

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ATTIC LATE GEOMETRIC II POTTERY

VOLUME I

THEODORA ROMBOS

BEDFORD COLLEGE

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is an attempt to view the iconography of Attic vase-painting of the Late Geometric II period, in relation to the previous Late Geometric I period as well as the ensuing Early Protoattic and to establish and interpret the origin and meaning of the various iconographic themes.

The main body of the work begins with a detailed look at those iconographic representations which are found in both Late Geometric I and Late Geometric II. The purely decorative animal representations such as goats, deer and horses are studied first, while the more complex narrative scenes such as prothesis and chariot representations follow.

Chapter II deals only with the Late Geometric II innovations, for example riders, man and lions, as well as animals, grazing horses, bulls, dogs and fantastic animals such as centaurs, sphinxes and winged goats.

In chapter III, three different workshops are studied, each one distinguished for its predilection for specific iconographic themes, such as hunting, cult scenes and the various schemes of man with horses and horses with tripods.

In all three chapters the iconography of other areas of the Greek world especially Euboea, Boeotia, Argos and Crete is drawn for comparison and the possible influences of the Mycenaean world as well as the Near East are also considered.

New workshops and individual painters are also studied; since the main subject of the thesis is iconography and not workshops, these new workshops are included in the Appendix.

Finally the relationship between iconography and shape, and iconography and workshops is studied.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Athens Annals of Archaeology
AA	Archaeologischer Anzeiger
AD	Archaeologikon Deltion
AE	Archaeologiki Ephimeris
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AK	Antike Kunst
AM	Mitteilung des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung
Ann	Annuario della Scuola Archaeologica di Atene
AnnSav	Annales Universitatis Saraviniensis- Philoso- phie-Lettres, Saarbrücken
AR	Archaeological Reports
ArchHom	Archaeologia Homerica. Göttingen
AZ	Archaeologische Zeitung
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies
Babesch	Bulletin Antieke Beschaving, Leiden
BMQ	British Museum Quarterly
BMRA	Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. Brussels.
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
BullMetMus	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum New York
cat.no	catalogue number
C.T.	chariot type
CVA	Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
D.	Diametre
DdA	Dialoghi di Archaeologia
Délos	Délos 15: Les Vases Préhellenique et Geome-

	trique. Ecole Française d'Athènes.
EG	Early Geometric
EH	Early Helladic
EPA	Early Protoattic
EPC	Early Protocorinthian
Ergon	To Ergon tis Archaeologikis Etairias
fig.	figure
H.	Height
ILN	Illustrated London News
JdI	Jahrbuch des deutschen Instituts
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
LG	Late Geometric
LH	Late Helladic
LC	Late Corinthian
MG	Middle Geometric
MH	Middle Helladic
MPC	Middle Protocorinthian
Mefr	Mélanges d'Archaeologie et d'Histoire de l' Ecole Française de Rome. Paris.
MH	Museum Helveticum
MonPiot	Monuments et Mémoires: Fondation Eugène Piot
MÜJb	Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst
MÜM	Münzen und Medaillen
n.	note
No H	number of horses
OpArch	Opuscula Archaeologica
OpAth	Opuscula Atheniensia
OpRom	Opuscula Romana

p.	page
PAE	Praktika tis Archaeologikis Etairias
PCPS	Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological society
PL.	Plate
RA	Revue Archaeologique
RDAC	Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus
RendPontAcc	Rendiconti della Pontificia Academia Romana di Archaeologia
RM	Mitteilung des deutschen archaeologischen In- stituts. Römische Abteilung
Sbornik	Sbornik Národního Muzea u Praze (Acta Musei Pragae)
SCE	Swedish Cyprus Expedition

"und kein Zeit und keine Macht zerstückelt
Geprägte Form, die Lebend sich entwickelt"

GOETHE

INTRODUCTION

The Geometric style of painting was recognised as early as 1870 by Conze: Zur Geschichte den Anfänge griechischer Kunst (1870), while his work was of course prompted by the first Dipylon excavation, which was carried out by the Archaeological Society from 1862 onwards (AE 1862,151,295). This early excavation of the Kerameikos area was due to construction works and the building of the new Athens-Pireus road. The original Dipylon graves, however, were excavated by an antiquity dealer, who not only kept no records but also sold the vases piece by piece, thus dispersing the material.

A few years later in the 1890's, a number of Geometric graves were dug at Athens and they were subsequently published by Brückner and Pernice: "Ein Attischer Friedhof" (1893). Important too are Wide's pair of articles in JdI 1899 and 1900: "Geometrischen Vasen aus Griechenland", dealing with Geometric as a whole.

In 1913 the Germans started excavating the Kerameikos cemetery, but the full publication appeared only after World War II. In the early 1920's, Pfuhl made a study of Geometric pottery in volume I of his three volume work: Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen (1923).

P.Kahane composed in 1936 and published in 1940 his most important article on Attic Geometric pottery: "Die Entwicklungsphasen der attischen Keramik", dividing it into Early, Severe, Ripe and Late. This system of chronology was then generally accepted; his division of the

material and his chronology however have since been challenged. He deals almost exclusively with the abstract ornament, not the figured decoration.

Just before the outbreak of World War II, volume I of the Kerameikos series was published by both W.Kraiker and K.Kübler: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen. The volume contains the finds of the early period from the twelfth to the tenth centuries, from that cemetery. Volumes IV, V part 1 and VI part 1 and more recently still Volume VI part 2 (1970), were published by Kübler and have as their contents careful comparative pottery typologies from the tenth to the sixth centuries.

As more studies were devoted to Attic Geometric pottery and more finds were coming to light, individual painters and workshops were gradually being discovered and identified. J.M.Cook in his study on Protoattic pottery (1935) and in his article of 1947 : "The Athenian workshops around 700", attributes a few vases of the very last phase of the Late Geometric period to several painters. G.Nottbohm in 1943 singled out the painter and workshop of Athens NM 804, better known as the Dipylon Master: "Der Meister der grossen Dipylon amphora in Athen" (1).

The study of the finest Late Geometric kraters was further advanced by E.Kunze, who noted several joins and associated various fragments of the monumental kraters of the Dipylon Group in the Louvre and Athens: "Disiecta

1. JdI 58, 1943, 1-31.

Membra attischer Grabkratere" (AE 1953-54) and "Bruchstücke attischer Grabkratere" (Festschrift Schweitzer, 1954).

Jean Davison in the early sixties made a thorough study of Attic Geometric Workshops, developing the work of Kunze and Cook. She investigated also the internal relationship of the Attic Workshops and based her study both on the figured drawing and the linear ornament. The majority of illustrations in Davison show vases with figured scenes and cover a wide range, but the sequence of the illustrations is not in chronological order and is not intended to be. In his review on Davison, Coldstream (2) does not accept as valid her Knickerbocker, Tapestry and Burly Workshops.

Eva Brann who published the Late Geometric and Protoattic pottery found in the Athenian Agora (1962), gives a full account of the pottery of these periods from the graves and wells of the Agora; this volume was also reviewed by Coldstream (3).

Professor J.N.Coldstream in his fundamental book: Greek Geometric Pottery, a Survey of Ten Local Styles and their Chronology (1968), with the mass evidence from the Kerameikos and Agora cemeteries for the Attic material, set out a pattern of Early, Middle and Late Geometric; he further extended and adjusted the previous lists and attributions to painters and workshops. His chronological framework is generally accepted and will be followed in my present research. The chronological scheme

2. JHS 83, 1963, 211-212.

3. JHS 84, 1964, 217ff.

is here repeated:

Middle Geometric II: ca. 800-760

Late Geometric Ia : ca. 760-750(primarily the Dipylon
Master)

Late Geometric Ib : ca. 750-735

Late Geometric IIa : ca. 735-720

Late Geometric IIb : ca. 720-700

One should of course allow for overlaps in time, since it would be absurd to suppose that no vase decorated in the style classified as Late Geometric IIa was made after Late Geometric IIb had begun to be produced.

Single vases are continuously being published in various periodicals, while in the series of Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, the recent publication of Louvre Fascicule 16 by Kaufmann-Samaras (1972) with all the Late Geometric II material in that museum, is valuable for the study of vase painting in this period.

Figured decoration on a large scale on Attic Geometric pottery suddenly appears around 770 B.C., i.e. in the Middle Geometric II period, as exemplified by a monumental krater in New York, for which however new evidence may indicate a lower dating. On the other hand, the Late Geometric style of drawing is a purely Attic invention for which the Dipylon Master has been credited.

For more than three hundred years after the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation, no attempt had been made to represent a narrative scene (and by narrative I do not necessarily mean a particular story but what most art-historians would call "genre scenes") and only awk-

ward isolated drawings of human figures or animals appear on the vases. Various studies have been devoted to the explanation of this reemergence of figured drawing, the first being by Walter Hahland in Corolla Curtius: "Zu den Anfängen der Attischen Malerei" (1937). Hahland based on the evidence of the then recently published Athenian graves by Kraiker: "Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos" AA 1933-4, claims a continuity from Protogeometric to Geometric and he furthermore supports the view that Geometric art is pre-mythical, being at the same time the fertile pioneer of later mythical art. He also noted the close connection between Geometric art and "Totenehrung" and briefly describes various iconographic themes.

More recently J.L.Benson in his book Horse, Bird and Man (1970) makes an inquiry into the origins of figured drawing, advocating that it derives from Mycenaean, i.e. through repeated contact with Mycenaean prototypes. Benson, however, underestimates the value of Near Eastern influences and perhaps goes too far in denying the Geometric artist any iconographic invention and creation.

John Carter in parts I and II of his article: "The beginnings of Narrative Art in the Greek Geometric Period" (BSA 67, 1972) investigates the problem from a different angle to Benson and includes fairly brief accounts on the earliest horses, bulls, deer, goats and other animals, as well as on ships and human figures.

The question on the origin of the linear motifs has also given rise to various studies and theories, the earliest and also the most extreme being that of Anna

Roe's in her book: Greek Geometric Art, its Symbolism and its Origin (1933) where she interprets all the motifs as being symbolic of the sun. Marwitz's speculative discussion of the symbolic meaning of different kinds of birds can also be added here: "Ein Attisch Geometrisch Krater in New York" (AK 4, 1961).

On the vexed question of the interpretation of the Geometric figured scenes and whether they represent scenes from contemporary life or whether they are inspired by the epic poems and therefore refer to the heroic past, many studies have been devoted. Roland Hampe was the first to attempt to discover mythological and Homeric analogies in his two basic books: Frühe Griechische Sagenbilder in Boötien (1936) and Die Gleichnisse Homers and die Bildkunst sein Zeit (1952). Most of the Attico-Boeotian class of fibulae with developed subjects, however, have no datable context and have now been dated by both K.DeVries "Hesiodic pictures: the Greek Incised Fibulae" and K.Fittschen: Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagedarstellungen bei den Griechen (1969) much later, i.e. at the very end of the eighth century and in the seventh century.

T.B.L.Webster in his well known article of 1955: "Homer and Attic Geometric vases", saw the Geometric figured scenes as heroic. His thesis, however, depends mainly on the interpretation of the Dipylon shield, which he identifies as being the same as the Mycenaean figure of eight shield. Webster's theory has been opposed by many scholars including Ahlberg (1979 ii), who says that

there are serious objections towards such an interpretation and concludes that the Dipylon shields are "real actual shields used during Geometric times". More recently however the Dipylon shield question has been reexamined by A.Snodgrass: "Towards the interpretation of Geometric Figure-Scenes" (1980), who claims that another type of Mycenaean shield is very close to the Dipylon shield and supports the view of a continuity from Mycenaean times.

J.Dunbabin in his book The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours (1957) listed twelve scenes from the eighth century with mythological or legendary subjects. Other scholars such as W.Hahland : "Neue Denkmäler des Attischen Heroen und Totenkultes" in Festschrift Zucker (1954), Kirk: "Ships on Geometric vases in BSA 44(1949), Matz: Geschichte der Griechischer Kunst, die Geometrische und Früharchaischer Form (1950), Kunze (1953), Kraiker: "Ornament und Bild in der Frühgriechischen Malerie" in Festschrift Schweitzer (1954) and J.M. Cook, interpret the scenes as representations from the real world, while Fittschen's (1969) study on the subject is very sceptical. Finally G. Ahlberg : Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art (1971), comes to the unexpected conclusion that all the Prothesis and Ekphora scenes represent funerals of the day, except the New York 14.130.15 krater which she interprets as showing the Aktorione-Molione twins at the funeral games of king Amarynceus, described in the Iliad (book 23,683ff.); this interpretation seems inconsistent with the rest of her analysis.

Professor A. Snodgrass observes in his latest article mentioned above, that at least all the scholars agree that the Homeric epic is the source of inspiration of the few scenes with a possible mythological content, while he draws attention to another possible source of inspiration, such as stories "which have a very obscure status in epic", or stories which may have been handed down in non-poetic form, ie. vernacular. This does not seem to be basically contradicting Gombrich's ingenuous theory on what he calls the Greek Revolution in his book Art and Illusion (1960), where he draws attention to the absence of mythological cycles in Egyptian and Mesopotamian culture, which therefore scarcely knew narrative illustration (in the sense of telling a particular story) in comparison to Greek art, whose rise is mainly due to the existence of Homeric poetry. Snodgrass furthermore proposes a "generalised heroic" as well as a "generalised contemporary" interpretation for the figured scenes.

In the field of iconography R.Tölle in her book: Frühgriechische Reigentänze (1964), was the first to make an extensive analysis and classification of all the Late Geometric scenes representing dancing and she also has an extensive list of all the then known Geometric figured scenes. Tölle, however, does not treat the vase as a whole; she only deals with it as a unit when examining her groups I and II where the dancing scene is the only figured representation of the vase.

In the series Archaeologia Homerica III (1968) Max Wegner in Chapter U of these series makes a study of

music and dance in the Homeric period; the value of his work lies in the fact that he makes a comparison of the visual representations of these two subjects on Geometric pottery and other media with contemporary literature as exemplified by the Homeric poems.

On the Prothesis and Ekphora scenes there are two early studies: one by W.Zschietzschmann: "Die Darstellung der Prothesis in der Griechischen Kunst" (1928), where he gives an account of the theme in Greek art in general allowing only three pages for the Geometric period; the other study is a dissertation by E.Hinrichs which appeared in 1955:"Totenkultbilder der Attischen Frühzeit". As the title implies, she is not concerned just with the prothesis and ekphora but with other Geometric themes, all of which she connects with the cult of the dead.

Again in the series Archaeologia Homerica III (1968) M.Andronikos in Chapter W: "Totenkult" endeavours to set out a pattern of early Greek burial customs and analyses the iconography of the prothesis ,ekphora and threnos representations on the Geometric pottery: he concludes that only the ekphora seems to be at variance and to contradict the Homeric description: for whereas in Homer the dead body is carried by pall-bearers to the place of burial,the few Geometric ekphora scenes clearly show a wheeled wagon in use.

In the same series of Archaeologia Homerica III, Chapter P is on"Hausrat"by Laser and also includes two appendices by U.Jantzen, R.Tölle and V.Karageorghis; this chapter deals with beds, chairs, seats and foot-stools,

as well as tables and chests as described by Homer, with the archaeological material used as comparative evidence. Laser's study on the beds is based on the assumption that they are similar to the funerary biers represented on the Geometric vases. The Archeologia Homerica series on "Schmuck", "Hausrat" and "Totenkult" have been reviewed by A.Snodgrass (4).

The funerary biers have also been fully studied by H.Kyrieleis: "Throne und Klinen" (1969).

Several themes represented on Late Geometric vases, have been given a very full analysis by Gudrun Ahlberg. In her two basic books: Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art (1971) and Fighting on Land and Sea in Greek Geometric Art (1971 ii), Ahlberg was the first to make a full iconographical analysis of these subjects. In the first book she claims to represent a new method in the examination of the Geometric figured scenes and draws much information from the scenes by a method developed in a very technical vocabulary. She gives a rather special sense to the words iconography and iconology. Her use of the term iconography is different than that of Erwin Panofsky in his fundamental book on the study of the history of art: Studies in Iconology (1972). Ahlberg restricts iconography to the "aspects pertinent to the pictures themselves accordingly disregarding the associations behind or framing of references around them", by which she means detailed description and analysis of

4. Gnomon 42, 1970, 156-166.

all the elements of the representation and which corresponds to Panofsky's "primary or natural subject matter". On the other hand her section on Iconology comprises "the roots of the picture in the mythic/epic sphere or real world, i.e. their social, economic, historical and literary background".

This terminology, however, seems unnecessarily complicating and I shall not make the distinction between iconography and iconology, since the latter will hopefully be explained in the synthesis of the present research. Gombrich in the introduction of his book Symbolic Images begins by quoting Panofsky on "The Meaning of the Visual Arts": "there is admittedly some danger that iconology will behave not like ethnology as opposed to ethnography, but like astrology as opposed to astrography.

In her second book Ahlberg brings together the rather fragmentary material and after an extensive analysis of the representations, draws some useful remarks in connection with the historical background. On the other hand a large part of her book is devoted to the comparison of Near Eastern scenes, an issue she is fond of in other contexts as well.

Ships but not necessarily in a fighting context had earlier been studied by G.S.Kirk (1949) who divided the material into six groups and gives a brief account of later literary evidence. Kirk's dating, however, of the first and second groups is too early. In 1968 a book on ships also appeared by J.S.Morrison and R.T.Williams:

Greek Oared Ships 900-322 B.C.

Other studies of Late Geometric themes include P. Müller's book Löwen und Mischwesen in der Archaischen Griechischen Kunst (1978) where he makes a study of lions and "mixed-beings" of the Late Geometric and mainly the Archaic periods, which includes a catalogue of the various iconographic representations of these animals and monsters as seen on the pottery and goldbands.

B. Borell in her excellent book Attisch geometrische Schalen (1978) makes a thorough analysis and classification of the Late Geometric skyphoi. She has a section on the decoration and iconography found on this shape, with a particularly interesting chapter on the influence of the Oriental metal bowls, developing a theory which was first set forth by Bernard Schweitzer in his book Die Geometrische Kunst Griechenlands (1969).

Sture Brunnsaker (1962) when analysing the Pithecusan shipwreck scene depicted on a krater, makes general observations on Geometric scenes and also on the issue of space in pictorial art; the space conditions have also been treated by Ahlberg (1971), but her terminology is different from that used by Brunnsaker, their main difference lying in the fact that he believes that the conception of space in Geometric art is not consistent, while Ahlberg holds that space in the Prothesis and ekphora scenes at least, "reveals distinctly recognizable rules".

P. Kahane a propos of his examination of the Cesnola krater from Kourion now in New York : "Ikonologische Unter-

suchungen zur Griechischen Kunst" (1973) admits his turn from a stylistic treatment of Geometric pottery to the iconographic/iconologic aspects of Geometric art and remarks that the only way to arrive to any interpretation of the representations on the vases is through a methodical analysis of both the often repetitive representations and motifs and the more uncommon individual scenes.

Outside the field of pottery the Attic Geometric goldbands were first studied and classified by D. Ohly (1953) in his fundamental book: Griechische Goldbleche. The list of figured goldbands has increased since Ohly's publication and their dating has been securely established; in the present research comparison will be drawn between the iconography of the goldbands and that of Late Geometric II pottery.

K. Kübler in volume VI part two of the Kerameikos publication (1970) holds that the goldbands or rather their "Hohlform" is Cycladic and he also maintains that the origin of the various representations on the vases is "inselgriechisch" and by this he means Cycladic, Samian and Cretan; this theory seems to have found a follower in Immo Beyer (1976) who states a case for the Cretan origin of the goldbands and traces all the ornament as Sub-Minoan.

In my present research I wish to examine the changes and developments which occurred in iconography during the Late Geometric II period. Firstly themes represented in both Late Geometric I and Late Geometric II

will be examined; secondly the Late Geometric II innovations will be studied and finally in Chapter III the Workshops which specialise in specific themes. In all three Chapters the early Protoattic material will be used for comparison, as well as representations in other media. Figured scenes from other areas of the Greek world, especially the Argive, Boeotian, Euboean and Cretan iconography shall also be considered, while iconographic comparisons with similar earlier and contemporary Near Eastern as well as Mycenaean scenes will be drawn. The main object of the thesis is to trace and determine the origin, influence and importance of the various Attic Late Geometric II iconographic themes. A few new workshops will also emerge especially from outside the Classical Tradition: these will be included in the Appendix. The iconography furthermore of the vases of the Classical Tradition will be compared to the iconography which appears on the pottery outside the Classical Tradition. In this way the degree of interdependence and influence between the two cycles may be determined.

By the term "iconography" I include all the figured representations as distinct from the abstract ornament: the human and animal representations as well as any objects which occur. Birds, whether used as mere filling ornament or as purely decorative friezes, are only mentioned in passing.

No artist is independent of predecessors and models and in this I am following Gombrich; on the other hand the Greeks were rather fastidious in their selection

and a distinction between the form and the meaning of the prototypes will be borne in mind.

In research of this kind with no inscriptions at hand to help in the interpretation of scenes, the risk of false assumptions is high but has to be taken. So I shall end or rather begin by quoting yet another scholar: "all perceiving is also thinking, all reasoning is also intuition, all observation is also invention" (Rudolph Arnheim: Art and Visual Perception).

CHAPTER I

REPRESENTATIONS FOUND IN BOTH LGI AND LGII

If we look at the list of Late Geometric iconographic themes (Table 1), we see that these can be easily divided into two distinct groups: to the first group belong the complex narrative scenes ("genre scenes") where the various elements and schemes constitute a theme or story. To the second group belong the purely decorative and repetitive animal friezes, an innovation of the Dipylon Master in Late Geometric Ia (Coldstream, 1968, 40), or single animals in panels (Table 1 nos 40-51).

The following animals are found in continuous decorative friezes: goats, deer, birds, dogs, lions, bulls and horses. Goats, deer and birds are found in both periods, while dogs, lions, bulls and horses in the attitude of grazing were all introduced in Late Geometric II.

I shall first start with the purely decorative animal friezes, found in both Late Geometric I and Late Geometric II, since variation within these animal friezes is far less than in the complex narrative scenes which belong to the first group.

It is sometimes hard to define the actual zoological type of various Geometric animals; this causes some confusion in the identification of an animal: as far as deer and goats are concerned, the former usually have straight horns and short hanging tails, while the latter are characterised by curved horns, by a short sticking up tail and occasionally by a beard. The Geometric artist, however, is more interested in the effect and structure of these pure-

TABLE 1
ICONOGRAPHIC THEMES

	LGI	LGII	EPA
1. Ekphora	3	-	-
2. Prothesis	23	33	2
3. Land fight	14	1	1
4. Sea fight	8	1	-
5. Ship scenes not involving fighting	11	3	6
6. Chariots I	15	1	-
7. Chariots II	4	5	-
8. Chariots III	6	54	16
9. Chariots IV	-	8	-
10. Chariots V	2	5	-
11. Procession of warriors I	17	4	-
12. Procession of warriors II	-	16	6
13. Procession of warriors III	5	2	1
14. Shieldless warriors	2	11	-
15. Single warrior	2	6	2
16. "Twin" figure	3	2	-
17. Figures carrying objects	-	2	-
18. Duels	1	2	-
19. Boxing/wrestling	-	2	-
20. Seated figures	1	5	-
21. Seated mourners	11	1	-
22. Male mourners	4	12	2
23. Female mourners	22	36	6
24. Kneeling mourners	7	14	1
25. Female dancers I	-	7	7
26. Female dancers II	-	12	3
27. Female dancers III	-	1	1

	LGI	LGII	EPA
28.Mixed dancers	1	5	6
29.Male dancers	-	3	5
30.Armed dancers	-	6	-
31.Acrobats	-	3	-
32.Cult scenes	-	9	-
33.Hunting	-	24	6
34.Kriophoros	-	1	1
35.Riders	-	14	11
36.Leader of horse/bull	1	6	-
37.Man between goats	1	-	-
38.Man between horses	7	13	-
39.Two/one horse tied to tripod	3	28	-
40.Single horse	8	31	18
41.Striding horses	-	10	3
42.Grazing horses	1	23	7
43.Grazing deer	19	43	15
44.Regardant deer	-	4	-
45.Regardant goats	15	2	1
46.Kneeling goats	8	14	-
47.Striding goats	2	3	-
48.Grazing birds	2	1	12
49.Running dogs	-	29	-
50.Lions	-	16	20
51.Lions attacking animal	-	2	11
52.Lions attacking man	-	5	-
53.Bulls/cows	-	8	-
54.Centaurs	1	7	6
55.Centaurs attacking	-	1	-

	LGI	LGII	EPA
56.Sphinxes	-	1	31
57.Winged goats	-	5	-
58.Winged horses	-	-	3

ly decorative friezes within the vase as a whole, rather than in the exact rendering of the animals' characteristics, which become irrelevant; he may, then, draw a deer with a sticking up tail as is seen on a high-rimmed bowl by the Dipylon Workshop in Athens (NM 866, cat.no 29, PLATE 1b, cf. Table 2); and he may equally draw a goat with a hanging tail (e.g. Copenhagen NM 726, cat.no 60, cf. Table 3).

This observation led Carter (1972, 33), to describe the drawn animals as "art deer", or "art goat" and "art lion", by which he means that the characteristics pertinent to the animal in nature, are not necessarily found on the forms drawn by the Geometric artist and that the animals therefore were copied and sometimes garbled from previous art rather than drawn from life.

A.GOATS

Before starting with the various iconographic types of goats as they appear in both Late Geometric I and Late Geometric II, mention should be made of the earliest representation of a goat in Attic Geometric pottery: it occurs in a panel on a Middle Geometric II oenochoe from the Kerameikos nekropolis (inv.no 8796, tomb hS 55); Carter, however (1972, pl.5b), describes it as a deer.

There are three main types of goat:

Type A: Regardant goat - kneeling with head turned backwards.

Type B: Kneeling goat with head forward.

Type C: Striding goat.

The Dipylon Master's friezes are all of Type A and as is seen on Table 2 there are fifteen known examples from

TABLE 2
REGARDANT GOATS (TYPE A)

<u>Representation</u>	<u>Cat.No</u>	<u>Workshop</u>	<u>Shape</u>
LGI:			
Athens NM 804	1	Dipylon	Belly-amphora
Agora P 7024	6	Dipylon	Amphora fr.
Halle Robertinum	15	Dipylon	Krater fr.
Athens NM 802	17	Dipylon	Krater fr. PL.1a
München 6402	27	Dipylon	High-rimmed bowl
Louvre CA 1790	28	Dipylon	High-rimmed bowl
Athens NM 866	29	Dipylon	High-rimmed bowl PL.1b
Munich 6080	30	Dipylon	Amphora
Louvre CA 3384	41	Dipylon	Fr.
Agora P 17196	67	Hirschfeld	Jug
Athens NM 806	73	?	Krater
Kerameikos 410	79	?	Amphora
Tübingen 28.5446	84	?	Oenochoe PL.2a
Athens NM 723	94	?	Skyphos
Athens NM 190	96	?	spouted krater
LGII			
London BM 1912.5. 22.1	334	Athens 897	Pitcher PLS.1c, 11b
Frankfurt VFB 228	393	?	Oenochoe
EPA			
Würzburg 79	-	Vulture	Amphora Langlotz, 1932, pl. 7, 79.

the Late Geometric I period, nine of which belong to the Dipylon Master and his Workshop. All the regardant goats by the Dipylon Master or his Workshop, are in strict profile with only two legs shown; on some vases (e.g. Agora P 7024, cat.no 6) the eye is also shown (PLATE 1,a,b). Regardant goats are found for the first time in a panel and not a frieze, on a vase which does not belong to the Dipylon Workshop (e.g. Athens NM 723, cat.no 94); on this same vase we have the first instance of all four legs being shown (PLATE 1c).

The frieze of regardant goat is not found in Late Geometric II. The iconographic type, however, occurs twice in a panel: (e.g. London BM 1912.5-22.1, cat.no 334, PLATE 1c) and Frankfurt VFB 228, cat.no 393) but has lost the decorative effect of a continuous frieze and in the case of the London pitcher it is used merely as a filling ornament below the bier of the prothesis scene, where it has taken the place of the human figures in the attitude of mourning in most Prothesis scenes. Two Type B goats substitute the mourners on the New York 14.130.14 krater (cat.no 48, PLATE 10a). On both the London and Frankfurt vases all four legs are shown and the eye is reserved.

It is interesting moreover to note that the posture of an animal in a kneeling attitude with the head turned backwards is used in the Late Geometric II period for another animal: the deer. The deer never occurs in such an attitude during the Late Geometric I period. All the examples of a deer in a regardant attitude will be discussed below under section B: Deer.

Turning now to other areas we notice that outside Attica, only scanty examples of goats are known from other parts of the Greek world: from the Delian groups a belly-handled amphora (group Ac) has a frieze of Type A goats, while a skyphos fragment from Naxos has the remains of two regardant goats (Walter-Karydi, 1972, 411 fig. 38 no 59). Regardant goats appear on a Boeotian jug in Amsterdam (ex Scheurleer Collection inv. no 1932 : CVA 1, pl. 13), but are not otherwise known in Boeotia.

Another scheme however involving goats, became popular in the Euboean-Boeotian cycle in Late Geometric, but was never introduced to the Attic repertoire: the scheme represents two goats flanking a tree. The Boeotian example is seen on a jug in Copenhagen (inv. no 5374, CVA 2, pl. 67, 4), while the most famous of all is the pedestalled krater from Kourion in New York, Cesnola Collection (inv. no 74.51.965, Coldstream, 1968, pl. 35), which has now been clearly identified as belonging to an Euboean Workshop (Coldstream, 1971, 1-15). On the central panel of this vase are represented two goats and in one panel two deer flanking a tree (Kahane, 1973, 114-137, for our motif cf. esp. 117-118). Another Euboean fragment from Eretria represents in a panel an abbreviated form from the same theme, with just one goat flanking a branch rather than a tree (Ann LIX, 1981, 231 fig. 94).

The theme of two goats flanking a tree is seen also on the base of a squat lekythos from the Western Euboean colony of Pithecussai (AR 1970-71, 64 fig. 2; Coldstream, 1983, 242). It is therefore clear that the theme of two goats or deer flanking a tree is an Euboean innovation, which was only

taken up by areas under Euboean influence. On seals too, goats and other animals are shown flanking the sacred tree (e.g. Buchner-Boardman, 1966, no 151 fig. 58, 151; no 70; no 26 fig. 24, 26). As Boardman has suggested (id. 61ff.), Al Mina would have played an important role for the distribution of the Lyre ^{-Player} Group seals and it is well known that the Euboeans had strong connections with Al Mina.

The Oriental character of the motif of two goats flanking a tree is unquestionable and Kahane traces this motif (motif I: goats/deer flanking a sacred tree) back to the Late Bronze Age in the Near East and draws comparison to a number of clay vessels from Lashish and Megiddo. To these should be added the golden bowl from Ras Shamra dated to 1450-1365 B.C. which features among other representations the iconographic motif of two goats flanking a tree: this motif is repeated three times (Schaeffer, 1949, § 21-29, pls. II-IV). Going on to the twelfth century, there is a remarkable bronze stand in a private collection, whose cast ring is decorated with a figured relief frieze: five repetitions of winged male sphinxes confronting a very stylized sacred tree (Catling, 1964, 196 no 14, pl. 29c, d, e). The iconography represents to put it into Catling's own words "that complex tradition compounded of the artistic achievements of Syria, Phoenicia, Egypt and the Aegean, formed in the Levant at the end of the Bronze Age, which continued to flourish up and down the Near East well into the Iron Age". Since the sacred tree was not seen in Greece since Mycenaean times, it is clear from the evidence that Cyprus played an important role and that the idea was adopted from that island; the frequent contacts between Euboea

and Cyprus during this period confirm this view.

From the Near East furthermore two fragmentary ivories in the British Museum from Nimrud represent two wild goats on either side of an Assyrian type palmette and a rosette enclosed within a circle (Barnett, 1957, pl. XII HI a, b; H2).

The motif of two goats flanking a tree, which as we saw belongs to the Euboean-Boeotian circle in the Late Geometric period (Borell, 1978, 91 no 7 n.286), is still represented in the early seventh century on a relief amphora from Xoburgo in Tenos (Schäfer, 1957, T7 and further bibliography), while from the East it is still seen on a Cypriot silver gilt bowl of Cypro-Phoenician II style belonging to the seventh century (1).

Type B (Table 3): kneeling goat with head forward, a variant of which is the skipping goat, is not found in Late Geometric Ia on any vase painted by the Dipylon Master and his Workshop, but was first introduced in the Late Geometric Ib period by the Hirschfeld Workshop. Kneeling goats may occur in a panel (e.g. Copenhagen NM 726, cat.no 60), a frieze (e.g. Athens NM 166, cat.no 93) or antithetically (e.g. Athens Promachou street, cat.no 66). In the Late Geometric II period, this type of goat occurs mainly in the provincial workshops with examples from Brauron, Anavyssos and Trachones and with no known examples from the Athenian Classical Workshops.

The Late Geometric Ib kneeling goats have all four legs indicated and the eye is reserved (PLATE 1f). The Late

1. BICS 10, 1963, 27-30, pls. 4-7; BullMetMus 42, 1984, no 10.

TABLE 3
KNEELING GOATS (TYPE B)

<u>Representation</u>	<u>Cat.No</u>	<u>Workshop</u>	<u>Shape</u>
LG I			
New York 14.130.14	48	Hirschfeld	Krater PL.10a
Copenhagen 726	60	Hirschfeld	Krater
Athens	66	Hirschfeld	High-rimmed bowl
Vienna 402	82	?	Pitcher
Tübingen 6214	83	?	Pitcher
New York 36.11.10	91	?	Basket
Athens NM 166	92	?	Skyphos
Athens NM 18509	102	?	Tankard
LG II			
London BM 77.12-7. 12	285	Concentric	Oenochoe
Merenda 148	231	Birdseed	Hydria PL.67 a,b
Athens	239	Birdseed	High-rimmed bowl
Brussels A 1941	253	Rattle	Pitcher
Ex Bresslau Coll.	338a	Athens 897	Amphora
Brauron Museum	388	?	Krater PL.10b
Würzburg H 835	407	?	Fen.stand PL.1e
Anavyssos Cemetery	412	?	High-rimmed bowl
Trachones 299	413	?	High-rimmed bowl
Trachones 282	403	?	Pitcher
Trachones 79	462	?	Fen.stand
Trachones 305	416	?	Fen.stand
Tübingen 5480	456	?	Kotyle
Vienna 947	417	?	Fen.stand

Geometric II examples may have either four legs or two legs represented and the eye is not always shown (PLATE 1, d,e).

Outside Attica, kneeling goats appear on several Melian vases painted by the Rottiers Painter and his Workshop: a fenestrated stand in Paris (Louvre A 491: Coldstream, 1968, pl.39d) with a frieze of kneeling goats, a krater in Sèvres (inv.no 1419.2: CVA 1, pl.12, 1-3) with panels with kneeling goats, a third krater in the Louvre decorated with a frieze of goats (CA 2946 :Coldstream, 1968, 182 no 12) and a striding goat on Athens NM 841: (Coldstream, 1968, 182 no 6). Another vase was recently ascribed to this Workshop by Brouskari (1979ⁱ, 458 no 21, fig. 23) and can be seen at the Canellopoulos Museum in Athens. The goats of these Melian pots have clearly been inspired by the Athenian Hirschfeld Painter (cf. Coldstream, 1968, 183-4), but the birds perched on the animals' backs seem to be the Rottier's Painter special characteristic (2). On another fenestrated stand by the same painter (London BM 37.10-18.1 : Coldstream, 1968, pl.39 a-c), one of the feet is decorated with a unique kneeling stag, again with a bird perched on its back. From the Cyclades kneeling goats appear also on the shoulders of two Delian hydriae (Délos 15, pls. 23 no 11a, 24 no 11c, 25 no 9: group AD) which are early Orientalizing.

2. Birds perched on the backs of animals can be seen on Attic vases too: e.g. Munich 8748 (cat.no 54), Athens NM 16193 (cat.no 62) by the Hirschfeld Painter, or on Argive Vases: e.g. Argos C.14: Courbin, 1966, pl.29a; pyxis from Mycenae: Courbin, 1966, pl.82 and have received various interpretations, but I think are best understood as merely filling ornament. For the combination of fish/water, bird horse and water in Argive iconography cf. Boardman, 1983, 20ff.

Type C (Table 4): striding goat was also introduced by the Hirschfeld Painter in the Late Geometric Ib period and is found once in a panel (Louvre A 567, cat.no 97) and once in a frieze (Dunedin E57.155, cat.no 57), this latter vase being a work of the Hirschfeld Painter. In the Late Geometric II period, striding goats occur only in friezes. Another oenochoe with goats very similar to the Kerameikos 369 oenochoe (cat.no 391) and not included in the list here, will be discussed in another Chapter, since it is not merely a decorative frieze by a hunting scene. Outside Attica two antithetical standing goats appear on one of the feet of the Melian fenestrated stand mentioned above, but are not otherwise known. An Argive fragment (Argos C. 4177: Courbin, 1966, pl. 139, 413 n.9), seems to be the only representation of a goat in Argive pottery (3).

Let us now turn to the origin of the fixed iconographic type A (regardant goat), which was introduced by the Dipylon Master. If we look at other media and especially at the Attic goldbands, we see that type A does not occur on any of Ohly's three groups. Kübler (1970, 35) in accordance to his theory on the Cycladic origin of the goldbands, would like to see the animal friezes of the vases as being of Cycladic imitation too. This however is contradicted by the vases themselves, since the group Ac nos 1-4 has been dated to the transition of Late Geometric I to the Late Geometric II period, while group Ad, to the early

3. The regardant animals on the sherds C.3805, C.4650, C.4175: Courbin, 1966, pl. 139, are too fragmentary to allow an identification; they could be either goats or deer.

TABLE 4
STRIDING GOATS (TYPE C)

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
LGI			
Dunedin E.57.155	57	Hirschfeld	Pitcher
Louvre A 567	97	?	Pyxis
LGII			
3rd Ephoria	402	?	Pitcher
Kerameikos 1319	353	Kerameikos 1314	Skyphos PL.6b
Kerameikos 369	392	?	oenochoe

Orientalising period. According to Coldstream (1968,77) "the kneeling goats are clumsy imitations of the Dipylon Master's type" and not the other way round as Kübler would like to see them.

We must look then beyond the Aegean for the artistic inspiration of the regardant goat. Before turning to the Orient, mention should be made of Benson's theory that the motif is a Mycenaean revival (Benson, 1970, 58ff.) especially the four/legged version which he claims to have exact parallels in Aegean glyptics, while for the two/legged version (in stricter profile) he allows either a Mycenaean or an Oriental notion (4). The whole spirit of the Mycenaean representations in vase painting is different from that of the Geometric examples, the former being more naturalistic in setting since the goats are usually shown skipping in a high field. For the representations on seals, however, a closer similarity must be admitted.

Borell (1978, 55 n.114) in following Coldstream (1974, 273ff.) rightly refutes Benson's theory on a Mycenaean inspiration and leaves us thus with two possibilities: observation from nature and Oriental inspiration. The fact

4. For Mycenaean examples of goats on pottery cf. for the East and Cyprus several kraters: e.g. British Museum C 368 from Maroni (Erlenmeyer, 1961, pl. 1-10; British Museum C 410 (CVA 1, pl. 9, 1; Louvre AM 2663 (Karageorghis-Vermeule, 1982, 203 V 59) for further examples cf. Karageorghis-Vermeule, 1982, 205 V 107-V112; 208 VI25-28; VI 51. For the Mainland which offers more examples cf. Karageorghis-Vermeule, 1982, 213 IX 66-77, X 52-58, 2; XI82-XI 85.1.

that regardant goats in a continuous frieze (5) appear suddenly in Greek art and disappear equally as suddenly, may discount the former possibility, leaving us thus in search of Oriental prototypes which could have met the eyes of the Geometric artists.

The motif of a regardant goat has a long history in Mesopotamia from as early as the third millennium B.C. and continued to be represented without any gaps throughout the second millennium as attested by the many examples from the Marcopoli collection (6).

Two Mitannian chalcedony and topaz cylinder seals with kneeling regardant goats can be seen in the British Museum (7), while similar seals have been found in Thebes, Tiryns and Perati (8) (cf. also PLATE 1,g,h).

Amandry (1965,149-160) has traced all three types of goat and has drawn comparison to similar Scythian representations of the first millennium B.C., but whose exact

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5. Continuous horizontal friezes are well attested at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. in Iran, Urartu and North Syria; animal friezes in Near Eastern art were one of the characteristic subjects of early seals from Uruk and Susa (3200-3000 B.C.): Teissier, 1984, 113 nos 1-3; 115 nos 9-11 and from the Jamdat Nasr Period: Porada, 1948, pl. IV nos 17-21.
 6. Marcopoli Collection: Teissier, 1984, no 52 (2900-2750 B.C.); Marcopoli Collection, id. nos 487, 563, 565 (1850-1720 B.C.); id. no 514 (1850-1650 B.C.); id. nos 574, 575 (1550-1350 B.C.); id. nos 588, 589 (1500-1300 B.C.); id. nos 608, 610, 617, 619, 628, 632, 634, 635 (1450-1300 B.C.).
 7. BM 89315: Frankfort, 1939, pl. XXIIa; BM 89819: id. pl. XVIII.1. For an example from Ras Shamra cf. Frankfort, 1939, pl. XLVn; other Mitannian seals with regardant goats can be seen at the Pierpont Morgan Library Collection: Porada, 1948, pl. CLIX, 1045E, 1046E, pl. CLXI 1059E, 1063.
 8. ILN 28.11.1964, 860 fig. 8 (Thebes); AM 55, 1930, pl. II no 6214 (Tiryns); Iakovides, 1969, pl. 47a (Perati). One of the latest regardant goats in Near Eastern art is seen in the Museum of Art and History in Geneva: M.L. Vallenweider, Catalogue Raisonné des Sceaux, Cylindres, Intailles et Camées, 1983, 14 no 17: Middle Assyrian cylinder seal, late eighth c.

date cannot be ascertained. These Scythian representations seem to have been inspired by Oriental models and there can be little doubt that the source for both the Scythian and the Greek, especially Type A, was the same.

Types B and C were introduced by the Hirschfeld Workshop and appear also on the Attic goldbands. Since I shall be frequently referring to the Attic and Eretrian goldbands in order to draw comparison to the iconography of the vases and to determine their relationship, a short digression concerning their various problems of origin and date, is necessary at this point. These goldbands are decorated with linear ornaments and small figure scenes, often repeated exactly, thus suggesting that they were impressed on matrices.

Originally Poulsen (1912), Reichel (1942) and Matz (1950) considered them to be Oriental imports that reached Attica in the eighth century. Kunze (1931) on the other hand, recognised them as Greek work created under strong Oriental influence. His theory was further developed by Ohly (1953) who considered them as Attic and used the fact that they were found in Attic graves to support his theory. Ohly divided the material into four groups showing a stylistic development and made an attempt to date them from the second quarter down to the end of the eighth century, although at the time very few bands had a secure context.

More recently various scholars have developed theories concerning their exact provenance: Kübler (1970, 49 n.90, 50 n. 92) suggests a Cycladic provenance, followed also

by Herfmann (1966, 134 n.180; id., 1966. ii, 103 n. 34). Beyer (1976, 47-48) advocates a Cretan origin for Ohly's groups I-III and tries to trace a continuous Sub-Minoan tradition. His case, however, is weakened by the fact that the goldbands have no secure Cretan provenance, while Schweitzer (1969, 205) eliminates Crete because of the absence of a large industry and decides in favour of Rhodes.

