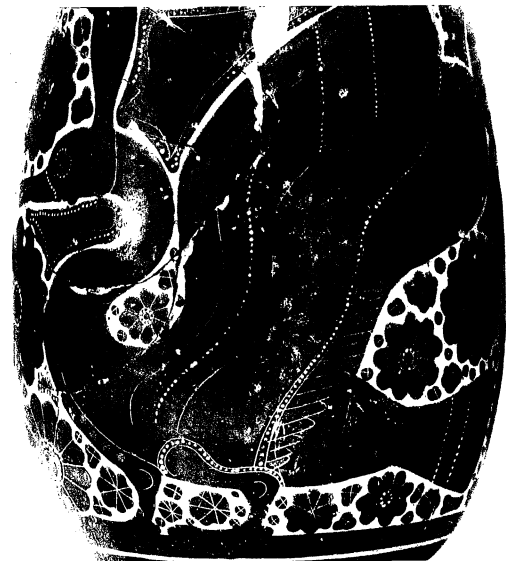
LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
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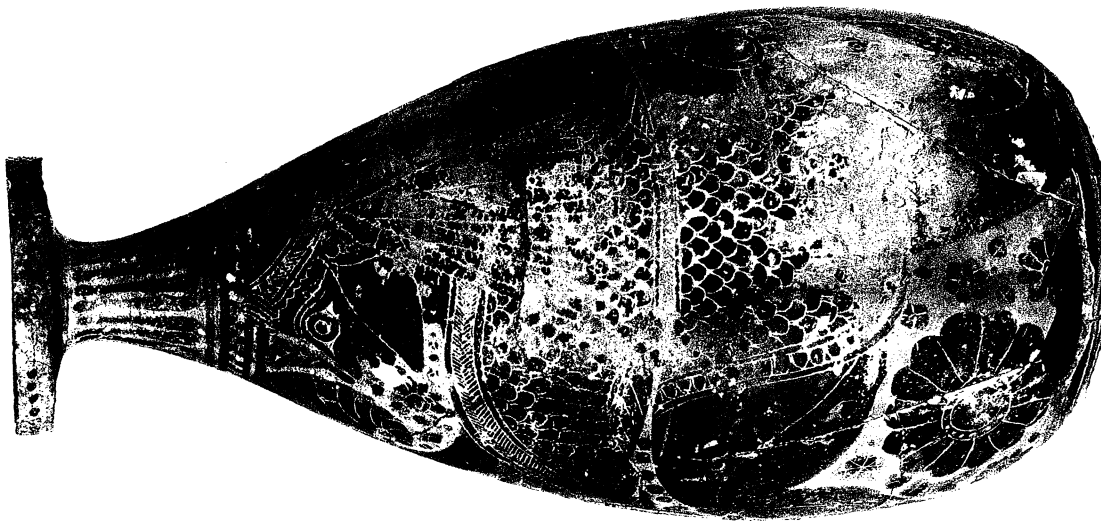
a. Delos B 6.192 (after *Délos X*, pl. XXXIII, no. 450)



b. Delos B 6.191 (detail, after *Délos X*, pl. LXVII, no. 451)



c. Delos B 6.191 (detail, photo © EFA)



a.