In view, however, of the many secure contexts in graves recently found, the Attic origin and the dating of the goldbands is now firmly established. A band from Ohly's group I has been discovered in a grave at Kynosarges together with Attic Middle Geometric II pottery (9) confirming his early dating of the first group of goldbands to the second quarter of the eighth century. Furthermore an electrum band belonging to Ohly's group II has been found in a tomb at Kriezi street Athens, together with LG Ia pottery (AD 22, 1967, Chronika B1, pl. 78 c, d; 87 b). A theory settling most problems was put forward suggesting that the goldbands were probably the creation of Oriental immigrant craftsmen whose work gradually became hellenized (Coldstream, 1977, 124; Carter, 1972, 42 n.92).

Striding/grazing goats appear on Ohly's A6 (group I) and A13 (group II), while kneeling goats appear on A7,

9. Higgins "Early Greek Jewellery" BSA 64, 1969, 152 Addendum; Carter, 1972, 42 n. 90b.

and A12 (group II) and A15, A16, A17 (group III)
(10).

From the Near East a cylinder seal from the Third Early Dynastic period has grazing goats (Porada, 1948, pl. 26, 100), while two kneeling goats with head forward appear on a limestone cylinder seal from the Early Dynastic period of Ur (Wiseman, 1962, pl. 10). Other examples include the interior of a golden patera from Ras Shamra (1450-1365 B.C.) decorated with a frieze of striding male goats (cf. the golden bowl mentioned above, Schaeffer, 1949, § 1-20, pl. 1). From the Orient too a frieze of striding goats decorates the interior of a metal bowl from Nimrud in the British Museum (Canciani, 1970, pl. XI).

From Salamis in Cyprus one of the earliest figured vases of the Iron Age (White-Painted I, first half of the eleventh century) represents a standing goat in a panel (11). Von who published the vase in detail draws comparisons to the Late Minoan larnakes and to Sub-Minoan vases. There can be little doubt that these latter strongly influenced the Cypriot examples (e.g. Brock, 1957, pl. 4, 45 i-iii). There is no strong indication, however, to suggest that the Cypriot examples influenced the Late Geometric types B and C. They indicate rather that goats were becoming a popular motif. The popularity of the subject in the East is indi-

10. Ohly, 1953, A6=Athens Kerameikos; A13=Collection Dr. W. Wydler-Orendi; A7=Athens NM 3637; A12=Louvre MNC 1291; A15=Oxford 1106; A16=Oxford 1107; A17=Berlin GI 308.
11. BCH 94, 1970, 311 ff; for further Cypriot Early Iron Age examples, cf. Karageorghis-Gagniers, 1974, group XVII 50ff., nos 1-5.

cated also by the seals : apart from the motif of two goats flanking a tree a single goat as the main motif is quite common on seals (12). Unlike the motif of two goats flanking a tree, a single standing goat was never included in the repertoire of Euboean iconography and could not directly have influenced the Attic representations.

It seems likely then that types B and C were copied from the goldbands, in which case we have an indirect Oriental influence for which many sources were available. Type A on the other hand, represents a direct Oriental influence and an imitation of an iconographic type which first appeared in the Near East on cylinder seals.

B.DEER

By contrast to the goat whose preeminence occurs during the first phase of Late Geometric, the deer seems to have had a fairer distribution in both periods, although the relative popularity cannot be estimated due to the greater quantity of Late Geometric II material as a whole. By contrast to the goat which vanishes by the end of LGII, the deer continued to be quite popular during the Early Protoattic period (Table 7).

The majority of Late Geometric representations of deer occur in the fixed iconographic type shown as grazing, i.e. with stooping head (Table 1, no 43). Just like the regardant goat (Type A, Table 2), the grazing deer was introduced by the Dipylon Master in LGIa.

12. Buchner-Boardman, 1966, nos 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 from Ischia; no 46 from Athens; no 115 from Aintab; no 121 from Al Mina; no 133 from Syria and no 157 of unknown provenance; figs. 17, 20, 21, 35, 36, 43, 50, 63.

Other types of deer in a regardant or standing attitude are, as mentioned, rare and found only in the Late Geometric II period. All the examples in Attica of a deer in a regardant attitude come from the Burly Workshop and are seen on two oenochoae in the Louvre (CA 1821, cat.no 306, PLATES 4e, 6a; CA 3452, cat.no 309), and on a kantharos in Copenhagen (NM 727, cat.no 305, PLATE 39a). On the Louvre CA 1821 frieze, the regardant deer alternate with grazing deer, while on the Copenhagen kantharos the scheme is somewhat different. The posture of the regardant deer seems to be a misprint of the LG Ia regardant goat (Type A). Another very late example is interesting, because the animal is not enclosed within a panel, but is drawn in a free field with two birds flanking it (Marathon Museum, cat.no 430). From Boeotia a regardant deer can be seen on a kantharos at Sarajevo Museum (CVA Jugoslavia 4, pl. 11, 3 no 55).

Other regardant animals include , from Crete helmeted regardant sphinxes alternating with passant ones (cf. Chapter II, section H) in one of the friezes of the Kavoussi bronze relief (Blome, 1982, fig. 3). For an example of a regardant bird cf. Benson (1970, pl. XXV 16). Outside the Greek area a deer with head turned back is represented on a piece of ivory inlay from Gordion (Young, 1960, 240 pl. 60 fig. 25a).

Outside Attica, an example from the Argolid (13) with a frieze of regardant deer seems to be a borrowing

13. Courbin, 1966, 414, pls. 41-42: C.210 krater; Coldstream, 1968, 143 no 15; cf. also Chapter II, Section A Riders p. 173 n. 17, Section H Sphinxes p. 250 n. 108.

TABLE 5
GRAZING DEER

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
LGI			
Athens NM 804	1	Dipylon	Belly-amphora
Sèvres MN	3	Dipylon	Belly-amphora
Athens NM 811	5	Dipylon	Giant oenochoe
München 6080	30	Dipylon	Amphora
München 6400	31	Dipylon	Oenochoe
Athens NM 152	32	Dipylon	Oenochoe
Oxford 1927.4448	33	Dipylon	Oenochoe
Athens NM 192	34	Dipylon	Oenochoe
Agora P 15122	35	Dipylon	Oenochoe
Eleusis 501	36	Dipylon	Oenochoe
University of Calif.	39	Dipylon	Fen. stand
Kerameikos 385	69	Athens 706	Amphora PL.4a
Athens NM 706	70	Athens 706	Pitcher
Tübingen 1090	71	Athens 706	Pitcher PL.2b
Kerameikos 1255	77	?	Krater
Kerameikos 4271	85	?	Oenochoe
MFA Houston Texas	98	?	Pyxis PL.3b
Heidelberg G27/3	100	?	Jug
Corinth MP3/4	101	?	Jug

from the Attic type; apart from this Argive example, the regardant attitude of a horse is seen on the shoulder of an oenochoe from Boeotia (14).

Let us now turn to the fixed iconographic type of grazing deer introduced by the Dipylon Master; before doing so mention should be made of the earliest representation of a deer in Attic vase painting; this is represented not in the specific attitude of grazing, but standing under one of the handles of the Middle Geometric II pyxis-krater in the Louvre (inv.no 514: CVA 16,pls.3,1-2;4,1-2;6,2;50,1-2). In three dimensional art though the deer makes its first appearance at an even earlier date (15). Standing deer were never favoured as an iconographic type in Late Geometric and I know of only one later example in the metope of a pyxis in Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum: CVA 1,pl.1,20).

In Late Geometric I, grazing deer appear in friezes (the only scheme used by the Dipylon Master and also followed by the transitional Workshop of Athens 706), or in panels as can be seen in a series of oenochoae which belong to the minor vases of the Dipylon group (Davison, 1961, 73) and on a stand in California (cat.no 39) which according to Davison belongs to the same group as the oenochoae.

In the Late Geometric II period, friezes of grazing deer become one of the most popular secondary zones occupying the shoulders or lower bodies of neck-amphorae, or the interior of skyphoi. As can be seen on Table 6, most

14. Athens NM 236: Rückert, 1976, OI 9, pl. 4, 1, 2; a Sub-Geometric jug from Boeotia in München: CVA 6, pl. 268, 1-3, shows among a variety of animals a kneeling regardant deer with its young.

TABLE 6
GRAZING DEER

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
LGII			
Buffalo C12847	154	Athens 894	Amphora
Mannheim 170	156	Athens 894	Amphora PL.5a
Hirschmann Coll.	163	Athens 894	Amphora PL.24a
Baltimore 48.2231	165	Athens 894	Amphora PLS.4d,23a
Athens Private Coll.	166	Athens 894	Amphora
Athens Stathatou	168	Athens 894	Amphora
Athens NM 898	175	Athens 894	Amphora PL.7b
Amsterdam 6249	176	Athens 894	Amphora
Toronto C 951	180	Athens 894	Amphora
Swiss Market	184	Athens 894	Amphora
Kerameikos 1369	189	Athens 894	Amphora fr.
Münich 8506	204	Athens 894	Skyphos
Athens NM 1364	210	Athens 894	Tankard fr.
Swiss Market	211	Athens 894	Tankard
Athens NM 810	215	Athens 894	Krater PL.40a,b
Baghdad IM 52041	197	Athens 894	Hydria
Agora P 21428	218	Athens 894	Oenochoe
Agora P 23654	219	Athens 894	Oenochoe
Agora P 13287	222	Athens 894	Krater fr.
Villa Giulia 1212	224	Villa Giulia	Hydria
Philadelphia	226	Villa Giulia	Amphora
Copenhagen 727	305	Burly	Kantharos PLS.37c,39a
Louvre CA 1821	306	Burly	Oenochoe PLS.4e,6a
Swiss Market	308	Burly	Oenochoe
Kerameikos 1236	324	Athens 897	Amphora
Athens NM 17514	326	Athens 897	Amphora

TABLE 6 (CONT.)

<u>Representation</u>	<u>Cat.No</u>	<u>Workshop</u>	<u>Shape</u>
Sweden	335	Athens 897	Hydria
Kerameikos 1314	352	Kerameikos 1314	Pitcher PL.4b
Kerameikos 1319	353	Kerameikos 1314	Skyphos PL.6b
Kerameikos 824	358	Toledo	Amphora PL.4c
Stockholm 1741	378	?	Amphora
Athens NM 7477	409	?	Foot-krater
Athens NM 748	410	?	Foot-krater
Würzburg 5051	422	?	Skyphos PL.5b
Louvre CA 1633	424	?	Skyphos
München 6229	427	?	Skyphos
Athens	448	?	Kantharos
Brauron Museum	450	?	Kantharos
Kerameikos 1237	418	?	Fr. stand and bowl
Agora P 5286	455	?	Kotyle
Agora P 13286	466	?	Fr. of bowl
Kerameikos 4369	437	?	Fr. skyphos
Kerameikos 1165	-	?	Fr. Kübler, 1954, pl. 137.

REGARDANT DEER

Louvre CA 1821	306	Burly	Oenochoe PLS.4e,6a
Louvre CA 3452	309	Burly	Oenochoe
Copenhagen 727	305	Burly	Kantharos PLS.37c,39a
Marathon Mus.	430	?	Skyphos

examples come from the Classical Workshop of Athens 894, which follows the Dipylon tradition although the deer have become more relaxed and agile. One amphora from the Workshop of Athens 894 (Hirschmann Collection, cat.no 163, PL. 24a) has two unusual features: first of all the frieze of grazing deer is placed above the chariot frieze on the upper part of the body of the amphora, whereas as we have seen the usual practice for the Classical Workshops is below the chariot frieze (e.g. Baltimore 48.2231, cat.no 165, PL.23a; Stathatou Collection, cat.no 168), or on the shoulder. The other unusual feature is that one deer at the extreme right of the frieze raises its head, not, as I believe, because the painter is experimenting on a different iconographic type, but because he has run out of space.

There are a few examples of deer decorating other shapes (e.g. Athens NM 810, cat.no 215, PL. 40a,b). Furthermore it is interesting to note that grazing deer were not much favoured by the Provincial and Non-Classical Workshop.

Outside Attica, grazing deer do not appear in Argive pottery, but there are a few examples of standing deer and stags (16) as well as the regardant variant discussed above.

From the Cyclades there is a sherd from Paros (AM 42, 1917, 83 fig.94). Another frieze of grazing deer is repre-

15. Protogeometric clay figurine from the Kerameikos: Kübler, 1954, pl.26.

16. Courbin, 1966, 413ff., pl.139, inv.4177 (deer), C.33/9 (stags). cf. also Waldstein, 1905, pl.57, 22 (standing deer with head turned backwards).

sented on a pedestalled krater from Delos, which was however painted by the Cesnola Painter and is therefore Euboean (17). On the Euboean pedestalled krater from Kou- rion in New York (Cesnola Collection: Coldstream, 1968, pl. 35), in one panel two deer have been substituted for goats in the motif of two goats flanking a tree. This is the only known example of deer flanking a tree. Finally a krater from Thera, which is Naxian in origin, has two friezes of grazing deer to the left (18).

From Boeotia there are at least five Late Geometric examples (19) and one Subgeometric (20). On the Athens and Berlin vases, the deer are grazing and follow the Attic decorative schemes; on the Brussels pyxis the deer form a frieze but are not grazing, while on the London and Hamburg vases the deer are represented in a rather disorderly combination which includes various other animals.

Apart from the representations on pottery, the theme also occurs on the Attic goldbands; grazing deer alternate with lions on Ohly's bands A1, A2, A3, A4, A5 (group I) and on A7, A12, A13 (group II) they are attacked by lions

17. Délos 15, pl. 44 (group Bc no 8); cf. also Popham-Sackett, 1980, 74ff.

18. Walter-Karydi, 1972, fig. 28, who also argues on the Naxian origin of the Cesnola Painter.

19. Athens NM 255: pyxis (Wide, 1899, 80 no 3; Rückert, 1976, FP 5, pl. 21, 2); London BM 88-10-15.4: tall pyxis: (Rückert, 1976, HP 6, pl. 25, 2); Berlin 3310: oenochoe: (Rückert, 1976, OI 13, pl. 3, 4); Hamburg 1898.57: oenochoe: (CVA 1, pl. 2); Brussels 1036: tall pyxis: (CVA 1, IIIG pl. 1): Geometric.

20. Copenhagen 3873: amphora: (Rückert, 1976, BA 20, pl. 11, 2) subgeometric.

(21). The theme of a lion attacking a deer or other animal does not belong to the purely decorative representations and will be discussed in Chapter III.

Grazing deer or stags also decorate many of the Cretan votive shields in bronze, most of which were found in the Idaean Cave (22). The dating of these shields has been controversial, some scholars favouring an early date, others a late one (23).

During the early seventh century apart from the pottery (Table 7), where the leading Athenian painters continue to represent grazing deer in secondary panels, they are seen on two fragmentary relief pithoi from Prinias in Heraklion Museum and on two Boeotian ones in Athens and the Louvre (24). To these must be added the door support of Prinias Temple A decorated with grazing stags (Beyer, 1976, 33, pl. 28, 1).

Turning to the East for Oriental prototypes, we see the same attitude of the grazing deer with horns on Syro-Phoenician ivories from Arslan Tash, Assur, Nimrud and

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21. Ohly, 1953, A1=Athens NM 813; A2=Athens NM 15309; A3=Berlin GI 306; A4=Private Collection Dr. Wydler-Orendi; A5=Louvre MNB 475; A7=Athens NM 3637; A12=Louvre MNC 1291; A13=Private Collection Dr. Wydler-Orendi.
22. Canciani, 1970, no 61 which belongs to shield no 27: frieze of grazing stags to the left; also seen on nos 54, 59, 60, 62.
23. Kunze, 1931, 247ff. dated the shields from the end of the ninth to the beginning of the seventh century, while Benton, 1938-39, 52ff. dated them to the period between 685 to 640 B.C.; also followed by other scholars including Canciani (1970, 181ff.). A decisive factor in favour of an early date (i.e. eighth rather than seventh century) is offered by a votive shield very similar to the ones found in Crete, excavated by Amandry in Delphi, since the pottery which is associated with it belongs to the third quarter of the eighth century (Carter, 1972, n. 101).
24. Schäfer, 1957, 13 no 4 114; 16 no 18 III 18 (Cretan) Athens NM, Louvre CA 795: Schäfer, 1957, 73 B1, B2.

TABLE 7
GRAZING DEER

EPA	
Oxford 1935.19	(amphora): Davison, 1961, fig. 59.
Princeton 20.15	(hydria) : Davison, 1961, fig. 121; Vulture- Würzburg group.
Geroulanos Coll.	(hydria) : Kübler, 1970, 612 no 252; Vulture- Würzburg group.
Berlin 31045	(hydria) : Tölle, 1964, pl. 7 no 21; Vulture- Würzburg group.
Athens NM 18435	(hydria) : Kübler, 1970, 599 no 189; Vulture- Würzburg group.
Mainz University	(hydria) : Davison, 1961, fig. 125.
Athens NM 313	(hydria) : Davison, 1961, fig. 61; Analatos Painter. PLATE 28a.
Victoria N.G.	(hydria) : R.G. Hood, 1982, 38ff. figs. 1-3; Analatos Painter. PLATE 14.
Passæ Coll.	(amphora): Hampe, 1960, 41 Pa 3. Passas Painter.
Ex Vlastos Coll.	(hydria) : Cook, 1935, pl. 45. Mesogeia Painter.
Eleusis 1089	(fr. of bowl): Cook, 1935, pl. 40a. Analatos P.
Kerameikos 301	(fen. stand): Brokaw, 1963, pl. 31, 1.
London BM 1936, 10-17.1	(amphora): Hampe, 1960, fig. 19; N Painter. PLATE 29a.
Berlin 31312	(hydria) : Cook, 1935, pl. 43; Mesogeia P.
Louvre CA 3304	(cup) : <u>CVA</u> 16, pl. 48, 2; Villard, <u>Revue des Arts</u> , 1954, 231 fig. 3.

Samaria; the subjects from all these groups have been strongly influenced by Egyptian models. The ivories of Nimrud were found in a late eighth century context, but most probably belong to the previous century, while those from Arslan Tash can be better dated to the first half of the ninth century (25). To these must be added a Phoenician style fragmentary clay bowl with impressed decoration from Buseirah and another fragment from En-Gedi in the Palestine; both these representations are very close to the Phoenician ivories (Stern, 1978, figs. 1b, 3, 3). A gold band from Western Iran, but whose exact provenance is unknown, represents grazing stags on either side of two stags flanking a tree (L.H. Jeffrey, Archaic Greece, 1976, pl. 2).

From the West, on a metal bowl from Francavilla in Italy, from the first half of the eighth century, grazing deer appear also in a frieze (Borell, 1978, Or 2 fig. 6). On the ivories the grazing deer are represented in panels except for the Samaria example, where they form a frieze just like the Francavilla bowl. This contradicts Kunze's statement (1931, 156) that processions of grazing deer or stags were essentially Greek, since the ivories of Arslan Tash and Samaria prove the Oriental existence and origin of the motif.

If we now look at the two iconographic themes which

25: For Arslan Tash cf. Thureau-Dangin, 1931 and Carter, 1972, pl. 8a; for Nimrud cf. Layard, 1849, and Mallowan, Nimrud and its Remains, 1966, fig. 435, 439; for Samaria cf. Crowfoot, 1938, 4ff.

have been analysed above (regardant goat/grazing deer), we see that although they abruptly appear in Greek art and follow, during their heyday, rather different routes of development (the grazing deer showing almost no development of the type), their source of inspiration can be traced in quite different culture areas and from prototypes of distinctly different dates: Mittanian seals of the second millenium, Syro-Phoenician ivories from around the ninth century B.C. In the latter case the borrowing from the ivories could have been indirect since the iconographic type was transferred on metal as the goldbands and shields indicate. It seems therefore that the Geometric artist was meticulously choosy, but his selection must remain enigmatic.

C. HORSE STANDING OR STRIDING IN PANEL OR FRIEZE

The single standing horse is the first iconographic representation which emerges in Greek vase painting after the fall of the Mycenaean civilisation (26) and long before the period we are concerned with. The earliest such example for the Iron Age comes from Attica and is seen on a

26. Standing or striding horses are rare but not unknown from the Mycenaean period: e.g. Sarepta (Sarafend) pilgrim flask with a horse in a field of flowers: Karageorghis-Vermeule, 1982, 200 IV 78; the two muzzles and two eyes seem rather to indicate two horses shown overlapping, rather than as Benson has suggested (*AJA* 72, 1968, 208) as an abbreviation of team and chariot, which I do not accept and have discussed elsewhere. Striding horses are seen on two bowl fragments from Mycenae: Karageorghis-Vermeule, 1982, 216 X 22; a krater fragment with horse filled with concentric arcs: Athens NM 1141: Karageorghis-Vermeule, 1982, 220 XI 9; for a LHIII C example cf. Iakovides, 1969, 151 fig. 24.

Protogeometric belly-handled amphora from the Kerameikos (27). Two more examples from the same period also come from the Kerameikos (28). These can hardly be anything other than experimentation, an intruder as Carter (1972,28) has remarked, into the abstract Geometric decoration.

Horses appear also during the Early Geometric I period (Table 8) on two representations painted by the same artist: an amphora and a kantharos fragment. The horses are no longer in a free field but are framed in a symmetrical composition on either side of a swastika (Athens NM 18045, Agora P 1654). Following there is a gap during the Early Geometric II period and in Middle Geometric I only one inconspicuous example is seen under the handle of a krater; but the theme reappears in Middle Geometric II on two more examples, one of which is the interesting pyxis-krater (Louvre A 514) on which deer and lions also appear.

Only seven examples of a single standing horse (always in a panel) occur in Late Geometric I (Table 8). One fragment can be ascribed to the Dipylon Master and four vases to the Hirschfeld Painter and Workshop. The Hirschfeld Painter was the first to represent the horse in panel with a rope hanging from mouth. This alludes to the theme of horses tied to a tripod/manger; as we shall see below (cf. Chapter III "The Concentric Circle Group") it was also introduced by the same painter. The representation of horse standing in a panel with rope hanging from mouth is exemplified once on the Copenhagen NM 726 krater (cat.no 60).

27.inv.no 560 from Tomb 18: Kübler, Kerameikos IV, 1943, pl. 27; Desborough, 1952, 24; Benson, 1970, pl. VIII fig. 4.
28.inv.no 911: Benson, 1970, pl. VIII fig. 9; Kerameikos 1260 fr.: Kübler, Kerameikos IV, 1943, pl. 27.

TABLE 8

HORSE STANDING IN PANEL

EGI

Athens NM 18045 (amphora) :Coldstream,1968,13 pl.1k.
 Agora P 1654 (kantharos fr.):Coldstream,1968,13 n.4.

MGI

Kerameikos 1254 (krater) :Kübler,1954,pl.22;Coldstream,
 1968,17,19;20.

MGII

Kerameikos 290 (krater) :Kübler,1954,pl.20;Coldstream,
 1968,pl.5f.
 Louvre A 514 (pyxis-krater) :CVA 16,pl.3.

Representation	Cat.no	Workshop	Shape
<u>LGI</u>			
Agora P 7024	6	Dipylon	Amphora fr.
Copenhagen 726	60	Hirschfeld	Krater
Athens NM 16193	62	Hirschfeld	Tankard
Würzburg H 5335	64	Hirschfeld	Tankard
Brussels A 1942	65	Hirschfeld	Tankard
Kerameikos 1255	77	?	Krater
München 6182	92	?	Basket

On the Athens NM 16193 ,Brussels, Würzburg and Berlin 3374 vases, a Geometric vertical ornament fills the space between the horse's mouth and the lower border of the panel. Boardman (1983, 16ff.) has recently analysed the significance and interpretation of Argive abstract motifs, especially the "geometricized symbols for an object". He interprets the line of linked circles or lozenges, sometimes dotted, hanging from the horse's mouth as a representation of a rope or halter and not as mere filling ornament, as Courbin. The same applies for the Attic such and other ornaments pendant from the horse's mouth, which should be considered as representing ropes.

The picture changes completely in Late Geometric II, when the number of known examples of horses increases to forty two (Table 9). Horses in the LGII period appear in two different schemes, either in a panel (i.e. continuing the tradition of LGI) in which case they should be considered as standing (sometimes with a rope hanging from their mouth), or in continuous friezes, in which case the horses should be considered as striding.

The theme of striding horses in a continuous frieze is a Late Geometric II Attic innovation which does not occur in other areas of the Greek world. This theme is distinctive from another fixed iconographic type: the grazing horse, which, as we shall see below in Chapter II, is also a Late Geometric II innovation.

Of all the examples listed in Table 9, only on ten do the horses form a continuous frieze. Two examples (Copenhagen 9378, cat.no 179; Athens NM 810, cat.no 215, PL.

TABLE 9

HORSE STANDING IN PANEL OR STRIDING IN FRIEZE

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
LGII PANEL			
Agora P 22435	128	Sub-dipylon	Amphora
Athens	157	Athens 894	Amphora
London Market	158	Athens 894	Amphora
Swiss Market	159	Athens 894	Amphora
Columbia 66.49.58	213	Athens 894	Pyxis
Kerameikos 1356	217	Athens 894	Oenochoe PL.27b
Agora P 22427	220	Athens 894	Oenochoe
Munich 6234	241	Birdseed	Krater
Toronto C.201	242	Birdseed	Pitcher
London BM1913.11.13 1	263	Lion Painter	Pitcher
Athens Market	264	Lion Painter	Pitcher
Frankfurt VFB 222	275	Concentric C.	Oenochoe
Brussels A 1676	276	Concentric C.	Oenochoe
Trachones 288	277	Concentric C.	Oenochoe
Athens	278	Concentric C.	Oenochoe
Athens NM 18138	318	Athens 897	Amphora
Oxford 1895.76	325	Athens 897	Amphora
Athens	339	Athens 897	Skyphos-pyxis
Copenhagen ABC 1009	351	Benaki	Oenochoe
Brauron Museum	389	?	Krater
Agora P 7177	394	?	Oenochoe
Canellopoulos Mus.	406	?	Pitcher
München 6231	408	?	Stand
Kerameikos 313	411	?	High-rimmed bowl

TABLE 9 (Cont.)

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
Brussels A1701	405	?	Pitcher
Agora P7474	445	?	Kantharos
Brauron Museum	446	?	Kantharos
Tübingen 5480	456	?	Kotyle
Brussels A 2074	458	?	cup
Brauron Museum	463	?	Tankard
Kerameikos 1143	-	?	Kübler, 1954, pl.24.
LGII FRIEZE			
Copenhagen 9378	179	Athens 894	Amphora
Athens NM 15283	201	Athens 894	Skyphos
Athens NM 810	215	Athens 894	Krater PL.40a,b
Kerameikos 824	358	Toledo P.	Amphora PL.4c
Toledo M.A.2643	359	Toledo P.	Amphora PL.41b
Trachones 303	387	?	Krater
London BM 1895.7.20	420	?	Skyphos
Thorikos TC.66.188	421	?	Skyphos
Luzern Private Coll.	434	?	Skyphos
Kerameikos 2859	436	?	Skyphos

40a,b) on large vases come from the Workshop of Athens 894, where the theme decorates subsidiary zones and in the case of the Athens krater, the theme is depicted on the vertical handles and therefore isolated from the other iconographic representations. The third example from the Athens 894 Workshop decorates the interior of a skyphos.

The remaining LGII examples are all from Non-Classical Workshops: three decorating the interior of skyphoi, while two amphorae in the Kerameikos and in Toledo U.S.A. were painted by the same hand (Toledo Painter). Finally, the Trachones pithos-krater includes other iconographic representations as well.

The continuous friezes around the belly of amphorae or decorating the interior of skyphoi, should be considered as purely decorative, similar in meaning and function to the other animal friezes(i.e.goats, deer, dogs, lions etc.).

Turning now to the LGII representations of horses standing in a panel or a free field, we see that these form the majority of the representations listed on Table 9. The theme does not seem to be a workshop speciality, since it occurs in various workshops within and outside the Classical Tradition, though more frequently in the latter group with examples from the Concentric Circle Group, the Birdseed Painter, the Lion and Benaki Painters and the Workshop of Athens 897. The five oenochoae with standing horse from the Concentric Circle Group form one of the iconographic themes painted by this group and will be discussed below in Chapter III. The examples from the other workshops can be found on various shapes: pitchers, amphorae,

krater, high-rimmed bowl, kotyle. The Classical Workshops are represented by one example from the Sub-Dipylon Group (Agora P 22435, cat.no 128) and six examples from the Athens 894 Workshop: three amphorae from this workshop form a homogeneous group (Athens, London Market, Swiss Market, cat.nos 157-159) with the standing horse decorating the neck and bands of concentric circles running round the body.

Outside Attica Crete offers an early example of a horse on an amphora from Knossos (Coldstream, 1968, pl.52c), which is contemporary to Attic MGII and a strongly Atticising work. There can be no doubt that the horse is the most important iconographic subject of Argive pottery and was painted in a very distinct manner, recognisable by the "high carriage of the head, the protruding shoulder, the bushy tail and the backward bend of the forelegs" (29). The earliest Argive horses are Middle Geometric II with two examples (30). As Courbin himself has noted (1966, 403) the horse in one attitude or another (31), figures on more than two hundred examples and the number has increased since.

The representations of Argive horses in LG are seen

29. Coldstream, 1968, 130; for a detailed analysis and structure of the Argive horse cf. Courbin, 1966, 406-413; cf. also Boardman, 1983, 22, the common Homeric epithet for Argos as "ἰννόβοτον" reflects the city's reputation for horse breeding.

30. Argos C.33: kantharos from grave 6/1: Courbin, 1966, pl.60; Coldstream, 1968, 121, 124, pl.26; pyxis from Makris grave 1: Coldstream, 1968, 124.

31. The other iconographic themes which involve the horse, i.e. two antithetical horses tied to tripod/manger, horse leader and man between horses will be discussed in Chapter III.

standing in metopes alone, sometimes with another animal in the same panel such as birds or fish (e.g. Argos C.14, C.242, C.1019) (32). This latter is one of the most frequent motifs of the Argive repertoire, filling in the space below the horse's belly obliquely or vertically in front of the horse. Despite the fact that a symbolic significance of a widely contradictory character i.e. chthonic or solar has been ascribed by several scholars to the horse and fish theme, Courbin (1966,481) has rightly pointed out, that since the fish is found in other contexts as well and since it gradually degenerates into a purely decorative motif, no such symbolic significance should be attached to the horse and fish theme. Boardman (1983,19ff.), however, gives a realistic interpretation and reassesses the significance of the fish in Argive iconography especially in connection with multiple wavy lines which he interprets as water; he concludes furthermore that the artists are depicting horses beside water and draws attention to the Argos C.240 vase (Courbin,1966,pl.40) where the motifs of water, fish, waterbird, horse and man, appear all in one panel. The representation of water therefore in Argive iconography acquires an importance which is emphasized by the Homeric epithet πολυδίψιων (Boardman,1983,22).

The combination of horse and fish motif is not met with in Attic vase painting, but the combination of horse

32. For the Late Geometric Argive examples cf. Courbin, 1966, pl. 11: Nauplia 1006; pl. 29: Argos C. 14; pl. 33: Argos C. 1023; pl. 34: Argos C. 280; pl. 48: Argos C. 239, C. 242; pl. 49: C. 1019; pl. 51: Argos C. 4029; pl. 54: Argos C. 3959; pl. 101: Argos C. 209; Boardman, 1983, fig. 2, 12: Argos C. 171.

and bird does occur (e.g. München 6234, cat.no 241) but with no symbolic connotations.

Another theme which only occurs once in the Argolid is the combination of horse and double axe (Waldstein, 1905,pl.58,7). This as we shall see is quite popular in other parts of the Greek world, occurring twice in Attica (e.g.München 6202, cat.no 449; Mildenberg Coll., cat.no 366 PLATE 58a).

Turning to Boeotia we see that the above mentioned theme became quite popular during the second half of the eighth century (e.g. Copenhagen 5371: CVA 2,pl.67,3), where a single horse is standing in a panel to the left with a rope hanging from its mouth and ending in a cross-hatched rectangle which is an abbreviated rendering of a manger. On another vase from Boeotia in München (inv.no 2233: Rückert,1976,Kr6,pl.17,5), the theme is repeated, but the abbreviated manger is represented as a pillar. A double axe can be placed below the horse's belly, as can be seen in a chariot representation on a krater (Tübingen S.10/1939: CVA 1,pl.4). The double axe may also be omitted (e.g. Providence 23.300 :CVA 1,IIIhb,pl.8,1a,b). Otherwise a striding horse can be inserted in a chariot frieze (e.g. Brussels A 1036: CVA 1,IIIG,pl.1a-f) or tied to a chariot (e.g. Göttingen 533h :Rückert,1976,103 Ka3,pl.26,1,5).

The theme, however, of single horse with double axe is not Boeotian but Euboean and to be more precise an innovation of the Cesnola Painter. On the Cesnola krater in New York (inv.no 74.51.965: Kahane,1973,pl.25,26,1), on either side of a central panel are two symmetrically placed

side panels with a horse to the left and right respectively (which is repeated four times); from the horse's mouth hangs a rope which ends in an abbreviated form of manger, which projects from the side of the panel and as Boardman has noted (1983, 17) "the panel then serves as the stable wall". Below the horse's belly is a bird and above its back a double axe (33). As with the combination of horse and fish theme, so has the horse and double axe representation received various interpretations. Schweitzer (Hera- kles, 1922, 21ff.) apart from tracing the double axe in post Mycenaean times, considers also that the theme of horse and double axe is the earliest representation of the cult of Poseidon (id. 93ff.). But the double axe does not appear exclusively in conjunction with the horse and it seems rather to be a purely decorative and meaningless filling ornament (34).

Finally standing horses can be seen on Melian vases (35) which owe much to the Athenian Hirschfeld Workshop (Coldstream, 1968, 184).

Apart from pottery standing or striding horses are found in other media as well. The most remarkable is the representation of a horse on the back of a throne on which

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33. Krater from Delos; B.4.209 (Delos Museum oenochoe); Oenochoe from Kourion New York 74.51838: Kahane, 1973, pl. 26, 2, 3; cf. also Chapter III Table 37.
34. For an interpretation of the double axe as a realistic utensil and not a weapon cf. Boardman, 1983, 34 n. 72.
35. Leiden RO III, 84: Brants, 1930, pl. 8, 56; Coldstream, 1968, 182 no 1, pl. 39j; Leiden RO III, 68; Brants, 1930, pl. 8, 55; London BM 37.10-18.1: Coldstream, 1968, 182 no 7, pl. 39 a-c; Athens NM 841: Collignon-Couve, 1902, pl. 12, 219; Louvre CA 2946: Villard, Vases Grecs, 1956, pl. III; Coldstream, 1968, 182 no 12.

is seated a female figure, from a tomb in Callithea (Callipolitis-Feytmans, 1963, 414 no 1125, figs. 8, 9).

There are also many terracotta and even more bronze figurines of horses from various sanctuaries in the Greek world, manufactured in Argive, Corinthian, Olympian, Arcadian and Lakonian workshops. Some horses have bases, while others rest directly on the animal's feet; these latter are common in Olympia and Tegea (36). Single horses are also the commonest crowning ornament of the ring handles of bronze tripods (Schweitzer, 1969, figs. 218, 219, 220).

Terracotta horses are as early as the tenth century and as Carter has remarked (1972, 29 n. 19), these early examples are most probably children's toys. From the Middle Geometric II period onwards there are of course the representations of plastic horses decorating the lids of pyxides (cf. Chapter I, Section E, notes 64, 65, 66, 67).

The theme of a single horse in a panel, sometimes with a rope hanging from its mouth, is seen on the Boeotian bronze fibulae; very frequently a bird is used as filling ornament above or below the horse's body. The scheme of the representation is very similar to that of the vases from which it seems to have been directly influenced (37).

36. For a complete analysis of Geometric bronze figurines cf. Heilmeyer, 1979, pls. 12, 13, 16, 17 (Argive), 28, 29, 34, 36-38, 40-45 (Argive Olympian), 52-55 (Corinthian), 58 (Lousoi), 60-65 (Lakonian), 72-75 (Lakonian-Olympian), 84, 86, 88-90 (Olympian). For references of terracottas from sanctuaries cf. Carter, 1972, 30 n. 25.

37. Athens NM 8199: Hampe, 1936, pl. 11; Athens NM 8200: id. pl. 12; Athens NM 8201: id. pl. 13; Athens NM 8202: id. pl. 9; Athens NM 8204: id. pl. 16; Athens NM 12662: id. pl. 10; Berlin 8145: id. fig. 2; Boston MFA: id. pl. 10; Berlin 8460: id. pl. 11; Copenhagen 4803, London BM: id. pl. 7; London BM 119.2, London BM 120.1: id. pl. 10; London BM 121: id. pl. 11; Olympia Museum, Oxford 623.90, Oxford G 375, G376, Paris Louvre: id. fig. 13; Toronto Museum AN 155, London BM 3205: id. pl. 2. The fibulae have been dated by Fittschen, 1969, to the very end of the eighth century and in the seventh century.

TABLE 10

HORSE STANDING/STRIDING IN PANEL OR FRIEZE EPA

Oxford 1936.599	(amphora) : Davison, 1961, fig. 60.
Oxford 1935.19	(amphora) : Davison, 1961, fig. 59.
Würzburg H 4988	(amphora) : <u>CVA</u> 1, pl. 16.
Athens	(amphora) : <u>BCH</u> 82, 1958, 681 fig. 24.
Callithea 1106, 1107, 1111, 1112 (fen. stand):	Callipolitis-Feytmans, 1963, 404ff.
Kerameikos 302	(fen. stand): Davison, 1961, fig. 63, Anatalos Painter.
Agora P 7793	(stand fr.): Brann, 1962, no 387, pl. 23.
Agora P 7188	(stand fr.): Brann, 1962, no 389, pl. 23.
Vlastos Collection	(fen. stand): Kübler, 1970, 602 no 204.
Athens NM 748	(footed krater): Brückner-Pernice, 1893, pl. 8, 1; 1, 7.
Passas Collection	(pitcher) : Tölle, 1964, pl. 10.
Berlin A4	(amphora): <u>CVA</u> 1, pl. 3, 1.
Eleusis	(bowl): Cook, 1935, pl. 40a.
London A 470	(lid): Brokaw, 1963, pl. 35, 2; Cook, 1935, 174, 205.
Berlin A 12	(footed krater): <u>CVA</u> 1, pl. 6, 3, 4.
Vlastos Collection	(hydria): Brokaw, 1963, pl. 34, 4.
Mainz 47	(hydria): <u>CVA</u> 1, pl. 6; Bakalakis, 1961, 65 no 17.
Athens NM 138	(tankard): Wide, 1899, 209 fig. 80; Kübler, 1970, 601 no 199.

To sum up, it seems that the horse in a panel or frieze makes its first appearance in Athens as early as EGI, while a horse in a free field is even earlier (Protogeometric); we may also conclude that despite the frequent appearance of the horse in Argive pottery, its earlier appearance in Attic pottery, makes it an Attic theme. The role of Euboëa seems also to have been important especially for the scheme of a single horse tied to an abbreviated manger which is found there in LGIb but was introduced into Attica in LGII (Chapter III, "The Concentric Circle Group", Table 37).

The meaning of the horse in general with its chthonic or symbolic implications will be discussed more at length in Chapter III jointly with the themes "horses tied to tripod/manger" and "man holding two antithetical horses", all of which form the iconographic subjects of the Concentric Circle Group.

In the Early Protoattic period, striding horses in a frieze are represented on two examples (Table 10), one striding horse is inserted in a frieze of grazing horses on two vases (Würzburg H 4988, London A 470) and the remaining twelve examples are all in panels.

D. PROTHESIS SCENES

The only iconographic representation which seems to have a wide distribution in the LGI and LGII periods, is the prothesis scene: the laying out of the corpse on the bier. These scenes have been fully analysed by G.Ahlberg (1971) and there is very little for me to add except in the more general iconographic analysis of the period.

Ahlberg lists twenty five prothesis scenes which belong to the Late Geometric I period: sixteen were painted by the Dipylon Master or belong to his close associates and workshop (Ahlberg, 1971, nos 2-17) and are all represented either on the body of belly-handled amphorae or on kraters: the two most common funerary vessels of the period, which are directly connected with the burial practices and the differentiation of male and female burials (38) There are only two examples of a prothesis scene depicted on another shape: a pitcher in Dresden (cat.no 55), an early work of the Hirschfeld Painter and an amphora in Athens (NM 18062, cat.no 53) also by the Hirschfeld Painter, where the prothesis scene decorates the shoulder. Another vase which can surely be ascribed to the Hirschfeld Painter represents a prothesis scene on a belly-handled amphora recently found at the Kriezi street cemetery and which is included in Ahlberg's Addendum. Furthermore her numbers 10 (Louvre CA 3391), 11 (Louvre A 545) and 12 (Athens NM) are very fragmentary and have not been listed here (Table 11). Ahlberg also dates the New York 14.130.15 krater (cat.no 310) to the LGIb period; I have dated this vase, however, to the LGII period and have included it in the new Trachones Workshop (cf. Appendix).

For the LGII period, Ahlberg lists twenty four prothesis scenes (Ahlberg, 1971, nos 27-50), to which may be added a few more examples: MFA Houston Texas (cat.no 147,

38. Coldstream, 1968, 120: Kerameikos grave 6, odos Pireos grave 3; Kerameikos graves 58, 71, 72; Pnyx grave, odos Kriezi grave 26, neck-handled amphora cf. Ahlberg, 1971, 33 n.2.

TABLE 11
PROTHESIS SCENES

Representation	Cat.no	Workshop	Shape
LGI			
Athens NM 804	1	Dipylon	Belly-amphora
Sèvres MN	3	Dipylon	Belly-amphora
Louvre A 517	4	Dipylon	Krater PLS.15b, 17a 31b
Louvre A 522 +	7	Dipylon	Krater
Halle Robertinum	15	Dipylon	Krater
Athens NM 802	17	Dipylon	Krater
Pireus street	18	Dipylon	Krater
Amsterdam 2015	19	Dipylon	Krater
Louvre A 547	21	Dipylon	Krater
Sydney Nicholson M.	22	Dipylon	Krater
Louvre A 541	23	Dipylon	Krater
Louvre A 552	24	Dipylon	Krater
Agora P 10664	26	Dipylon	Amphora
New York 14.130.14	48	Hirschfeld	Krater PL.10a
Athens Kriezī str.	52	Hirschfeld	Belly-amphora
Athens NM 18062	53	Hirschfeld	Amphora
Dresden ZV 1635	55	Hirschfeld	Pitcher
Athens NM 812	72	?	Krater
Athens NM 4310	74	?	Krater fr.
Athens 3rd Ephoria	75	?	krater fr.
New York 34.11.2	76	?	Krater
Brussels A 1506	78	?	Amphora
Kerameikos	68	Hirschfeld	Fr.

PL;22a,b, Philadelphia Painter), Kerameikos 5643 (cat.no 172, PL.9, Workshop of Athens 894), Brauron Museum (cat.no 388, PLATE 10b) and five unpublished fragments from the Kerameikos (39) (Table 12). Although in the LGII period the prothesis scenes remain a favourite subject - as the figures indicate- there are some basic changes from the previous period.

First of all in shape: the theme is no longer represented on the belly-amphorae. After the end of the Late Geometric I period, the belly-handled amphora goes out of fashion (Coldstream, 1968, 34). Prothesis scenes on kraters on the other hand are found only on Provincial vases (Trachones, Thorikos, Merenda). The Classical Workshops cease to represent prothesis on kraters in LGII (40).

In LGII the shape substituting the belly-handled amphora and the krater is the neck-handled amphora, a shape going back to the Middle Geometric II period. (41). The change of shape has brought about a change in the adaptation of the representation caused by the space conditions: the theme is no longer decorating the body of the funerary amphorae, but the necks. Neither the meaning, however, nor the representation of the actual ritual seem to have changed, since all the fundamental elements seen on the Late Geometric I representations are also found on those belonging to the Late Geometric II period.

39. Kerameikos 5516, 5519, 5597, 5594, 5587: neck fragments belonging or close to the Workshop of Athens 894; I wish to thank Dr. B. Bohlen for letting me study the material from the Kerameikos.

40. In the LGI period we have seventeen prothesis scenes on kraters: Ahlberg, 1971, nos 4-11, 13-16, 18-22, 25.

41. Kübler, 1954, pl. 32, 276; Coldstream, 1968, 57; as Smithson, 1974, 335 n. 30, has pointed out, there is no evidence to

With one exception all the LGII prothesis scenes belonging to the workshops of the Classical Tradition decorate the necks of neck-handled amphorae; the one exception is an amphora in Oxford belonging to the Sub-Dipylon Group (cat.no 137), where the prothesis scene decorates the body of this neck-amphora: it is the central point of a continuous frieze including a chariot procession. The painter is following here the Dipylon tradition for the position of the figured scene on the vase, but is no longer restricted by the handles and has adapted it at the same time to the new shape which is in demand. This vase thus represents the iconographic link between the LGI Dipylon tradition and the LGII Workshop of Athens 894.

This adaptation, however, was obviously not favoured, since no other examples from the Classical Workshops are known. From the Non-Classical Workshops on the other hand, the prothesis scene does occasionally decorate the bodies of amphorae, as exemplified by the neck-handled amphora from the Thorikos Workshop (Copenhagen 2680, cat.no 317, PL.12a) and also an amphora in the London Market by the Painter of Paris CA 3283 (cat.no 347, PL;13a) and an amphora in Karlsruhe B 2674 (cat.no 377).

All the LGII prothesis representations by the Philadelphia and the Athens 894 Workshops are represented on the necks of neck-handled amphorae, always accompanied by chariot friezes and occasionally in a secondary zone by a procession of warriors (Ahlberg, 1971, 174). All the devia-

disprove the theory that male cremations were placed in neck-handled amphorae. There are also many non-figured Late Geometric I neck-handled amphorae (Coldstream, 1968, 47), but only just a few carry figured decoration: e.g. Athens NM 18062 (cat.no 53) and Baring Coll. (cat.no 25).

TABLE 12
PROTHESIS SCENES

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
LGII			
Oxford 1916.15	137	Sub-Dipylon	Amphora
Brauron Museum	145	Philadelphia	Amphora
MFA Houston	147	Philadelphia	Amphora PL.22a,b
Cleveland 1927.27	164	Athens 894	Amphora PL.21a
Baltimore 48.2231	165	Athens 894	Amphora PL.23a
Athens Private Coll.	166	Athens 894	Amphora
Agora P 4990	167	Athens 894	Amphora
Stathatou Coll.	168	Athens 894	Amphora
Essen K 969	169	Athens 894	Amphora PL.26b
Hamburg 1966.89	170	Athens 894	Amphora PL.23b
Kerameikos 1371	171	Athens 894	Amphora
Kerameikos 5643	172	Athens 894	Amphora PL.9
Athens NM 18474	261	Rattle Group	Pitcher PLS.52a,b 53a,b
Uppsala University	312	Thorikos	Fr.
Florence Mus.Arch.	313	Thorikos	Fr.
Thorikos TC.65.666	314	Thorikos	Fr. PL.11a
Berlin 1963.13	316	Thorikos	Amphora PL.12b
Copenhagen 2680	317	Thorikos	Amphora PL.12a
BM 1912.5-22.1	334	Athens 897	Pitcher PL.11b
Benaki 7675	349	Benaki	Amphora
Louvre CA 3283	346	Paris 3283	Oenochoe PL.13b
London Market	347	Paris 3283	Amphora PL.13a
Karlsruhe B 2674	377	?	Amphora
Brauron Museum	388	?	Krater PL.10b
New York 14.130.15	310	Trachones	Krater

tions from this norm set by the Classical Workshops are found on vases painted by the workshops outside the Classical Tradition: here the prothesis scene is represented on more shapes, in different positions of the vase and with different or no subsidiary figured zones.

In the Late Geometric II period, prothesis scenes on kraters are as mentioned above, found only on vases painted by workshops outside the Classical Tradition: e.g. Brauron Museum (cat.no 388, PL;10b), New York 14.130.15 (cat.no 310), Thorikos TC.65.666 (cat.no 314, PL.11a) and probably the Uppsala and Florence fragments (cat.nos 312, 313) and on vases other than amphorae: e.g. Athens NM 18474 (cat.no 261, PLS.52a, b; 53a, b) and London BM 1912.5.22.1 (cat.no 334, PL.11b) which are pitchers and on one oenochoe (Louvre CA 3283, cat.no 346, PL.13b).

The Merenda krater (cat.no 388, PL.10b) which has not been published deserves to be fully analysed at this point. This is a rather exceptional vase, of which eight joining and one non-joining fragments survive. The lip of the krater is decorated with a zig-zag design; this is a very unusual feature, since all the LG kraters are decorated with a maeander pattern, either a simple maeander or a stepped maeander (42). The other decorative elements consist of a dotted lozenge chain framing the prothesis below. This is found on all the LGI kraters and is one of the commonest narrow motifs (Coldstream, 1968, 36). The rendering of the

42. simple maeander: Athens NM 812 (cat.no 72), New York 14.130.15 (cat.no 310); stepped maeander: Louvre A 517 (cat.no 4).

leaf pattern decorating the lower frieze is also common. The leaf pattern was frequently used by the Dipylon Master but was also favoured by the later Non-Classical workshops (43); the leaf pattern here is of the simplest form.

Turning now to the handle zone which bears the figured decoration, we see that to the right of the scene, the vase is decorated with the triglyph-metope system; the triglyph consists of zig-zag lines bordered by three vertical lines: this decoration closely resembles that seen on the Florence 86.415.85/86 fragment by the Thorikos Painter (cat.no 313), but on the Merenda krater the zig-zag lines have multiplied; the same decoration is also seen on an earlier vase (New York 34.11.2, cat.no 76), which has been dated to LGI. The metope on the other hand of the Merenda krater consists of a panel decorated with five concentric circles with an eight-leaved rosette : metopes with concentric circles with various filling ornaments have a long tradition going back to the EGII period (44). This scheme of decoration seems to persist into LGII at the Provincial Workshops (cf.Appendix, "The Thorikos Painter").

Let us consider next the figured scene: a prothesis scene survives, as well as mourners and kneeling goats. All the surviving figures on the krater are naked and female, these are readily identifiable by the indication of

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- 43.LGI: Athens NM 804 (cat.no 1), Louvre A 541 (cat.no 23);
LGII: London BM 1916.1-8.2 (cat.no 249, PL. 50b); BSA 306:
Coldstream, 1968, pl. 12g.
44.EGII: Kerameikos 935: Kübler, 1954, pl. 17; MGI: Kerameikos
1254: Kübler, 1954, pl. 22; MGII:/LGI: New York 34.11.2 (cat.
no 76); LGI: Louvre A 522 (cat.no 7).

breasts; the corpse too has no indication of breasts and if we follow Ahlberg's terminology, we have no positive evidence for the identification of these two figures; the small figure though, is most certainly a child.

The bier is of the four/legged type, but has no exact counterpart in any of the other extant representations of biers, nor does it conform to any of the types classified by Ahlberg (1971, 325 sketch 1). The bier attachment above the legs is rendered as a zig-zag line, not the usual cross-hatching (Berlin 1963.13 ,cat.no 316,PL.12b). At first sight the bier cloth seems to have been omitted; the omission of the bier cloth is not unusual in LG art and Ahlberg (1971,55), notes twelve such instances. Immediately above the corpse of the Merenda krater, however, there is a sort of cross-hatched ornament which due to its faded condition, is hard to see if it is in any way connected with the corpse and bier, or whether it is purely a decorative element.

On the other hand, higher in the field is a rectangular chequerboard bordered vertically and horizontally by a triple band: in view of the fact that it is in no way connected to the bier and corpse, it is hard to see it as a bier cloth , but an analogy to the pitcher also from Merenda which belongs to the Rattle Group (cat.no 260,PL.54a, b), where the chequerboard square has been interpreted as a grave (cf. Chapter III "The Rattle Group") we could here too have an indication of a grave.

Below the bier is a female figure kneeling to the right. This iconographic scheme is a sign of lateness, since

in LGI the majority of figures below the bier are either seated on stools or chairs or standing , the only exceptions being the Athens NM 812 krater (cat.no 72) and the Athens NM 804 belly-amphora (cat.no 1), whereas the scheme found on the Merenda krater is the norm for all the LGII representations (cf. Appendix Tables 52,53).

The female figures have the typical two/handed mourning gesture, while the kneeling goats enclosed in a panel below them, belong to Type B which was first introduced by the Hirschfeld Painter (cf. Table 3).

The iconography on the whole represents no unusual features, but I have been unable to find any close parallels to the drawing and to associate the painter of this vase to other known painters or workshops. The Merenda krater stands apart as it were from the other figured vases. In view ,however, of the fact that it was found in a grave at Merenda, it seems logical to assume that it is conservative in aspect and should be dated to the early phase of LGII. As we have seen in other provincial workshops at Trachones and Thorikos, large kraters continued to be produced during the LGIIa period. What we lack in this instance is comparative material in order to establish a Merenda Workshop or Painter.

Despite the fact that the basic elements of the prothesis scenes (the bier, the corpse, the mourners) are all present in the Late Geometric II period, certain differences do occur and there seems to be a special interest in details such as the representation of weapons displayed above the bier (e.g. Benaki 7675, cat.no 349; Kerameikos 5643, cat.no 172; Athens NM 283:Ahlberg,1971,fig.49)surely

an indication of the military status of the deceased.

At this point it is possible to summarize the following observations: in the LGII period we have two distinct trends: firstly the Classical Workshops represent the prothesis on the necks of neck-handled amphorae, while the chariot friezes in all instances and warrior processions on some vases decorate the other zones on the body of the vase. Secondly, the prothesis scenes issuing from the Non-Classical Workshops are represented on more shapes (kraters, pitchers, oenochoae), chariot friezes occur only on the New York 14.130.15 krater (cat.no 310) which represents an aristocratic funeral and grand scale processions, races and games, all of which, if we can judge by the workshop which produced the vase, occurred in the countryside.

Other elements which are seen on the prothesis scenes are animals. Animals are sometimes shown below the bier. The Hirschfeld Painter was the first who represented goats (Type B) below the bier, substituting thus the usual mourners (e.g. New York 14.130.14, cat.no 48, PL.10a). In LGII Type A goats are represented on all four scenes of prothesis of the London BM 1912.5-22.1 pitcher (cat.no 334, PL.11b) belonging to the Workshop of Athens 897, but as Coldstream notes (1968,79) "perhaps the work of an elderly hand who had known the Hirschfeld Painter". This pitcher is unique because four prothesis scenes are represented. Although I agree with Ahlberg that all four scenes represent a single funeral, I do not believe that reliance can be placed on her argument from the filling motives in general and to be more precise that the tongue motif of scene a) indicates a

grave mark, or that the standing triangles of scene c) express "landscape and outdoor scenery". On the other hand the absence of an ekphora and armed warriors may suggest a non aristocratic funeral.

Getting back to animals represented below the bier, birds can be seen as early as LGI, as exemplified by the New York 34.11.2 krater (cat.no 76) and then in LGIb on the New York 14.130.14 krater and the Athens NM 18062 amphora (cat.nos 48, PL.10a; 53) both by the Hirschfeld Painter and in LGII on the Florence 86.415.85/86 fragment (cat.no 313), where the birds are represented upside down and therefore presumably dead. These birds may represent the animals killed for the funeral banquet. Dead birds are shown carried by the figures at the side of bier of the New York 14.130.15 krater (cat.no 310), together with other gifts and animals (cf. also the Agora P 4990 amphora, cat. no 167, representing figures bearing gifts: a vase, a wreath and a sword; but on a different panel than the prothesis scene). Live birds are represented on the Copenhagen 2680 amphora (cat.no 317, PL.12a).

Turning now to the Early Protoattic period, we see that the prothesis theme passes out of fashion, with just one unique example on a hydria in Australia recently published by R.G.Hood (1982) and a fragmentary amphora from Keratea in the Vlastos Collection Athens (45).

The hydria is a very unusual piece, unique in many ways: firstly because it is the only known example of a

45. Tölle, 1964, pl. 16b; Ahlberg, 1971, no 44 fig. 44; King, 1976, pl. 15e.

prothesis scene represented on the neck of a hydria; secondly it is the only known example where the corpse is represented in a leftward direction. Since the rightward direction of the head was up to now the rule on all the extant prothesis scenes, Ahlberg (1971,43) reached the conclusion, that it is of a "special significance for the ritual context". This must now be reviewed, which means that the rightward direction may either have lost its special significance by the very end of the eighth century, so was disregarded by the artist, or that it was of no significance whatsoever, but only the obvious way for a right-handed artist to be painting all his representations in a rightward direction. The leftward direction of a whole frieze, however, can be seen on at least thirty five LGII vases; the majority of these leftward friezes are decorative animal friezes (46) and only a few chariots and other figures are represented in a leftward direction (47). The

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46. e.g. striding horses: Röhsska Museum Gothenburg (cat.no 148, PL.32a), Swiss Market (cat.no 159), Copenhagen 9378 (cat.no 179), Hamburg 1919.363 (cat.no 237, PL.41a), Toledo M.A. 2643 (cat.no 359, PL.41b); running dogs: Athens (cat.no 157), Baltimore 48.2231 (cat.no 165, PL.23a), Karlsruhe 60/12 (cat.no 177), Agora P 22715 (cat.no 331); grazing deer: Athens Stathatou Collection (cat.no 168), Amsterdam 6249 (cat.no 176), Toronto C.951 (cat.no 180), Swiss Market (cat.no 184), Kerameikos 1364 (cat.no 210), Philadelphia 30.33.133 (cat.no 226), Swiss Market (cat.no 308), Kerameikos 1237 (cat.no 418), Kerameikos 4369 (cat.no 437), Athens (cat.no 448), Agora P 13286 (cat.no 466); birds: Louvre CA 1789 (cat.no 320), Basle Market (cat.no 321), Kerameikos 824 (cat.no 358); bulls: Agora P 22440 (cat.no 386); goats: Kerameikos 369 (cat.no 392); lions: Essen K 969 (cat.no 169), Athens NM (cat.no 221, PL.39b).
47. chariot frieze: Berlin (cat.no 151, PL. 25b), Essen K 969 (cat.no 169, PL.36c), Kerameikos 735 (cat.no 188), Athens NM 810 (cat.no 215, PL.40a,b), Kerameikos 1356 (cat.no 217, PL.27b); dancers/mourners: Copenhagen 9378 (cat.no 179), Athens NM 810 (cat.no 215), Athens NM (cat.no 221), N.Y. 25.78.50 (cat.no 379); warriors: Philadelphia 30.33.133 (cat.no 226); Louvre CA 1940 (cat.no 251, PL.50a).

earliest leftward frieze in Geometric art moreover, is seen in the interior of a skyphos now in Münster (inv.no 735) and which is dated to the Middle Geometric II period (48).

Kübler (1970, 35 n.37,38,39) ascribes a symbolic significance to the leftward direction of some friezes, but one should always be cautious in an iconographic analysis of attributing an exaggerated significance to features which for the unsophisticated eighth century onlooker might have had no special meaning at all. The alternation of leftward and rightward friezes should rather be considered as serving aesthetic purposes.

Another unusual feature of this Early Protoattic prothesis scene is the rendering of the corpse in a profile view, the only other known example being the LGI krater fragment in Athens NM 812 (49).

The vase in Melbourne, according to Coldstream, is probably an early work of the Analatos Painter: the head of the corpse is very similar to those represented on the ship plaque in Athens from Sounion, while the grazing deer below the lip are a reproduction of the grazing deer on the body of the Analatos hydria in Athens (NM 313) and the fragment in Eleusis (50).

The other Protoattic example of a prothesis is fragmentary and has been attributed by Cook (Gnomon 34,1962, 822) to the early Mesogeia Painter. To this same vase King

48. Bielefeld, 1953, 43ff. pl. 10a-b; Coldstream, 1968, 26; Boreas 2, 1979, 189ff., pl. 18, 19, 1.

49. cat. no 72; for the omission of the bier cloth cf. Ahlberg, 1971, 55ff.

50. Cook, 1935, pls. 38a, 40a, 40b.

(1976, 80, pl. 14, figs. 7-8 pl. 15 fig. 9) has ascribed a body fragment with a leftward procession of round shield warriors and the lower part of a chariot frieze. The iconographic syntax of this vase, i.e. the placing of the prothesis on the neck and the chariot and warrior friezes on the body of the amphora, follows the Late Geometric II tradition of the Classical Workshops and unlike the other better preserved example by the Analatos Painter does not break new ground- new ground, however, which never had any imitators.

When Zschietzschmann wrote in 1928 there were practically no seventh century representations of prothesis known, but the gap is now filled by the Kerameikos vases published by Kübler (51). There is also a terracotta model of a prothesis from the middle of the seventh century in Athens from Vari: the corpse is carried on a wagon and around it stand four female mourners (Higgins, 1967, 43 no 5).

By the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the sixth, prothesis scenes reappear on funerary plaques; this event apparently coincides with Solon's funerary regulations. These funerary black-figured plaques, which were decorated with prothesis scenes, were specifically made for the decoration of tombs. Boardman in his 1954 article published thirty nine of these plaques, some of which were painted by the best black-figured artists such as Exekias, Lydos and were also the favourite subject of the Sappho Painter, who is exceptionally rich in iconographic detail.

51. Kübler, 1950, 18 ff. pls. 53-55 = Kübler, 1970, pls. 38-42; Kerameikos 1280: Kübler, 1950, pls. 35, 36; id., 1970, pls. 12, 13.

E.CHARIOT FRIEZES

It has been noted by various scholars, that the chariot friezes are one of the favourite subjects throughout the Late Geometric and Early Protoattic periods (52). They occur as the most frequent secondary motif on the prothesis vases (Tables 11,12; e.g.Cleveland 1927.27.6,cat.no 164, PLATE 21a); they occur also as the only figured zone of a vase (e.g.Louvre CA 2503, cat.no 155 , Berlin S.M. ,cat.no 151, PLATE 25a,b), or in combination with other figured and decorative friezes: grazing deer, running dogs, mourners, dancers, warriors, centaurs etc. (e.g. Athens NM 14763 ,cat. no 129, PL.20a; Düsseldorf Hetjens M.,cat.no 235, PL.18a,b).

It is important for the discussion to consider the changes which occur in the LGII period; the iconographic context and composition of the chariot frieze will eventually lead to the interpretation of its meaning and function. Furthermore a classification of the chariot type will be necessary and the number of horses and the charioteer type are important: these three elements will determine whether we can distinguish processions from races and/or processions of racing chariots; whether they all belong to the sphere of funerary iconography or not, always within the framework of reflecting contemporary reality, although the degree of this reality must be borne in mind.

As with the other subjects both the internal and the external evidence will be considered: internal, implies all the information from the representations themselves,

52.Hinrichs,1955,143ff.; Fittschen,1969,26ff.; Kübler, 1970,37; Ahlberg,1971,184.

while by external , the iconographic comparison with representations of a different date or a different cultural area: the first is exemplified by the Mycenaean representations and the second by the Near Eastern ones.

Before analysing the chariot frieze as a whole, I shall first turn to the individual elements which constitute it, starting with the chariot itself. I have divided the chariots into seven main types: A, B, C, D, D1, E and F (PLATE 15), which show the development of the representation and an advance towards reality and the rendering of perspective.

Chariots were a favourite iconographic representation in the Late Bronze Age (Karageorghis-Vermeule, 1982, 175-177); Mycenaean chariots have most recently been fully analysed by Crouwel (1981), who has expanded Greenhalgh's previous work (1973, 30-33) and who has divided the material into four types: Box chariot, Quadrant chariot, Dual chariot and Rail chariot.

My classification of Geometric chariots is based on Greenhalgh (1973, 19ff.), but since his G2 type is only represented by one sherd (id. fig. 6), it is not included here because it is of no iconographic importance. Greenhalgh's G2 type is the so-called Egyptian chariot (53) and is represented with a single rail at the front and a D-shaped floor. Crouwel (1981, 72ff.) (54) claims a continuity be-

53. The "Egyptian" chariot is better exemplified in three dimensional art :e.g. Schweitzer, 1969, pl. 178: Olympia.

54. Miss Lorimer, 1950, 318 was the first to suppose that the light single rail chariots of the Geometric period, represented a direct descendant of the latest Bronze Age chariots. Catling too (AJA 72, 1968, 48) accepts the existence of chariotry throughout the Dark Ages.

tween his Mycenaean type IV Rail chariot and the "Egyptian" chariot, and does not accept that chariots were reintroduced to Greece from the East during the eighth century as does Snodgrass (1964, 161ff.). Crowel's second Iron Age type on the other hand, corresponding to our types B-F is, as Crowel convincingly argues, of local origin. Since there is no direct relationship between the Mycenaean and the Geometric chariot representations analysed here, only individual elements will be considered throughout the analysis; these will serve more to emphasize the difference both in terms of iconography and function between the Mycenaean and the Geometric chariots.

Turning now to the Late Geometric representations, we see that Type A (PL.15a,b), is the earliest representation of a chariot and is more frequent in the LGI period: it consists of a long box with two wheels and a loop at either end; the rail at the back represents one of the side rails: Reichel's reconstruction (1942, fig.65) with it at the back is surely wrong, since it can only obstruct the ascent and descent from the chariot. A variation of this type occurs in LGIIa from the provincial workshop at Trachones: it still has two wheels and two loops at either end, but the box is smaller. Type A chariot normally has two occupants (e.g. Louvre A 517, cat.no 4, PL.15b), but sometimes only one (e.g. Athens NM 990, cat.no 46, PL.15a).

Type B (PLATE 15c) has only one wheel and the front rail is shown as a large loop and the side rail as a smaller loop at the back. Only two examples of this type occur in LGI (Athens NM 806, cat.no 73; Louvre A 552, cat.no 24,

PLS. 17b,30a), but it becomes common in LGII both early (e.g. Eleusis 454, cat.no 127) or late (e.g. New York 10.210.7, cat.no 348).

Type C (PL.15d,e) has one wheel and is more advanced in that the front rail and the side rail join at the bottom; this type occurs only in LGII, but it is not very frequent (e.g.Cleveland 1927.27.6, cat.no 164, PL.21a; Athens NM 184, cat.no 130, PL.15d; Toronto C.951, cat.no 180,PL.15e).

Type D (PL.15f,g,h) is much more advanced in that the side rail is shown as such for the first time; it is interesting to note that the examples of this type come mainly from the Sub-Dipylon and the Birdseed Workshops (e.g.Erlagen 1458, cat.no 233).

Type D1 is similar to D, but the side rail is larger and joins the front rail higher (PL.15 l); a variant can show two wheels, like Essen K969 (cat.no 169,PLS.15e,26b) which accomodates two occupants.

Type E has one wheel and a double side rail (PL.15 m, n), sometimes with cross-bars (e.g.Villa Guilia 1212, cat. no 224)and is found only at the very end of the eighth century (cf. Appendix "The Villa Giulia Painter").

Type F, has the side rail shown as a single profile loop, like D1, while the front rail is rendered in the most realistic way of all, with a small loop at the top; the lower part of the space below the front rail is filled in with paint, which indicates a low solid screen surmounted by a rail (PL.15 p, New York 21.88.18: Davison,1961,fig. 57); this type of chariot is shown as having a single wheel, but an elongated variation which is given two wheels

may occur (e.g. London BM 1927.4-11.1, cat.no 262,PL.20b); the elongated chariots with two wheels invariably have two occupants (cf. Type D1, Essen K 969, cat.no 169,PL.151). I do not believe that the second wheel here indicates a four-wheel wagon comparable to our Type A, but that it was added by the artist in order to satisfy aesthetically a sense of stability (Benson,1970,53).

Types B, C, D, D1, E and F, all show the same type of chariot: the development is in the rendering of the chariot representation and not in the chariot itself. It is only Type A which represents a different chariot. In fact it is not a chariot at all, but a wagon or cart, possibly a four-wheeled cart, as Snodgrass has suggested (1964,160), mainly used for the ekphora processions. The cart used for the ekphora on the Athens NM 990 krater is quite similar to our Type A (55). On the other hand, the extraordinary ekphora cart of the Athens NM 803 amphora (cat.no 2), has four wheels represented and its appearance as Benson notes (1970, 149 n.75) "is that of a railway flat-car".

In corpore both carts and chariots can be seen among the Royal Tombs at Salamis and the full reconstruction helps in understanding and visualising technical details, which could by no means be represented in the schematic style of Geometric vase painting (56). Tomb 79, yielded two chariots and two carts or hearses. Chariot B was a quadriga, the only one so far discovered in Salamis, with ten-spoked wheels. The chariot box had a wooden floor and

55.cat.no 46; cf.also Bonn University fr.16, cat.no 47, both by the Hirschfeld Painter.

56. Karageorghis,1973,esp. Tomb 79, 60ff.

the breast was also of wood, while the sides were made of plaited osiers. The Geometric representations frequently show the space below the front rail filled with paint (e.g. PL.15f,p, Types D, F), this could correspond to the wooden breasts of the Salamis chariots, while the cross-hatching would represent plaited osiers. The chariot box of the Salamis chariot was divided into two compartments, one for the charioteer and the other for the warrior; the strict profile of the Geometric representations does not allow us to recognise any such inner division, but since the majority of LG chariots have only one occupant it seems rather unlikely. The Salamis carts had no chariot box, only a floor, rectangular and flat, on which the coffin was placed. Our Type A cart shows the floor in a bird's eye view with the charioteer standing on it.

In three dimensional art, there are also some examples of chariots either in bronze or terracotta (Heilmeyer, 1972, 42ff.). What characterizes all the Geometric representations is that the chariot with the horses is set on a platform with four wheels; the rear wheels as Higgins notes (1969,22) do duty as the chariot wheels, but the front wheels are completely irrelevant to the composition of the chariot, the whole construction being a child's toy. An example from the Agora (Higgins,1969,22 pl.8b) which is the most complete, has a Dipylon warrior as charioteer and is drawn by four horses. Another virtually complete model was found in Athens (AD 19,1964, 58-60,pl.55b); it is drawn by a pair of horses and the charioteer is unarmed. Geometric terracotta chariots have been studied by Sarian (1969,664ff.): from Argos

three fragments from a wheel were found, while a more complete example can be seen in the British Museum (Sarian, 1969, 669 fig.24). The majority show only one occupant and there is only one bronze chariot with two occupants known from Olympia (Olympia B1671: Heilmeyer, 1972, no 220, pl.38) (57).

And now a brief look at the chariot wheels: the great majority of Late Geometric wheels are represented with four spokes, just as in Creto-Mycenaean iconography (Crouwel, 1981, 81ff. pls.73-78). In the Late Geometric II period, six-spoked wheels are also represented: the Philadelphia Painter uses exclusively the six-spoked type; this painter's wheels are also unusual in that two concentric circles are represented, the spokes intersecting only the inner circle. Eight-spoked wheels are seen on the New York 14.130.15 krater (cat.no 310) and on another one from Trachones (cat.no 311), both of which belong to the Trachones Workshop. These are the only LGII examples of eight-spoked wheels from Attica that I know of. Outside Attica and in three dimensional art, the recently discovered bronze wheels from Lefkandi heroon belonging to the tenth century have eight spokes (Antiquity 1982, pl.22). A miniature bronze wheel with six spokes was found at Olympia and a six-spoked wheel appears also on a vase from Kavousi in Crete (58). From Cyprus on a Cypro-Geometric III krater (Karageorghis, 1973, 170 fig.4) the chariot has a wheel.

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57. other examples: Athens odos Meidani: Sarian, 1969, 671 fig.25; Vienna: Winter, Die Antiken Terrakotten, 1903, I, 25:6; Cyprus: Wiesner, 1968, 72, 91; Argos: Sarian, 1969, 667 figs.21-23, 671 figs.26, 27.
58. A; Furtwängler Olympia, die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung, 1890, 69 no 508; AJA 1901, 146 pl.3.

with eight leaf-shaped spokes of a very ornamental character; from Cyprus too the Salamis chariot has ten spokes. The wheels of two Cypriot bronze stands have six spokes (London 1946/10-17-1; Berlin 8947: Catling, 1964, group III nos 36, 35). One side of the London stand represents also a two-horse chariot with charioteer and warrior; the chariot has six-spoked wheels just like the wheels of the stand. From the Archaic period, two terracottas from Hagia Irene represent seven-spoked wheels (SCE II, pl. 235, 3, 5).

The multi-spoked wheels are clearly an Oriental feature: down to the later fifteenth century the four-spoked variety predominated in both Egypt and the Near East. From the eighteenth Dynasty onwards, the six-spoked wheels were used. In Assyrian art the eight-spoked wheels were the fashion during the reign of Tiglath Pilester III (745-727 B.C) (Barnett, 1960, pls. 137-173). In the Near East twelve or even more spoked wheels are also represented: the carts of the Elamites had as many as sixteen spokes.

Other details of Geometric chariots cannot be understood from the vase paintings: some representations, however, even among the earliest (e.g. Louvre A 552, cat. no 24), show such details as the nave of the wheel, but the majority do not.

The number used to pull the chariot is a feature worthy of consideration. The representation of one-horse chariots should be understood as a two-horse chariot, where one wheel is also represented; some painters who showed only one profile horse, indicated two by the reins (e.g. Berlin 3203, cat. no 143; Philadelphia 5464, cat. no 141; Oxford

1935.19: Wiesner, 1968, F 65). This is a way the painter is dealing with perspective, (or, rather, not being able to cope with the problem of perspective) something he eventually overcame with the help of the black figured technique in the sixth century, from which time on single horse chariots are no longer represented in Greek art (59).

Bronson (60) has shown that although it is technically possible to have a single horse pulling a chariot, it is unlikely, due to the usage of the yoke in ancient times as the sole means of attaching the horse to the chariot. Most Geometric representations of chariots show two/horse teams, just like in Mycenaean times. The two/horse chariot is well attested from the Late Helladic I period, on the grave stelai from the shaft graves at Mycenae (61), while in Egypt, they are represented in the fourteenth century B.C. (Anderson, 1961, pl. 1), and they are also found in Ugarit (Frankfort, 1954, pl. 145).

An innovation which occurs in the eighth century, is the introduction of three and four/horse chariot teams and it is interesting to note that although the two/horse and four/horse chariots continue to be represented after the eighth century, the three/horse chariot is a passer-by, scarcely found after the eighth century. There is only

59. e.g. London BM B 130: Beazley, 1956, 89, 1; Boardman, 1974, fig. 296, 2 (the earliest synoris); Athens NM 353: Beazley, 1956, 2; Athens NM 101: E. Haspels, Attic Black Figured Lekythoi, 1936, pl. 30, 3; vatican Mus. 422: Beazley, 1956, 363 no 45.

60. "Chariot Racing in Etruria" in Studi in onore di L. Banti, 1965, 100.

61. Andronikos, 1968, W46; the chariot types represented on the grave stelai belong to Crowel's type I (box chariot) cf. Crowel, 1981, 59.

one seventh century example on a Protoattic pyxis cover from the Kerameikos (Kübler, 1950, pls. 39, 40) and no other black-figured vases, while in red-figured painting, there is just one example on a calyx-krater in Ferrara by the Polygnotos Painter (N. Alfieri and P. A. Arias, Das Antike Spina, 1958, pl. 67). The function of the third horse in a racing chariot would be to assist the chariot in making 180 degree turns, characteristic of the ancient race courses (cf. Iliad 23, 326ff.; cf. also D. Halicarnassus, Antiquités Romaines VII, 73, 2).

The three/horse chariot is also mentioned in Epic (62). In book XVI of the Homeric Iliad (. 145-154, 467-476), to Achilles' yoke horses Xanthus and Bolius, the horse Pedasus is harnessed by traces that can be easily and quickly cut away.

The three/horse chariot was also known in the East: the Assyrian reliefs in the British Museum from the reign of Ashurnasir-pal (885-860 B.C.), show that the three/horse chariot was used consistently then (63), but oddly enough not used later by Shalmanaser III (859-824 B.C.) or Tilgath Pilerser III (745-727 B.C.). The three/horse chariot however was never popular in Greece as it was in Etruria (cf. Bronson n. 60 with numerous examples of Etruscan three/horse chariots).

62. Liddell and Scott s.v. παρήγορος : a horse which draws by the side of the regular pair (ξυνωρίς); elsewhere: σειραφόρος : Iliad 16, 471, 474; 16, 152, 467; Odysee 4, 590.

63. Budge, Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum in the Reign of Ashur-nasir-pal, 885-860 B.C., 1914, pls. 12, 14-18, 20, 22, 24-25, 42.

Four/horse chariots, as mentioned above, are also an iconographic innovation of the Late Geometric period (cf. Louvre A 547, cat.no 21; Karlsruhe 60/12, cat.no 177); in three dimensional art, the terracotta group mentioned above (p.97) from the Agora has four horses, while a frontal four/horse chariot is represented on a Geometric seal (64), the earliest example of a scheme which became very popular in the sixth century (65).

It is interesting to note that the number of horses used to draw a chariot, has its counterpart on the lids of pyxides, which are decorated with plastic horses. Such pyxides appear as early as the ninth century; the earliest are decorated with a single horse (e.g. Kerameikos 257: Kübler, 1954, pls. 59, 67) (66). Pairs of horses on lids are also found in Middle Geometric II (Wiesner, 1968, F65 n.202).

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64. G. Hafner, Viergespanne in Vorderansicht, 1938, 33 fig. 9; Wiesner, 1968, F66 fig. 19a.
65. e.g. London BM B76: Beazley, 1956, 85, 1; Oxford Ashmolean Museum 190: Beazley, 1956, 126, 53; München 1468: Beazley, 1956, 315, 3; Copenhagen Thorwaldsen Museum 54: Beazley, 1956, 287, 5.
66. For horse pyxides generally cf. Bouzek, 1959, 131ff.; Coldstream, 1968, 23, 48; CVA Louvre 16 on plate 21; Fink, 1966, 487ff.
67. Examples of three/horse pyxis lids: Kerameikos 775 (Kübler, 1954, pl. 59, 67), Agora P 5060, P 5061 (Brann, 1961, pl. 15, 269, 262); Agora P 4784 (Young, 1939, XVIII 6); Berlin F 50 (AA 1955, 101, 102 fig. 5); Helsinki 7826, Tübingen 1087 (Fink, 1966, 488f. figs. 1-7); Athens 3rd Ephoria 1711 (AD 18, 1963, pl. 38d); Leiden (Brants, 1930, pl. 9, 47); Cannelopoulos Coll. 844 (Brouskari, 1979, no 10 figs. 12, 13); Brauron Museum (from Anavyssos grave 32, unpublished); Athens, from Anavyssos grave 9 (AD 29, 1973-4, Chronika B1, pls. 84, 86); MFA Houston Texas (Hoffmann, 1971, no 149); Germany Private Coll. W. Hornbostel, Kunst der Antike, 1977, no 227. Two Boeotian examples from Kamilovrisi Paralimnis (AD 26, 1971, Chronika B1, pl. 188; BCH 98, 1974, 647 figs. 165, 166).

Groups of three (67) and four/horse (68) plastic lids similarly appear on LG pyxides. The plastic horses on the pyxis lids, apart from having a chthonic character (Kübler, 1954,23), have a double function which alludes also to the contemporary chariots, and they are surely symbolic of the owner's status, just like granaries from earlier graves (69). In Aristotle's Athenian Constitution the author discusses the classification of early Athenian citizens and it appears that the criterion of rank was one's farm produce and the number of horses that one could maintain (i.e. granaries and horses)(70).

In looking at the chariot friezes as a whole and analysing their composition, we can divide them into five iconographic groups each one determined by the number of occupants in the chariot and the charioteer type (Tables 13, 14,15,16,17). Brunnsaker's analysis is slightly different (1962,194 n 6) and has three basic types: i)two men on chariot, with four subdivisions, ii)charioteer alone, with three subdivisions and iii) Siamese twins.

The first group in the present analysis consists of chariots with shieldless charioteer and Dipylon warrior

68.Examples of four/horse pyxis lids: Kerameikos 1310 (Kübler,1954,pl.60); Louvre A 567 (cat.no 97); Arlesheim Collection (Schefold, Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 1960, I 43); Athens 3rd Ephoria 1710 (AD 18,1963,chronika B1,pl.38c; Stuttgart KAS 8 (CVA 1,pl.9); München 6403 (CVA 3,pl.126); Athens NM 17604, 17972, 18838 (unpublished); Copenhagen 4741 (CVA 2,pl.71,4a); Amsterdam, Scheurleer Museum 3535 (CVA 2,IIHb,pl.3,5); Würzburg H 4431 (CVA 1,pl.6,1-4); Private Collection (Ars Antiqua,29.5.1961, no 80).

69. Agora P 27668a,b: Boardman,Greek Burial customs,1971, pl.7; Coldstream,1977,fig.13a.

70.Ath. Pol. 7,3-4; Thompson-Wycherley,1972,14ff. ; Fink, 1966,483ff.

TABLE 13

CHARIOTS WITH SHIELDLESS CHARIOTEER AND DIPYLON WARRIOR

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Charioteer	C.T.	No H	Figures Inserted
Louvre A 517	4	Dipylon	helmet/ sword	1:A 2:A	1:2 2:2	Lateral extension of Prothesis PLS.15b 17a,31b
Louvre A 522 +	7	Dipylon	helmet/ sword			
Louvre A 523	8	Dipylon	helmet/ sword	A	2	—
Louvre A 526	9	Dipylon	helmet/ sword	A	2	—
Athens NM 802	17	Dipylon	sword	A	2	—
Piræus street	18	Dipylon	-	A	2	Dipylon warriors
Musée Rodin	20	Dipylon	helmet	A	4	—
Louvre A 541	23	Dipylon	swbrd	1:A 2:A	1:2 2:3	—
Louvre A 547	21	Dipylon	sword	A	4	Lateral extension of Prothesis
Sydney 46.41	22	Dipylon	-	A	3	Lateral extension of Prothesis
Louvre A 552	24	Dipylon	sword	A	2	Lateral extension of Prothesis
Louvre A 551	40	Dipylon	sword	A	2	—
Louvre A 545	45	Dipylon	?	?	?	?
Louvre CA 3398	103	?	sword	A	2	?
Louvre CA 3375	104	?	?	?	?	?

(Table 13). The two chariot occupants are shown as if standing one behind the other (just as in Mycenaean iconography, not however on the wall paintings, where the figures overlap), but in fact the two figures stood abreast (Crouwel, 1981, 59).

Thirteen examples of this group come from the main output of the Dipylon Workshop and two more fragments which cannot be ascribed to a specific painter are also LGI. Only one example occurs in the Late Geometric II period: on an amphora by the Birdseed Painter (cat.no 235, PL. 18a,b). The majority of these chariots are drawn by two horses, but there are two three/horse chariot examples in LGI and the only LGII example also has three horses. There are also two four/horse chariots, which means that the use of the triga and quadriga can be placed to the second quarter of the eighth century. The chariots in all the instances are Type A. On the krater in Sydney (inv.no 46.41, cat.no 22) an abbreviated form of Type A is represented with one wheel: it is not a different chariot, but the painter is confined here by the space available.

Iconographic context: on five vases the chariots are on the same zone as the prothesis scene (Louvre A 517, cat.no 4; Louvre A 552, cat.no 24; Sydney 46.41, cat.no 22; Louvre A 547, cat.no 21; Louvre A 541, cat.no 23); in two instances this type of chariot composition occurs in both the lateral extension of the prothesis scene and in a separate zone of the vase (Louvre A 517, cat.no 4; Louvre A 541, cat.no 23) and in four instances (Louvre A 545, cat.no 45; Louvre A 522+, cat.no 7; Piraeus street, cat.no 18, Athens NM 802, cat.no 17) it is depicted on a vase

with a prothesis scene. Dipylon warriors are inserted only on the Piræus street krater (cat.no 18), while the fragmentary examples do not allow us to determine the context.

From the above analysis it is possible to conclude that both the chariot type (Type A) and the iconographic context (that is in most preserved cases the lateral extension of the prothesis scene) speak in favour of an interpretation as a procession.

In the second group (Table 14) the chariots can have one or two occupants: the second occupant being a helmeted Dipylon warrior who in some cases is fully armed with sword and spears. Four examples are dated to the Late Geometric I period, but none from the Dipylon Workshop. On the Athens NM 990 krater (cat.no 46, PL. 15a) and on the Allard Pierson Museum 2010 fragment (cat.no 46) which belongs to the same krater, the charioteer is the only occupant of the chariot. On the other hand, the Halle fragment and the Leiden fragment (cat.no 47, PL. 16b), show a second warrior on the chariot. The Halle Robertinum 59 fragment is the best preserved and it can be clearly seen that the second passenger is fully armed with helmet, two spears and sword.

Three out of the four LGI examples come from the Hirschfeld Workshop and are therefore to be dated to the LGIb period. In the case of the Athens NM 990 krater (cat. no 46) and the Halle Robertinum fragment the context is an ekphora. On the Athens krater which is fully preserved, the chariot frieze occupies the lower zone of the body. The other krater fragments do not allow us to visualise the position of the frieze, but it is reasonable to assume that

TABLE 14

CHARIOTS WITH DIPYLON WARRIOR AS CHARIOTEER

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Charioteer	C.T.	No H	Figures Inserted
<u>LG I</u>						
Athens NM 990 +frs.	46	Hirschfeld	Helmet	A	2	Fully armed Dipylon warrior
Halle Robertinum 59 +Allard Pierson 2009 +Bonn 16+Louvre A533	47	Hirschfeld	Helmet	A	2	?
Leipzig T2384+Leiden	49	Hirschfeld	?	A	2	Three fully armed Dipylon warriors
Louvre CA 3448	106	?	?	?	1	?
<u>LG II</u>						
Bowdoin College	453	?	-	?	1	—
Agora P 4885	135	Sub-Dipylon	Helmet/ sword/ spear	A	2	"Twin"figure in two-horse chariot, chariot with shieldless charioteer.
Trachones T 303	387	?	Helmet	A	2	Fully armed warriors and horse
New York 14.130.15	310	Trachones	Helmet/ sword/ spear	A	1	Two "twin"figures in two/horse chariots
British School	467	?	two spears	A	2	?

it was similar to that of the Athens krater. The Hirschfeld chariots are all of type A and are drawn by two horses. The Louvre A 3448 example (cat.no 106) is too fragmentary and only the occurrence of one horse can be recognised.