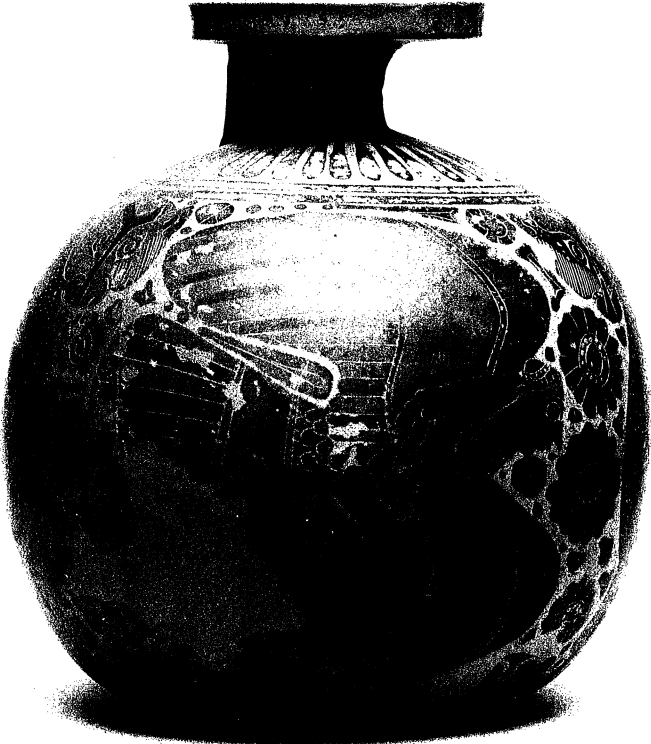
b.



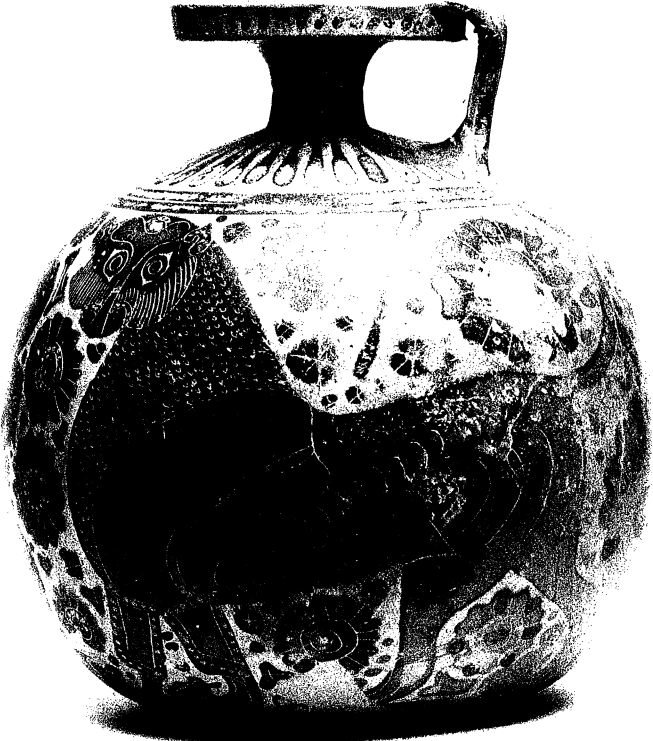
c.

Moscow, Pushkin Museum I la 5799 (photographs courtesy Pushkin Museum)

PATRICIA LAWRENCE: THE LUXUS PHENOMENON, I



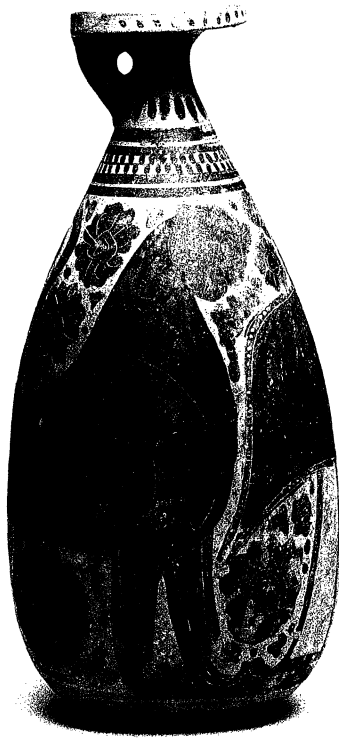
a.



b.

Essen RE 19 (photographs courtesy Ruhrlandmuseum, Essen)

PATRICIA LAWRENCE: THE LUXUS PHENOMENON, I



a.



b.



c.



d.

Essen RE 18 (photographs courtesy Ruhrlandmuseum, Essen)

PATRICIA LAWRENCE: THE LUXUS PHENOMENON, I



a.



b.