From the LGII period, we have five examples belonging to the second group; one of the vases belongs to the Trachones Workshop (cf. Appendix "The Trachones Workshop") and the pithos krater (cat.no 387) comes from a grave at Trachones, but cannot be ascribed to a known painter ; the Agora oenochoe is ascribed to the Sub-Dipylon group (cat.no 135). This oenochoe represents, on the same frieze, a scene involving fighting, while the occurrence of the so-called "twin" figure has given rise to various interpretations which stress the mythical aspect of the scene. I have, however, argued elsewhere, that I regard the "Siamese Twins" as two figures overlapping and therefore as having no mythical connotations. Finally the amphora fragment from Kynosarges (cat.no 467 PL;16a) is unusual in that the second occupant is represented with a square torso which could indicate a square shield (cf. Chapter I, Section F p.145f.). As for the Bowdoin college pyxis (cat. no 453) it is the only example that I know of a chariot being represented on such a shape. Chariots in panels do occur on the necks of amphorae, but the scheme is very rare (cf. Amsterdam 6249, cat.no 176; Louvre CA 3468, cat. no 183; Private Collection, cat.no 375).

As with group I, the chariot type (Type A) and the occurrence of a second occupant in some vases, speaks in

favour of an interpretation as a procession. Unlike group I, this group of chariots is never found at the lateral extension of a prothesis scene but in the case of the two Hirschfeld kraters has an ekphora context. All the LGI representations of group II, occur on kraters and even in Late Geometric II, two out of the five representations are on a krater.

For the Late Geometric II period, interpretation cannot be so certain since each vase has a different context. In the case of the Bowdoin College pyxis (cat.no 453), the occurrence of a single chariot in a panel, surely excludes the possibility of both race and procession, but should rather be considered as a symbol of social status, just like the horse lids of pyxides. The Agora oenochoe (cat. no 128) must represent a procession (cf. also Tables 15, 16), while the monumental New York krater must also represent a procession. This krater shows a large-scale prothesis including figures with offerings and a tripod scene, and both racing and processions could be shown as occurring at the funeral.

To the third group (Table 15), belong the majority of Late Geometric II chariot friezes. By contrast to the Mycenaean variety which carried a passenger in addition to the charioteer (71), the chariots of this group, have only a single shieldless charioteer.

71. According to Crowel, 1981, the Mycenaean "Rail chariot", type IV, carried one or two occupants; the number of occupants on Mycenaean chariots is usually two, but three or even four are found on later vases (cf. Karageorghis, "A Mycenaean Horse-rider " Babesh 33, 1958, 34-42.

TABLE 15

CHARIOTS WITH SHIELDLESS CHARIOTEER

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Charioteer	C.T.	No H	Figures inserted
<u>LG I</u> Louvre A 552	24	Dipylon	naked/ sword	B	1	Fully armed Dipylon warriors
Baring Collection	25	Dipylon	naked	F	1	—
Agora P 10664	26	Dipylon	naked	D	1	?
New York 14.130.14	48	Hirschfeld	helmet	A	3	Fully armed Dipylon warriors PLS.1f, 10a
Athens NM 806	73	?	robed	B	1	Fully armed Dipylon warriors
Louvre CA 3441	107	?	?	B	2	?
<u>LG II</u> Leiden 1.09/1.1	125	Sub-Dipylon	naked	D	1	— PL.15g
Musée Rodin	126	Sub-Dipylon	naked	D	1	—
Eleusis 454	127	Sub-Dipylon	naked	B	1	Fully armed Dipylon warrior
Athens NM 14763	129	Sub-Dipylon	helmet	B	1	— PL.20a
Athens NM 184	130	Sub-Dipylon	naked	C	1	— PLS.15d,19b
Agora P 4885	135	Sub-Dipylon	naked	B	1	Cf.Tables 14,16
BM 1899.2-19.1	136	Sub-Dipylon	sword/ robed	B	1	Rider
Oxford 1916.55	137	Sub-Dipylon	naked	B	2,1	—

TABLE 15 (cont.)

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Charioteer	C.T.	No H	Figures inserted
Copenhagen 3187	138	Sub-Dipylon	helmet	B	4	—
Acropolis Museum	139	Sub-Dipylon	?	?	?	—
Philadelphia 5464	141	Philadelphia	naked	D1	1	—
Germany Private Col.	142	Philadelphia	naked	D1	1	—
Berlin 3203	143	Philadelphia	robed	D1	1	— PL.15k
Brussels 3474	144	Philadelphia	robed	D1	1	—
Brauron Museum	145	Philadelphia	robed	D1	2	—
MFA Houston Texas	147	Philadelphia	naked	C	2	Fully armed and shieldless warriors PL.22a,b
Athens NM 17935	150	Athens 894	naked	D1	1	Figure with helmet and sword
Berlin Staat.Mus.	151	Athens 894	naked	C	1	— PL.25b
Hanover 1953.148	152	Athens 894	robed	D1	1	— PL.24b
Stockholm 1976.11	153	Athens 894	naked	D1	1	Alternating with fully armed warriors PL.21b PL.25a
Louvre CA 2503	155	Athens 894	helmet	C	1	—
Hirschmann Coll.	163	Athens 894	naked	D1	2	— PL.24a
Cleveland 1927.27.6	164	Athens 894	helmet	C	2	Dipylon warrior with two spears PL.21a
Baltimore 48.2231	165	Athens 894	naked	B	3	Alternating with three Dipylon, round and no shield warriors PLS.4d,23a

TABLE 15 (cont.)

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Charioteer		No H	Figures inserted
			C.T.	C.T.		
Athens Private Coll.	166	Athens 894	naked	C	3	Fully armed Dipylon warrior
Agora P 4990	167	Athens 894	robed	B	3	—
Essen K 969	169	Athens 894	naked	D1	1	Cf. Table 16 PLS.171,26b, 36c
Stathatou Coll.	168	Athens 894	naked	B	1	Cf. Table 16
Marseille 7471	174	Athens 894	robed	B	1	—
Kerameikos 1371	171	Athens 894	?	?	2	—
Karlsruhe 60/12	177	Athens 894	naked	C	4	Three fully armed Dipylon and round shield warriors Cf. Table 17 PL.19a
Athens NM 894	173	Athens 894	naked	B	2	—
Copenhagen 9378	179	Athens 894	robed	D	2	—
Toronto C 951	180	Athens 894	naked	C	1	Rider
Swiss Market	181	Athens 894	robed	C	2	Naked man with sword
Louvre CA 3468	183	Athens 894	1:naked 2:robed	B	2	1:Fully armed round shield warrior and rider 2:five warriors with square,round and Dipylon shield
Karlsruhe B 2675	186	Athens 894	naked	C	1	—
Kerameikos 735	188	Athens 894	naked	B	1	?
Kerameikos 1356	217	Athens 894	naked	C	1	Cf. Table 16 PL.27b
Louvre CA 3256	214	Athens 894	helmet	B	3	Fully armed round shield warriors PL.45b

TABLE 15 (cont.)

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Charioteer	C.T.	No H	Figures inserted
Villa Giulia 1212	224	Villa Giulia	naked	E	2	Cf. Table 16, Rider
Philadelphia 30.33 133	226	Villa Giulia	naked	E	2	Cf. Table 16
Erlagen 1458	233	Birdseed	robed	D	2	— PL.15h
BM 1914.4-14.1	234	Birdseed	robed	D	1	Three fully armed Dipylon warriors PL.15f
Louvre CA 1823	243	Hooked S.	naked/ helmet	B	1	Fully armed Dipylon warriors
N.Y. 14.130.15	310	Trachones	naked/ helmet	A	2	—
Trachones 81	311	Trachones	helmet	A	2	—
Mannheim 66	342	Mannheim	naked	B	1	—
Wintherthur	343	Mannheim	naked	B	1	—
N.Y. 10.210.7	348	Benaki	robed	B	1	Leader of horses
Private Collection	375	?	naked	C	1	Striding man
Stockholm 1741	378	?	naked	B	3	Warrior
Münster Univer.	383	?	naked	B	2	Fully armed Dipylon warrior
Brauron Museum	389	?	naked	D	1	one spearman

From the LGI period we have only six examples of this type of chariot frieze and in all the instances, except the Louvre fragment (cat.no 107), fully armed Dipylon warriors are inserted. The chariots are more realistically drawn, (Types B, D and F) and are harnessed to one, two and three horses. It is interesting to note that the New York 14.130.14 krater (cat.no 48, PL.10a) by the Hirschfeld Painter is drawn by three horses, although the chariot belongs to Type A, which as we have seen above denotes a four/wheeled wagon. The Baring Collection amphora (cat.no 25) is the first example of a neck-handled amphora to have a representation of such a chariot frieze as the only figured zone of the vase. This scheme, set here in the LGIb period and represented by this sole example, will become quite frequent in the Late Geometric II period.

In the LGII period, friezes of chariots with shieldless charioteer appear on fifty four vases, forty two of which belong to the Workshops of the Classical Tradition. As has already been mentioned, the shape which now predominates is the neck-handled amphora and the fashion set by the Baring amphora is followed by the Sub-Dipylon Group, where, apart from three vases, the chariot frieze is the only figured zone of the vase. The iconographic context of these three vases is a prothesis scene on Copenhagen 3187 (cat.no 138) and Oxford 1916.55 (cat.no 137); for the position of the prothesis scene on this vase cf. above Section D.81. As for the third vase, the London krater from Thebes (cat.no 136), apart from its unique iconographic context on the other side of the vase (cf. Chapter I, Section Gp.159)

it has at least one important innovation in the chariot frieze itself: a rider and almost the first example of a robed charioteer. The first innovation will be discussed in Chapter II, Section A, while the occurrence of robed charioteers will be important for the identification of the friezes as races or processions. As can be seen on Table 15, there are ten instances of robed charioteer in this type of frieze, while from group IV (Table 16), there is another example (Kerameikos K 2, cat.no 185, PL.27a) of a robed charioteer in an apobates game. The earliest representation of a robed charioteer can be placed in the Late Geometric I period, as exemplified by the Athens NM 806 krater (cat.no 73). As we have seen above chariots with two occupants do not have robed charioteers (Tables 13, 14).

The chariots from the Sub-Dipylon Group are of types B, C and D and apart from two exceptions (Oxford 1916.55, cat.no 137: two horses and Copenhagen 3187, cat.no 138: four horses) are drawn by a single horse.

The vases painted by the Philadelphia Painter, all follow the same pattern (72): prothesis and/or mourners or warriors on the neck, chariot frieze in the upper zone of the body and apart from the MFA Houston amphora (cat.no 147, PL.22a,b), where fully armed and shieldless warriors are inserted, the chariot friezes are uninterrupted. All the chariots, except the above mentioned amphora which

72. The only exception is the amphora in Prague (cat.no 146, PL.33a,b) representing a unique frieze of alternating riders and warriors and will be discussed in Chapter II, Section A.

has type C chariots, are of D1 type and are drawn by one or two horses.

From the Workshop of Athens 894, the frieze of chariots with shieldless charioteer, occurs either as the only figured zone of the vase (e.g. Berlin S.M., cat.no 151, PL.25b and Louvre CA 2503, cat.no 155, PL.25a), or in combination with other figured scenes, mostly prothesis (e.g. cat.nos 164-171, PLS.21a, 23a, b, 26b) or with warrior processions and animal friezes (e.g. cat.no 153, PL.21b, cat.no 163, PL.24a). The chariot frieze, in the majority of cases, also contains figures. These are usually fully armed warriors, sometimes with Dipylon shields, but occasionally riders are included (e.g. Toronto C.951, cat.no 180; Louvre CA 3468, cat.no 183). The chariots are drawn by between one and four horses.

In the Workshops outside the Classical Tradition, chariot friezes are not very frequent and the type with shieldless charioteer, occurs only on twelve examples and only on the New York 14.130.15 krater (cat.no 310) is the chariot scene a secondary zone of the vase, where the main central theme is a prothesis. On all the other vases, the chariot frieze is the only figured zone of the body; on two vases the subject on the neck is a rider (Stockholm NM 1741, cat.no 378) and a warrior between two horses (New York 10.210.7, cat.no 348).

To the fourth group (Table 16), representing warriors entering and/or dismounting the chariot, belong eight vases, all of which are dated to the LGII period and are painted by Workshops of the Classical Tradition (Workshop of Athens

TABLE 16

CHARIOTS WITH WARRIORS ENTERING AND/OR DISMOUNTING

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Charioteer	C.T.	No H	Figures inserted
Agora P 4885	135	Sub-Dipylon	naked/ sword	B	2	Cf. Table 15
Stathatou Coll.	168	Athens 894	naked	B	1	Cf. Table 15
Essen K 969	169	Athens 894	naked	D1	4	Cf. Table 15 PLS. 171, 26b, 36c
Kerameikos K 2	185	Athens 894	robed	D1	4	Fully armed warriors PL.27a
Kerameikos 1356	217	Athens 894	naked	C	1	cf. Table 15
Villa Giulia 1212	224	Villa Giulia	naked	E	2	cf. Table 15
Philadelphia 30.33. 133	226	Villa Giulia	naked	E	2	cf. Table 15
Louvre CA 3443	-	?	?	?	?	?

894, Villa Giulia Painter and just one example from the Sub-Dipylon Group).

This scheme of representation may denote either a warrior departing, or an apobates game. The Agora P 4885 oenochoe belonging to the Sub-Dipylon Group (cat.no 135, Table 14) has a frieze running as follows: a Dipylon warrior charioteer on a type A chariot drawn by two horses is followed by a type B chariot drawn by two horses with a figure mounting the chariot, while another figure is turned to the left and is fighting against two spear holders. The two figures connected to the chariot are shown behind a single shield. This has given rise to their interpretation as "Siamese " twins and more precisely as the mythic pair Aktorione-Molione. The scene is rounded off with a type B chariot with a shieldless charioteer, which is drawn by one horse (Table 15). As for the so-called "Siamese" twins, I think, as with the other twin figures (i.e. horses) which occur in Geometric iconography, we have here a case of overlapping (Boardman, 1970, 501). The occurrence in the same frieze of three different chariot schemes with Dipylon warrior as charioteer, shieldless charioteer and departing and fighting warriors, is unique in LGII iconography. The fact that two different chariot types with respectively different charioteers are depicted on the same frieze, speaks in favour of an interpretation as a procession (maybe a procession of all the chariots, before some of them participated in a race), especially since one of the chariots is classified as my type A and is therefore a wagon. The fighting and departing

warriors' vignette on the other hand, would allude to the deceased man's activity and represents the event in which the person to whom the vase was offered, died. Even if we strip the vase of any mythical allusions we still have an interesting representation: a combination of old and new: the old represented by the latest land fight in Geometric art (all the other examples are LGI, Ahlberg, 1971 ii, 12-25) and the new by the scheme of a warrior departing. From the Orientalising period onwards, the attitude of a warrior departing, which becomes a common theme, follows the standard iconographic formula of placing one foot on the ground and the other on the chariot (73).

Tölle (1963, 225) was the first to interpret the scene on the Essen K 969 amphora (cat.no 169, PLATE 26b) as an apobates game and Ahlberg fully analysed the attitude and structure of this frieze (Ahlberg, 1971, 191-194).

The apobates race was traditionally the oldest and one of the most characteristic events of the programme of the Panathenaic festival. The Panathenaic festival was expanded and systematized in the second half of the sixth century by the Peisistratids, but surely must have had an earlier origin. Such races would have occurred in the Agora as early as the eighth century (74).

The actual apobates game was performed by a quadriga with charioteer and a fully armed warrior who would

73. Amphiaraios krater: Berlin 1655: Pfuhl, 1923, Pl. 42 no 179; Berlin 1704: Beazley, 1956, 97, 22; Munich 2302: Beazley, 1956, 294, 23; Munich 1414: Beazley, 1956, 367, 86.
74. Thompson-Wycherley, 1972, 121.

jump from the chariot at a particular point of the course. Both the ηνίοχος εγβιβάζων and the αποβάτης παραβάτης received the prize. The literary tradition of the apobates game is rather vague concerning the details: Dionysus of Halicarnassus, in his Antiquitates Romanae VII,73, when speaking of Roman apobates games, which were similar in all the details to the Greek ones, gives the following information: όταν γάρ αί τών ίππων άμιλλαι λάβωνται, αποπηδώντες από τών αρμάτων οί παροχούμενοι τοίς ηνιόχοις, ούς οί ποιηταί μεν παραβάτας, Αθηναίοι δε καλούσιν αποβάτας, τόν σταδιαίον αμιλλώνται δρόμον αυτοί πρός αλλήλους

but does not mention that they remounted on the chariot; this last detail is only referred to in Anecdota Graeca (75). In later art, the apobates race was also represented (76).

On the Stathatou Collection amphora (cat.no 168) and the Kerameikos 1356 oenochoe (cat.no 217, PL. 27b), the figures entering the chariot are naked. Ahlberg (1971, 201) interprets the figure on the Stathatou amphora as an attacking figure (cf. also Coldstream, 1968, 63 " a tall interloper seeks to dislodge one of the charioteers"), on the grounds of being larger in size than the charioteers and overlapping with his hand the hair of the charioteer. I do not think, however, that the larger size is a strong criterion for interpreting the figure as an enemy. Such

75. Becker I, 198, ii (426, 30); for all the literary evidence cf. Pauly's Real Encyclopädie 12, 2814 s.v. Apobates der Abspringer.

76. A votive relief from Oropos: Berlin no 725; Furtwängler, La Collection Sabouroff, 1883-7, pl. 26; M. Robertson, The Parthenon Frieze, 1975, North XVIII 59-61, pl. 10.

overlapping is also seen on the Essen K 969 amphora and should not be taken as an indication of attack. We see here, just as on the Kerameikos oenochoe, a variation of the apobates game, where the figures are naked.

The figures entering or dismounting the chariot are on the Essen K 969 amphora (cat.no 169, PL.26b), the Kerameikos K2 fragments (cat.no 185, PL.27a) and the Philadelphia 30.33.133 (cat.no 226) amphora, fully armed with round shield, two spears and helmet (although the head of the warrior on the Philadelphia vase is missing). On the Villa Giulia hydria (cat.no 224), however, the fully armed warriors who have been inserted in the chariot frieze are not shown in the actual act of mounting or dismounting the chariot, by placing one foot on it, but are touching with their extended hands the back rail of the chariot. This gesture is surely significant and could foreshadow, not just a departing warrior as Bronson has suggested (1964, 177), but an apobates race.

On all the vases, except the Louvre fragment (CVA 11, pl.16,18), where the context is not available, the warriors entering or dismounting are part of a frieze of chariots with shieldless charioteer, so there is a close connection between the representations of Tables 15 and 16.

On Table 17 we see chariots with charioteer and spearman holding two spears vertically. Six examples of this type are known, of which two belong to the LGI period. Ahlberg (1971, 189ff.) fully analysed the composition and gestures of this type of frieze on the Louvre (cat.no 21), Sydney (cat.no 22) and Hamburg (cat.no 170, PL.23b) vases,

TABLE 17

CHARIOTS WITH CHARIOTEER AND WARRIOR HOLDING TWO SPEARS

Representation	Cat. No	Workshop	Charioteer	C.T.	No H	Spearman
LGI						
Louvre A 547	21	Dipylon	helmet	A	3	helmet
Sydney 46.41	22	Dipylon	naked	A	3	naked
LGII						
Hamburg 1966.89	170	Athens 894	helmet	C	2	helmet PL.23b
Athens 894	173	Athens 894	helmet	C	4	helmet PL.19a cf. Table 15
BM 1927.4-11.1	262	Anavyssos	corselet	F	4	corselet PL.20b
Louvre CA 3427	-	?	sword	?	?	sword
Buffalo C 12847	154	Athens 894		A	3	Inserted rider leading a second horse

since only these three fall within her prothesis material. The way the spearman holds his spears (i.e. vertically in front of him in one hand, or one spear in each hand) made Ahlberg reach the conclusion that the first gesture denotes procession, while the second a sort of acrobatic game. I think that the differentiation in the handling of the spears is too subtle to allow any conclusions about the character of the frieze, but I would rather interpret them as processions: two figures on a chariot are unlikely to be racing (cf. Tables 13,14). This is further confirmed by the type A chariot used in LGI, while the three/horses there would be a status symbol.

Finally a chariot with a round shield warrior as charioteer occurs just once on the Athens NM 894 amphora (cat. no 173, PL.19a), where it is inserted in a chariot frieze with shieldless charioteer and spearmen (cf. Tables 15,17).

Outside Attica, chariot friezes do occur, but they are very rare compared to the Attic material. In Argive pottery there are a few examples of horses harnessed to a chariot, but the two examples from the Argive Heraeum are too fragmentary to allow any conclusions about the composition of the frieze (77). On another fragment from Argos the one/horse chariots have two wheels (Courbin, 1966, 405, 445 n.2, pl.142). Finally there is another example on a terracotta votive shield from Tiryns (78).

77. Waldstein, 1905, pls. 57, 12: three tails indicated, so it is probably a triga not a quadriga as Waldstein suggests; pl. 60, 19a with one horse and one wheel.

78. Lorimer, "The Hoplite Phalanx" BSA 42, 1947, 80 pl. 18A, C.

By contrast to the Argive material, the Boeotian examples are much better preserved. They appear on three well preserved vases, a kantharos, a krater and a pithos (79). On side A of the kantharos, the two-wheeled chariot is drawn by one horse, though a second horse with reins but not harnessed to the chariot, precedes it. The chariot type does not have any exact counterparts in the Attic material analyzed above, but is closest to the type A chariots. The chariot on this side has two occupants: a shieldless charioteer and a fully armed Dipylon warrior holding two spears vertically in front of him (for the scheme in the Attic material cf. Table 17). On side B, the one/horse chariot is an abbreviated form of that on side A, with one wheel and a single shieldless charioteer and is followed by a second horse which is tied to the chariot. On the Tübingen krater, the one/horse chariots are of a different type with no front and side rails indicated, while the wheels are very small and on side A have no spokes. The single occupant is a Dipylon warrior as charioteer (for the Attic scheme cf. Table 14). On the pithos there are two friezes with chariots: on the upper frieze the one-wheeled chariot (close to the Attic type F) with robed charioteer is drawn by one horse; on the lower frieze similar chariots are drawn by two horses. From the Boeotian

79. Kantharos: Göttingen Universität 533h : Tölle, 1964, 105 no 508; Rückert, 1976, Ka 3, pl. 26, 1, 5 for further bibliography; Krater: Tübingen S/10.1239: Watzinger, 1924, 128, 10, pl. 1; Rückert, 1976, Kr 3, pl. 17, 4; Pithos: Brussels A 1036: CVA 1, IIG, pl. 1a-f; Rückert, 1976, Pi 2, pl. 16, 1, 2, 5.

material we can see that no three or four/horse chariot teams occur but that at least three Attic schemes do: Dipylon warrior as charioteer, shieldless charioteer and shieldless charioteer and spearman: the influence from Attica seems obvious.

Apart from the Argive and Boeotian examples there are two Euboean fragments with chariot friezes. The first is from a large krater (PLATE 34a) found in Zagora in Andros (80) and represents a one/horse chariot with a single wheel, with the front and side rails denoted as a large loop at the front and back. It has a naked charioteer and fully armed warriors with round shields are inserted. The other fragment also comes from the shoulder of a krater and was found in Eretria (81).

As mentioned above, races and processions are difficult to distinguish and Bronson (cf.n.60) goes as far as to disregard any representation of a race before the seventh century (82); but the foregoing analysis of the chariot type, the number of horses and the figures on the chariot supply sufficient evidence to help us reach some conclusions on the interpretation of the chariot friezes.

First of all we have seen that the chariot types B, C, D, D1, E and F represent more or less the same type of light chariot which was perfectly adequate for racing. Secondly the three and four/horse teams suggest racing chariots, since the third and fourth horses are trace horses, especially valuable for racing; so there can be no

80. Cambitoglou, 1971, 58ff. fig. 48, inv. no 416 (H9075, H8775, H9080, H8580); full restored drawing in Cambitoglou, 1981, and here PL. 34 a.

81. Hurst et al. Eretria, Ausgrabungen und Forschungen V, 1976,

doubt that chariot racing was known in Greece at least as early as the eighth century.

If we look at Tables 13 to 17, we see that certain individual features mentioned above, which are pertinent for the identification of the friezes as denoting races, are present. On Table 13 for example, all the chariots are of type A and although three and four/horse teams do occur, this in itself is not sufficient for identifying the frieze as a race. In the case where -within the context available- the heavy type of chariot with two occupants is part of the lateral extension of the prothesis scene then it is a procession not a race. It is hard to see chariots racing round the bier. Since three and four horses with type A wagon must be processions, the mere presence of three or four horses could then be a status symbol rather than positive evidence of a race (cf. n.69, where the number of horses on the lids of pyxides is symbolic of the owner's status).

On Table 14 the heavier chariot type is still used, while the absence of three and four/horse teams and the charioteer's attire, seem again to denote a procession.

A positive identification of a chariot frieze as a race, is offered by the examples of Table 15. The lighter chariot type is used (with just three examples of type A), while the number of horses seems to vary from one to four. Furthermore, the occurrence of robed charioteers seems to confirm the hypothesis that we have here representations

FK 463,pl.1; AD 22,1967, Chronika B1,pl.183b.
82.Two Protocorinthian ovoid aryballoi in Syracuse -Johansen,1923,pl.34,1 and Berlin : Johansen,1923,pl.32.

of races. In view of the fact that there is a close connection between groups III and IV, it is possible to assume that the inserted warriors of group III (at least eighteen vases have inserted figures) are apobatic competitors, increasing thus the positive evidence for racing representations.

The activities of contemporary society form the dominant theme of the art of the eighth century B.C..The chariot friezes also represent actual events drawn from real life. Once it is established that chariot racing existed in Attica at least by the middle of the eighth century, it is not difficult to see how it became a favourite sport and consequently a favourite subject for contemporary artists. I do not think that we have any reason to believe that this sport was practised only at funeral games: it may well have occurred during other events or festivities which had nothing to do with funerary practices and the cult of the dead. Furthermore, the four/horse chariot race was introduced to Olympia in the 25th Olympiad (680 B.C.) according to Pausanias (book V,Chapter 9,3) and was much practised as a sport. That races and processions did occur at some funerals, notably those of noblemen and in families of high status, can be **inferred** by the iconographic context and the nature of the vases themselves. The artists must have been inspired by contemporary events and would have been familiar with chariot construction- as they saw it in everyday life- and there is no need to look elsewhere, both in terms of geography and other media, for the iconographic inspiration.

On the Attic goldbands, chariot friezes never occur (Ohly, 1953, A1-A21). Part of a chariot frieze however is seen on the "tongue" of a goldband from Eretria (Ohly, 1953, E1, fig. 24), while from the second quarter of the seventh century, a hammered bronze belt from Arcadia representing two one/horse chariots with a shieldless and Dipylon charioteer respectively, is of special interest (Karouzou, AD 16, 1960, 63ff., pl. 28a).

After the LGII period, chariot friezes continued to be shown on Early Protoattic vases. There are sixteen extant examples of chariot representations mostly by the leading Protoattic Painters (Anatatos, Passas, N Painter, Vulture, cf. Table 18). All belong to the group with shieldless charioteer and the chariots which belong to the most developed types (D, D1, F) are drawn by one or two horses. The fundamental elements of the iconographic scheme of the chariot frieze do not change in EPA. Since prothesis scenes cease to be represented, it is hard to tell whether the chariot friezes show races as part of the funeral games or are processions at the grave; perhaps by this time they cease completely to be connected with the funerary sphere and are part of sports or processions at various festivities.

From the middle of the seventh century there is just one example of a chariot race on a sherd in the "black and white" style (Cook, 1935, pl. 54a). In the sixth century chariot racing becomes a familiar subject of Attic black-figured vase painting. The best example from the early sixth century is seen on the famous François vase in Florence

TABLE 18

CHARIOTS WITH SHIELDLESS CHARIOTEER

EPA

MFA Houston Texas	(amphora) :Hoffmann,1971,no 152,pls. 152 a-c; Analatos Painter.PL.28b
Oxford 1936.599	(amphora) :Davison,1961,fig.60;Tölle, 1964,pl.9;Analatos Painter.
Oxford 1935.19	(amphora) :Cook,1935,pl. 38a;Davi- son,1961,fig.59; Analatos Painter.
Munich 6077	(krater) :Cook,1935,pl.41;Hampe, 1960,30 An 5,fig.17;Analatos Painter.
Louvre CA 2985	(amphora) :Audiat,1938,figs.1,2,pl.2; Analatos painter.
Athens NM	(fr.) : <u>Hesperia</u> 28,1959,251,pl.44 no 1;Hampe,1960,31 An 7;Analatos Painter.
Oxford 1935.18	(amphora) :Hampe,1960,36 N2 fig.20; Davison,1961,fig.54; N Painter.
London BM 1936.10-17.1	(amphora) : Hampe,1960,36 N1,fig. 19;Davison,1961,fig.55.N Painter. PL.29a.
New York 21.88.18	(amphora) :Hampe,1960,41 Pa 1,fig.25; Davison,1961,fig.57. PL.29b.
Athens NM	(fr.) :Hampe,1960,41 Pa 2,figs.26- 29; Cook, 1935,pl.48. Passas Painter.
Passas Collection	(amphora) :Hampe,1960,41 Pa 3.Passas Painter.
Mainz University	(krater B) :Hampe,1960,41 Pa 5,pls. 14-20; Passas Painter.

TABLE 18 (cont.)

New York 10.210.8	(amphora) : Cook, 1935, pl. 47; Davison, 1961, fig. 69a; Vulture Workshop.
Kerameikos 1158	(pyxis) : Kübler, 1970, 418 no 3, pl. 4.
Kerameikos 1152	(kotyle) : Kübler, 1970, 419 no 5, pl. 6.
Kerameikos 1271	(amphora ? fr.): Kübler, 1970, 421 no 7, pl. 7.

(Beazley, 1956, 76, 1). On the whole, chariot races on black-figured vases were confined to secondary decorative zones and to smaller pots and most examples come from the Leagros Group (83). The theme completely passes out of fashion by the early fifth century, with just one representation on the inside rim of a cup by Douris in Berlin (Beazley, 1963, 429, 21, 22).

F. PROCESSIONS OF WARRIORS

The processions of warriors is one of the most common motifs in Attic Geometric iconography and was a theme which was popular in LG Ia, but which developed and underwent changes during the course of LG II and persisted into Early Protoattic. The origin of the theme, however, goes back to MG II as exemplified by one vase: a skyphos formerly belonging to the Altheim Collection and which is now in Münster (this vase will be more fully discussed below).

Warrior parades can be divided into four different types: type A) consists of a procession/frieze of warriors with Dipylon shields (Table 19); type B) is a procession/frieze of warriors with round shields (Table 20). A less frequent iconographic type, type C) also occurs and represents alternating warriors with different shields or different arms (i.e. archers) (Table 21). Finally type D) will deal with shieldless warriors (Table 22).

Processions of warriors (as opposed to dancing men and friezes of male dancers, defined by their various gestures)

83. e.g. Louvre A 314 (stamnos): Beazley, 1956, 388, 1; Tarquinia 655 (neck-amphora): Beazley 1956, 326, 6; London B 324: Beazley, 1956, 361, 24.

are formed by warriors, whether Dipylon or other, who are not in any way connected, nor have they the typical mourning gesture (84).

Let us begin with type A): the Dipylon warriors. If we look at Table 19 we see that it is the earliest with at least seventeen examples belonging to the Late Geometric I period. Of these seventeen examples, ten belong to the Dipylon Workshop and two to the Hirschfeld Workshop; the New York krater (cat.no 76) is an idiosyncratic work and the remaining examples are too fragmentary to allow attributions.

Although the New York krater (cat.no 76) is in the MGII tradition, its association to the Thorikos krater (cat.no 314, PL.11a, cf. Appendix) and therefore to a provincial workshop, makes credible a lower date around LGI. The appearance of the iconographic type of a Dipylon warrior, can be placed in Middle Geometric II, as exemplified by the Eleusis 741 skyphos (Davison, 1961, fig.137), where two Dipylon warriors flank a ship scene. It was the Dipylon Workshop which first arranged warriors so as to form a continuous frieze. As can be seen from Table 19, these warrior friezes decorate only kraters and are only subsidiary zones or supplementary decoration to the more complex funerary and fighting scenes.

The Hirschfeld Workshop was the first to use the iconographic type on a different shape: an amphora and a

84. For the various mourning gestures cf. Ahlberg, 1971, 261 ff. 327 sketch 3, who restricts the two-handed gesture to women, while the one-hand gesture she confines to men; cf. also Appendix "The Villa Giulia Painter", where the various gestures have been fully analysed.

TABLE 19

PROCESSION OF WARRIORS WITH DIPYLON SHIELDS (TYPE A)

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Context
LGI			
Louvre A 522	7	Dipylon	Lateral extension of Prothesis;cf. Table 13 (chariots)
Louvre A 527+	8	Dipylon	Sea fight;cf. Table 13(chariots);Table 21
Athens NM	14	Dipylon	—
Halle Robertinum	15	Dipylon	Prothesis;Chariot
Louvre A 519+	16	Dipylon	Land fight
Athens NM 802	17	Dipylon	Lateral extension of Prothesis;cf. Table 13 (chariots)
Tübingen S/10.1465	20	Dipylon	—
Louvre A 547	21	Dipylon	Prothesis;cf. Tables 13,17 (chariots)
Sydney 46.41	22	Dipylon	Reverse side of Prothesis;cf. Table 13 (chariots)
Louvre A 552	24	Dipylon	Reverse side of Prothesis;cf. Tables 13, 15 (chariots) PLS.17b 30a.
New York 34.11.2	76	?	Lateral extension of sea fight.
Athens NM 18062	53	Hirschfeld	Prothesis
Copenhagen 726	60	Hirschfeld	—
Louvre CA 3422	115	?	—
Louvre CA 3424	116	?	—
Louvre CA 3376	117	?	—
Louvre CA 3382	118	?	—
LGII			
Agora P 4885	135	Sub-Dipylon	Tables 13,16 (chariots)
BM 1927.4.11.1	262	Anavyssos	Table 17 (chariots) PL.20b
Louvre CA 1940	251	Rattle	Grave ritual PL.50a cf. Table 42
Cambridge GRI-1935	295	Hunt Group	Hunting scene cf. Table 46

spouted krater.

The fully armed type of a Dipylon warrior is represented as a warrior with Dipylon shield, two spears, sword and helmet. Variations of this type occur, i.e. with just one spear represented or with three spears instead of two, or even with no dagger (e.g. London BM 1927.4-11.1, cat. no 262, PL.20b). All the Dipylon warriors by the Dipylon Workshop have both arms represented; this confirms M.Greger's theory (Buchholz-Wiesner, 1968, E19) that the Dipylon shield was originally constructed for charioteers who could then have both hands free, either to drive the chariot or to fight with sword and spear. On the repetitive Dipylon warrior friezes, the warrior is in most cases touching with the left hand the edge of the shield and the right hand touches either the back intersection of the shield or the sword round the waist.

However, the Hirschfeld Workshop's and Painter's Dipylon warriors and the New York 34.11.2 krater (cat.no 76), do not represent the arms and hands at all. This is surely a workshop idiosyncrasy, rather than an indication of a variation of the Dipylon shield.

The representation of the Dipylon shield itself, throughout the LG period offers some variation. The most frequent type is in black silhouette, sometimes it may have a border (e.g. Yale fr.cat.no 16), or it may be cross-hatched; both these types occur on the same zone of the New York 14.130.14 krater by the Hirschfeld painter (cat.no 48, PL.1f, 10a); three further types occur on this same krater (85). The

85. Ahlberg, 1971 ii, 63 fig.56; Ahlberg, 1971 iii, fully discusses the various shield types and also convincingly ar-

cross-hatching surely indicates a more realistic rendering of the shield, thereby distinguishing it from the human flesh in silhouette and as Professor Coldstream has suggested to me, the cross-hatching could indicate hide. Cross-hatching not only of armour but also of drapery was more widely used by the Euboean workshops (86). The size of the Dipylon shield can also be determined by reference to the amount of a warrior's legs which it covers up: usually about half of the thigh is covered and sometimes the shield seems to reach to the knee and even beyond.

Turning now to the later phase of Attic Geometric, we see that the number of examples drops from seventeen

gues against Webster's theory on the interpretation of the Dipylon shield as a heroic reminiscence of the figure-of-eight shield; cf. also Carter, 1972, 57ff. for evidence of the real existence of the shield; against such a view cf. Snodgrass, 1980, 53ff. who believes that the Dipylon shield is an artistic revival, not of the figure-of-eight shield, but of another Mycenaean type; he also draws attention to a Cypriot Black-on-Red I bowl, where the form and use of the Dipylon shield has indeed been misunderstood; this may well be the case for Cyprus, but it by no means indicates the same for the numerous Attic examples. Karageorghis, 1974, VII no 1 interprets the "Dipylon" shield of this Cypriot vase as a short tunic and accepts that it may have been influenced by Greek Geometric representations. Cf. also Greenhalgh, 1973, 63ff. against Snodgrass's theory; for three-dimensional examples cf. below note 92 and Greenhalgh, 1973, 66 fig. 39.

86. cf. Zagora Museum M 38: LG krater fr. with a metope with two Dipylon warriors, one above the other with cross-hatched shields: Cambitoglou, 1981, no 135 fig. 30; for a more general use of cross-hatching cf. Appendix "The Villa Giulia Painter". Another unpublished fragment in the Archaeological Museum of Andros, has the upper part of three warriors with very large helmets.

to five and each one is from a different workshop. There seems, therefore, to have been no consistent influence or trend, the numbers furthermore indicating that the iconographic type gradually passes out of fashion and is retained mainly by the Non-Classical workshops, since only the Agora P 4885 oenochoe (cat.no 135) belongs to the Classical Sub-Dipylon Group. Dipylon warriors are also occasionally inserted in the chariot friezes (87).

The Dipylon warrior friezes of the LGII period show some variation of the type. On the Agora P 4885 oenochoe (cat.no 135), the Dipylon warriors are fully armed with Dipylon shield in silhouette, sword and helmet and no arms indicated; the Anavyssos painter's warriors on the amphora in London (cat.no 262, PL.20b) are similar only that the Dipylon shield is more massive, reaching below the knee; Dipylon warriors are also inserted in the chariot frieze of this same amphora. On the Louvre pitcher belonging to the Rattle Group (cat.no 251, PL.50a), the warriors are similar with no hands represented but the shields are cross-hatched. The Cambridge oenochoe (cat.no 295) has warriors with Dipylon shields in silhouette, two spears and helmet, but no dagger at the waist, and again no hands are indicated. Finally on the Louvre amphora body (cat.no 243, PL.73b), Dipylon warriors of two distinctly different types occur in

87. e.g. Piræus street krater, cat.no 18, cf. Table 13; Athens NM 990, cat.no 46; Halle fr., cat.no 47, cf. Table 14; Louvre A 552, cat.no 24; Athens NM 806, cat.no 73; New York 14.130.14, cat.no 48; London Baring Collection, cat.no 25; Eleusis 454, cat.no 127; Cleveland 1927.27.6, cat.no 164, PL.21a; Baltimore 48.2231, cat.no 165, PL.23a; Karlsruhe 60/12, cat.no 177; Louvre CA 3468, cat.no 183; London BM 1914.4-14.1, cat.no 234; Louvre CA 1823, cat.no 243; Münster University, cat.no 383, cf. Table 15; London BM 1927.4-11.1, cat.no 262, PL.20b, Table 17.

a continuous frieze round the body and are also inserted in the chariot frieze of the shoulder: the Dipylon shield warrior inserted in the shoulder chariot frieze belongs to the normal type with shield in silhouette, helmet, two spears and sword, but with only the left arm indicated and touching the sword.

The frieze around the body of the Louvre amphora bears some interesting features, which set it apart from the other Dipylon friezes. This vase has been fully analysed in an article in 1972 by Kaufmann-Samaras. These Dipylon warriors have a very distinct form, parallels of which cannot be found on any Late Geometric representation: the body covered by the shield is extremely low and narrow, while the shield itself has "teeth" at the edges (88). As Kaufmann-Samaras has stressed, the most unusual feature of this representation is the warriors' gesture. Unlike the Late Geometric II representations analysed above, these Dipylon warriors have arms and hands, but not like the LGI Dipylon Workshop's warriors, where the arms project in a fairly normal way: here the arms are a continuation of the outer edges of the shield, gesticulating in a rather unusual manner: the left hand is touching the sword round the waist and the right arm is stretched backwards, forming an oblique angle and holding a spear which is considerably smaller than the second spear which is attached to the warrior's body. Kaufmann-Samaras concludes that we have on the Louvre amphora body a pyrrhiche - a dance in armour- well

88. Similar teeth border the round shields of the mixed procession of the Kerameikos 407 stand (cat.no 414).

known from literature (89) and attested in a few more Late Geometric representations (90). Strictly speaking the representations of a dance in armour do not follow a rigid iconographic type: for example in the Munich 6029 skyphos the warriors alternating with round and square shields, do not hold hands, an element pertinent to dancing but absent from the Louvre amphora. On the Copenhagen kantharos, two Dipylon warriors who appear to be jumping, are facing one another. Finally on the krater in Basle which is probably a provincial Attic work and not Boeotian (Coldstream, 1968, 205 n. 1), the figures are shieldless and only have swords at their waists.

If we except the LGII amphora body, all the other LGI and II friezes of Dipylon warriors represent processions, since no other gestures or characteristics can indicate a different function. As far as the Late Geometric I representations go, these processions are closely related to funerary ritual, but in LGII the iconographic contexts include a hunting scene, a grave ritual and become increasingly decorative. By the Early Protoattic period, the theme has disappeared. Dipylon warriors may also occur in panels; in Late Geometric I we have the following examples: Akropolis 257 (cat.no 109), Kerameikos 812 (cat.no 95); in LGII: Athens NM18154 (cat.no 290, PL.65a,b) belonging to the Concentric Circle Group.

Outside Attica, a kantharos fragment from Samos (Samos

89. Kaufmann-Samaras, 1972, 27ff. Borell, 1978, 66 n.172.
90. Munich 6029, cat.no 414, PL.73a; Kerameikos 4367: Borell, 1978, no 18; Copenhagen NM 727, cat.no 305, PLS.39a,37c; Athens NM 14447, cat.no 368; Basle BS 406 (cat.no 367).

Museum K 76: Ahlberg, 1971, figs. 51a,b), represents two Dipylon warriors on either side of a prothesis scene; as Ahlberg has remarked (1971, 214) the representation of shielded warriors in direct connection to the funerary scene is unique and it is clear that in this case we have no procession; there the Dipylon warriors indicate the social status of the deceased and his family.

On a few Late Geometric vases Dipylon shields on their own occur also purely decoratively either in a frieze or singly (91). Dipylon shields occur in other media as well, either as votive offerings found in sanctuaries, or as jewellery (92). A Dipylon shield occurs once as the shield emblem of a round shield (Benaki 7675, cat. no 349). In other media Dipylon warriors are found on a series of gold funerary bands from Skyros in the Dolly Goulandris Collection in Athens (93). Even though their context is unknown, these bands are unique in decoration, since none of the Attic or Eretrian gold bands represent Dipylon warriors. The ornament no 10 represents two Dipylon warriors one above the other with helmet and one spear to the left; on the other band the Dipylon warriors have helmets but no spears.

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91. Kerameikos 323, 324: Kübler, 1954, pl. 88 no 3143 from grave 57; Kerameikos 389: Kübler, 1954, pl. 131 grave 34; München 6406: CVA 3, pl. 112, 113, 4; Private Coll. England: Benton, 1935, no 7, fig. 116: here the Dipylon shields are combined with tripods; Louvre CA 1942: CVA 16, pl. 38, 1, 2.
92. Lindos I, 1931, no 249 pl. II: bronze pendant; Fouilles de Delphes V, 1908, 45 fig. 137: bronze votive; Furtwängler Olympia IV, 162ff. pl. 62: bronze votive; AE 1885, pl. 93a: Eleusis gold plaque; Waldstein, 1905, pl. 138, 25: Ivory seal from the Argive Heraeum; clay model of Dipylon shield: Greenhalgh, 1973, 66 fig. 39.
93. L. Marangou, BCH 99, 1975, 365-378, esp. nos 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and figs. 10-14.

Let us now turn to type B) (Table 20) consisting of warriors with round shields. As we saw above, the Dipylon warrior friezes are represented in both periods; the round shield warrior friezes on the other hand, are a LGII innovation and there are sixteen extant examples. All the representations decorate amphorae, and only one example comes from a Non-Classical workshop: the Benaki amphora by the Benaki Painter (cat.no 349). Two vases come from the Sub-Dipylon Group (cat.no 129, PL.20a and cat.no 138), five from the Philadelphia Painter (cat.nos 141-145), seven from the Workshop of Athens 894 (cat.nos 150, 153 PL. 21b; 170 PL.23b; 173 PL.19a; 182, 184, 185 PL.27a) and just one from the hand of the Villa Giulia Painter (cat.no 226). Of the sixteen examples three (Brauron Museum, Hamburg and Benaki) have prothesis scenes decorating the neck, while the main frieze running round the body of fifteen amphorae is a chariot frieze: the only exception is the Benaki amphora, where no chariot frieze is represented, but has grazing horses instead. All the round shield warriors have no arms and hands indicated and are armed with helmet and two spears, represented behind the shield as two oblique lines which in some cases do not form a continuous line (e.g. Hamburg 1966.89, cat.no 170, PL.23b).

Round shield warriors are occasionally inserted in chariot friezes (e.g. Baltimore 48.2231, cat.no 165, PL. 23a), where Dipylon warriors are also inserted; one vase by the Philadelphia Painter (cat.no 146, PL.33a,b) has a unique scheme of round shield warriors alternating with

TABLE 20

PROCESSION OF WARRIORS WITH ROUND SHIELDS (TYPE B)

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Context
LGII			
Athens NM 14763	129	Sub-Dipylon	Cf.Table 15 PL.20a (chariots)
Copenhagen 3187	138	Sub-Dipylon	Cf.Table 15 (chariots)
Philadelphia 5464	141	Philadelphia	Male mourners cf.Table 15(chariots)
Germany Private Col.	142	Philadelphia	Male dancers cf.Table 15(chariots)
Berlin 3203	143	Philadelphia	Male/female mourners cf.Table 15(chariots)
Brussels A 3474	144	Philadelphia	Male mourners cf.Table 15(chariots)
Brauron Museum	145	Philadelphia	Prothesis;male/ female mourners cf.Table 15(chariots)
Athens NM 17935	150	Athens 894	cf.Table 15(chariots)
Stockholm MM1976.11	153	Athens 894	Cf.Table 15(chariots) bull frieze PL.21b
Hamburg 1966.89	170	Athens 894	Prothesis;male dancers Cf.Table 15(chariots)
Athens NM 894	173	Athens 894	cf.Table 17 PL.19a (chariots)
Paris Market	182	Athens 894	Chariots
Swiss Market	184	Athens 894	Naked men/men with spears
Kerameikos K 2	185	Athens 894	Cf.Table 16(chariots) PL.27a
Philadelphia 30.33. 130	226	Villa Giulia	Cf.Table 16(chariots)
Benaki 7675	349	Benaki	Prothesis;female mourners

riders (cf. Chapter II, Section A). Round shield warriors may also occur alone in a panel and not as a decorative frieze: there are four known examples of this scheme, three of which come from the Sub-Dipylon Group (94).

During the Early Protoattic period, round shield warriors continued to be represented with five known examples (Table 23).

As we have seen above (note 85), I have followed the arguments in favour of the Dipylon shield being a contemporary and real defensive weapon. For the round shield on the other hand, there have never been any doubts as to its reality and it is generally agreed that the round shield is an improvement of the older Dipylon shield. Ahlberg (1971, 204) argues that the change over from Dipylon to round shield warriors is "merely due to stylistic factors", but the vases themselves speak against such an assumption and indicate that the round shield represents a new type (cf. also Snodgrass, 1964, 37-57).

The round shield warrior friezes throughout the Late Geometric II and Early Protoattic periods, acquire a decorative character enhanced by repetition. It cannot be denied, however, that a close connection between the friezes and funerary rites existed. Although only three of the sixteen examples represent an actual prothesis scene, all the vases are funerary and even though the prothesis itself may be absent, male mourners and female mourners, as well

94. Athens NK 479, cat. no 131; Heidelberg G 140, cat. no 132; Trachones 390, cat. no 133; Agora P 5282, cat. no 216: this is the earliest decorated tondo in Greek art.

as the chariot friezes indicate that the warrior processions were part of the funerary ritual: and it is possible that where warriors do occur, they also symbolised the social status of the deceased and his family. The nature of Geometric painting on the other hand, developed the scheme to a decorative effect.

Turning now to type C) (Table 21), we see that there are nine examples from both the earlier and the later phase of Geometric and give a number of combinations: either alternating Dipylon and round shield warriors, Dipylon , round and square shield warriors, Dipylon warriors and archers alternating. These combinations will be divided into two schemes (I,II); these two schemes of type C) will be discussed separately and I shall begin with scheme I: first with the Dipylon and round shield warriors; this combination is represented by two known examples: a skyphos which has been dated to Middle Geometric II and the Kerameikos 407 stand (cat.no 414) which is probably LGIb/LGIIa (cf. also Chapter II, Section B: Man and Lions). The skyphos now in Münster in both shape and linear decoration is clearly MGII (95), but the unusual frieze running in the interior of the rim, representing round and Dipylon shield warriors, is unique as far as the placing of the figured zone goes, and extremely rare, since only one more example of such a scene is known. The figures in the skyphos are rather crudely drawn, both the shield-type warriors being in black silhouette with no hands shown. Another unusual feature of the representation is the leftward direction of

95. Coldstream, 1968, 26, 27; Stähler, Boreas 2, 1979, 189ff.
For a later date cf. Carter, 1972, 35 n.61.

TABLE 21

PROCESSION OF DIFFERENT WARRIORS (TYPE C)

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Scheme
MGII/LGI			
Halle	-	?	Dipylon/round shield
Louvre A 530	11	Dipylon	Dipylon/archers
Louvre A 528	9	Dipylon	Dipylon/archers
Louvre A527+ Louvre A 523	8	Dipylon	Dipylon/archers
Brauron Museum	87	?	Dipylon/archers
Louvre CA 3421	120	?	Dipylon/archers
LGII			
Kerameikos 407	414	?	Dipylon/round shield
Kerameikos frs+ Louvre fr.	468	?	Dipylon/round/square shield

EPA

Agora P 24032 round/square shields:Brann,1962,no
415,pl.24;Analatos Painter follower.

the frieze (cf. Chapter I, Section D: Prothesis notes 46, 47). The occurrence of round-shield warriors during this early period is unique and does not seem compatible to the development of Late Geometric iconography. The possibility moreover, which occurred to me that the inner figured frieze of the skyphos was a later addition, is refuted by the fact, as Dr. Stähler kindly informs me, that the frieze of warriors is clearly made before firing and is therefore contemporary to the exterior decoration. The combination of alternating Dipylon and round shield warriors never became popular in Late Geometric; this scheme, however, helped modern scholars argue in favour of the reality of the Dipylon shield as a contemporary of the round shield (Ahlberg, 1971 ii, 59ff.; Carter, 1972, 57ff.).

A third example (Kerameikos frs. , cat. no 468, PL. 30b), discussed under this scheme, represents all the three known shield types: Dipylon, round and square shield and is in this respect unique. Compared to the other shields, the square shield is rare, while square-shield warriors are never represented in a continuous frieze, but always in combination with warriors carrying other shields. The square shield however is earlier than the round shield, since it makes its appearance in Late Geometric I and features on kraters with land and sea fights (96). In LGII, square shield warriors are inserted once in the chariot frieze of the Louvre CA 3468 amphora (cat. no 183, cf. Table 15), while on the London BM 1927.4-11.1 amphora by the

96. Louvre A 519, cat. no 16; Athens NM frs. : Ahlberg, 1971 ii, 12 A6, fig. 9; Louvre A 527+A 535, cat. no 8; Louvre CA 3370: CVA 11, pl. 8, 8; Louvre CA 3435: CVA 11, pl. 16, 8.

Anavyssos Painter (cat.no 262, PL.20b), both the charioteer and the second occupant have square shields (cf. Chariots Table 17).

It has been argued by A. Johnston (11th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, 1978, 187) that the "square" shields are not shields at all but corselets. On the Anavyssos Painter's amphora the upper corners of the corselet are reserved and have dots in the centre. These reserved areas with dots probably represent some kind of attachment: this attachment is probably metal but the cross-hatching for the rest of the corselet suggests cloth or hide as the basic material (cf. Appendix "The Villa Giulia Painter" and above n. 86). As Johnston notes this new interpretation is important for the significance of the introduction of hoplite weapons (97). Metal corselets are hard to identify in Geometric art but on the Buffalo amphora (cat.no 154) the horseman appears to be wearing a bronze bell-corselet which was used by hoplites until the end of the sixth century. There are two complete examples of bronze corselets: one is Mycenaean and was found at Dendra; it dates from the end of the fifteenth century; the other is Geometric and was found at Argos (98).

The Agora P 24032 is Early Protoattic (99) and combines square and round shield warriors, which we have already seen in the interior of the München 6029 skyphos (cat. no 414, PL.73a); there, however, they have been clearly identified as dancing by the holding of hands (cf. n.90).

97. cf. also Snodgrass, 1964, 71ff. esp. 89 for "hoplite" armour as an indication of wealth.

98. E. Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, 1964, 135 n. 13, pl. 121 A; Snodgrass, 1964, 72-76, 83, 84, pl. 30.

99. Brann, 1962, 415, pl. 1, 24; Tölle, 1964, 88 no 142.

Scheme II of type C) represents alternating Dipylon warriors and archers (shieldless). This scheme occurs only in LGI in five instances: on four kraters and one oenochoe from the Anavyssos cemetery. On this latter (cat.no 87), the frieze of archers and Dipylon warriors is the only iconographic representation; all the other LGI vases, all of which belong to the Dipylon Group, have, where the context is available ship fights and chariot friezes. The Dipylon warriors of the Louvre A 530 (cat.no 11), Louvre A 528 (cat.no 9), Louvre A 527 (cat.no 8) and Louvre CA 3421 (cat.no 120) kraters are all represented according to the Dipylon Workshop tradition, i.e. with arms and hands shown. The Dipylon warriors of the Anavyssos oenochoe (cat.no 87), on the other hand, have no hands represented and this as well as other features, such as the rendering of the eye, indicate an influence by the Hirschfeld Painter.

The appearance of archers in a fighting context and not in a processional frieze, can be placed as early as MGII, as exemplified by the Eleusis 741 skyphos (100). The only occurrence of an archer in LG II is in a fighting context: the sea fight on the Copenhagen 1628 oenochoe (cat.no 296, PL.62b), is also the only vase in LGII representing a sea fight.

Turning now to the last type of warrior procession (type D) (Table 22), we see that this is divided into three different schemes: scheme I, combining archers and spearmen; scheme II just with spearmen and scheme III with

100. Ahlberg, 1971 ii, 97 fig. 105; for archers in a fighting context cf. id. 44ff.

TABLE 22

SHIELDLESS WARRIORS (TYPE D)

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Scheme	
LGI				
Louvre A 528	9	Dipylon	Archers/spearmen	
Tübingen S/10.1465	20	Dipylon	Sword	
LGII				
MFA Houston Texas	147	Philadelphia	Spearmen	PL.22b
Hirschmann Col.	163	Athens 894	Spearmen	PL.24a
Athens Private Col.	166	Athens 894	Spearmen	
Agora P 4990	167	Athens 894	Spearmen	
Hamburg 1966.89	170	Athens 894	Spearmen	PL.23b
Kerameikos 5643	172	Athens 894	Spearmen	PL.9
Louvre CA 3468	183	Athens 894	Spearmen	
Swiss Market	184	Athens 894	Spearmen	
Marathon K 134	208	Athens 894	Spearmen	
Swiss Market	308	Burly	Sword	
Trachones 81	311	Trachones	Sword/helmet	

shieldless figures with swords. Despite the fact that the figures of type D) are shieldless, they are characterised as warriors since they carry spears or bows and arrows. Scheme I, represented only in LGI by one sole example (Louvre A 528, cat.no 9) offers the combination of archers and spearmen. Scheme II represented only in LGII, is exemplified by eight vases which belong to the Workshop of Athens 894 and one vase by the Philadelphia Painter. These spearmen can be distinguished by their gestures into two groups: in the first group the warriors are holding a spear in each hand or the spears in one hand and with the other are touching the dagger at the waist (101). The spearmen of the second group (102), combine the male mourning gesture i.e. with one hand to the head and the holding of spears in the other. All the vases have a prothesis scene represented on the neck, so the connection between the prothesis ritual and the procession of mourning spearmen is clear. These spearmen must then represent the social rank of the deceased and would indicate their high status. Finally in the chariot frieze of the Karlsruhe 60/12 amphora (cat.no 177), a warrior with two spears and sword is inserted. Scheme III is represented by three vases: one LGI and the other two LGII. On the Tübingen fragment (cat.no 20) the figures are helmeted with swords at their waist

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101. Type D) Scheme II, group I: Hirschmann Collection (cat. no 163), Louvre CA 3468 (cat.no 183), Swiss Market (cat.no 184), Marathon K 134 (cat.no 208), cf. Table 22.
102. Type D) Scheme II, group II: MFA Houston Texas (cat.no 147), Athens Private Coll. (cat.no 166), Agora P 4990 (cat.no 167), Hamburg 1966.89 (cat.no 170), Kerameikos 5643 (cat.no 172), cf. Table 22.

and are touching with their right hand the sword while the left hand is stretched forward. On the Trachones vase (cat.no 311), the helmeted figures with swords have both arms hanging at the side and on the Swiss Market oenochoe (cat.no 308) the men are holding with both hands a sword round their waist.

From the above analysis we may draw the following conclusions: all the warrior processions reflect, probably in an exaggerated form, processions, which took place in real life, most probably in connection with the funerary rituals, as the contexts of the vases themselves indicate. These processions underwent, as was noted at the beginning of the section certain changes: these changes are denoted by the shape of the shield and the combination of the various shields and armour represented. The Dipylon shield clearly characterizes the earlier phase of Geometric, for although represented in LGII, it is the characteristic shield of Late Geometric I. Furthermore, the arrangement of Dipylon warriors in a frieze is a Dipylon Workshop invention .

Consequently, the round shield characterizes the warriors of LGII and reflects an improved shield form in comparison to the older type. Within each period, the subject was painted by the Classical Workshops and especially as concerns LGII, round shield warriors were never represented by the Non-Classical Workshops (the only exception being the Benaki 7675 amphora, cat.no 349).

If we compare the four Tables representing the different types of processions, we see that the Late Geometric I

period offers more combinations, while in this respect the Louvre A 528 (cat.no 9) and the Louvre A 527 (cat.no 7) kraters are interesting in that they represent on the same vase two different types of procession; the first krater represents Dipylon warriors and archers (Type C, Scheme II) and archers and spearmen (Type D, Scheme I) in two different friezes; the Louvre A 527 krater has Dipylon warriors (Type A) in one frieze and Dipylon warriors alternating with archers (Type C, Scheme II) in another.

Outside Attica, processions of warriors were not favoured in any area. From Eretria comes one single fragment of a krater representing the remains of two warriors with Dipylon shields, sword and two spears to the right. This fragment has been dated by Kahil (103) to the LGII period, but it has been dated earlier by Coldstream (1981, 242), who makes it contemporary to the Cesnola Group, i.e. LGIb. In any case the Euboeans must have borrowed the theme from Attica, where, as we have seen, it appeared at an earlier date .

In Argive pottery the theme is not represented, though various shield types are mentioned by Courbin (1966, 428). In Boeotia too, the theme is never represented. We may assume therefore that the warrior processions were an Attic theme having little influence in other areas of the Greek world.

Before concluding this section, mention should be made of Mycenaean and Near Eastern warriors in non-fighting contexts. Karageorghis and Vermeule (1982, 222ff.) list at least twenty five examples of warriors all of which are

TABLE 23

PROCESSION OF WARRIORS WITH ROUND SHIELDS EPA

Passas Collection	(amphora): Hampe, 1960, 41 Pa3.
Athens BSA	(pinax fr.) : Hampe, 1960, 31 An 12, Analatos Painter.
Mainz University 153	(stand of krater A): Hampe, 1960, 31 An 9, pl. 10, 2-4; 11; 12; 13 fig. 10.
New York 21.88.18	(amphora): Cook, 1935, pl. 50; Davison, 1961, fig. 57.
Boston 03.782	(amphora): Davison, 1961, fig. 58.
Private Collection	(amphora): Lullies, 1955, no 29, pls. 8, 9; Davison, 1961, fig. 70a, b. Vulture Work- shop.

Late Helladic IIIC. The most famous of all is the so-called "Warrior Vase" where the warriors in procession are characterized by a helmet, one spear and shield.

From the Near East the earliest round shield is represented on the first Pylon of Ramses II (1290- 1224 B.C.) at the temple of Amun in Luxor, while at Medinet Habu, the death temple of Ramses III (1184-1153 B.C.), the round shield is the weapon of the Philistines.

Turning now to the Iron Age we see that the archers appear on the hunting scenes and the war chariots on the palace reliefs and in minor art. Warriors appear also in processions e.g. at Nineveh at the palace of Sennacherib are represented Assyrian soldiers (archers and spearholders with shield) in procession to the temple of Ishtar (Barnett, 1960,pl.53: British Museum no 124901), while a procession of soldiers with different shields is the line of guards at the edge of the arena of the lion hunt at the Palace of Ashurbanipal (Barnett,1960,pl.77: British Museum no 124860).

G.SHIP SCENES

A list of representations of ships on Geometric vases was published by G.S.Kirk (1949), who also presents shorter lists of ship representations from the Late Bronze Age (104), the Protogeometric period and the seventh century. The characteristics of the Geometric ships are carefully considered and a short account of the development of the Greek warship

103.Kahil, "Céramique géométrique et subgéométrique d'Erétrie", AK 11,1968,100 no 6,pl.24,4.

104.For Bronze Age ships cf. also Marinatos, "La Marine Crétomycénienne" BCH 37,1933,170-235,pls.XIII-XVII.

through the Archaic period is also given.

In the LGII period four vases, two from the Hunt Group and one from the Sub-Dipylon Group and the Birdseed Painter respectively, represent scenes which involve ships. The Hunt Group oenochoae represent a sea fight and a shipwreck (cf. also Chapter III, Section c), while the other two vases^{represent} ship-boarding scenes.

Copenhagen 1628 (cat.no 296)	Hunt Group	PL.64b
München 8696 (cat.no 297)	Hunt Group	PL.64a
London BM 1899.2-19.1 (cat.no 136)	Sub-Dipylon Group	
Hobart Tasmania (cat.no 232)	Birdseed Painter	

Starting with the Copenhagen oenochoe first, we see that a sea fight is represented round the belly; sea fights are not common in Attic Late Geometric I; for the LGII period, however, the Copenhagen representation is unique and therefore of special interest. Although the evidence for the LGI period is in most cases fragmentary, Ahlberg has fully analysed the material, including one Middle Geometric example (105) and seven LGI ones (Table 24). The abrupt cessation of representations of either land or sea fighting after the end of LGIb, has been explained as due to political reasons. If the scenes allude to the dead person's prime, which would be the Middle Geometric II period, it coincides with a period of flourishing commercial activity (Coldstream, 1968, 350).

As Ahlberg has already noted, the fighting on the Copenhagen oenochoe is done between Dipylon shield warriors

105. Eleusis 741 skyphos: Schweitzer, 1969, pl. 27; Ahlberg, 1971 ii, 26 B11.

TABLE 24

SEA FIGHTS

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
LGI			
Louvre A 534	7	Dipylon	Krater I
Louvre A 527+	8	Dipylon	krater II
A 535			
Louvre A 528+	9	Dipylon	Krater III
A 537			
Athens NM fr.+	10	Dipylon	Krater IV
Louvre CA 3362			
Warsaw 142172	13	Dipylon	Krater
Athens NM fr.	14	Dipylon	Krater
New York 34.11.	76	?	Krater
2			
Louvre CA 3364	112	?	Krater
LGII			
Copenhagen	296	Hunt	Oenochoe PLATE 64b
1628		Group	

who seem to be at a disadvantage, and non-shield warriors, who have the upper hand. Furthermore there are no individual traits or other characteristics which could hint towards a mythical interpretation of the theme, but it seems rather that it should be interpreted as a scene taken from the real world. Ahlberg has suggested (1971 ii,58ff.) a credible possibility, a coastal expedition or raid, probably against pirates for whose existence at that period there is some evidence.

Turning now to the München 8696 vase, we see that the hunting scene occupies the shoulder, while the neck is decorated with a shipwreck scene, a theme unique in Attic Geometric, but which is found on a Late Geometric krater from Pithecussae in Italy. These two vases have been compared and contrasted by various scholars and the latter has been fully published by S. Brunnaker (1962; cf. also Fittschen, 1969, 49ff. SchB1, SchB2).

The main issue for the interpretation is whether these two vases represent an event taken from reality or from the epic sphere, and by epic is meant the return of the Greeks from Troy and the sinking of their boat at Cape Caphereus (Nostoi; Appolodorus, Epitome VII,22), or the shipwreck of Odysseus and his companions, from which Odysseus, according to the Homeric description (Odyssey XII, 403ff.) emerged as the sole survivor.

The difference between the two vases lies in the fact that on the Pithecussan shipwreck scene, not only have the unfortunate sailors been shipwrecked, but also attacked and devoured by huge man-eating fish, probably sharks.

Despite Brunnsaker's interpretation that some of the figures are swimming and therefore safe, the outcome of their misfortune is ambiguous and it is probable that the vase painter's intention was that it should be ambiguous, leaving the onlooker in suspense and thus excluding any reference or connotation to the epic sphere.

The München vase too, on different grounds, does not seem to refer to the Homeric episode. Here the fish seem to be quite harmless, and to emphasize the natural setting, rather than be a purely decorative filling ornament (fish in Attic Geometric are not used as filling ornament, unlike Argive Geometric where they are fairly commonly used: (cf. Chapter III "The Concentric Circle Group"). The figure bestriding the keel was thought to be the only survivor of the disaster and Hampe was the first to interpret him as Odysseus (Hampe, 1952, 27ff.; id., 1960, 85); but on closer examination of the representation, all the figures seem to have equal chances of survival, since in one way or the other, they are in contact either with the ship or with each other. It seems therefore unlikely that the representation depicts the shipwreck of Odysseus.

The other two Late Geometric II ship scenes, though differing in detail, represent ship-boarding scenes. Ship scenes not involving fighting were also represented in LGI, but either empty or with oarsmen and not in connection with other figures (Table 25). The earliest Iron Age representation of a ship, however, is not Attic, but is seen on a Proto-geometric bell-krater from Crete (106).

106. Morrison-Williams, 1968, 12 no 1, pl. 1d; for other ships cf. Kirk, 1949, 96 no 1, 2 fig. 1.

TABLE 25

SHIP SCENES NOT INVOLVING FIGHTING

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
LGI			
Louvre A 517	4	Dipylon	Krater PLATE 31b
Louvre A 522+	7	Dipylon	Krater
Louvre A 530	11	Dipylon	Krater
Louvre A 532	13	Dipylon	Krater
Brussels 21.628	14	Dipylon	Krater
Kerameikos	42	Dipylon	Belly-amphora PLATE 31a
Athens	112	?	Krater fr.
Louvre A536	121	?	Fr.
Athens 287/288	122	?	Fr.
Louvre CA 3361	123	?	Fr.
Athens NM	124	?	Fr.

Turning now to the Late Geometric II boarding scenes, we see that the representation depicted on the London krater represents a man boarding a ship, with two rows of oarsmen and an isolated Dipylon shield in the stern, who is gripping by the wrist a woman with long hair and dress and who is holding a crown. This scene has been the subject of long debates and articles especially since it has been used to testify the mythical validity of Geometric scenes on the whole, and has been taken as representing Paris and Helen, Theseus and Ariadne, Jason and Medea (107), while on the other hand its mythical interpretation has been convincingly rejected by Brunnsaker (1962,232) and more fully by Fittschen (1969,53ff) with whom I find myself in agreement. But even as a scene taken from daily life and representing a farewell or abduction - and that again depends on how one interprets the man's gesture: tenderness or violence ?- (108) it represents two new iconographic features: the woman's long hair and dress and the ship with a double row of oarsmen.

On the Hobart oenochoe the scene of the departure is somewhat different from the previous vase, in the larger number of human figures and the mourning gesture of the women. This mourning gesture is puzzling since it is not directly connected with a prothesis scene (Hood,1967,86). It is impossible furthermore on this vase too to accept any mythical allusion since there are no recognisable attribu-

107. Brann, 1959, 36; Hampe, 1952, 37; Coldstream, 1977, 354ff.;
cf. also Fittschen, 1969, 53 notes 270-273 for a full
bibliography of the various interpretations.

108. Pernice, JdI 15, 1900, 96; Cook, 1935, 191 note 4.

tes. If the scene on the other hand is interpreted as reflecting a contemporary event, mourning and lamenting at a departure is natural, since travel during that period was a hazardous adventure and far from safe.

During the Early Protoattic period, ships are shown empty or with warriors behind shields or with warriors with shields (109) and spears or rowing (110) and not in more complex narrative scenes. These are the latest ship scenes before the sixth century. During the seventh century ships are rarely depicted.

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109. The shields are probably to be thought of as "hung along the railing, evidently with the double purpose of stowing each warrior's gear and of providing an armored balustrade around the boat": Brann, 1962, 74.
110. Toronto C. 199: Davison, 1961, fig. 70a, Analatos Painter; Athens NM: Cook, 1935, pl. 40b, Analatos Painter; Agora P 6094, P 3376, P 21232, P 13277: Brann, 1962, nos 379, 381, 383, pl. 22; for ship scenes on fibulae cf. Hampe, 1971, nos 122, 126.

CHAPTER II

LATE GEOMETRIC II ICONOGRAPHIC INNOVATIONS

A. RIDERS

Riders are the first iconographic innovation of the Late Geometric II period with which I shall be dealing. As can be seen on Table 26 there are fourteen examples which belong to the period under consideration and at least eleven representations from the Early Protoattic period (Table 27).

Of the fourteen examples of riders in LGII, we see that these are equally distributed between the Classical and Non-Classical Workshops. In terms of chronology and workshop, the earliest representations are seen on a krater in London belonging to the Sub-Dipylon group (cat.no 136), a vase which reflects a couple of interesting innovations (cf. above Chapter I, Section E "Chariots") and in two skyphoi by the Birdseed Painter (cat.nos 227,228), all of which are LGIIa.

The examples from the Classical Workshops include a vase in Prague (cat.no 146, PL.33a,b) by the Philadelphia Painter and four vases from the Workshop of Athens 894. Apart from the Villa Giulia hydria (cat.no 224), the remaining examples which can be seen on Table 26, cannot be ascribed to a particular workshop. On the whole, the iconographic theme of a rider is rare when compared to the chariot friezes with which it is closely connected.

Equally rare compared to the chariot representations are riders in Mycenaean times, who appear on only three vases, none of which is earlier than the thirteenth cen-

tury B.C. : the earliest is an amphoroid krater in Amsterdam (CVA 1,IIIA pl.3,7); this vase has been dated by Greenhalgh (1973,45) to the end of the Late Helladic IIA, which seems impossibly early, while Wiesner (1968,F114 n. 389) dates it to Late Helladic IIIB. The rendering of the rider who is apparently unarmed is very schematic, the painter having omitted the legs and feet; the rider is followed by a two/horse chariot with three occupants and a man with a sword.

The second example is a so-called Ugaritian fragmentary deep bowl krater which is in fact a Mycenaean import found at Minet el Beida, the harbour of Ras Shamra, which is dated to the LHIIIB period (Greenhalgh,1973,fig.28). The rider here is shown standing on the horse (parallels for this position will be discussed below) and he has a sword around his waist; it is interesting to note that the painter has rendered four reins perhaps under the influence of chariot representations; it is natural that painters when experimenting on new and unfamiliar subjects should be influenced by familiar ones, rather than as Benson suggests that the Mycenaean riders represent an abbreviated form of a chariot and team. This seems a rather sophisticated notion for the iconographic rendering of a subject which in any case was represented in the conventional form (1).

Finally the third vase which comes from tomb A (which

1. Benson, 1970, 137 n.29 does not accept any representation of Mycenaean riders in vase painting, but selects two examples in three dimensional art as such; but this theory cannot be supported furthermore by the space conditions of the vases themselves.

contained both inhumation and cremation) at Mouliana in Crete, is more controversial (2). Since its dating is so uncertain, statements such as "the earliest Iron Age representation of a rider " are better left out of account here, because anyway the gap with the next Geometric representation is too great to allow for any possibility of continuity of the subject. The vase's importance, however, lies more in the fact that the rider is fully armed with two spears, shield, helmet and corselet. Once again the painter has omitted the rider's legs and feet.

Despite the fact that horseback riding was not a popular subject in Bronze Age Greece, quite a number of terracottas have come to light from various sites of Mainland Greece and the islands, such as Mycenae, Prosymna, Eutrisis and Kavousi in Crete (3). The figurines date mostly from the Late Helladic IIIB and have recently increased in numbers with the publication of terracottas from the Citadel House Area at Mycenae by A. Tamvaki (4). On the whole the riders are helmeted or wear conical hats and can be armed

2. Furumark (1944, 226) dates it to Late Minoan IIIB; Coldstream (1968, 259 no 10) to Late Minoan IIIC; Desborough (1952, 269ff.) to the Protogeometric period, also followed by Greenhalgh (1973, 46); finally Snodgrass (1964, 163) dates it to the Geometric rather than the Protogeometric period.

3. Mycenae: M.S.F. Hood, "A Mycenaean Cavalryman" BSA 48, 1953, 84-93 figs. 47, 48; Prosymna: K. Blegen, Prosymna; the Helladic Settlement Preceding the Argive Heraeum, 1937, no 706 fig. 615; Eutrisis: H. Goldman, Excavations at Eutrisis, 1931, 197 fig. 269 no 13 (very fragmentary); Kavousi: Lorimer, 1950, 504 note 2.

4. "Some Unusual Mycenaean Terracottas" BSA 68, 1973, 207-265, esp. 243 and fig. 19. The standard work for Mycenaean terracottas is E. French "The Development of Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines" BSA 66, 1971, 101-187, esp. 164-165 for terracotta riders.

or unarmed, while the legs and feet are sometimes omitted just like in vase painting. In both vase painting and three-dimensional art the chariot representations predominate in numbers and are earlier in date than the riders.

Interesting for comparison are two more terracottas from a tomb at Spata: one of them is a female figure with a polos on her head, who is seated side-saddle (she has been interpreted as a goddess) and the other is a man riding astride (5). In connection with the female figurine, Levi compares a sealing from Hagia Triada in Crete with a Minoan goddess sitting side-saddle on an animal which, under the influence of Mesopotamian representations he interprets as a dragon (6).

A Cypriot Late Bronze Age horse and rider terracotta has been dated on stylistic grounds to the second half of the thirteenth century. The rider who is seated side-saddle has been compared to the Kharvati terracotta mentioned above and it is thought that the Cypriot example is of Aegean inspiration (RDAC, 1980, 128ff. pl. XVII). A later Cypriot animal rhyton with a rider seated side-saddle, formerly in the Bomford Collection and now in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford, dated to Late Cypriot IIB (c. 1100 B.C), is very remarkable (cf. Catling, RDAC, 1974, 95-111, fig. 1, pls. 16, 17), since no other rhyton representing a rider is known.

5. cf. Levi, 1951, 108-125, pl. 4a, b, c; also Wiesner, 1968, F116.

6. Further representations of a "goddess on a dragon" can be seen on a sealstone from Mycenae: cf. Crouwel, 1981, pl. 113, and a set of glass paste plaques from Dendra: cf. Levi, 1951, 119 fig. 4a, b; but it is equally possible that the ridden animal is a horse (the side-saddle way of riding will be discussed below in connection with the Geometric terracottas).

From the above mentioned examples it is clear that riding was far from widespread during the Bronze Age and anyway all the representations are late in date, although the horse was apparently introduced into Greece around 2000 B.C. and the earliest horse bones were found in Vardaroftsa, a site in central Macedonia excavated by W.A.Heurtley and dated to the Early Bronze Age (7). There is furthermore no evidence to suggest that the horse was used for any other purpose than transportation and the Mouliana krater on which the rider appears fully armed is an isolated phenomenon which cannot be used to support the possibility of riders being used in war.

Turning now beyond the Aegean in search of other early riders and their function, we see that in the Near East and Egypt, they are well attested as early as the second millenium B.C. and in Mesopotamia probably as early as the third millenium.

In Egypt donkey riders are known from the time of the reign of Sesostris II (1897-1879 B.C.), while the horse was introduced into Egypt most certainly by the Hyksos in the eighteenth century. Chariots predominated in Near Eastern warfare and the Pharaoh is never shown as riding a horse, but always as a chariot driver. By the thirteenth century B.C. riders begin to appear in fighting contexts. One of the earliest riding warriors is seen on the north outer wall of the Hall of the Columns at the temple of

7. BSA 27, 1925-26, 45; Crowel, 1981, 32ff. for the early history of the horse in Mainland Greece; cf. also N.G. Gejvall, Lerna I, The Fauna, 1969, *Equus caballus* 35ff. The earliest examples of ass come from Lerna III and IV= EHIII and of the true horse in Lerna V (MH).

Amun at Karnak in Upper Egypt; the relief represents a campaign of Pharaoh Seti I attacking the town of Yenoam in Syria (c.1300 B.C.). The rider armed with square shield is fleeing to the left and has been hit by one of the king's arrows (8).

It is only in the first millennium B.C., however, that mounted warriors appear at a large extent and this is supported both by the monuments with figured relief representations and by the written documents. In the Syro-Hittite area armed horsemen are represented on orthostats and reliefs from Tell Halaf, Charchemisch, Sencirli, Maras (cf. M.S.F.Hood note 3) and from Karatepe (Lloyd, 1961, fig. 185).

From the ninth century B.C., the detailed Assyrian palace reliefs represent mounted warriors, used side by side with chariots in battles. The earliest of these belong to king Assurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.).

On the bronze gates of Shalmanaser III from Balawat in the British Museum, which represent the Phoenician and Syrian campaigns of 859 and 854 B.C., fully armed riders are shown and they always appear to operate in pairs (9). Armed horsemen become increasingly important during the eighth and seventh centuries and are gradually established

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8. Schwaller de Lubicz, 1982, 97ff. no 7 fig. 16; more reliefs from the Great Hall of Columns at Karnak, show several riders engaged in battle: the campaign of Ramses II against the Palestinians on the south outer wall, where a Palestinian in a long robe is sitting side-saddle: Schwaller de Lubicz, 1982, pl. 92; Similarly on the various versions of the famous battle of Kadesh (1288 B.C.) on the temples of Luxor and Abu-Simbel, riders appear in fighting contexts.
9. Ahlberg, 1971 ii, figs. 62, 78: the army of Benhadad II, Shalmanaser's opponent, included 4,800 chariots and 1900 cavalry.

as the main fighting body of the Assyrian army (10), which accomplished, during this period, great achievements.

The purpose of the above excursus on Egyptian and Assyrian riders, is not to provide direct iconographic prototypes for the Geometric artist of the eighth century (since in any case it is hard to explain how they would have been acquainted with all these Near Eastern monuments and therefore directly influenced - a factor which Ahlberg (1971 ii) does not take into account in her thesis on Geometric fighting scenes-), but to indicate the historical development of the rider and to establish his use in domestic and military contexts in Greece.

Turning now to the Late Geometric II vase representations in Attica, we see that the artist shows a lack of familiarity with the subject and the impression conveyed to us is consistent with that of the Homeric poems, where the description of riding is rare and not as clear as that of the chariot teams (11). Mounted warriors furthermore never once appear in any of the Homeric battles. Greenhalgh (1973) on the other hand, puts forth the rather controversial theory that the chariots of the Iliad are

10. cf. Assurbanipal's Arab relief from Kuyunjik: Frankfurt, 1954, pl. 102b and also Assurbanipal's hunting reliefs showing the development of horsemanship: Lloyd, 1961, fig. 167.

11. Cf. Odyssey 5, 371 where shipwrecked Odysseus bestrides a plank as though he were riding a horse (κέληθ' ὡς ἵππον ελαύνων); Iliad XV 679, where Ajax is compared to a man well skilled in horsemanship; Iliad XXIII 346-7, where the swift horse Arion is ridden, and finally Iliad X, 465ff. the only instance in epic where riding is not referred to in a simile: but this passage which describes the seizure of Rhesus' horses by Diomedes and Odysseus is too obscure to enlighten us in any way, and is also thought to be a later addition.

TABLE 26
RIDERS LGII

Representation	Cat. No.	Workshop	Shape	Characteristic	Context
London BM 1899-12-19.1	136	Sub-Dipylon	Krater	Naked	Inserted in chariot frieze
Prague Private C.	146	Philadelphía	Amphora	Naked	1:two riders in panel 2:in frieze alternating with round shield warriors
Buffalo C 12847	154	Athens 894	Amphora	Corselet/spear	Leading horse in chariot frieze
Toronto C 951	180	Athens 894	Amphora	Naked	Inserted in chariot frieze
Louvre CA 3468	183	Athens 894	Amphora	Naked	Inserted in chariot frieze
Athens NM 810	215	Athens 894	Krater	Naked/helmet	Rearing horse in foot panel
Villa Giulia 1212	224	Villa Giulia	Hydria	Naked	Inserted in chariot frieze
Cohn Collection	228	Birdseed	Skyphos	Naked/standing	Alternating with Dipylon warriors
Athens NM 13038	227	Birdseed	Skyphos	Naked	Inserted in frieze with bull and man between horses?
Athens Market	245	Hooked S.	Amphora	Naked	
Stockholm NM 1741	378	?	Amphora	Naked	In panel
Kerameikos 850	381	?	Amphora	Naked/helmet	In panel
Athens NM 733	439	?	Kantharos	Naked	-
Athens NM 15995	459	?	Fr.	2 spears/helmet	-

an archaizing form of "knights and squire" who were in actual practice from as early as the eighth century (12).

Unlike the Mycenaean vase representations and terracottas, where the riders are shown either astride or side-saddle (sometimes difficult to determine which), on the Geometric vase representations they are always seated astride and rather far back on the horse's loins, an indication of the primitive state of equitation. We shall see below that in the Geometric period, only in three dimensional art and on the goldbands are riders sometimes represented seated side-saddle.

There is also one example where the rider is actually standing on the horse. This rather odd way of representing a rider is seen on a skyphos by the Birdseed Painter (cat. no 228), and although unique in Attic vase painting (for a Mycenaean example cf. above 161), it is seen in other media: for example on a thin disc from the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea where an unarmed rider is standing on a horse holding a pomegranate in one hand and on a bronze tripod leg from Olympia (13). As far as the representations of the rider standing on the horse, figuring in the skyphos and the tripod leg go, the latter has been explained as a

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12. cf. also Snodgrass's review in JHS 94, 1974, 225ff.: "Greenhalgh maintains that the language of the Homeric descriptions of chariotry show them to be no more than disguised descriptions of mounted horses".
13. BCH 45, 1921, 384 no 154 fig. 45; Olympia B1665: Schweitzer, 1969, pl. 215; R.G. Hood, 1974, 99 n. 17; Maas, 1978, no 117; I do not think that the rider on the tripod leg is holding a spear above his head in the manner of the rider on the Buffalo amphora (cat. no 154), but that the horizontal line above the rider is not a spear, but part of the frame; this can be clearly seen in Maas, 1978, pl. II, 117a.

borrowing of Assyrian iconography and furthermore that, through the process of borrowing, the Oriental bull or lion on which the figure of the god or goddess is standing, has been substituted by the Greek artist with a horse. The very scarcity of this iconographic type, however, speaks against such a process of Oriental borrowing. R.G.Hood (1974), on the other hand, interpreted the scene on the Cohn skyphos, where the standing riders alternate with fully armed Dipylon warriors, as a cult scene, or a cult of the dead scene, in which Hippios Poseidon, connected both with the horse and the dead, would be involved.

But couldn't the standing riders be just part of an athletic event (athletic events are becoming increasingly popular during this period) - an acrobatic game which fascinated the artist during a time when equitation was still at a rather primitive stage? This interpretation could further be supported by the recurrence of the theme on a tripod leg, the very prize of a winning athlete.

In order to establish the function of Late Geometric II riders as they appear on the Attic vases, it is necessary to analyse their characteristics and the context in which they occur as seen on Table 26. The majority of riders are naked (e.g. Louvre CA 3468, cat.no 183), but the type of naked rider with helmet does also occur (e.g. Athens NM 810, cat.no 215, PL.40a,b; Kerameikos 850, cat. no 381). As for the Toronto C.861 oenochoe (Robinson-Harcum-Iliffe, 1930, no 120 pl.XI), representing two fully armed riders facing each other on the neck, Dr. Hayes has kindly informed me that all the painting is modern and can be re-

moved with acetone; the pot itself , however, seems to be ancient: the clay is yellowish with red grits and a pinkish tint on the surface, corresponding more or less to the yellow Protoattic fabric and it is doubtful whether the pot was originally decorated. It can therefore be safely ignored (new inv.no 925.28.7). The rider on the much discussed Buffalo vase (cat.no 154) must be wearing a corselet (Crouwel,1981,48: "a short, bell-shaped corselet with a projecting lower edge") (14) and although brandishing a spear is not fully armed. Since the rider on the Buffalo vase is shown leading a second horse, it has been inferred on the analogy of similar seventh and sixth century representations, that we have here the theme of "mounted hoplite and his squire", the omission of the squire having been explained as a device for the artist's own convenience. But it seems rather risky to interpret themes with reference to later representations, and I know of no other example where artists for their convenience omit elements basic for the iconographic rendering and interpretation of the theme: the artist would have been able to handle such a subject if indeed he wished to represent such a subject. But the theme of mounted hoplite and squire was quite unknown to the Geometric artist, although quite popular before the end of the seventh century and in the sixth relatively common on Attic as well as Corinthian black-figured vases (Greenhalgh has full lists). The Buffalo rider who is leading a second horse is inserted in a frieze of chariots with shieldless charioteer and spearmen holding two spears (cf. Chapter I, Section E,

14.Greenhalgh,1973,88; Wiesner,1968, F119.