Formerly Basel, private (photographs D. Widmer)



c.



d.

Louvre MNB 630 (photographs P. Lebaube, courtesy Musée du Louvre)



b.



a.

Louvre Campana 12322 (photographs Chr. Larrieu, courtesy Musée du Louvre)

PATRICIA LAWRENCE: THE LUXUS PHENOMENON, I



b.



a.



c.



d.

Würzburg K. 1786 (photographs courtesy Martin v. Wagner-Museum der Universität)

PATRICIA LAWRENCE: THE LUXUS PHENOMENON, I



a.



b.

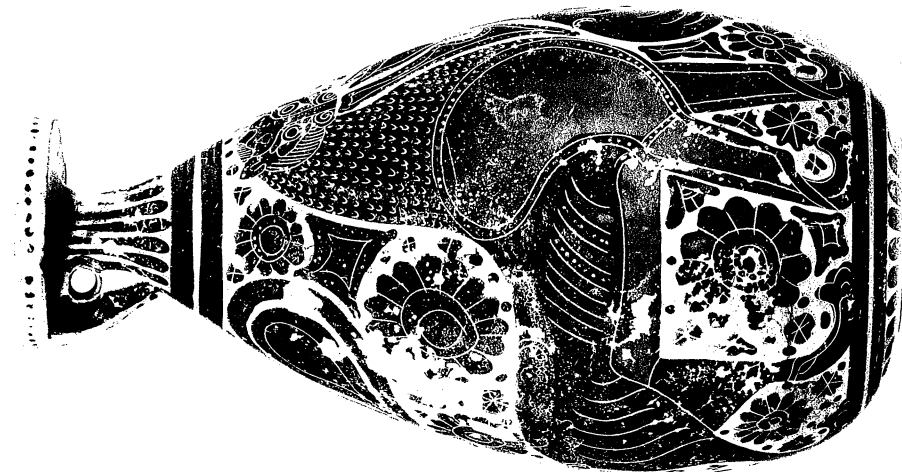


c.



d.

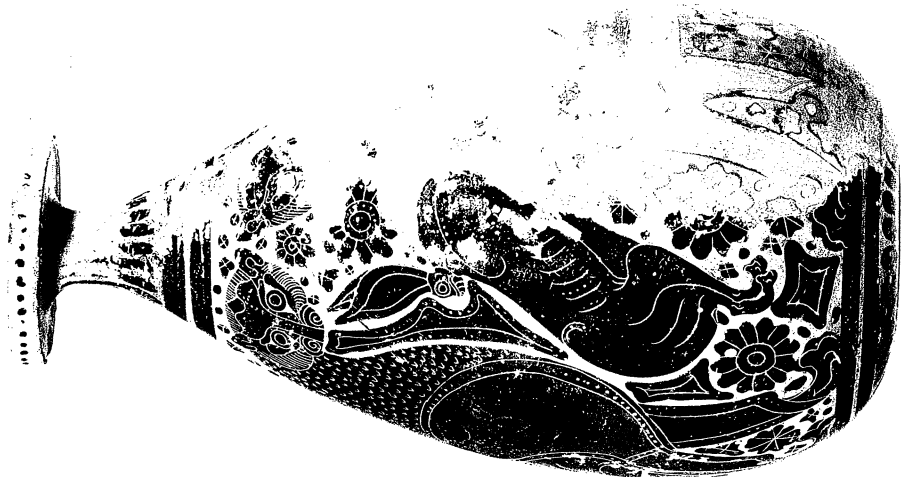
Louvre A 454 (photographs courtesy Musée du Louvre)



a.



b.



c.