Table 17) and is most surely part of a procession, his military attire being an indication of his social status and rank, and not as Snodgrass has suggested (15) as actually fighting from horse-back.

Riders do not occur in friezes of chariots with shieldless charioteer and warrior (Chapter I, Chariots, Table 13): this is self-evident, since this type of chariot frieze is represented only on LGI vases. On the other hand, riders do not appear in friezes of chariots with Dipylon warrior as charioteer, represented in both LGI and II, either (cf. Chapter I, chariots, Table 14).

On the whole, when riders are inserted in chariot friezes, these belong to the type with shieldless charioteer (Chapter I, Chariots, Table 15), the most likely representation of a race, and in one instance (Villa Giulia 1212, cat.no 224) in a chariot frieze which is clearly an apobates race. Since, then, the riders cannot be interpreted as participating in a chariot race, they should rather be considered as symbolising the high rank of the participants (i.e. wealthy aristocrats).

From the above analysis we see that riders can be represented as participating in a chariot procession or in the case of the Prague amphora in a warrior procession. When inserted in chariot friezes interpreted as races, or when standing alone in a panel they are clearly social status symbols; finally standing riders may represent also an athletic game.

15. "The First European Body Armour" in the Community in Later Prehistory. Studies in Honour of C.F.C. Hawkes, 1971, 46.

In order to establish the emergence of the iconographic theme of a rider and the possible influences, it is important to consider the non-Attic material, which in this case offers numerous and illuminating examples. The first obvious place to look for riders would be Argos, but here the evidence is scanty with just a couple of fragments representing riders.

An amphora from the Argive Heraeum has a bearded rider wearing a short chiton, holding in one hand the rein and in the other the goad: he is therefore unarmed. This is a very late piece, dated to the Sub-Geometric period, since outline is used to indicate the horse's eye and the upper body of the human figure (16). On the krater fragments from Tiryns the rider is helmeted and joins a row of deer and helmeted sphinxes. Another fragment from Ithaca, but which is thought to be Argive, comes from a clay temple model: the rider appears to be unarmed with a very stylized rendering of his feet below the horse's belly (Beyer, 1976, pl. 25). The fragments from this clay model are very interesting, since the figured decoration must be a copy from wall-painting (17).

From the Vrokastro group which has been related to the Cesnola Painter (Popham-Sackett, 1980, 74ff.) there is a fragment from a krater in the Herakleion Museum, Crete,

16. Waldstein, 1905, 117 fig. 42=Courbin, 1966, pl. 8 no GR2c.
17. fragments in Nauplia nos 4268, 4274 from Tiryns=Coldstream, 1968, 143 note 16. Courbin's dating of the krater (1966, 155, 146, 484) to the Argive IIC (710-700 B.C.) seems very late. The drawing of the figures is stiff and austere and cannot be compared with the Orientalising style of IIC.

showing the lower part of the horse and rider, whose round shield is cross-hatched; otherwise it is hard to tell whether he is armed or unarmed; but other sherds from the same krater have representations of two Dipylon warriors in a chariot and the helmeted head of another figure (Walter-Karydi, 1972, 394 fig. 14), which could suggest a military context, although no fighting is shown.

More krater fragments come from the Geometric town of Zagora on Andros (PLATE 34a), which too is related to the Vrokastro Group and therefore to the Cesnola Painter (18). These fragments represent a frieze of riders to the right, with cross-hatched shields, similar to those carried by the warriors inserted in the chariot frieze above.

From Eretria too, there is a fragment representing the lower part of a horse and one leg of the rider (PAE, 1976, 75, pl. 38a no 7).

Turning now to the Western part of the Mediterranean, an Italo-Geometric painted stand appeared in the Cerveteri Market. The foot is divided into panels, each one containing a rider to the right with cross-hatched torso (an indication of strong Euboean influence), holding the reins in one hand and the goad in the other (AR 1967-68, 36, 38, fig. 10). From the Euboean colony of Pithecussae (DdA III, 1969, 99 fig. 27, bottom row centre), comes a krater fragment representing part of the horse's neck and the reins, as well as the rider's hand to the left. At the acropolis of Cumae (PLATE 34b; RM 60-61, 1953-54, 52, fig. 3) a fragment of a large vase was found: it represents two galloping

18. Popham-Sackett, 1980, 75 no 23; Coldstream, 1971, fig. 2.

riders to the right, holding in the right hand the goad and in the left the reins; below each horse is a bird. The first bird to the right is in the attitude of grazing (cf. Cesnola krater New York, frieze of grazing horses and grazing birds: Coldstream, 1968, pl. 35).

From the above analysis we see that there are at least six examples of riders from Euboean, and Euboean influenced sites. Of these six vases, three can be attributed with certainty to the Cesnola Workshop, i.e. earlier than any of the Attic examples, all of which, as we have seen, are Late Geometric II. It seems therefore logical to conclude that the Attic painters borrowed the iconographic theme of a rider from Euboea.

On Table 26 we can see that three vases belong to the early phase of Late Geometric II (LGIIa): the London krater by the Sub-Dipylon Group (cat. no 136) and two skyphoi by the Birdseed Painter (cat. nos 227, 228). In view of the fact that the Birdseed Painter had been influenced by other Euboean themes such as the iconographic motif of grazing horses, it seems quite probable that it was he who introduced the theme of a rider to the Attic repertoire.

Continuing with the other non-Attic representations, we see that from the Eastern part of the Greek world, there is just one Late Geometric sherd from Chios, featuring only the rider's legs, so it is impossible to determine whether he is armed or unarmed (BSA 35, 1935, pl. 35 no 29).

From the Eastern Mediterranean, there is in Cyprus a Cypro-Geometric vase from Vathykrakas Karavas, thought to have been inspired by a Sub-Minoan model (19). The un-

19. RDAC, 1964, 114-129, Tomb I: stemmed bowl of White Painted

unusual feature about this vase, is that the rider is standing on the horse. The attitude of the rider has been discussed above in connection with an Attic skyphos by the Birdseed Painter. It was suggested for the Attic skyphos, that the standing attitude of the rider could be interpreted as an athletic or acrobatic achievement. For the Cypriot representation, however, this can hardly be the case, but should rather be considered as due to the incompetence of the painter to represent an iconographic scheme still in its very early experimental stage.

From Cyprus too, there is a pair of vases painted by the same artist: both are White-Painted II amphorae (850-750 B.C.) and were found by looters in the area of Chrysochou, while other vases have been attributed to the same hand, indicating thus a prolific painter with rich and ambitious iconographic representations, an exception, one may say, for that area and that period.

On the first of the two vases (Karageorghis-Gagniers, 1974, Suppl. I pl. 10) side A is decorated with a pair of galloping horses to the left, with a rider on one leading the second horse. The rider's legs appear below the horse's body giving the impression that he is riding side-saddle; the rider is wearing a conical bonnet and is carrying a quiver; the group is followed by a one/horse chariot with two occupants.

On side B, the rider is similar but with no second

II ware, 950-850 B.C.; also mentioned by Wiesner, 1968, F 119 n. 397; cf. also Karageorghis-Gagniers, 1974, 12-14 no 1. The other five vases listed by the author as representing riders, all belong to the seventh century.

horse and no quiver hanging from the shoulder and is similarly followed by an identical chariot group. On the second vase, side B is decorated with a rider followed by an animal (ox?), which is tied with a rope held by the rider; the rider's legs appear again below the body, in the side-saddle fashion. If the four vertical lines behind the rider's back are arrows, then the rider is rightly interpreted as a hunter having captured a wild bull, a theme which as Karageorghis remarks is unusual both in Aegean and Near Eastern iconography (20).

Leaving aside pottery now, it is worth considering Geometric three-dimensional art. The bronze and terracotta figurines from the various parts of Greece must be considered. From the Swedish excavation at Asine, among the miscellaneous finds, were noted two terracotta riders restored from various fragments. One is complete with helmet and carries a round shield, while the other who is headless, is unarmed (Frödin-Perrson, 1938, 334 fig. 225, 6, 7). These have been dated by Snodgrass (1964, 164 n. 22) to the Late Geometric period, while a group of earlier terracotta helmeted riders comes from the same area (Frödin-Perrson, 1938, 309 fig. 213, 4).

Waldstein, too, describes similar terracotta figurines from the Argive Heraeum, some of which are helmeted and carry round shields (Waldstein, 1905, 40 nos 244, 245, 246, pl. XLVIII, 2, 3, 4). More rider figurines come from Tegea, Tiryns, Perachora and Tanagra but they seem to be later, belonging to the seventh century. Turning now to the Geometric bronze examples, there are three figurines from Samos, Olympia

and Lusoï in Arcadia (21). All these statuettes represent the rider, who is female, seated side-saddle, while the one from Samos is a kourotrophos.

From Thessaly there is a bronze figurine of a warrior on horseback, with helmet and dagger, while a hole in his right raised arm, indicates that he was poising a spear (22). From Cyprus too there are a couple of horse and rider figurines in terracotta (23). At this point a Late Geometric steatite gem from Amorgos representing a mounted warrior should be mentioned (Lorimer, 1950, 504 n.2).

Apart from vase painting and three-dimensional art, riders appear also on the Attic and Eretrian goldbands. Five examples belong to the Attic groups, two to Ohly's group III (24) and four to his group IV (25). The Oxford band represents four riders on either side of a central panel with archer to the left; on both sides the riders are moving towards the centre; the leader on either side is holding a spear, but the other riders are unarmed. The Amsterdam band is a replica of the Oxford 1105 band but

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20. RDAC 1980, 132ff. pl. XIX; for the previous vase cf. RDAC 1973, 167-178, fig. 4 and pls. XV-XVI.
21. Schweitzer, 1969, figs. 194, 195, 196. The Olympia statuette has been dated to the first quarter of the eighth century, i.e. at the time when the Olympic games were established.
22. Copenhagen NY Carlsberg Glyptotek, Cornelius Vermeule, Art of Antiquity, Vol. II, part 1, 1982, 82 fig. 136.
23. Private Collection in Canada: RDAC 1980, Addendum 135, pl. 18 and Nicosia Museum: AD 29, 1973-74, Chronika B3, 1012 no 14, pl. 757d.
24. Oxford Museum 1105=Ohly, 1953, A18 pl. 9, 5, 11, 5; Higgins, 1969, 147 pl. 37b; Amsterdam Allard Pierson Museum 397=Ohly, 1953, A19, pl. 9, 6; 12, 1-3; Higgins, 1969, 147 pl. 37c.
25. Athens NM Stathatou Collection= Ohly, 1953, A20a, pl. on p. 40; Copenhagen NM 741= Ohly, 1953, A20 fig. 19, pl. 10, 1; 12, 4; Berlin GI 309= Ohly, 1953, pl. 10, 3; Berlin GI 310= Ohly, 1953, A21 fig. 20, pl. 10, 2.

has two further metopes on either end, from a different matrix and representing a centaur with branch.

From group IV, the Stathatou band is divided into eleven panels, five of which carry figured decoration. Panel two, from left to right, shows a rider with a helmet turned to the right, having his left arm raised but without carrying any weapon; in front of the horse and turned towards it (in panel three) are two violently agitating men, more likely to be engaged in a boxing match and not concerned with the rider. The other panels include boxing matches, jug-bearers, dancing figures with branches and a centaur. Panel ten shows a skittish horse with pointed mane moving to the left, with its rider, whose legs are not represented (cf. above for similar Mycenaean representations), turning backwards facing another figure pursuing him with a spear: unlike the rider on the second panel who is unarmed, this rider, who is also helmeted, raises his spear, despite the fact that he already appears to have been wounded by the spearman. We see then on the same goldband two representations of riders in different contexts: a peaceful one and a military one.

Another goldband from Attica in Copenhagen (cf.n.25) consists of five non-joining fragments (I-V) and it is a replica of the previous goldband, only that the jug-bearers are missing. There are two identical panels including riders in a fighting context, similar to those described above. The two goldbands in Berlin belong also to group IV. The figured style is related to that of A20a and A20, but is more careless. Twelve panels are decorated

and eight carry figured scenes, including a fighting scene, horses, mourners and a panel with a rider with helmet, advancing to the right against a spearman, then a second rider attacked by two warriors (panel seven) and panel eleven with a rider with spear advancing against more warriors on foot.

On the next goldband in Berlin, the relief is different from that of the goldbands A20a-A20; there are two friezes set one above the other; in the upper frieze nearly all the figures are moving to the left: centaurs, riders and dancers. Two riders -one with helmet- are raising their arms and are preceded and followed by centaurs. In the lower frieze, at the left end, are two riders to the right; they are both unarmed -no helmets or spears-while the leg of one rider is indicated below the horse's belly; if the omission of the legs indicates side-saddle riding, then we have here two riders side by side, riding with two different techniques. These two riders are preceded by a horse leader who is facing two more riders moving to the left.

From Eretria comes one band (26) which is in a rather bad condition, but the remains of a rider to the left holding the goad, can be distinguished; below the horse is a running dog and a stag follows. The relief also includes a striding man and an animal. Despite its poor condition, the appearance on this band of a dog and stag gives rise to the interpretation of the band as representing a hunting scene.

26. Athens NM 12153=Ohly, 1953, E4 fig.26, pl.14, 3, 4.

We have seen that in Attic vase painting, the riders are always in a peaceful context (although in some cases they may carry a weapon or shield). The Euboean riders also have a peaceful context but in most cases are armed. The earliest goldbands with rider (group III) have a peaceful context and only on the goldbands of group IV (the latest in the series) do riders appear fighting. The two riders of the Stathatou band, belong, as we have seen, to different situations. The peaceful rider is connected to a number of activities related to some sort of festival or games. The other rider clearly seems to be fighting from horseback. Fighting on horseback is repeated on the Copenhagen and Berlin (GI 310) bands.

In the early seventh century, riders are painted on vases made by the leading Athenian workshops (Oxford Workshop, Vulture Workshop, Analatos Painter, cf. Table 27), but unlike the LGII representations, where they are either inserted in a chariot frieze or stand alone in a panel, we have for the first time a frieze of riders and the first example of a rider fully armed with helmet, two spears and round shield (Berlin 31006); this rider has no iconographic context to allow us to draw any conclusions as to whether he is a cavalryman or mounted infantryman. Given the evidence from the other vases which show, just as in Late Geometric, no fighting done from horseback, it seems more likely that he is simply an armed rider and the representation just a status symbol of the owner of the vase.

From the middle to the end of the seventh century,

TABLE 27
RIDERS EPA

- Boston 03.782 (amphora) :Davison,1961,fig.58; Oxford Workshop.
- New York 10.210.8 (amphora) :Davison,1961,figs.69a-b; Vulture Workshop.
- Private Coll. (amphora) :Davison,1961,figs.70a-b; Vulture Workshop.
- Agora P 754 (oenochoe fr.): Brann,1962,no 414,pl.24; Analatos Painter follower.
- Karlsruhe B 2678 (krater) CVA 1,pl.5;Late Analatos Painter.
- Berlin A 16 (krater) :CVA 1,pls.7,2;8.1.
- Berlin 31006 (amphora) :CVA 1,pls.41,1,2;42,3,4.
- München 6077 (krater) :Cook,1935,pl.41; Analatos Painter.
- Athens NM 295 (fr.) :Graef,1909,no 307 pl.10.
- Eleusis 279 (fr.):Tölle,1964,no 302.
- Kerameikos 1152 (kotyle) :Kübler,1970,419 no 5,pl.6.

riding always continues to be represented on vases in a non military context (27).

In other media and outside of Attica, the frieze of riders from Prinias Temple A belongs, according to Beyer, (1976,24,pl.13) to the first quarter of the seventh century and reflects a fusion of Geometric and North Syrian elements. Beyer's date however may be rather too high (cf. Kranz's review in Gnomon 54,1982,770-777) and should be lowered to the second half of the seventh century. The Prinias riders are armed with spear and small round shield with central bosses, similar to that carried by the Berlin 31006 rider.

An analysis of seventh and sixth century riders is also given by Kunze (1950,190ff.), while Greenhalgh (1973, 84ff.) gives almost complete lists for the seventh and sixth centuries. Outside the Greek world an interesting representation of an armed rider is seen on an ivory plaque from Gordion: he is wearing a helmet looking similar to a Phrygian cap and is carrying a spear and round shield (28). Throughout the seventh century, all fighting is done on foot and there is no evidence of cavalry but only of mounted infantry.

To sum up, we have seen that riding was not a very

27. Examples of unarmed riders are seen on vases by the Gorgon Painter, e.g. Baltimore Walters Gallery 48.215: Beazley, 1956, 9 no 18; Buffalo Albright Knox Gallery G 600: satyr riding a donkey Beazley, 1956, 12 no 22; there is no evidence of cavalry on PC vases, only from the second quarter of the sixth century do we find representations of cavalry: e.g. Acropolis 606, Berlin 4283: Boardman, 1974, figs. 74, 48; Beazley, 1956, 81 nos 1, 4 by the Painter of Acropolis 606.

28. Young, 1960, 240 pl. 25c; cf. also Young in X International congress of Classical Archaeology, 1978, 18-19, pl. 3 fig. 8; Beyer, 1976, pl. 27, 2b, dates the plaque to the ninth century.

popular subject in LGII iconography. Although riding was widespread in the Near East at an earlier date than in Greece and in a military context too, we cannot speak of the Eastern representations as providing an iconographic prototype for the Greek artists. The technique of riding may have been learnt by the Eastern neighbours, but the subject itself as occurring on the vases is purely Greek and was first represented in Euboean iconography whence the Attic Birdseed Painter most probably borrowed the theme.

Aristotle speaks of cavalrymen as dominating the warfare of the early Greek cities at the period before the introduction of hoplite warfare. As Aristotle also notes (Ath.Pol. 1289b,33fff.) the keeping of horses is a sign of considerable wealth.

The Attic representations of a rider on the vases bear no indication that the horseman was used at war. No Attic rider is shown fighting, indeed no Attic Geometric rider is shown fully armed (fully armed riders are only represented three-dimensionally). Only the latest series of goldbands provide representations of riders in a fighting context and only in the Early Protoattic period does a fully armed rider appear for the first time. Aristotle's passage, however, brings out the point that the horse is a sign of wealth, a status symbol, and undoubtedly the Late Geometric representations should be regarded as such.

B.LIONS AND MAN AND LIONS

Before analysing the more complex iconographic theme involving both men and lions, a brief excursus should be made on the other iconographic schemes involving lions, as they occur in Late Geometric art. A distinction must first be drawn between the purely decorative representations of lions and the more complex themes involving lions and men, and lions and other animals. Since this latter scheme occurs on one of the vases of the Rattle Group and since it is not (apart from one more example) otherwise represented in Attic LGII vase painting, it will be analysed in Chapter III under the section on the Rattle Group.

Let us start now with the earliest representation in Attic Geometric art. As Tölle (1963,216,217) remarked a propos of the Essen amphora (cat.no 169, PLS.171,26b,36c) the representation of the lion enters the repertoire of vase painting before the Late Geometric period (29) and we could perhaps place the earliest lions in the Middle Geometric II period. At this point we should draw our attention to a pyxis-krater in the Louvre (inv.no 514,CVA 16,pl.3), which has under one handle the representation of a larger animal between two smaller ones, while under the other handle there is a deer. The three animals under the one handle have been identified by Benson (1970, 39,40-42, 62,74-76,78,140) as boars or pigs, but Kübler (1970,73 n.

29. Kunze, 1931,205ff.; Kübler, 1954,152,177.

226,84), identifies them as lions; this last seems the most probable, since the curving tails above their backs, would be imitating Assyrian prototypes.

In three dimensional art too, the lion makes its first appearance at approximately the same date. A gold fibula from the Elgin Collection represents a lion engraved on the catch plate (Higgins, 1969, pl. 36b). According to Higgins' dating (1969, 147) and the evidence of similar finds in a tomb at Anavyssos (AD 21, 1966, Chronika B1, 97ff.), the Elgin fibula belongs to the Middle Geometric II period and is therefore a good candidate for the earliest Attic lion. From the Peloponnese a lion is seen as the crowning figure of a bronze tripod handle found in Olympia (30). Hermann, in following Willemssen, rejects Benton's date to the middle of the eighth century (Benton, 1935, 115) and dates it to the first half of the century. Maass too finds no relationship between this lion and the later lion figuring on the tripod leg (cf. note 31) and considers it as belonging to the first quarter of the eighth century.

The importance of this representation has rightly been stressed by Hermann, not only as the earliest representation of a lion in Geometric art on the Mainland, but also as the earliest "Orientalizing" work of the period. So if we come to the conclusion that the animals on the Louvre pyxis-krater are lions, then the appearance of the lion in Geometric art on the Mainland can be placed in the Middle Geometric II period. In vase painting and three di-

30. Hermann, 1966, 132ff.; Müller, 1978, 12 n. 81; Maass, 1978, 42ff. no 241, pl. 14.

mensional art, the subject occurs simultaneously.

At this point we should draw our attention to a skyphos-pyxis (Athens EPK 645, cat.no 302, PLATE 35b) from a grave at the south slope of the Acropolis. This vase has been ascribed to the Burly Workshop, is early in date and belongs to LG Ib-LG IIa. It is therefore the earliest representation of a lion in Attic pottery in Late Geometric I after a period of about thirty years.

As we shall see below, another vase from the same grave and ascribed to the same workshop, represents two lions in a different scheme, that of eating a man (Athens EPK 643, cat.no 303, pl. 38a). The two lions on the skyphos-pyxis are facing one another and have all four paws touching the ground; their torsos are cross-hatched, probably an indication of the mane- and their heads are held high with open jaws showing teeth and tongue. We see then that these earliest representations of lions already have the characteristic features of all Late Geometric lions: the open jaw, the tongue and teeth. The antithetical composition on the other hand does not survive into Late Geometric II; another vase with antithetical lions comes from the Workshop of Athens 894 (Cambridge MCA 345, cat.no 196). The scheme of two antithetical lions in a panel is not seen again in vase painting until the Early Protoattic period, as exemplified by an amphora in New York (inv.no 10.210.8 by the Vulture Painter (Davison, 1961, fig. 69a-b). The lions represent here a fully developed form and are crouching with their heads turned backwards in a regardant attitude. In metalwork on the other hand, there is a re-

presentation of two antithetical lions on the leg of a bronze tripod from Olympia (31). This tripod leg belongs to Schweitzer's group IV and is therefore to be dated to the last quarter of the eighth century. It has two figured reliefs: the top one will be discussed in another context (it represents two men on either side of a tripod: Chapter II, Section C), while the lower panel represents two antithetical rampant lions, i.e. in a very similar attitude as the lions of our scheme c) (cf. below), only that they seem to be fighting since their forepaws are crossing. Between the two lions and only partly preserved, is a stylized ornament, which seems to be a stylized tree or other such decorative element. Only on the other hand (1953, 77) thinks that the two lions are fighting over the body of a fallen warrior; the first interpretation seems more likely: the scene is therefore decorative rather than narrative, the latter implying a more complex scheme.

Turning now to the purely decorative lion representations, these seem clearly to be a LGII innovation, unlike other animal friezes, such as the grazing deer and the regardant goat, which were invented and introduced as we have seen in Chapter I in the Late Geometric I period.

The lion does not occur in a fixed iconographic type, but can be found either with one paw raised, striding with both legs on the ground, or rearing or crouching. The type of lion with one paw raised derives iconographically from Near East (Borell, 1978, 60ff.) and can be seen on the Syro-

31. Olympia B1730: Schweitzer, 1969, 173ff. pl. 213; Schefold, 1964, 20 pl. 4b; Coldstream, 1977, fig. 108b.

TABLE 28

LIONS

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
LGII	.		
Essen K 969	169	Athens 894	Amphora PL.36c
Paris Market	182	Athens 894	Amphora
Louvre CA 3468	183	Athens 894	Amphora PL.36d
Cambridge MCA 345	196	Athens 894	Hydria
Würzburg L.58	200	Athens 894	Skyphos PL.35a
Athens NM 810	215	Athens 894	Krater PL.40a,b
Athens NM	221	Athens 894	Krater PL.39b
Edinburgh 1956.422	229	Birdseed	Skyphos PL.43a
London BM 1913.11-13 1	263	Lion Painter	Pitcher PL.36b
Athens Market	264	Lion Painter	Pitcher
Athens Vlastos Coll.	265	Lion Painter	Kotyle
Manchester	266	Lion Painter	Kotyle
Athens EPK 645	302	Burly	Skyphos-pyxis
Louvre CA 1781	423	?	Skyphos
Polites Coll.Athens	435	?	Skyphos
Kerameikos 3683	469	?	Hydria fr.

Phoenician bronze bowls in London and Nimrud and on another one from Olympia (32). In Attic vase painting this type is used for the decoration of continuous friezes running around the body of vases or in the interior of a skyphos (cf. Table 28), all of which belong to the Workshop of Athens 894. From the Early Protoattic period, the same type of lion with one paw raised occurs either in a frieze or a panel (Table 29).

The other type of striding lion with both forelegs on the ground is found on several Late Geometric II examples (Table 28). This type of lion also persists into Early Protoattic as exemplified by a few vases (Table 29).

Lions in panels drawn in a distinctly recognisable way and ascribed to one painter, explicitly named the Lion Painter, decorate various vases, mostly pitchers which include in their iconographic repertoire only horses and bird files (cat.nos 263,266,PL.36b). The Lion Painter's lions are quite different from all the other Late Geometric lions: they are drawn in strict profile with only two legs rendered and narrow waists indicating that the iconographic type was strongly influenced by contemporary representations of dogs (e.g. Basel market, cat.no 321,workshop of Athens 897). These animals are, however, clearly identified as lions since the salient features of open jaw, teeth and tongue as well as the curving tail are all present.

32.Nimrud: Layard, 1853,pl.68; Frankfort, 1954,pl.172b,173b; Borell, 1978,Or43,59 fig.9b; Olympia: Layard, 1853,pl.60; Canciani, 1970,pl.IX; Borell, 1978,50 Or26; a lion with outstretched paw is also seen on a seal of Adadnirani III the builder of Shalmaneser (Iraq, 1962,28-39 fig.9).

TABLE 29

LIONS EPA

Victoria D.23/1982	(hydria) :R.G.Hood,1982,38ff.,fig.1; Analatos Painter.
Vlastos Collection	(hydria fr.):Cook,1935,pl.40;Analatos Painter.
Munich 6077	(krater) :Cook,1935,pl.41. Analatos Painter.
Athens NM 238	(krater) :Cook,1935,pl.42b;Analatos Painter.
Athens NM 313	(hydria) :Davison,1961,fig.61. Ana- latos Painter. PLATE 28a.
Mainz Univ.156	(krater) :Hampe,1960,pls.21,24;Ana- latos Painter.
Brauron Museum	(amphora fr.) :Kahil, <u>AK</u> 1963,A1;Ana- latos Painter.
Agora P 13516	(bowl fr.) :Brann,1962,no 400,pls. 23,43;Late Analatos Painter.
Agora P 4956	(oenochoe) : Brann,1962,no 401,pls. 23,43.
Vlastos Collection	(hydria) :Cook,1935,pl.46b;Mesogeia Painter.
Berlin 31312	(hydria) :Davison,1961,fig.64; Meso- geia Painter.
New York 10.210.8	(amphora) :Cook,1935,pl.37; Vulture workshop.
Eleusis	(amphora fr.) :Hampe,1960,fig.22;N Painter.
Mainz Univ. 155	(krater) :Hampe,1960,pls.22,23;N Painter.

TABLE 29 (cont.)

LIONS EPA

Roussopoulos Coll.	(amphora) :Delivorias <u>AD</u> 20,1965, 65-74,pl.42,figs.1,2.
Würzburg H4988	(amphora) : <u>CVA</u> 1,pl.16,1-3;19,1.
Private Collection	(amphora): Lullies,1955,no 30,pls.10,11.
Bonn 900	(krater) : <u>AA</u> 1935,408ff.no 1.
Tübingen 7747	(aryballos): <u>CVA</u> 2,pl.25,4-6.
Heidelberg G21	Hampe,1936,pl.24b.

Another feature of the lion which shows some sort of variation is the rendering of the tail. Firstly the tail may be rendered above the back of the lion and its end forming a spiral; this type is seen on the following vases: Louvre CA 3468 (cat.no 183,PL.36d), Essen K 969 (cat.no 169,PL.36c), Würzburg L.58 (cat.no 200,PL.35a), London BM 1913.11-13.1 (cat.no 263), Edinburgh 1956.422 (cat.no 229,PL.43a), Athens NM 14475 (cat.no 432,PL.38b), on a hydria in Cambridge MCA 345 (cat.no 196), on the Copenhagen NM 727 kantharos (cat.no 305, PLS.37c,39a). From outside Attica and from the end of the century, the same type of tail can be seen on a kantharos from the Samian Heraeum (Eilmann,1933,fig.40,pl.29) and on many Protocorinthian examples (33). In other media it is seen on many of the Attic goldbands and on an Oriental seal from Ischia (34). As Borell has remarked (1978,60), the tails of the Syro-Phoenician lions are rendered above the back, as exemplified by the metal bowls in London BM 17,27 (Borell,1978, Or 32, 33).

The hanging tail represents the second type, exemplified by the Kerameikos 2160 oenochoe (cat.no 300) of the Burly Workshop. Outside Attica this second type is seen in a bronze group from Samos (Kübler,1970,80 n.256) and on two Boeotian vases (Hampe,1936,pl.24 V 49,pl.18 IV).

Hanging tails are seen on the Attic goldbands (Ohly,

33. Payne, 1933,pls.9,1;14,1; 15,1,2,3; 16,1; 18; 19,1,2, 4,5,6; 20,2; 26,1.

34. Bands: Ohly,1953,esp. A5= Paris Louvre MNB 475; A17= Berlin GI 308, cf. esp.bleow; Seal: Encyclopedia dell'Arte Antica Classica e Orientale,1961,vol.IV 226 fig. 270.

1953,A1, A4), where the rendering of the tail alternates with the third type, where it hangs between the hind legs of the lions. This alternating variation is seen on pottery as well, and the Essen K 969 amphora offers a good example (cat.no 169,PL.36c); also an aryballos in Tübingen (CVA 2,pl.25,4-6). Again this seems to have Oriental prototypes and as Kübler remarks (1970,80), is also seen on island and Boeotian pottery.

A variation of the first type of tail i.e. rendered above the lion's back but not forming a spiral but represented as a wavy line is offered by the Merenda pitcher I/68 (cat.no 260,PL.54a,b) and will be fully considered under Chapter III "The Rattle Group".

Outside Attica we have from Eretria a fragment from a larger krater (inv.no FK 054.1) found in the habitation quarter. On the fragment are preserved two figured zones, the lowest representing a frieze of lions to the left (AK II,1968,99ff.pl.27). This fragment has been dated by Coldstream(1981,242) to the LGIb period,i.e. contemporary to the Cesnola Painter and thus making it the earliest piece in Greece of a frieze of roaring lions (cf. Chapter I,note 103). Kahil dates this krater fragment to the LGII period and makes it slightly later than the Kerameikos 407 stand (cat.no 414,PL.37b), so it seems more likely that the Euboians borrowed the theme from Attica rather than the other way round.

Other non-Attic examples include one fragment from the Argive Heraeum representing a ship and an archer to the left and a lion (apparently not connected to the scene) to the right (Ahlberg,1971 ii,35 fig.41), and a

few Achaean representations which are contemporary to Protoattic (35). We may conclude furthermore that the decorative lion friezes whether representing the lions with a raised paw or with both legs touching the ground, were an iconographic scheme used only by the Workshop of Athens 894, and although the lion in other iconographic schemes occurs from other workshops in the Non-Classical Tradition, as a decorative frieze it never does.

Considering next the more complex theme involving both lions and men, we must first analyse the various schemes in which lions and men occur together. Fittschen in his chapter on lions and lion fights (1969,76-78 L1-L45), divided the lion and man theme into six groups. Since, however, he deals with both pottery and other media indiscriminately and draws no distinction between the second half of the eighth century and the first half of the seventh, and since also more recent finds have to be included, a different grouping than Fittschen's will be followed here: in Attic Late Geometric pottery three different schemes of the same iconographic theme occur:

- a) man eaten by two lions
- b) man eaten by one lion
- c) man against a standing lion

Other schemes involving men and lions but occurring outside Attica will be considered. Scheme a) is found on three LG vases: a kantharos (Copenhagen NM 727, cat.no 305, PLS.37c, 39a), a skyphos (Athens NM 14475, cat.no 432, PL;38b) and

35. Robertson, BSA 43, 1948, pl.34, 491a); pl.42, 563; Coldstream, 1968, 232.

a small oenochoe (Athens EPK643, cat.no 303,PL.38a).Let us start with the oenochoe first, since it is also the earliest: it comes from the same grave as the skyphos-pyxis mentioned above and is therefore LGIb-LGIIa. The man between the two lions is naked with his dagger's sheath at his waist and holding his sword in his left hand and touching the right lion; the man's left foot is touching the ground and his right foot is raised in an indication of having lost his balance and is about to fall; this is further emphasized by the forward bending of his torso: the man's head is almost inside the right lion's head; the outcome of the unfortunate encounter is clear: both lions will emerge victorious and well fed. Next comes the Copenhagen kantharos of the Burly Workshop (cat.no 305): here the man with lions scene decorates the central part of one side of the vase, while the reverse and the sides are decorated with various other scenes (cf. Appendix, "The Burly Workshop " and Chapter II,Section). The central scene on the kantharos is even more gruesome than the oenochoe analysed above, since the man has been lifted by the two lion in mid-air, his head is well within the jaw of the right lion and he has not even had time to draw his sword from the sheath at his waist. The lions of the Copenhagen kantharos are more developed than the Athens oenochoe: the eye is indicated, their torsos are cross-hatched and claws are also represented.

Finally the third vase of this group -the skyphos from Anavyssos (cat.no 432,PL.38b)- shows the man in a completely different attitude: he is standing with sword

and spear in each hand between the two lions: the interior of the skyphos is further filled with four striding bulls (cf. Chapter II, Section F), which should be considered as purely decorative and as having no connection to the theme under discussion. The main difference, however, between this representation and the other two ones considered above, is, the much reduced scale in which the man is drawn, his height corresponding to the width of the lions' open jaws. This very small size of the man speaks against an identification suggested by Schweitzer (1969, 54ff.) as a "Master of Animals", and it is reasonable to assume that the fate of the man of the Anavyssos skyphos is no more secure (36).

The theme of two lions attacking a man occurs in Crete at a much earlier date than on the Mainland, on a figured krater from Tekke Tomb E in Knossos; this vase has been dated by Sackett (1976, 117-129, figs. 5, 6, pl. 16) to the end of the Cretan Protogeometric period, i.e. near the middle of the ninth century B.C. and therefore has no parallel to other representations of this date on the Mainland (cf. PL. 36a). As on the Copenhagen kantharos the man has been lifted in mid-air by the lions but is in a horizontal position and his head is turned to the left, while in his hand he is holding a dagger; the thin lines indicated on his head could be an indication of a plumed helmet. Both the man and the lions are partially cross-hatched and the

36. Schweitzer, 1969, 56 in search for Oriental prototypes for the scene, compared it to a statuette base from Zenchirli, showing a god controlling two lions; he leaves unexplained, however, how the Geometric artist could have been familiar with this art.

lions have claws, open jaws, teeth but no tongue.

Scheme b) man eaten by one lion, is exemplified by only one vase: the Kerameikos 2160 oenochoe belonging to the Burly Workshop (cat.no 300). This representation is very similar to the one on the Athens EPK 643 oenochoe of the same workshop (cat.no 303, PL.38a). On the Kerameikos oenochoe the second lion has been omitted; the lion is similar with wide open jaw and teeth and tongue indicated; the man is also in a similar position, bending forward to the right, apparently as a result of having lost his balance, his left foot is touching the ground and the right one raised. It is not clear whether the man is holding any weapons, but he is clearly at a disadvantage.

Scheme c) is again exemplified by just one vase, but the scene is repeated four times on each of the four legs of the Kerameikos 407 stand (cat.no 414, PL.37b). On each foot the theme is represented with some variation: on the best preserved foot the man fully armed with helmet, sword and spear is attacking the standing lion to his left. On the other two feet the man is carrying across his shoulders an animal, while the lion to his left is standing on its hind legs. The theme of a man carrying across his shoulders an animal is known as the "kriophoros" type. A couple such gold "kriophoroi" were found on the burnt deposit of the dromos of the Khaniale Tekke tomb. These have been dated by Boardman (37) to the Late Geometric period, and are definitely

37. Boardman, 1967, 61 nos 47, 48, pl. 11; cf. Blöme, 1982, 14 fig. 5, who agrees with Boardman's date. For the scheme of the kriophoros in later art cf. Blöme, 1982, 97ff., pls. 22, 1: Cretan statuette of a kriophoros in Berlin; pl. 22, 2: bronze plaque in the Louvre. For an Archaic example

not later than the beginning of the seventh century. We have, therefore, on the Kerameikos stand the earliest known representation of a "kriophoros"; this scheme has been connected with the theme of the return from hunt (cf. Fittschen, 1969, 66ff. "Heimkehr von der Jagd"). The combination, however, of "kriophoros" and lion is as yet unique.

In venturing to interpret the representation of the Kerameikos stand, most scholars have drawn their attention only to the best preserved foot, where the armed man is fighting the lion and is clearly in an advantageous position; various scholars have consequently identified the scene as Herakles fighting the Nemean lion (38). Fittschen on the other hand (1969, 87ff.) rightly stresses the fact that the four representations, one on each foot, cannot be taken separately, nor can a mythological interpretation be valid for the representation of one foot and not for the others. The representation should thus rather be considered as forming part of the same story, different phases of which were painted on each foot, a story taken from the world of reality, of a group of hunters encountering a lion. Surely an extraordinary event which the painter adequately rendered and emphasized by means of repetition. Professor Coldstream has suggested to me that the man on the Kerameikos stand could be a deity protecting flocks or herds from lions.

cf. the mid sixth century example from the Acropolis, Athens: Boardman, Greek Sculpture, the Archaic Period, 1978, fig. 112 and frontispiece.

38. Brommer, Herakles, 1953, 8; Schefold, 1964, 20 and pl. 5a.

Outside Attica the theme of a man and lion also occurs in different schemes. One of the most interesting representations is seen on the fragment from Kato Phana in Chios. This fragment has only been briefly mentioned in Lamb's publication of the site in BSA 35 and has not received much attention until Coldstream's paper at the Chios symposium in April 1984. The fragment from a krater represents a warrior fully armed with helmet, spear and sword confronting a crouching lion. Coldstream remarks that since the sword has no hilt, it "looks more like an early expression of heroic nudity". Even if this is so the exaggerated size of the spear is clearly an indication that the man is in control of the situation.

From another island, Amorgos, three fragments of a relief amphora represent a man with sword and spear fighting against a striding lion (39). By contrast with the Chios fragment where the man and the lion are in no contact, here the representation is more agitated. In both cases, however, the theme is the same and the superiority of the man over the lion is clearly rendered.

From Boeotia the scheme of a man against a striding lion occurs on a tall pyxis in Athens from Thebes (40): the man is holding a spear and is turned to the left towards the lion which has open jaws and teeth and tongue indicated, as well as one raised paw. On another Boeotian amphora in the Louvre (41) a large stylised lion with

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39. Karlsruhe B2673: CVA2, pl. 48, 11; Fittschen, 1969, 83 L37.
40. Athens inv. no 256: Wide, 1899, 80 no 4; Rückert, 1976, HP3, pl. 24, 3, 4.
41. Louvre CA 824: CVA 17, pl. 6, 1-3; pl. 9, 5; Canciani, 1965, 19 no 3 fig. 17; Rückert, 1976, BA 35, pls. 13, 1; 14, 4

cross-hatched body, eye indicated and widely open jaws with pointed teeth, is shown being attacked by two men. One of the two men has half entered the lion's open mouth, sinking with one hand his sword in the lion's jaw and with his other holding its tongue. The second man who is standing behind him is treading on the lion's paw with his foot, while in his left hand he is holding the lion's muzzle and with his right is piercing his jaw with a sword. The reverse side is similar only that the one man nearest to the lion has been omitted. All the Boeotian scenes clearly imply and show that the man or men will emerge from the fight victorious.

Let us turn to other media besides pottery and trace the occurrence and development of the motif. Firstly from Attica, various iconographic schemes involving lions are represented on the Attic and Eretrian goldbands. Scheme a) of vase painting occurs also on the goldbands: nine goldbands from the same matrix (42). All these bands belong to Ohly's group II, while the recent finds can securely date these bands to Middle Geometric II-Late Geometric Ia, i.e. earlier than any of the vase representations (cf. Higgins, 1969, 152ff. Addendum). On all these goldbands a helmeted man is bent to the left, his head inside the left lion's jaw, while the right lion is raising its paw and touching the man's back. On the later goldband from Eretria

42. Athens NM 3637=Ohly, 1953, A7, fig.7, pl.3; Athens NM 2601=Ohly, 1953, A9, A8, fig.16, 9, pl.5, 1; London BM 1219=Ohly, 1953, A10, fig.10, pl.5, 2; Copenhagen NM 740=Ohly, 1953, A11, fig.11, pl.4, 2; 8, 1; Private Collection A.Emmerlich Gallery New York 37 no 107: two unpublished bands; AD 18, 1963, Chronika B1, pl.29 (Kerameikos grave); AD 22, 1967, pl.87b: silver band from grave XXVI at Kriezis str.

an unarmed man is placed in mid-air horizontally to the left lion's mouth (Vienna AM 124=Ohly, 1953, E5, fig.25).

Scheme b) with only one lion represented does not occur on any of the Attic or Eretrian goldbands. It occurs however on the famous Hunt Shield from the Idaean Cave in Crete (43). On the Cretan shield the lion and man theme recurs several times in different schemes. The scheme we are concerned with here, i.e. one lion eating a man is represented in the central scene once: the man is fully armed with helmet, shield and sword and his head is already in the lion's mouth. Another scheme quite similar to the Kato Phana sherd mentioned above, is represented: a striding lion against a kneeling archer. The exterior frieze of the Cretan shield repeats the man and lion theme several times with slight variation: the man, always the victim is either crushed under the weight of the lion's body or with his head in the lion's mouth. The beginning of the Cretan bronze shields is now accepted as being the end of the ninth century (Boardman, 1967, 59), which is in fact Kunze's original dating (cf. Blöme, 1982, 105). The position, however, of the Hunt Shield within the series is still not at all clear (Canciani, 1970).

The scheme of man and lion is also found in three-dimensional art, as exemplified by a bronze statuette from the Heraeum in Samos (Schweitzer, 1969, pl.186). The scheme however has drastically changed by the reversal of victims: the man is no longer at a disadvantage but with the help

43. Kunze, 1931, no 6, pls. 10-20 and Beilage I: Herakleion Museum no 7: Blöme, 1982, 21ff. fig. 20.

of his dog (an extra feature which completes the representation), will kill the lion.

Turning back now to scheme c), we shall see quite a few examples in metalwork. Firstly from the goldbands, there is one band formerly in the Nelidow Collection (44). The provenience of this goldband is not secure though it is said to come from Athens; the matrix anyway, which is easily portable, is the same as the matrix of the Tekke goldband (45). Both bands are decorated with repetitive panels representing two men turned back to back, each fighting with one standing lion. The men are unarmed but are wearing short tunics and helmets on their heads. The jewellery from Tekke tomb used to be dated around 700 B.C., but Boardman, who reexamined the evidence, dated the jewellery from the foundation deposit a century earlier (Boardman, 1967, 57ff.).