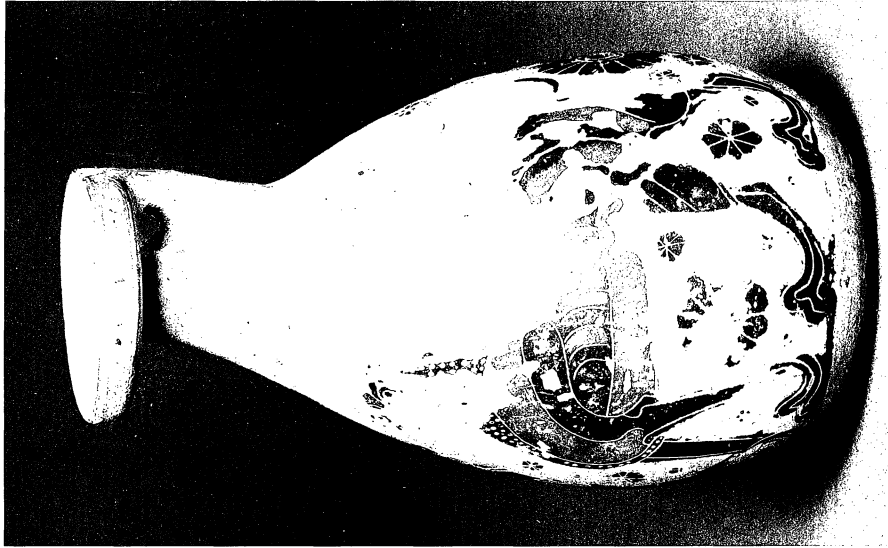
Würzburg L. 98 (photographs courtesy Martin v. Wagner-Museum der Universität)



c. Syracuse (not Museo Paolo Orsi), from Gela (photograph courtesy Soprintendenza ai Beni Culturali ed Ambientali di Siracusa)

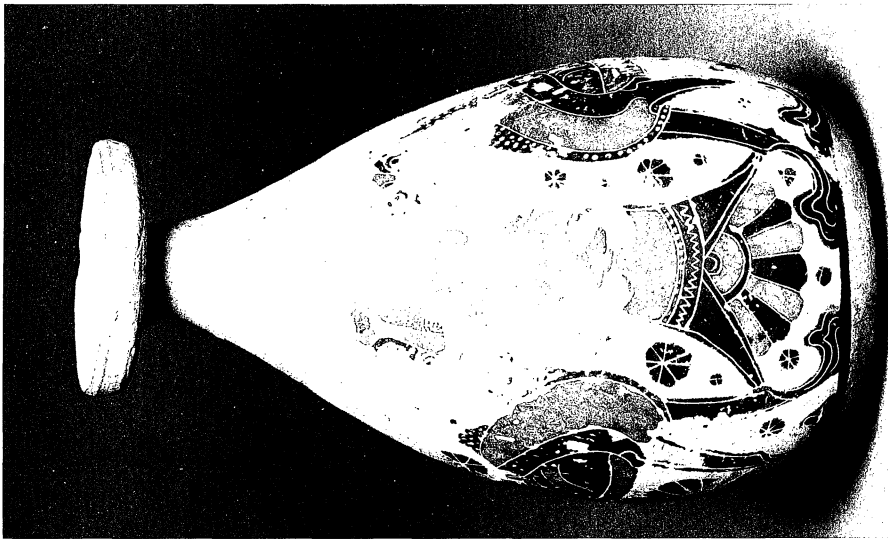


d. Syracuse inv. 11708, from Megara Hyblaea (photograph by author)

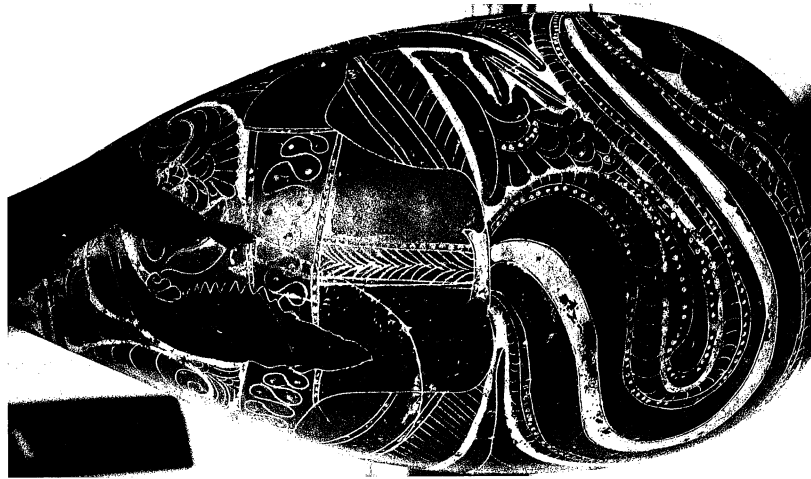


b.

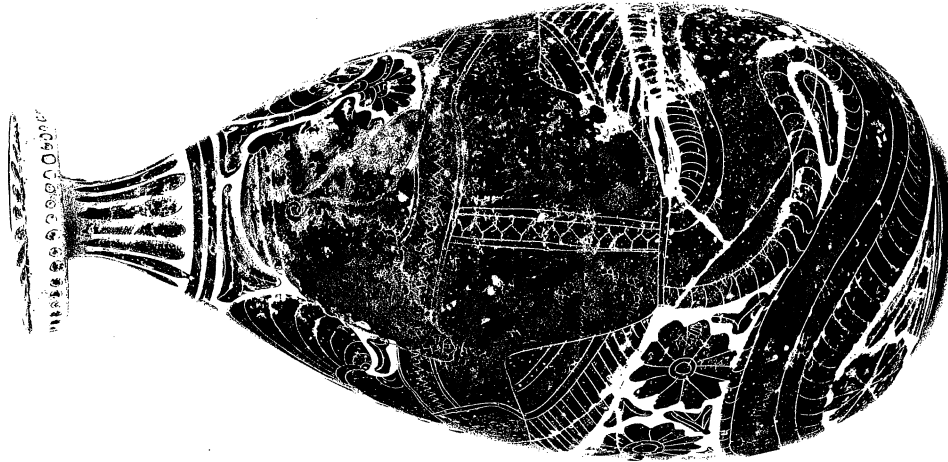
London 1883.11-24.2 (photographs courtesy British Museum)



a.



a. Allard Pierson Museum 715 (photograph courtesy C. W. Neef)



b. Brussels R 224 (photograph courtesy Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire)



c. St. Petersburg, Hermitage B 1391 (photograph courtesy l'Hermitage)

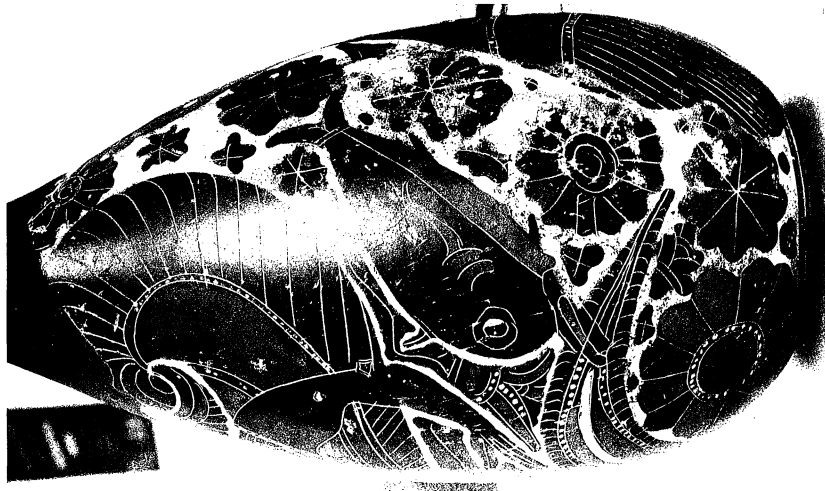
PATRICIA LAWRENCE: THE LUXUS PHENOMENON, I



c. St. Petersburg, Hermitage B 1391
(photograph courtesy L'Hermitage)



b. Brussels R. 224 (photograph courtesy
Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire)



a. Allard Pierson Museum 715 (photo-
graph courtesy C. W. Neef)