The third example of a man against lion is yet again from Crete and can be seen on a bronze relief from Kavoussi, dated from 725 to 675 B.C. (46). Two different schemes are represented on the relief: a man against one standing lion and a heraldic composition of a man against two lions. The man is helmeted and wearing a short chiton and is holding in the single composition one paw of the lion while in the heraldic composition he is grasping in each hand a paw of each lion. Finally a bronze quiver from Fortetsa (47)

44. Reichel, 1942, 32 no 23, pl. VIII; Fittschen, 1969, 81, 229; Higgins, 1969, 150, pl. 43a.

45. Boardman, 1967, 68 no 3, pl. 12; Fittschen, 1969, 81 L30.

46. Kunze, 1931, 218 fig. 31, pl. 56e; Fittschen, 1969, 80 L25, 81 L31; Coldstream, 1977, 285 fig. 92a; Blöme, 1982, 10ff. fig. 3.

47. Brock, 1957, 135ff. no 1569, pl. 116, 169.

repeats the heraldic composition of the Kavousi relief, only that the man in addition to the helmet also carries a short dagger.

From the above analysis we come to the following observations and conclusions: in the various schemes where man is in fight with one or two lions, he may either be the victim or the slayer of the lion. This will mean that we shall have to look for two different sources of inspiration. Man as victim occurs in Attic vase painting as exemplified by schemes a) and b); the goldbands which were earlier than any of the Attic pottery would serve as a prototype, while the theme originated in Crete as the recent Tekke krater proves. The Tekke krater's ultimate source of inspiration could well be , as Coldstream has suggested (1980, 70) the Cypriot bronze stands, which are known to have been treasured by the Cretans, since they were found in contexts much later than their date of manufacture in the twelfth century. A stand in the British Museum (48) represents on its ring a man attacked and eaten by two lions. From Cyprus another early example of the man and lion theme is represented on a cylinder seal from the Cesnola Collection, on which the man has already lost his head (49).

Man as the slayer of lions, occurs on one Attic vase -scheme c)- and on many fragmentary examples from various

48. London BM 1946/10-1711, formerly in the Collection of the Duke of Buccleugh: Catling, 1964, 208 no 36; Coldstream, 1980, pl. 13a.

49. Porada, *AJA* 52, 1946, 195 no 110; cf. also Coldstream, "The Relations between Cyprus and Crete" International Archaeological Symposium, 1978, 260ff.

parts of the Greek world. The prototype for the Kerameikos stand (cat.no 414,PL.37b) is clearly Cretan metalwork, but for the source of inspiration of the Cretan metalwork we must look to the Near East.

Before turning to the Near East, brief mention should be made in passing, that despite the popularity of the various iconographic schemes involving lions both in the Aegean and the Near East, in Cyprus the representation of lions was extremely rare. Only one Geometric vase has so far come to light from there (50).

The popularity of the lion in various schemes in the Near East is well known (51). What characterizes nearly all the Oriental representations, is that the man is almost never the victim; in Egyptian art lions sometimes fell the Pharaoh's enemies (Karageorghis,1973,pl.279). Lions appear frequently on the metal bowls: e.g. Oxford G 401, where they are fought by archers from chariots. In different schemes lions appear on two metal bowls in the British Museum and another from the Kerameikos grave 5, where a man is grasping the lion's tail which is striding to the right but with head turned backwards (52).

Turning to other media we find the theme of a man attacking a lion on the ivory pyxides from Nimrud (53). Barnett (1957,66ff.) notes that the subjects of a man

50.White Painted III amphora: Cyprus Museum B 2006: Karageorghis-Gagniers,1974, 43ff. no1; the lions' heads are in outline and their bodies in silhouette.

51.Kübler,1970,81-82 notes 265-270; Borell,1978,60.

52.Oxford G 401 from Olympia: Borell,1978, 78 no 99,pl.23; London BM 7,8 :Borell,1978,76 no 42,4,fig.9a,b; Kerameikos M 5: Borell,1978, 78 no 92 fig.7.

53.Barnett,1957,66ff.,pl.XXII: Syrian style pyxides from the South East Palace.

wrestling with lions was extremely popular in the art of ancient Mesopotamia. Barnett also gives other examples of the subject on old Sumerian seals and reliefs from Tell Halaf and Carchemish and claims that it was from Phoenician art that the motif was adopted into Greek art in the eighth and seventh centuries. On the Nimrud pyxides the same scene of a youth or hero fighting a rampant lion is represented on many pyxides or fragments of pyxides (54).

In Near Eastern art the theme of a man and lion -corresponding to our scheme c)-is found also on the Late Assyrian royal seal impressions. These were discovered in 1849 by Layard among the ruins of the palace at Nineveh. The earliest dated example is from the reign of Shalmaneser III (859-824 B.C.), while other examples from the reign of Sargon from the last quarter of the eighth century, do not show much variation (Iraq 15,1953,167ff.pls. XVIII,XIX). These royal seals represent the bearded king standing with royal headdress and tunic, grasping with his left hand the top of the head of a rampant lion which is facing him. With his right hand the king is holding his sword which he is plunging into the lion's chest; the lion has its right paw raised behind its head ready to strike and has a widely open jaw. This iconographic representation is very close to our scheme c) and especially the Cretan examples in metalwork, which served as its prototype. As Boardman (1967) has suggested the jewellery from the Tekke tholos tomb was the work of immigrant craftsmen

54. Barnett, 1957, 191 S2 (1181177)pl.XXII; SAa-g (126512),pl. XXII,fig.19; S7 (1265514)pl.XXV,S8 a-e (1181107) pl.XXIII fig.1g; S10 a-f (119454) pl.XXIV.

(cf.n.45). These craftsmen could well be familiar with Assyrian iconography and a direct copying from Late Assyrian seal impressions seems highly likely.

So far we have been able to trace various iconographic prototypes which could have served as models for the three different Attic schemes, these prototypes range from the Attic goldbands for scheme a), to Cretan metalwork and Assyrian cylinder seals for scheme c). What is left to do is to consider the meaning of the Attic representations. Brouskari (1979 ii) gives an analysis of the man and lion theme (schemes a) and b)) and puts forward the various theories presented by different scholars: Hampe's (1936,39-40) and Kunze's (1931, 204ff.) mythical interpretations, Webster's (1955,40) mythical, Ohly's (1953, 76ff.) Homeric similes interpreted as death symbols. This last theory was accepted by Hampe (1952) and Schweitzer; Kübler too (1954,177) considers the lions as symbols of death and accepts their Oriental character. Brouskari (1979 ii,24ff.) as far as Ohly's connection to the Homeric similes goes, gives a different interpretation by a reversal of the symbolic character of the figures. She argues that since Homer compares the warrior's might and strength to the ferocity of a lion, then there can be no other interpretation than that the man devoured by the lions is not the hero but his enemy. The devoured man is not the dead to whom the vases are offered, but his enemy or the depiction of some successful exploit achieved during his lifetime. What is not clear, Brouskari continues, is whether the lions represented are to be regarded as symbolising the dead man's courage

and bravery or are daemonic powers protecting the dead man and bringing death to his enemies; the lions then representing the warrior's bravery.

Brouskari's interpretation is unnecessarily complicated since it necessitates a reversal of roles and would require for the Geometric onlooker a process of abstraction I believe to be far too sophisticated for the period. We have seen that the Attic schemes a) and b) clearly show the man as the victim, he can hardly therefore be regarded as a hero. It is hard on the other hand to accept that the vase offered at the dead man's grave would bear representation of his enemy. Lions were probably extant in Greece in the eighth century B.C., but this by no means implies that they were roaming about in Attica, where they would be seen and directly copied by the artist. The iconographic representations then, rather than depicting a realistic rendering of the final fatal moments of the dead man, should rather be considered as a more general symbolism of death and unavoidable fate. For a similar funerary symbolism in the fourth century B.C. cf. L.Kahil (Festschrift Schefold, 1967, 148ff.).

We are left finally with scheme c) represented by the Kerameikos stand. This is the only Attic representation where the man is the victor, it is therefore the only candidate for a mythical interpretation. This vase as we have seen is better interpreted as representing non-mythical events, extraordinary, nevertheless for the period.

C.SPORTING EVENTS:wrestling/boxing;duels;running

In Chapter I,Section E. we saw that it is possible among the various chariot representations running in a frieze, to identify certain representations as denoting races (cf. esp. Tables 15,16), while others have been positively identified as representing an apobates race. Other sporting activities such as boxing or duels, as well as running were also part of the Attic repertoire.

Considering boxing/wrestling first, we see that this is exemplified in LGII on only two vases, both of which have been the object and subject of innumerable studies: the Athens NM krater fragments (cat.no 221,PL.39b) by the Workshop of Athens 894 and the Copenhagen NM 727 kantharos (cat.no 305,PLS.37c, 39a) belonging to the Burly Workshop, (cf.Appendix). The boxing scenes on both vases are only part of the iconographic themes depicted, while the presence of the cauldron on the Athens krater, identifies the activities as being part of games; whether these games are funerary or not and whether they allude to epic funeral games, I shall discuss below.

Figures on either side of a tripod, or what has been interpreted as a tripod (Boardman,1966,4), are represented on the reverse side of the New York 14.130.15 monumental krater (cat.no 310) which I have ascribed to the Trachones Workshop (cf.Appendix). To the left of the tripod stands a male figure with sword, while to the right a "twin"figure. C.King (1977,34ff.) has recently reexamined the New York krater in connection with the "Siamese twins"; she thinks that the single man on the left is thrusting a

spear towards the "twins", its top almost touching their thigh. But even on the restored drawing (King, 1977, 36 fig. 10) it is not clear that the tip on the right side of the scene is a continuation of the "spear" held by the man on the left side. On the Athens krater fragments (cat. no 221, PL. 39b), two pairs of wrestlers are represented on either side of a cauldron but not directly connected with it as on the New York krater. "Twin" figures have been interpreted elsewhere as a convention of showing figures overlapping and not alluding to the mythical Aktorione-Molione. The tripod on the New York krater should be regarded as indicating the prize of the funeral games, since a prothesis is represented on side A and the figures associated with it would then constitute the prize awarding ceremony (Ahlberg, 1971, 244-245). A different moment, therefore of the games is represented and not, as King sees it, a mythical combat involving Herakles or Nestor fighting the Aktorione-Molione at the funeral of Amarynkeus.

The earliest boxing/wrestling scene, however, is not Attic but Argive and is represented under the handles of a giant pyxis (55). According to Coldstream, this vase is to be dated in LGI and he makes it contemporary to the Athens NM 804 amphora (cat. no 1) by the Dipylon Master, i.e. earlier than the two Attic scenes. Otherwise Argos offers just one more example seen on a sherd from the Argive Heraeum (56).

55. Argos C. 209: Courbin, 1966, pl. 102; Coldstream, 1968, 127, pl. 26.

56. Athens NM: Waldstein, 1905, pl. 57 no 11; Fittschen, 1969, 29 F1.

Boeotia on the other hand seems to favor the subject of boxing/wrestling, since it occurs on three Late Geometric II and one Subgeometric vase (57). On the Boeotian LG examples the figures are clearly clenching their fists.

Duels are what Ahlberg discusses under her section on "single combat...between two standing and confronted figures...with short-range weapons...(who) do not occur in a fighting context" (Ahlberg, 1971 ii, 2, 49). The earliest such duel (58) can be placed in MGII since the style of the figures has been compared to that of the New York 34.11.2 krater (59). This latter, however, I have dated to the LGI period (cf. Appendix, The Thorikos Painter). In LGI there are no duel representations, then in LGII, two pairs of duels are seen on the Copenhagen NM 727 kantharos which as we saw also shows boxing and on the Athens NM 810 krater (cat. no 215, PL. 40a, b), a more complete version of the krater fragments discussed above.

In Early Protoattic on the Munich 8936 cauldron support (Vierniesel, 1967, 241-248) among the various iconographic representations, there is a combat between a "twin" figure and a single opponent equipped with two spears and a round shield, who has hit the double figure with an arrow and spear and can therefore be seen as the victor. The "twin"

57. LGII: Louvre A 568 (oenochoe) two figures boxing: Hampe, 1936, pl. 20V6; Coldstream, 1968, 201(iii)9; 205 no 4; Rückert, 1976, OI 8, pl. 2, 2-4. Athens NM 12896 (krater) two boxers between two leaders of horses: Hampe, 1936, pl. 29V9; Coldstream, 1968 205 no 12, pl. 44g, j; Rückert, 1976, Kr 2, pl. 17, 3. Dresden ZV 1699 (kantharos) two boxers between two figures with swords: Hampe, 1936, pl. 13V35; Coldstream, 1968, 205 no 1; Rückert, 1976, Ka 6, pl. 26, 3, 7. SG: Athens NM 12221+fr. Sarajevo Jugoslavia : Laurent, BCH 25, 1901, 143ff. fig. 1; Fittschen, 1969, 29 F2, F3; Coldstream, 1968, 205 11 i, ii; CVA Jugoslavia 4, pl. 11, 1, 7. Here PL. 57b.

figure has been interpreted by King (1977,31) as representing the "Siamese twins" and also draws comparisons between the scene on the Munich stand and the Louvre A 519 krater (cat.no 16). We have seen elsewhere, however, that all the double figures of Late Geometric are better interpreted as figures overlapping and not "Siamese twins", and it is in this light that the Munich representation should also be considered. In this case then the representation is not a duel, since three persons are involved, but a fighting scene. A fragmentary duel is represented in EPA on another vase (60).

In other media two figures on either side of a tripod are seen on a fragment leg of a bronze tripod-cauldron from Olympia (Schweitzer, 1969, fig.213, Type IV) and a seal from Brauron in Attica of about the same date (61). On both objects the figures have been interpreted as fighting and that the tripod is the Delphic tripod and that consequently the figures are Herakles and Apollo disputing possession of it. This interpretation is based more on later iconography rather than on positive evidence for the existence of mythological representations for the period (62). On the sealstone, moreover, the figures who are unarmed could be interpreted as merely gesticulating and not actually fighting. On the other hand we should not be too sceptical about identifying mythological scenes in media other

58. Athens NM 17384 and Toronto 975x245 (stand): Coldstream, 1968, 26; Ahlberg, 1971 ii, 49 nos 1, 2, figs. 47, 48; Cambitoglou, AJA 64, 1960, 336ff., pl. 1-2, both frs. belong to the same vase.

59. Brann, Hesperia 30, 1961, 97 note 13.

60. Krater C Mainz University 155 (N Painter): Hampe, 1960, 36 N5, pls. 22, 23, fig. 12.

61. Boardman, Greek Gems and Fingerrings, 1970, 112ff. fig. 162.

than vase painting (cf. Chapter II, Section G, Centaurs).

Other sporting events include, as mentioned above, running: on two vases belonging to the Workshop of Athens 894 (Athens NM 810, cat.no 215, PL.40a,b; Swiss Market, cat.no 184) there are representations of male figures whose attitude does not allow us to classify them under any section of dancing or mourning, since they are neither holding hands, nor are they characterised by a mourning gesture (cf. Appendix, "The Villa Giulia Painter"). They are furthermore naked and do not hold weapons of any kind (cf. Chapter I, Section F, "Procession of Warriors"). On the Athens krater the lower part of the legs is overlapping (63), thus giving the impression of rapid motion, which would identify the figures as runners participating in a foot race (64).

From the above analysis it is clear that boxing, running and duels represented on the vases reflect sporting activities which were practised by the Athenians and other Greeks. It is reasonable to assume that these activities were part of games, in some cases funerary, held after the burial and in honour of the dead (65). There is no reason whatsoever for interpreting these scenes as alluding to the funeral games of epic (Webster, 1955, 38-50). The funeral games of epic were represented for the first time in

62. Against a mythological interpretation cf. Fittschen, 1969, 29 F4 31-32.

63. Overlapping legs are also seen on an EPA fr. in the Vlastos Coll.: Tölle, 1964, pl. 16d; since the remains of spears are also represented we could have here a race in armour. Fully armed runners are also seen on a body fr. by the Mesogeia Painter: King, 1976, pl. 14 fig. 8; cf. also the Oxford 1935.19 amphora: Brokaw, 1963, pl. 33, 3 and MFA Houston Texas: Hoffmann, 1971, figs. 151 a-c also attributed by King to the Mesogeia Painter. Here PL. 28b.

the early sixth century (66) and became thereafter popular subjects. The LGII representations could allude to the deceased's activity and the depiction of athletic events may mean nothing more than a general interest in sports.

The athletic events which had been introduced in the LGII period, continued to be popular in the seventh century (67). These athletic events retain their anonymity until the first half of the sixth century (cf.n.66).

D.GRAZING HORSES

Grazing horses are represented in Late Geometric I by one unique example, but became popular as an iconographic theme only in the Late Geometric II period; they have therefore been analysed under this Chapter of LGII innovations. The earliest Attic example comes from a small cemetery at Ay.Theodoroi, ancient Crommyon near Corinth, where among the pottery found, which is almost all Corinthian MGII, there is a large oenochoe (cat.no 86) which accord-

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64. From the second quarter of the sixth century there is a foot race represented on a fragment from the Acropolis: Beazley, AJA 54, 1950, 310.
65. Athletic contests of this period not connected with a funeral include the Olympic games, found in 776 and games in honour of Apollo in Delos: Homeric Hymn to Apollo 146-150; this latter reference is from the first half of the eleventh century, but the festival is described as an event well established at that time.
66. Funeral games of Patroklos: François vase by Kleitias and Ergotimos in Florence 4209: Boardman, 1974, fig.46; Beazley, 1956, 77 no 1; and dinos fr. by Sophilos: Athens NM 15499: Beazley, 1956, 39 no 16.
67. Boxing: Protocorinthian aryballos from Ithaka: BSA 35, 1935, 108 pl.14; Boeotian terracotta group in Heidelberg: Hampe-Gropengier, Aus der Sammlung der Universität Heidelberg, 1967, 28 pl.8; bronze matrix in Kerkyra: Payne, Nekrokorinthia, 1931, pl.45 no 3. Wrestling: PA amphora: Cook, 1935, pl.56b; PC aryballos: AA, 1934, 205 fig.3.

TABLE 30

HORSES GRAZING IN PANEL OR FRIEZE

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
LGI			
Athens	86	?	Oenochoe
LGII			
Germany Private C.	142	Philadelphia	Amphora
Brauron Museum	145	Philadelphia	Amphora
Amsterdam 6249	176	Athens 894	Amphora
Boston 98.894	236	Birdseed	Amphora
Hamburg 1919.363	237	Birdseed	Pitcher PL.41a
Canellopoulos Mus.	238	Birdseed	Pitcher fr.
London BM 1905.10.28 11	333	Athens 897	Pitcher
Brussels A 2113	340	Athens 897	Skyphos
London Market	347	Paris 3283	Amphora PL.13a
Benaki 7675	349	Benaki	Amphora
Agora P 24847	350	Benaki	Oenochoe
Mainz University 47	354	Mainz/Provi- dence	Hydria
Berlin 31045	355	Mainz/P.	Hydria
Providence 15006	356	Mainz/P.	Pitcher
Athens	372	?	Amphora
Agora P 22440	386	?	Spouted krater
Agora P 4612	385	?	Amphora fr.
Kerameikos 4369	437	?	Skyphos fr.
Athens NM 847	464	?	Tankard
Agora P 5503	-	?	Young, 1939, XI 13 fig.35
Agora P 4957	-	?	Brann, 1962, no 370 pls.22,43.
Agora P 22439	382	?	Amphora neck
Athens NM 343	429	?	Skyphos

ing to Coldstream (68) is an Attic import of LGIa. This vase then represents an early experimentation of the theme of grazing horses which was then dropped until it was re-introduced, as we shall see, to the Attic repertoire by the Birdseed Painter.

In LGII the decorative scheme of a horse in the attitude of grazing is found either alone in a panel, or in a continuous frieze. In Attic vase painting the earliest LGII grazing horses can be seen on two vases and one fragment by the Birdseed Painter: Boston 98894 amphora (cat.no 236), Hamburg 1919.363 pitcher (cat.no 237, PL.41a) and Canellopoulos Collection (cat.no 238) (Table 30). On the fragment the horses are alone, on the amphora they have a bird beneath their belly, while on the pitcher a suckling young. This theme of an animal suckling its young is unique in Attic vase painting but was very common in Near Eastern art: on a Syro-Phoenician bowl in Geneva (PL.42b: Falsone, 1985, pl.XXI, XXIIa) in the inner frieze four cows are suckling a calf. A similar bronze bowl in the British Museum (BM 134711, Falsone, 1985, fig.1, pl.XXIVa), which is not well preserved, has a similar inner frieze of cows with their heads turning backwards in the usual attitude of licking. The "cow and calf" motif was also popular on Phoenician ivory carving (69).

68. La Ceramique Grecque ou de Tradition Grecque au VIII^e siècle en Italie Central et Meridionale, 1982, Centre J. Bérard, 32ff.n.71; close in style is another oenochôe from the Kerameikos representing a grazing deer (cat. no 85).

69. Falsone, 1985, 142 n.41; ivory inlay from Arslan Tash: Frankfort, 1954, fig.376.

The Birdseed Painter seems to have influenced more the Non-Classical Painters, to which he also belongs, since there are only two examples by the Philadelphia Painter and one by the Workshop of Athens 894 (Table 30). Outside the Classical Tradition, grazing horses were painted by the Workshop of Athens 897, The Benaki Painter, and are also seen on three vases , which form a group and were painted by the same hand (Mainz University, Berlin 31045, Providence 15006, cat.nos 354-356). The theme occurs, furthermore, on several minor vases and fragments which cannot be assigned to a specific workshop (Table 30).

In terms of shape the pitcher seems to be favoured by the Non -Classical Painters, while the rule for the Classical Workshops is amphorae. It is interesting moreover to note, that on the three examples from the Philadelphia and Athens 894 Workshops, the grazing horses occupy only subsidiary zones of decoration.

Despite the fact that the Birdseed Painter has to be credited for the reintroduction of the theme in Attic in LGII, the first person to introduce the theme in the Greek world was the Euboean Cesnola Painter, since grazing horses decorate in a continuous frieze, the belly of his name krater in New York (inv.no 74.51.965: Coldstream,1968,pl. 35). On another vase by the Cesnola Painter , the theme is repeated in a panel (70). We saw above that on the Boston amphora by the Birdseed Painter, a bird fills the space

70.Amsterdam 1233 (krater) unknown provenience: Coldstream, 1968, 8 no 10,pl.11e.

beneath the horse; on the New York Cesnola krater, the grazing pose of the horse is repeated by the birds, and to be more precise by ostriches. As Coldstream has remarked (1971,2), the combination of grazing horse and grazing bird had no parallel in Geometric vase painting until the discovery of a sherd on the Acropolis of Pithecussae, a place with obvious Euboean connections (Buchner, DdA,3.2.1969, 99 fig.27).

Grazing birds or ostriches alone are extremely rare as an iconographic theme and are first seen in Late Geometric Ia on an amphora in Munich by the Dipylon Master (Munich 6080, cat.no 30) and a pitcher in Würzburg H 5171 (cat.no 38, PL.42a); otherwise grazing birds are unknown in Attica (71). In the Early Protoattic period, grazing birds become quite popular and the majority of these have been associated with the Analatos Painter (72).

From Eretria there is a fragment of a grazing horse (cf. Boardman, BSA 47, 1952, 6, pl.2 A9). Other sites under Euboean influence include in their repertoire the theme of grazing horse: from the local pottery of Pithecussae, the theme occurs on various vases (Buchner, AR 17, 1979, 66f.). Grazing horses appear also on two vases made in Etruria by Euboean craftsmen: one is an oenochoe decorated with two antithetical horses (London BM 49.5-18.8: Coldstream, 1968 ii, 88 fig.1) and the other is a krater from Vulci

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71. Attic: Munich 6234 (cat.no 241) by the Birdseed Painter.
Non-Attic: Argive Middle Geometric II oenochoe: Coldstream, 1968, pl.25h.
72. e.g. Athens NM313, below the handle :Cook, 1935, pl.38b; here PL.28a. BM lid: Cook, 1935, pl.42a. Karlsruhe B 2678: CVA 1, pl.5, 1. Agora P 13264: Brann, 1962, no 396, pl.23. Agora P 840: Brann, 1962 no 406, pl.23. Berlin A19: CVA 1,

(73). Close too are the horses on an oenochoe from Tarquinii (74). The Eastern colony of Al Mina offers an example too (75).

From other parts of the Greek world, the theme occurs on a Naxian fragment of an amphora (Delos 15,pl.54a, Bc4) and on a neck of an amphora from Delos (Delos 15,pl.36,8), both of which are Subgeometric.

Other non-Attic examples include a Late Geometric Melian stand and an amphora in Cambridge; there is also an example of krater fragments from Samos and a Lakonian fragment from Sparta (76).

Apart from the Cesnola Workshop's examples, which are early, all the other non-Attic examples are late; this fact refutes Kübler's theory of a Cycladic origin of the theme (77). What clearly emerges from the above analysis is that the theme originated in Euboea, as indicated by both the early date and the sphere of influence. The Attic Birdseed Painter seems to have played a leading role in the reintroduction of this iconographic theme in the Attic repertoire, as we saw had happened with the introduction

pl.9 fig.4; Toronto 919.5.18: Robinson-Harcum-Illiffe, 1930, no 113, pl.8. Other painters: Vlastos Collection: fenestrated stand by the Mesogeia Painter: Cook, 1947, 142 fig.3; Agora P 4352: Brann, 1962, no 407, pl.23; Agora P 1764: Brann, 1962, no 482, pl.29; Kerameikos 1158: Kübler, 1970, pl.4; Buffalo-Albright Knox Art Gallery: AJA 78, 1974, pl.15.

73. La Rocca, "Crateri in argilla figulina del Geom. recente in Vulci" Mefr 90, 1978, 493-496, figs.20-23.

74. Coldstream, 1968 ii, 88 n.36; cf. also G. Buchner, DdA III, 1969, pl.27.

75. C.M. Robertson, "The excavations of Al Mina, Sueidia IV, The Early Greek Vases" JHS 60, 1940, 4 fig.2.

76. Melian: Würzburg U.I.1953 (stand from Pireus by the Rottiers Painter): Coldstream, 1968, 182 no 14; Samian: Boardman, BSA 47, 1952, 6, pl.2, pl.4; AM 58, 1933, figs.40-41, pl.48, 8; Lakonian: BSA 48, 1926-27, 52 fig.1f.

77. Kübler, 1970, : "das Bild des wedende Pferdes ist als

of the theme of "Rider" (cf. above Section A."Riders").

In other media and namely on the goldbands, the horse despite its frequent appearance is never found in the specific attitude of grazing.

Before turning to possible Oriental prototypes for the theme of grazing horse, mention should be made in passing of a Mycenaean krater fragment, with a horse or donkey nibbling a flower (Athens NM 1303: Karageorghis-Vermeule, 1982, 216 X 27).

Unlike the grazing deer for which Oriental prototypes could be found (cf. Chapter I, Section B."Deer"), the grazing horse does not seem to have been popular in Near Eastern iconography. Two silver bowls from Cyprus in the Metropolitan Museum New York, include among other themes the grazing horse (78). But as Borell remarks (1978, 84ff.) the bowls found in Cyprus cannot be dated exactly, but belong to the period between the late eighth century and the sixth, so, for the present study, offer no clues.

During the seventh century, grazing horses continue to be represented on pottery (Table 31). From Xoburgo in Tenos, a relief pithos represents a frieze of grazing horses around the body (Schäfer, 1957, T12; PAE 1952, 536ff. fig.7).

Ganzes inselgriechischer Herkunft", but cf. also Brock, BSA 44, 1949, 78 n.6: "grazing horses are rare in Cycladic before Late Melian".

78. New York Metropolitan Museum Cesnola Collection 4554: Gjerstad, 1946, pl.VII=Cypro-Phoenician II; Borell, 1978, Or 64; and New York 4553: Gjerstad, 1946, pl.XV; Borell, 1978, Or 70.

TABLE 31

GRAZING HORSES EPA

- London A 470 (lid) :Brokaw,1963,pl.35,2;Analatos
Painter.
- New York 21 88.18 (amphora) :Hampe,1960,42 fig.25; Passas
Painter. PLATE 29b.
- Würzburg H 4998 (amphora) :CVA 1,pl.16; Kübler,1970,
595 no 170.
- Reading (hydria) :CVA 1,pl.8,8.
- Kerameikos 302 (fenestrated stand) :Kübler,1954,pl.126.
- Agora P 24032 (amphora) :Brann,1962,no 415 pl.24;Kü-
bler,1970,no 249.
- Berlin A 16 (krater) : CVA 1,pl.7,2;8,1.

E.RUNNING DOGS

The ancient Greek dogs did not look anything like the flop-eared, sad-eyed creatures we call dogs today; indeed nothing of the sort can be found in either later Greek or Roman art. Various breeds existed already in antiquity and Otto Keller (79) distinguished all the dogs of the Classical period into five groups. Dogs already formed part of the Mycenaean iconography, but by the Geometric period they are too schematically drawn to allow the identification of a particular breed.

The iconographic theme of running dogs is closely connected with the hunting scenes, but the latter will be analysed with the workshop group to which some of them belong (i.e. The Hunt Group) and will be treated separately in Chapter III.

Running dogs are an iconographic innovation of the LGII period, unlike other animal friezes analysed in Chapter I. The twenty nine vases on which the theme occurs (Table 32) belong both to the Classical and the non-Classical Athenian workshops. Most examples from the Classical Workshops belong to the Workshop of Athens 894 and are subsidiary decorative friezes running around the shoulder (e.g. Karlsruhe 60/12, cat.no 177; Baltimore 48.2231, cat. no 165, PL.23a) or the lower body (e.g. Louvre CA 3468, cat. 183; Kerameikos 1371, cat.no 171) of the neck-amphorae. These friezes can be identical to the hunting scenes from the same Workshop (e.g. Cleveland 1927.27.6, cat.no 164, PL.

79. Otto Keller, Die Antike Tierwelt, 1909.

TABLE 32

RUNNING DOGS LGII

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
MFA Houston	147	Philadelphia	Amphora PL.22a,b
Mannheim G 170	156	Athens 894	Amphora Pl.5a
Athens	157	Athens 894	Amphora
London Market	158	Athens 894	Amphora
Swiss Market	159	Athens 894	Amphora
Hirschmann Coll.	163	Athens 894	Amphora PL.24a
Baltimore 48.2231	165	Athens 894	Amphora PLS.4d,23a
Kerameikos 1371	171	Athens 894	Amphora
Karlsruhe 60/12	177	Athens 894	Amphora
Paris Market	182	Athens 894	Amphora
Louvre CA 3468	183	Athens 894	Amphora
Kerameikos 1356	217	Athens 894	Oenochoe PL.27b
Copenhagen 2680	317	Thorikos	Amphora PL.12a
Kerameikos 1236	324	Athens 897	Amphora
Athens NM 17514	326	Athens 897	Amphora
Athens NM 17519	329	Athens 897	Amphora
Stockholm NM 1741	378	?	Amphora
Agora P 21440	384	?	Amphora
Agora P 22440	386	?	Krater

The only figured zone

Athens NM 897	319	Athens 897	Amphora
Louvre CA 1789	320	Athens 897	Amphora
Basel Market	321	Athens 897	Amphora
Bonn 15	330	Athens 897	Spouted krater fr.
Agora P 22715	331	Athens 897	Spouted krater
Agora P 20730	338	Athens 897	Oenochoe
Agora P 22430	396	Athens 897	Oenochoe

TABLE 32 (cont.)

Representation	Cat.no	Workshop	Shape
Sarajevo Museum	447	?	Kantharos
Brauron Museum	451	?	Kantharos
Tübingen S.10/1464	470	?	Oenochoe fr.
Jumping Dogs			
Ex Vlastos Coll.	433	?	Skyphos
Kerameikos 4363	-	?	Borell, 1978, 7 no 17.

21a) except that the hare or fox, the usual animal pursued by the dogs, has been omitted.

Unlike the examples from the Classical Workshops, where running dogs are only part of the iconographic themes represented on the vase, on the Non-Classical vases they acquire a greater significance since they are frequently the only figured zone of the vase (Table 32). Seven examples come from the Workshop of Athens 897 and they decorate not just neck-amphorae, but also other shapes such as one-piece oenochoae and kraters.

The running dogs on all the LGII vases, show little iconographic variation; they are schematically drawn and all four legs are shown. Within the Workshop of Athens 897, the two leading hands, the Empedocles Painter and the Painter of Athens 897, paint distinctly different types of dog, the Empedocles Painter's being slimmer and more graceful, while those by the Painter of Athens 897, with a much heavier look, closely resemble the dogs of the Classical Workshops (Coldstream, 1968, 62).

There are however two representations of a dog in LGII, neither in the fixed type of running, nor in a repetitive decorative frieze, but jumping and inserted in a frieze of striding horses and decorating the interior of a skyphos, which once belonged to the Vlastos Collection (cat. no 433). The fragmentary skyphos Kerameikos 4363 shows a dog in a similar attitude (Borell, 1978, 7 no 17).

Outside Attica the dog is only rarely represented: in Argive pottery all the evidence is very fragmentary and ambiguous, so it is impossible to draw any conclusions

about its function or character (80). In Boeotian Geometric dogs are always part of the hunting scenes. So it seems from the evidence that the running dog is a Late Geometric II Attic innovation of a purely decorative character and the idea must have originated from the contemporary hunting scenes.

By the Early Protoattic period although the theme continues to be represented on a couple of vases, there are some noticeable changes: first of all, dogs can now be shown as two-legged (e.g. the dogs of the two hunting scenes on the Oxford 1935.18 amphora: Davison, 1961, fig. 54) and instead of the fixed attitude of running, dogs can be shown in a continuous frieze as striding (81). Running dogs appear also on Protocorinthian vase painting at the time of the transition from Early to the Middle style (Johansen, 1923, pl. 43; Coldstream, 1977, pl. 56c).

F. FRIEZE OF BULLS/SINGLE BULL/COWS

The bull or cow is an animal which first makes its appearance in Attic iconography in the Late Geometric II period and is exemplified by eight examples (Table 33). As was noted by Wells (1980, 56 n. 6, 40) "bulls are common in Mycenaean but rare in Geometric art". Of the eight examples listed here, five are found on skyphoi, the remaining three being two amphorae and a spouted krater. Of the skyphoi, two

80. Payne, 1940, pl. 15, 5: the animal is mentioned as a hind; Courbin, 1966, pl. 144.

81. Mainz Universität 153: Hampe, 1960, krater A, Passas Painter, pl. 8, 9, 10, 11; Mainz Universität 154: Hampe, 1960, krater B, Passas Painter, pl. 14, 20, 27 fig. 11; London A 471: oenochoe: Hampe, 1960, N Painter 36 N 8 fig. 28. For Oriental dogs cf. Barnett, 1957, 69-70 on an ivory pyxis from Nimrud a dog participates in a lion hunt.

TABLE 33

BULLS/COWS

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
LGII			
Stockholm MM 1976.11	153	Athens 894	Amphora PL.21b
Athens NM 13038	227	Birdseed	Skyphos
Edinburgh 1956.422	229	Birdseed	Skyphos PL.43a
Kerameikos 1319	353	Kerameikos 1314	Skyphos PL.6b
Agora P 21440	384	?	Amphora
Agora P 22440	386	?	Spouted krater
Athens NM 14475	432	?	Skyphos
Basle Private Coll.	431	?	Skyphos

belong to the Birdseed Workshop and one to the Painter of Kerameikos 1314. The remaining two skyphoi cannot be ascribed to a specific workshop, while the Stockholm amphora (cat.no 153, PL.21b) has been ascribed by Wells (1980, 53ff.) to the Stockholm Painter of the Athens 894 Workshop. The two Agora vases are close to the style of the Athens 894 Workshop.

The earliest examples are the Athens NM 13038 and the Kerameikos 1319 skyphoi. The Kerameikos vase (cat.no 353, PL.6b) is the only example where a bull, interrupting a frieze of grazing deer, decorates the exterior. The bull of the Athens NM 13038 skyphos (cat.no 227), on the other hand, is part of the interior frieze including riders and a Dipylon warrior between two horses (cf. Chapter II, Section A and Chapter III "The Concentric Circle Group"). The bull of this skyphos is a massive creature with a huge reserved eye and two horns which form the shape of a bow; the tail is rendered as a vertical zig-zag line. The other skyphos by the Birdseed Painter (Edinburgh 1956.422, cat.no 229, PL.43a) represents cows antithetically composed and forming part of a frieze including a lion and a panther. The cows have their heads, shoulders and parts of their backs cross-hatched and their small horns curve inwardly, overlapping the border of the skyphos. The interior of the Athens NM 14475 skyphos (cat.no 432, PL.38b) has four symmetrically arranged bulls with reserved eyes and tails rendered as a vertical zig-zag line. The horns are not bow-shaped, but are represented as a line running horizontally at the top of the head. The interior frieze

also includes two lions with a small man between them (cf. Chapter II, Section B "Man and Lions"). Finally the Basle skyphos (cat.no 431, PL.43b), has only three cows decorating the interior; their rectangular heads resemble those of the Edinburgh skyphos and are drawn in outline. Their tails are rendered as vertical zig-zag lines while only one horn is represented, projecting in front of the head.

On the Stockholm amphora (cat.no 153, PL.21b) a frieze of bulls decorates the lower zone of the body. The other figured scenes of the vase include a frieze of warriors on the neck (Table 20) and a chariot frieze with shieldless charioteer (Table 15) on the main zone of the body. Wells (1980) interpreted the frieze of bulls as having a funerary significance and that these animals were intended for funerary sacrifice; she strengthens her point by identifying the so-called double axe filling motif with the sacrificial axe. I prefer, however, to see these bulls as having a purely decorative character in the manner of other animal friezes, which as we have seen are so frequent in Late Geometric art. On the Agora P 21440 vase (cat.no 384) a helmeted figure is leading a bull. Dunbabin (1957, 83-84) interprets the representation as a cattle rustling scene similar to the one which occurs in Iliad XI, 667ff.

The iconographic representation of these bulls or cows clearly derives from Near Eastern prototypes. These Eastern examples go back as early as the third millennium B.C. (e.g. limestone bowl from Southern Mesopotamia, 3100-2900 B.C.: The Joseph Ternbach Collection, Israel, 1981,

no 13).

From the Iron Age, Syro-Phoenician bulls appear frequently on ivory and especially on the metal bowls, some of which were found in Greece (e.g. Olympia Br8555:Borell,1978,58 fig.8; Kerameikos M5: Borell,1978,56 fig.7), whether striding one behind the other or whether antithetically composed (Borell,1978,57 n.121). Two recently published Syro-Phoenician bull-bowls can now be added to the list of metal bowls (82). The main decoration of these bowls consists of concentric friezes of bovine animals in procession. The Geneva bowl (PL.42b) consists of two concentric animal friezes: in the outer frieze five bulls are represented walking, while in the inner one there are four cows each suckling a calf (83). The British Museum bowl is badly preserved but has also two animal friezes similar to those of the Geneva bowl. The Near Eastern representations render only one horn but the general scheme and especially the close connection between the metal bowls and the skyphoi suggests a direct iconographic borrowing.

Before ending this section on bulls/cows, it should be mentioned that apart from vase painting, bulls are often represented in three-dimensional art. In fact, though bulls are rare in vase painting they are frequent in minor

82. George Ortiz Collection Geneva: Falsone,1985,131-142, pls.XXI-XXIII; British Museum 134711: Falsone,1985,fig. 1 pl.XXIVa; cf. also Barnett, "The Nimrud bowls in the British Museum" Rivista di Studi Fenici 2,1974, 11ff. pls.3-7a who discusses most of the bull bowls.

83. For the theme of a horse suckling a young in Attic iconography cf. above p.216 and n. 69.

art. Statuettes of bulls have been found in a number of sanctuaries (84) and in large quantities at Olympia. The Olympia bronze bull figurines can be dated as early as the late tenth century B.C. (85), while the terracotta statuette of a bull in Bonn (86) belongs also to the Late Protogeometric period. The different styles recognised at Olympia show that both local craftsmen and artisans from other major working centres were active there (87).

To sum up we may conclude that the bulls on vase painting were copied from the Near East and that the transfer from metal bowl to clay skyphos was direct. The Bird-seed Painter's role seems yet again to have been important and despite the fact that bulls may be inserted in a frieze including other iconographic themes, its occurrence in a continuous frieze strengthens an interpretation in favour of its decorative character, in line with all the other Late Geometric animal friezes. The theme of a bull completely disappears in Early Protoattic. The three-dimensional Geometric bulls on the other hand seem to belong to a tradition which goes back much earlier (Carter, 1972, 31ff.).

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84. From the Dictaean Cave in Crete: BSA 6, 1899-1900, 108, fig. 39; From Thebes, the Kabirion Sanctuary: Schmalz, 1980, 11ff. 98ff., cat. nos 1-68, pls. 1, 2; 69-126, pls. 3, 4, 5, .
From Samos Heraeum: Ohly, AM 65, 1940, 90ff. pls. 57-59.
85. Heilmeyer, 1979, 54ff. pl. 14 nos 80-91.
86. Himmelmann, AA 1974, 550ff. figs. 10-12.
87. Argive Workshop: Heilmeyer, 1979, pls. 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 26, 27; Argive-Olympian Workshop: id., pls. 30, 31-33, 35, 46-49; Olympian with Corinthian influence: id., pl. 50; Lakonian workshop: id., pls. 68-70; Olympian Workshop: id., pls. 79, 81-83, 85, 91-98. cf. also The Joseph Ternbach Collection Israel, 1981, no 143; Museum of Fine Arts Boston: Hoffmann, 1971, 147 nos 66, 68.

FANTASTIC ANIMALS

One of the most striking innovations of the Late Geometric II period, is the introduction of fantastic animals in the repertoire; these include centaurs, a unique example of what is thought to be an early sphinx and winged goats. Winged horses and double animals occur only in Early Protoattic. Most of these fantastic animals have, as we shall see, their origins in the iconography of the Near East. Only the centaur is an exception since a Greek origin seems the most probable.

G.CENTAURS

Centaurs were firmly established in the repertoire of goldbands, bronzes, seals and vase painting by the LGII period and belong to the oldest Greek mythical creatures. For the Greeks, centaurs are representative of wild life, animal desires and barbarism; they are lustful and over fond of wine, while according to tradition they lived in the woods of Elis, Arcadia and Thessaly, especially Mount Pelion. In the Iliad they are described as wild beasts (Iliad I,266 φηρσίν ορεσκώοισω;II,742 φήρας λαχνήεντας) while their fight against the Lapiths, during Perithoos marriage is famous (Iliad II,742ff. Odyssey 21,295ff.). The myth of Herakles' fight with the centaur Pholos took place on Mount Pelion. Individual centaurs have myths of their own: Nessos carried Deianira across the river Euenus and then attempted to rape her but was killed by Herakles. Cheiron was the teacher of heroes and was well versed in arts and medicine: he was wounded by a poisoned arrow which belonged to Herakles: the pain was so unbearable that he exchanged

it for his immortality (88).

Centaurs have been fully analysed by Fittschen (1969, 88-128), who also includes full lists for the eighth and seventh century representations (R1-R60;SB1-SB26) and also by Kübler (1970,93ff.) who,as with other iconographic themes, claims a Cycladic origin for the centaur, based primarily, as we seen in other contexts as well, on the Cycladic origin of the Attic goldbands (Against such a theory cf. Chapter III,Section B."The Rattle Group"). Since these publications, however, more finds have been added and a reexamination will be attempted here, which will include the new finds.

Fittschen distinguishes between "Rossmensch" (horse-man) and centaur, giving the name centaur only to those representations which involve some action ("Handlungsbezogene Rossmenschen") as exemplified by the Copenhagen 7029 amphora (cat.no 178),where a man with two branches is confronting a centaur with two similar branches in each hand, while on the reverse the scene is repeated but the man has been replaced by a second centaur. On the belly of the same amphora, Fittschen's action-free centaurs with branches in each hand, also occur in a frieze.

. The distinction between "Rossmensch" and "Centaur" does not seem necessary, since in both cases the same creature is involved.

88.Der Kleine Pauly,1969,s.v.Kentauroi. M.P.Nilsson,Geschichte der Griechischen Religion ,1941,213ff..The Oxford Classical Dictionary, s.v.Centaurs.

TABLE 34

CENTAURS

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
LGI			
Florence Mus.Arch.	63	Hirschfeld	Tankard
LGII			
Karlsruhe 60/12	177	Athens 894	Amphora
Copenhagen 7029	178	Athens 894	Amphora
Baghdad IM 52041	197	Athens 894	Hydria
Polites Collection	198	Athens 894	Hydria fr.
Tübingen S/10.1086	212	Athens 894	Fen.stand
Louvre CA 3256	214	Athens 894	Krater PL.45b
Private Collection	332	Athens 897	Krater
Agora P 7006	458	?	Handle of column krater

Eighth century individual centaurs (e.g. Cheiron, Nessos, Eurytios), on the other hand, cannot yet be identified due to the absence of inscriptions, unlike in the seventh century, when they begin to have names; but as we shall see, it is possible to recognise them by attributes, e.g. branches and circumstantial detail: attacking men, hunting or abducting women.

In Attic vase painting the earliest representation of a centaur is seen on an unpublished tankard by the Hirschfeld Painter in Florence (cat.no 63). What is interesting about centaurs in the present research, is that from the eight LGII known Attic examples (Table 34), five were produced by the Athens 894 Workshop and only one fragment cannot be ascribed to any workshop, and that mainly due to its size. From the Non-Classical Workshops, only one krater belongs to the Workshop of Athens 897: the theme is therefore favoured by the Classical Workshops. On this krater (cat.no 332) the centaur is holding a branch in one hand and in the other a deer from the neck: he is returning therefore from the hunt, like later representations of Cheiron. In all instances the centaurs hold branches, thus closely resembling the iconographic scheme of female dancers. The occurrence of branches in the hands of female dancers does not prevent the branch being a weapon in the hand of the centaur.

From an iconographic point of view the Louvre CA 3256 krater (cat.no 214, PL.45b) is unique since it represents two centaurs with branches flanking a volute ornament. This ornament could be an indication of a stylised tree, and is

therefore very unusual for Attic Geometric, since as we have seen only in Euboean iconography does the Oriental iconographic scheme of two animals flanking a tree occur (cf. Chapter I, Section A "Goats"). Again in EPA we see two sphinxes flanking a sacred tree (Swiss Market oenochoe, cf. Table 36). On the Louvre CA 3256 krater one centaur appears to be wearing a helmet.

The friezes of centaurs on the other vases should be regarded as purely decorative. An interesting feature of all Geometric centaurs is that the forelegs are rendered as human; fully equine legs characterize only later representations (89).

Apart from the Attic examples, in vase painting there are three non-Attic vases representing centaurs: two are Boeotian: a kantharos with two centaurs holding branches and facing one another and a pyxis in the Canellopoulos Collection: this vase is interesting because there are traces of six legs, indicating that the painter had originally painted a horse and a male figure, then ran out of space and erased the horse's front legs and joined the human figure to the rear part of the horse figure, thus creating a centaur. The other non-Attic example is a pitcher fragment from Aegina representing a centaur with branches: there can be no doubt that the influence came from Attica (90), although Professor Coldstream has suggested that

89. Human forelegs are still seen in the seventh century: e. g. bronze relief from Olympia representing Kaineus and two centaurs (c. 630 B.C.): Schefold, 1964, pl. 27c. Equine forelegs are seen on the Kleitias and Ergotimos François vase in Florence: the lower neck frieze representing the fight between Centaurs and Lapiths: Schefold, 1964, pls. 50, 51. for a full list of Archaic centaurs cf. F. Brommer, 1973, 84ff. in fight with Herakles, 153ff. Herakles

this could be an actual Attic import.

From Cyprus an example of a plate with wishbone handles belonging to the Black Slip Painted II class, is decorated in the interior with a centaur holding a branch in his right hand (Karageorghis-Gagniers, 1974, group XIII no 1).

The earliest Iron Age representation of a centaur, however, is neither Attic nor represented in vase painting. One of the most important discoveries at Lefkandi is the famous terracotta centaur found in tombs I and II, which are dated between 925 and 875 B.C. (91); the centaur itself was made before the construction of the two tombs and is dated to Late Protogeometric. The statuette was made from a hollow-made body to which solid legs were attached. Nicholls traces the same type of hollow animal statuettes back to the Bronze Age, as early as Late Helladic IIIB and claims continuity down to the seventh century. The Lefkandi centaur is part animal and part human and is the oldest Greek representation of this mythical creature. From another part of the Greek world, from Cos, a centaur vase was thought to be the earliest representation of the mythical creature, until the Lefkandi centaur was discovered; the Coan centaur vase is also early and belongs to the tenth century (92).

and Nessos, 178ff. Herakles and Pholos.

90. Boeotia: Louvre CA 1987: Hampe, 1936, 28 no 45, pl. 26; Tölle, 1964, 96 no 310; Fittschen, 1969, 94 R3; CVA 16, pl. 49; Canellopoulos Collection no 713; Maffre, BCH 99, 1975, 412 ff. fig. 1; Aegina: Furtwängler, Aegina I, 1906, 437 no 32, II pl. 127, 12; Fittschen, 1969, 94 R5.
91. Desborough et al., 1970, 21-30, pls. 7-11.
92. Fadil cemetery, Cos tomb 7, inv. no 1104: Higgins, 1967, pl. 6a, b. L. Morricone, "Sepolture della prima metà del ferro a Co" Ann 1978, 351 fig. 766, 767.

Turning back now to the Lefkandi centaur, it is worth noticing certain features of the statuette. Despite the fact that the left arm is missing from just below the shoulder, traces on the left shoulder clearly indicate that the centaur was carrying an object; this latter cannot be securely identified but as suggested by Nicholls, a stone or branch seems most probable. Another interesting feature is the rendering of the front legs which have a human character, unlike the rear legs which are equine. This is a feature which as we have seen characterizes all the Late Geometric vase representations of centaurs. The holding of an object, furthermore, whether a branch or stone is attested in both vase painting and three dimensional art. Another feature noticed by Desborough, may allow us to identify this earliest Iron Age centaur to mythical Cheiron: in the left knee cap of the statuette there is a deep incision, recalling the wound inflicted by Herakles (Popham-Sackett, 1980, 344-345). Finally the six fingers of the surviving right hand are surely not accidental as Desborough notes, but an appropriate attribute for a magician - a man of wisdom - as Cheiron was known to be. The appearance of the earliest centaur at Lefkandi is consistent with the mythical tradition, since Mount Pelion, the homeland of the centaurs, is just across the water from Euboea.

There can be no doubt that the idea of a "mixed-being" consisting of human and animal parts, has its origin in the Near East, where many such examples can be seen (93);

93. Frankfort, 1939, pls. XI, XVI, XXXVI; Porada, 1948, pls. XXIII, XXV, XLII, LII.

but the idea of combining a horse's body with a human torso and head is Greek.

It is important to compare the earliest Greek centaurs to earlier or contemporary monsters from Crete and especially Cyprus. In 1962 two "bicephalic Centaurs" were found at the sanctuary of Enkomi in Cyprus. These creatures consist of two human heads attached to a cylindrical animal body and are dated to around 1100 B.C. Similar Cretan examples were found from the sanctuaries of Hagia Triada , Phaestos (twelfth century) and the shrine of the Spring Chamber (eleventh century) (94). These terracotta hybrids are unique but Karageorghis claims that these are the earliest centaurs and are of Minoan origin and inspiration which then passed over to Cyprus.

Other scholars have variously identified them as sphinxes or minotaurs. The latter seems rather impossible since it implies the reversal of the animal and human parts. The absence of wings on the other hand, speaks against their identification as sphinxes, while their bodies are far from being feline. An identification as centaurs seems impossible too, since they would require a human torso as well as a pair of human arms. But a stronger indication against the interpretation as "sphinxes" or "centaurs" or even "minotaurs" is the occurrence of two heads. As Courtois has stated (Alasia I, 1971, 306), the

94. Cypriot: Χαριστήριον εις Ορλάνδον, 1966, pl. XXIIa; Courtois, Alasia I, 1971, 287-308, figs. 121-125. Cretan: A. Evans, Palace of Minos II, 1928, fig. 69k, l; Ann XIX-XXI, 1941, 3 nos. III-V; cf. also Karageorghis, Πεπραγμένα του Β' Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, A, 1968, 180ff.

Enkomi monsters are unique and he traces the origin of the two-headed monsters in the East, with the earliest known example from Catal Huyuk and belonging to the Neolithic period (ILN 1963, 118 fig.5). It is neither possible to accept Nicholl's argument (1970, 28ff.) that the terracotta two-headed monsters are "sphinxes" and "seem to be succeeded by true centaurs in the tenth and ninth centuries in Cyprus and Greece". There can hardly be any connection between the Cypriot hybrids and the Lefkandi centaur, other than that in both cases human and animal elements are combined in the creation of two distinctly different creatures.

Much closer to the Lefkandi centaur is another class of terracotta statuettes from the sanctuary of Hagia Irene in Cyprus. These have been divided by Gjerstad who published them and named them "minotaur statuettes", into three types (SCE II, pls. 227-228). These figurines were found in association with pottery of the tenth and ninth century B. C. (SCE II, 671, 675ff. 785, 817). Type I consists of a cylindrical animal and human body, sometimes with both male and female sexes indicated; the arms are uplifted and snakes are sometimes represented (nos 2031, 2320, 1690, 2044, 2376, 1775). Type II is more evolved with no 2101 having human forelegs; again two sexes and snakes are attested (nos 2101, 2340+2338+2373, 2350). Type III is represented by just one statuette (no 1122), which also has short horns projecting from the head. This latter feature has identified these statuettes as the local Cypriot "bull-men". As Nicholls has rightly noticed (1970, 29ff.), these statuettes

cannot be distinguished from centaurs, apart of course from the snakes and horns, features not occurring on centaurs. Since Hagia Irene is a remote and rustic sanctuary it is hardly likely to have influenced the Lefkandi centaur (Fittschen 1969, 90 n.467). As Fittschen notes the Hagia Irene "mixed-beings" represent a native representation which runs parallel to the Greek representation.

Turning back to the Greek centaurs, we see that the Lefkandi centaur and the Coan askos-centaur are by no means the only three-dimensional centaurs. After a gap of about two centuries, from the eighth century there are two groups of a centaur with man, in both cases involved in fighting (95). In the terracotta group, the man is holding with his left hand the centaur's chin and the centaur is holding in his right hand a stone. On the bronze group a helmeted and girdled man is standing opposite a centaur; they are touching each other with their left hands and it is possible that in their right hands which are missing in both figures, they are carrying weapons. In both these groups we have probably one of the earliest representations of a mythical scene. Another terracotta centaur, this time alone, was found in a Geometric grave in Athens (96); this centaur's left arm is missing but the right one is raised and was probably holding an object, now missing.

In another medium centaurs make their appearance on seals: on a square seal in Munich, a centaur tries to ab-

95. Athens NM 12504 (terracotta): AM 55, 1930, pl.38; New York 17.190.20.72 (bronze: AM 55, 1930, 143ff. pl.38; Schefold, 1964, 19, pl.4; Fittschen, 1969, 111 SB1.

96. AD 19, 1964, Chronika B1 58, pl.55a; BCH 90, 1966, 742 fig.4.

duct a woman, recalling Nessos and Deianeira, and Nessos again attacked by the archer Herakles surely appears on an earlier seal from the same Argive school (97). This seal repeats the iconographic scheme of the two statuette groups and the Copenhagen 7029 amphora (cat.no 178).

Centaur's appear also on the Attic goldbands (98). In view, however, of the fact that they appear only in Ohly's later groups, it is impossible to tell in which medium the theme originated: vase painting or metalwork. On the Stathatou Collection goldband, the centaurs holding branches in each hand appear on the same frieze as two men who are also holding branches, but do not seem to be involved in any sort of fighting. On the Berlin goldband riders alternate with centaurs on the same frieze, which is also peaceful.

From the above analysis we may come to the following conclusions: centaurs became popular in Attic LGII vase painting, but the creation of this mythical creature was the work of an Euboean craftsman and goes back almost two centuries earlier. Centaurs in the majority of the vase painting representations form decorative friezes with no connotation of a mythical scene (apart from the one scene on the Copenhagen amphora, cat.no 178). In three-dimensional art, however, we have the earliest manifestation of such a mythical scene, the earliest clearly identifiable representation of myth in Greek art: Herakles and Nessos.

97. München seal: A1293: Schefold, 1964, pl. 6c; Boardman, 1963, 120 C14; Paris Bibliothèque Nationale M 5837: Boardman, 1963, 120 C13, pl. 14; Coldstream, 1977, 155 fig. 50; Fittschen 1969, 112 SB3.

98. Centaurs on goldbands: Berlin GI 310: Ohly, 1953, group IV A21, fig. 10, pl. 10, 2; Athens Stathatou Coll.: Ohly, 1953, group IV A20, fig. 19, pl. 10, 1, 12, 4; Amsterdam 397: Ohly,

TABLE 35

EPA CENTAURS

Passas Collection	(pitcher): Tölle, 1964, no 29, pl. 10; Fittschen, 1969, 94 R8.
Vlastos Collection	(hydria) :Tölle, 1964, 22 no 57; Fittschen, 1969, 95 R11; Mesogeia Painter.
Athens NM 19332	(amphora) :Fittschen, 1969, 95 R12 PLATE 45a.
Berlin 31006	(amphora) : <u>CVA</u> 1, pl. 41, 1-2; Fittschen, 1969, 95 R1.
Athens NM 238	(krater): Callipolites-Feytmans, <u>Les Louteria Attiques</u> , 1965, 15 no 4, pl. 5a; Fittschen, 1969, 95 R15.
München Private Coll.	(amphora): Lullies, 1955, 17 no 30, pls. 10, 11; Fittschen, 1969, 95 R 14.

In the Early Protoattic period centaurs are represented on six vases (Table 35), all of which are holding branches, while on two they also carry an animal in one hand, repeating thus the return from hunt theme.

H.SPHINXES

The sphinx, a fantastic being consisting of a mixture of human and animal elements, defined from ancient Greek literature as having a lion body, wings and a female head, is represented in Attic Late Geometric II pottery by one unique example: it occurs in the interior of a skyphos (Athens NM 784, cat.no 202, PL.46b) belonging to the Athens 894 Workshop. The sphinxes are two, facing one another, while other figures complement the decoration: dancers, a seated figure and two Dipylon warriors. The iconographic type of the sphinx in the skyphos is not represented in a fully developed form; this fact has led many scholars to interpret the two mixed-beings as winged centaurs. Certain features, however, do confirm the interpretation of sphinx, while the unusual features should rather be considered as a mere experimentation of an iconographic type which assumed a fixed and recognisable form only at the very end of the eighth century or even just after the turn of the century, as exemplified by the leading Protoattic painters (Table 36).

The sphinxes of the Athens 784 skyphos have equine legs and hooves just like the centaurs; we must remember,

1953, group III A19, pl.9,6;12,1,3.

however, that the contemporary Late Geometric centaurs do not have all four legs in equine form; the forelegs as we have seen, being rendered as human. The reason for seeing the monsters depicted in the skyphos as sphinxes and not centaurs is not the equine legs but the feline tail, apart of course from the wings; these latter almost never occurring on centaurs: only one winged centaur is seen in Greek art as exemplified by a Protoattic hydria in the Vlastos Collection by the Mesogeia Painter (Tölle, 1964, pl. 19). The wings of the sphinxes are not rendered like those of other winged creatures such as winged goats, from the same workshop; the latter have wings rendered like a chequerboard, whereas the wings of the sphinxes are hatched.

Another unusual feature of the skyphos is the rendering of arms; arms are never represented on any sphinxes and should be understood as a misconception by the artist.

For a better understanding of the reappearance of the sphinx during the Late Geometric period in Attic pottery, it is important to briefly look at the long history of this fantastic being, in order to establish the more likely source of inspiration. The sphinx originated in the East and was popular throughout the Bronze Age in the Aegean, as exemplified by representations in different media. Various studies have been devoted to the sphinx, among which Dessenne's (1957) and Demisch's (1977) offer good examples.

In Greece the earliest representation of a sphinx is Middle Minoan II and is seen on a jasper seal from Archanes; this example as well as other early examples is wing-

less and only at the end of the Middle Minoan III period do sphinxes acquire wings as seen on a seal from Zakro (99). One of the latest Bronze Age representations of a sphinx is seen on the three-handled pyxis from Lefkandi dated to the Late Helladic IIIC period (BSA 66,1971,pl. 54,2). In metalwork a bronze wheeled stand from Enkomi in Berlin (inv.no 8947: Catling,1964,no 35,pl.36a), has four panels decorated with identical à jour ornament: two winged sphinxes with flattened caps on their heads stand on a cornice and are facing a plain column.

In the Iron Age sphinxes are represented in various forms: male winged, female winged, sphinx with equine body and wingless female. According to Demisch (1977,76) there is a gap between the latest Mycenaean and the first Greek sphinxes. This gap has now been narrowed down by the recent finds of figured vases from Tekke Tomb E near Knossos (100). One bell krater which has already been discussed in connection with the man and lion theme (cf.above Chapter II, Section B) represents on one side two antithetically composed sphinxes; these mythical creatures belong to the male winged type with helmet and are represented with one fore-paw raised; the sphinxes combine the silhouette and cross-hatching techniques, which according to Sackett points to an Eastern source of inspiration. The krater mentioned above is to be dated around the middle of the ninth century and is therefore the earliest representation of a sphinx in the Iron Age.

99.Demisch,1977,66 fig.175; for further examples in Minoan/ Mycenaean art cf. Dessenne,1957,122-153 and Demisch, 1977,66ff. For Mycenaean pottery cf. Karageorghis-Vermeule,1982,V27,V28;VI 16-18;VIII 30-32;X 42; XI 65, XI

Cretan metalwork, too, offers some of the earliest sphinxes. From the so-called Knossian Workshop (Boardman, 1967,66) dated from the late ninth to the middle of the eighth century, comes a bronze quiver from Fortetsa and a gold relief from Kavousi. On the Fortetsa quiver (Brock, 1957,pl.116) the sphinxes are rendered with helmets, they have a feline body and straight wing. On the Kavousi relief (Blome,1982,11 fig.3; Coldstream,1977,fig.92a), the sphinxes are again helmeted and with straight wing, and they are represented in different friezes both in a striding and a regardant attitude.

Sphinxes appear also on the Cretan bronze shields (101) which are later than the two examples considered above. The style and iconography of these sphinxes is closely paralleled in North Syrian art of the Early Iron Age and as Coldstream remarks (JHS 94,1974,243ff.) "the shields were made in the first place by a narrow and exclusive guild of Oriental immigrants to Crete who gradually passed

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91. For two sphinxes represented on a bronze plaque from Kannia cf.Πεπραγμένα Β'Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α;108-109.
- 100.Sackett,1976,118 E3,123 fig.6; Coldstream,1980,68 pl. 12a; Blöme,1982,94 fig.22.
- 101.Herakleion Museum 8:Kunze,1931,no 1,pls.1,2,7; Canciani, 1970,no 1; Herakleion Museum 4: Kunze,1931,no 2,pls. 3,5; Canciani,1970,no 2; Herakleion Museum 3:Kunze, 1931,no 4,pl.6; Herakleion Museum 6: Kunze,1931,no 5, pls.7,8,9; Athens NM 11763: Kunze,1931,no 18,pl.30; Herakleion Museum 1146: Kunze,1931,no 20,pl.30; Herakleion Museum 1306: Kunze,1931,no 40; Athens NM 11762/ 11: Kunze,1931,no 20 pl.30; Delphi Museum 6948: Canciani,1970,no 96; Delphi Museum 7177:BCH 74,1950,328, pl.38,2;BCH 75,1951, 140 fig.37; Herakleion Museum 1304: Kunze,1931,no 8,pl.28.
- 102.For the various problems concerning the Cretan votive shields and their chronology cf Chapter I, Section B, "Deer".

on their craft to local smiths"(102).

From the eighth century, Crete offers three more examples of sphinxes; in vase painting two can be seen on sherds from the Royal Road excavations of 1957 in Crete, which belong to the middle and third quarter of that century and are therefore still earlier than the Attic example (103). Despite the fragmentary state of the two Royal Road examples, it is clear that the sphinxes wore conical helmets, the crests having been preserved in both cases. These sphinxes are distinct from the ones analysed above because they have equine bodies. As Coldstream remarked in the above mentioned article, the prototype for these sphinxes can be found in metalwork and namely in the bronze quiver from Fortetsa and the Kavousi relief. The style of the metal work on the other hand seems to have strong North Syrian elements. The third Cretan example is seen on a big cup found during the rescue excavation on the site of the Knossos Medical Faculty in 1978 (Coldstream "A Menagerie of a Late Geometric Cup from Knossos", RA 1982,25-32,figs.1,2).; this cup has been attributed to the Cretan Bird Workshop and dated around 700 B.C..Its decoration consists of five panels with at least three different creatures, both real and mythical: the two central panels have two (?) confronting sphinxes with feline bodies and straight wings. Another Cretan example from the Knossos Medical Faculty, tomb 100, is seen on a pithos lid with relief sphinxes (AR 1982-83,52 fig.93). The

103.Coldstream "Sphinxes and Griffins from Geometric Knossos", Antichita Chretesi, volume II, 161ff. figs.1-2.

104.Cyprus Museum, 1938/XI-213: Karageorghis-Gagniers, 1974; Bi p.6,7.

sphinxes here have equine legs just like the Attic skyphos representation.

A brief mention should be made here of the fact that Cyprus offers only one early Iron Age example of a sphinx (all the other Cypriot examples are Bichrome IV), on the famous Hubbard amphora, where a sphinx with equine body is wearing a round cap and is turning its back towards the central scene of side A (104). It is possible that the Cypriot model influenced the Cretan vase painting representations of equine sphinxes: these latter occur also on a Cretan Late Geometric bronze stand (105).

We have seen that both the Fortetsa quiver and the Kavousi relief have already been discussed in connection with another theme: man and lion (especially scheme c)), where I concluded that Cretan metalwork inspired the Attic painters. In this case, however, the sphinxes have not been borrowed in so faithful and clear manner, and we cannot therefore speak of a direct copying of an iconographic type, since the Attic example has nothing in common with the earlier male helmeted sphinx of Cretan metalwork, but should rather be considered as a free rendering of the sphinx by the Attic artist. The idea of the sphinx could have derived independently from the East via the goldbands and the metalbowls. These latter are of special importance since the unique representation of a sphinx occurs in a skyphos which is clearly an imitation of an Oriental metal bowl (Borell, 1978, 93ff.) examples of which have also been

105. Herakleion Museum: Catling, 1964, 222ff.; BCH 68-69, 1944-45, 58-59 no 1.

found on Greek soil. The two metal bowls, one from Olympia and the other one from Delphi, can be dated to the eighth century and represent sphinxes (106); in both cases, however, the sphinxes are represented in a completely different scheme, since they are yoked to chariots. Antithetical sphinxes flanking a sacred tree are seen on another metal bowl found on the Acropolis, but this belongs to a later date (107).

From Olympia again, a late Hittite bronze stand dated around 700 B.C. represents a frieze of seated sphinxes with one front paw raised, as can be seen on the Tekke krater, and is the scheme used for many Late Geometric lion friezes (e.g. Essen K 969, cat, no 169, PL.36c), while another such stand from the Barberini tomb in Praeneste represents two male sphinxes.

Turning back to vase painting outside Attica, Argos offers one example which seems to be particularly interesting since it bears representations of sphinxes which are contemporary to the Attic ones, though completely different in form (108). The sphinxes are drawn in silhouette with only the wing cross-hatched; these sphinxes are female and represent therefore a new type of sphinx introduced to the Greek repertoire, by contrast to the sphinxes of Cretan metalwork which belong to the male type.

Of the Attic and Eretrian goldbands, only one represents sphinxes in four central panels (109); the sphinxes

106. Delphi Museum 4463 from the Marmaria area: Fouilles de Delphes V, 1908, pl. XVIII-XX; Borell, 1978, 78 Or 94; Oxford G401 from Olympia: Borell, 1978, 78 Or 99 pl. 23.

107. JHS 13, 1893, 248 fig. 19; Borell, 1978, 78 Or 93.

108. krater frs. from Tiryns: Nauplion Museum 4268/4269:

are crudely drawn and represented in a crouching position with helmet but no indication of a wing or a tail. A figure which appears confined between two scenes of lion fighters, which is represented on six bands and one gold-sheet (110) has been recognised by Cook (Gnomon 26,1954, 108) as a wingless helmeted sphinx "slightly tilted and compressed"; I do not believe, however, that this interpretation is very convincing. The appearance therefore of the sphinx on the goldbands remains unique.

In other media, sphinxes appear also on a group of ivory seals found in various parts of the Greek world, but apparently manufactured by an East Greek Workshop in Rhodes (Boardman,1963,154-155).

From the above analysis we may come to the conclusion that the Attic LG sphinx stands alone. This can only be explained in terms of an experimentation of the form of this mythical creature by the artist. Despite the fact that no exact prototypes can be found for the representation of the Attic skyphos, the many Cretan and other metalworks indicate that the sphinx was becoming increasingly popular in the Aegean area and that the Oriental metalbowls played an important role in the transmission of the motif from Syria (111).

The outburst in Attica occurred only in the early Pro-

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- Courbin,1966,155,416,426; Carter,1972,219 n.145.
109.Berlin GI 308: Ohly,1953, A17 fig.18, group III.
110.Athens NM 3637 sheet from Eleusis: Ohly,1953,A7 fig.7, pls.3,15;2,16; Athens NM 2601: Ohly,1953,A9 fig.9,pl.5,1. London BM 1212: Ohly,1953,A 10,fig.10,pl.5,2; Copenhagen NM 720: Ohly,1953,A 11,fig.11,pls.4,2;8,1; Swiss Market:MJM,13.5.1961,no 204; Athens 3rd Ephoria: AD 22,1967,chronika B1,pl.87b.
111.For the innumerable Oriental sphinxes cf. Demisch,1977, 40-63 and Dessenne,1957, esp.Chapter XVIII 161ff.and 194.

TABLE 36

EPA SPHINXES

Kerameikos 302	(bowl) :Kübler, 1954, pl. 126; id. 1970, 588 no 123; Early Analatos Painter.
Eleusis 1089	(bowl) :Cook, 1935, pl. 40a; Analatos Painter.
Vlastos Collection	(bowl) Unpublished: Cook, 1947, 142 n. 3; Analatos Painter.
Athens NM	(krater frs.) :Kübler, 1970, 628 no 327; Analatos Painter.
Louvre CA 2985	(amphora) :Audiat, 1938, pl. 11; Analatos Painter.
Agora P 13269	(amphora fr.) :Brann, 1962, no 535, pl. 33; Analatos Painter.
Mainz University	(krater) :Hampe, 1960, pls. 2, 4, 6, 8-13, 26; Analatos Painter.
Mainz University 156	(krater) :Hampe, 1960, pls. 21, 24, 9.
Athens(now lost)	(krater fr.) :Cook, 1935, 176 n. 3, fig. 2; Kübler, 1970, 603 no 206. Mesogeia P.
Agora P 36.831	(krater fr.): Brann, 1962, pl. 26; Kübler, 1970, 604 no 212. Mesogeia Painter.
Berlin 31312	(hydria) :Cook, 1935, pl. 43; Davison, 1961, fig. 64; Mesogeia Painter.
Vlastos Collection	(hydria) : Cook, 1935, pls. 45, 46a; Brokaw, 1963, pl. 34, 2-5. Mesogeia Painter.
Vlastos Collection	(hydria) : Cook, 1935, pl. 46b, c; Brokaw, 1963, pl. 34, 3, 6. Mesogeia Painter.
Agora P 21288	(fr.) Brann, 1962, no 419, pl. 26; Kübler, 1970, 607 no 227. Mesogeia Painter.
Vlastos Collection	(hydria): Cook, 1935, pl. 44. Mesogeia P.

TABLE 36 (cont.)

Kerameikos 1276	(bowl): Kübler, 1970, 483 fig. 55a, pls. 72, 73; Close to Mesogeia painter.
Athens Vlastos C.	(fr.) : Cook, 1935, pl. 51c.
BM 1910-6-16.2	(bowl) : Davison, 1961, fig. 67; Vulture Painter.
Louvre CA 1838	(bowl) : Cook, 1947, 140 fig. 2b; <u>CVA</u> 16, pl. 44. Vulture Painter.
Trachones	(amphora) : Geroulanos, 1973, pl. 19, 2; 52, 2; Vulture Painter.
Private Coll. England	(fr.): Cook, 1935, pl. 49c; Hampe, 1960, fig. 23; N Painter.
Mainz Univ. 159	(fr.) : Hampe, 1960, 29 fig. 15; a; <u>CVA</u> 1, pl. 26, 13. N Painter.
Agora P 16993	(oenochoe fr.); Brann, 1962, no 432, pl. 26; Passas Painter.
Mainz University	(Stand) : Hampe, 1960, pls. 14-20; <u>CVA</u> 1, pl. 8-13; Passas Painter.
Kerameikos 1151	(lekane lid): Kübler, 1970, 416 no 2, pl. 5.
Brauron Museum	(fr.) Kahil <u>Ak</u> 1, 1963, pl. 1.
Kerameikos	(kotyle) : Kübler, 1970, 419 no 5 fig. 47, pl. 6.
Berlin A 3	(hydria fr.) : <u>CVA</u> 1, pls. 2, 3, 4.
Kerameikos 81	(oenochoe) : Kübler, 1970, 509 no 122, pls. 1, 2.
München 1352	(oenochoe) : <u>CVA</u> 3, pl. 134, 1-3; Hampe, 1960, 85 figs. 44-45.
Swiss Market	(oenochoe) : <u>MÜM</u> 51, 1975, no 99, pl. 14.

attic period with at least thirty-one examples (Table 36) and there seems to be no immediate connection between the Protoattic examples and the Late Geometric one. As can be seen on Table 36, eight examples come from the Analatos Painter and are all female with feline body. Eight more examples can be ascribed to the Mesogeia Painter, who in his early stage painted also male sphinxes. From the Vulture Painter three sphinxes have survived, while from the N and Passas Painters only a couple of sherds. Three more vases with sphinxes have been ascribed to the Palmette Tail Painter.

K.WINGED GOATS

Athens NM 14441 (cat.no 203,PL.46a)

Louvre CA 1780 (cat.no 209)

Kerameikos fragments inv.nos 3684,3686,3689: Bohen,1980, nos 56,58,61,pl.17. Kerameikos XII.

Late Geometric II iconography knows of only two examples of winged goats, occurring on a whole vase (skyphos, tankard) and on three fragments, one of which is a krater. All five representations belong to the same type and were painted by the Workshop of Athens 894. On the tankard the winged goats are accompanied by a "shepherd" holding a branch in each hand; on the skyphos they are alone. The most characteristic feature of these fantastic animals is the rendering of the wing, which is represented like a checkerboard, i.e. with alternating black and white squares (112). Winged animals were frequently represented in Iran-

112.Kübler,1970,89 n.355 traces the Oriental origin of the rendering of the wing especially in Assyrian art;since

ian art, which in turn was inspired by Urartian and Mesopotamian art. The Attic painters would have indirectly copied the Oriental models from bronzework found on Greek soil and the bronze attachment of a cauldron from the Samian Heraeum offers a good example (Samos VIII, 1972, B 150, 63 pl. 60, late Hittite).

Another winged animal the winged horse, does not occur in the Late Geometric II period but is exemplified during the Early Protattic period, by a few vases (113). The iconographic prototype of these vases, however, goes back to the Late Geometric II period, when they occur in another medium: the bronze cauldrons which most probably originated in North Syria and which as Coldstream has remarked (1977, 362ff.) "during the last years of the eighth century ... made a strong impact in Greece and eventually superseded the Geometric tripod cauldron" (these cauldrons consist of a conical stand on which the bowl rests). That they were already known during the LGII period, is shown by their occurrence on figured vases. The earliest example of a painted cauldron is seen on the Athens NM 810 krater (cat. no 215, PL. 40a, b) and on the Athens NM fragments (cat. no 221, PL. 39b) belonging to a similar vessel, both from the Workshop of Athens 894; an early Protocorinthian lekythos -oenochoe in New York represents a similar cauldron

the chequerboard pattern is also frequently used in Geometric painting (cf. Kerameikos K2 fr., cat. no 185, PL. 27a, where it is used to indicate the crest of helmets), the search for an Oriental prototype does not seem necessary.

113. An oenochoe formerly in Königsberg where the neck panel is decorated with a winged horse in front of a tripod: Lullies, Antike Kleinkunst in Königsberg, ? , 13 no 16; another oenochoe from Phaleron with winged horse

with animal attachments (Coldstream, 1977, fig. 114), while clay imitations include an Euboean stand found in Etruria with riders in panels (Chapter II, Section A "Riders" p. 174 and the early Protattic in Munich (inv. no 8936: Vierniesel, MüJ 8, 1967, 241ff.) and the Mainz kraters (Hampe, 1960, pls. 6, 7).

Turning back to the bronze cauldrons, we see that their iconography influenced Attic art. The fragments of six conical stands have been found in Olympia, the earliest of which belong to the eighth century (Olympia U1-U6: Hermann, 1966, pls. 65-73). Five of these cauldrons carry figured decoration around the stand, of strong Oriental influence - the representations including sphinxes, winged figures, frieze of male figures and metopal figures, as well as various stylized floral ornaments (Hermann, 1966, 162-174). Two more bronze cauldrons come from Tomba Bernardini in Rome and are now in the Villa Giulia Museum (Hermann, 1966, pls. 74, 75). The second of these cauldrons represents two pairs of two antithetical winged horses and there can be no doubt that they served as a prototype for the Protoattic winged horses: winged Pegasus of later Greek iconography (114). Winged horses occur also on the relief pithoi of Crete of the seventh century (Schäfer, 1957, II 10; III 47; V 59, 34ff. and 79ff. for a collection of later examples).

on the neck: Böhlau, 1887, 45 fig. 4 = JdI 40, 1925, 146 fig. 47 and London A 473: Böhlau, 1887, 49 no 41.
114. For Pegasus cf. Der Kleine Pauly, 1972, 582 s.v. Pegasos. Pegasus was frequently used as a shield emblem of Panathenaic amphorae: Brommer, 1973, 302-308 for full lists.

the so-called "Siamese twins" and the teams of chariot horses offering other such examples of the restrictive technique of silhouette.

Apart from the winged horses and winged goats, another type of fantastic animal occurs in LGII or EPA iconography: this is represented by a unique example on an oenochoe fr. from the Agora, which has been dated by Brann (1962, no 426 fig.4, pl.26, inv.no P 7175) to the EPA period: it consists of two deer which have been joined at the body with two heads and six legs rendered. As Brann has noted, miniature style double animals occur in many parts of the world, while Roes (1933, 107ff.) was the first to assemble such Oriental double animals in her search for solar or lunar symbols.

In Jerusalem Museum there is a double stag figurine from Iran, dated to the early first millennium B.C. (The Joseph Ternbach Collection, 1981, no 42), while other early double animals include a double bull from pre-Dynastic Egypt and the later eighth to sixth century Sardinian votive swords with decorative terminals of double deer (G.Perrot-C.Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art dans l'antiquité, 1882, vol.IV, 82 figs.76-79). The above mentioned examples can hardly have any connection between them, since they are far removed from one another in both date and provenance.

Turning to the Attic example once more, one should also bear in mind the possibility that we are dealing not with a double animal but with two animals overlapping in an attempt towards perspective; this could then explain the awkward rendering of the middle legs, which could well be the back legs of the right deer seen from behind, with the left deer seen in profile: during the process the painter got confused and omitted the latter's hind legs. The instance of overlapping is not uncommon in Late Geometric art,

CHAPTER III

LGII WORKSHOPS SPECIALIZING IN SPECIFIC THEMES

A. THE CONCENTRIC CIRCLE GROUP

This group consists of a class of oenochoae (twenty five included in the catalogue, nos 267-291, but their number seems to be increasing continuously), which even though it has characteristic non-Attic features, has long been recognised as manufactured in Attica. These oenochoae are painted on both sides with hand-drawn circles, while the central panel is decorated with various themes ranging from purely decorative, to more complex figured schemes; these latter, however, are characterised by a uniformity of subject.

The dependance of this strange class of Attic oenochoae on an Iron Age I and II Cypriot type of jug, the so-called "pilgrim flask", with concentric circles and which derives ultimately from Mycenaean prototypes, is well known (1). The true Cypriot model which is the Black-on-Red oenochoe was known from imports to the Aegean. From Crete such a Cypriot oenochoe was found in a Geometric tomb near Knossos (2). This and other Cypriot elements indicate the strong Cypriot influence in the Knossos area. Fairly close copies of the Cypriot flask were also produced in Crete and come from Fortetsa and from a tomb on lower Gypsades Hill. The Fortetsa finds come from mainly Orientalising contexts, but the Gypsades contexts indicate an earlier arrival of the style, which can be placed to the second half of the ninth

1. SCE IV 2, 1948, pl. 34, 16b (both Bichrome IV ware); Coldstream, 1968, 75 n.2; Schweitzer, 1969, 48 n.68.

2. Atsalenio tomb A no 45: C. Davaras, BSA 63, 1968, pl. 41c.

century (3). It seems therefore quite possible that the route of influence for the Attic models from Cyprus was through Crete. From Rhodes too, comes an imitation of a Cypriot original of the Black-on-Red oenochoe (4). Apart from the decoration, the shape of the Cypriot model was also imitated, since the round handle characterizes all the vases of the Concentric Circle Group, but is otherwise very unusual.

The Concentric Circle Group oenochoae were well confined within the limits of the workshop which produced them, having played little role in influencing other contemporary or later Geometric workshops or painters. There is, however, a notable group of non-Attic vases which is remarkable for its affinities to the Concentric Circle Group. This group consists of four oenochoae, which though Argive, bear little resemblance to the Argive contemporary production and which is known as the Atticizing work of Asine: these vases are decorated with vertical groups of concentric circles, very similar to the Attic oenochoae (5).

The Concentric Circle Group has been subdivided into five subgroups, according to the iconographic scheme which is represented on the central panel of these vases. To subgroup I (cat.nos 267-274) which is the simplest, belong eight vases, whose scheme consists of three sets of con-

3. Brock, 1957, nos 829, 893, 894, 1315, 1509, 896, 897, 1049, 1052, 1048, 1300, 1310, 1395, pls. 50, 59, 68, 71, 95, 97; Coldstream, 1981, 146 nos 24, 25; 156 nos 106-109, pl. 30.

4. Coldstream, "The Phoenicians of Ialysos" BICS 16, 1969, pl. 1j.

5. Frödin-Persson, 1938, 132 no 3, 133 n. 4, 5.

centric circles, two at the sides as on all the vases and one in the centre (cat.nos 267,270-274) or with the central circles substituted by one or two birds (cat.nos 268,269).

To subgroup II belong eight vases on which the central panel is decorated with a horse to the right (cat.nos 275-282). On the Brauron Museum oenochoe (cat.no 279) instead of a horse is represented a standing regardant goat or deer; on the Athens NM 14424 (cat.no 280) and the Trachones 288 vases (cat.no 277), a bird has been added above the horse. The Athens NM 193 (cat.no 281) and the Brauron oenochoe (cat.no 282) and the Athens NM 14424 (cat.no280) represent the more developed iconographic scheme of this group, since apart from the rope, it also includes the tripod/manger to which the horse is tied and which projects from the side of the panel (Table 37). This is the abbreviated form of the scheme which is represented on the vases of the Concentric Circles' subgroup III, which consists of two confronting horses tied to a tripod (cat.nos 283-288, PL.60a). The abbreviated scheme occurs in Attica only in the LGII period (Table 37, top) with no conformity in either shape or workshop. Apart from the three Concentric Circle oenochoae, the other vases include two amphorae and a pitcher. This scheme was also popular in other regions of the Greek world and it is possible that it originated outside Attica, since the non-Attic examples are earlier in date. The earliest examples come from Euboea and seem to be a characteristic theme of the Cesnola Painter's workshop. As can be seen on Table 37, at least five examples belong to his cycle, while they are further characterized by the combination of this motif with a double axe suspended above

TABLE 37

SINGLE HORSE TIED TO TRIPOD/MANGER

ATTIC

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
LGII			
Eleusis 454	127	Sub-Dipylon	Amphora
Lisbon Salazar Col.	244	Hooked S.	Pitcher
Athens NM 14424	280	Concentric C.	Oenochoe
Athens NM 193	281	Concentric C.	Oenochoe
Brauron Museum	282	Concentric C.	Oenochoe
Kerameikos 656	380	?	Amphora

NON ATTIC

Representation	Region	Bibliography
N.Y.74.51.965	Euboea	Kahane, 1973, pl. 25.
N.Y.74.51.838	Euboea	Kahane, 1973, pl. 26, 3.
Délos Museum	Euboea	Kahane, 1973, pl. 26, 2.
Amsterdam 1233	Delos	Coldstream, 1971, pl. IIe.
BM 1955.4-22.99	Al Mina	Coldstream, 1971, pl. IIId.
Copenhagen 5371	Boeotia	Rückert, 1976, pl. 2, 1.
Athens NM 12456	Boeotia	Kahane, 1973, pl. 29, 1, 2.
Providence 23.300	Boeotia	Rückert, 1976, pl. 17, 1, 2.
München 2233	Boeotia	Rückert, 1976, pl. 17, 5.

TABLE 38

TWO HORSES TIED TO TRIPOD/MANGERATTIC

<u>Representation</u>	<u>Cat.No</u>	<u>Workshop</u>	<u>Shape</u>
<u>LG I</u>			
München 8748	54	Hirschfeld	Amphora PL.59c
München 6249	59	Hirschfeld	Oenochoe
Tübingen 2658	61	Hirschfeld	Kantharos
<u>LG II</u>			
BM 77.12-7.12	284	Concentric	Oenochoe
BM 77.12-7.13	285	Concentric	Oenochoe
BM 1920.10-14.4	286	Concentric	Oenochoe
London Market	287	Concentric	Oenochoe
Louvre CA 2999	288	Concentric	Oenochoe PL.60a
Athens	283	Concentric	Oenochoe
Mainz Mus.0.1980a	247	Hooked S.	Amphora PL.56a
Athens NM 18135	322	Athens 897	Amphora
Athens	328	Athens 897	Amphora
Berlin E 31005	327	Athens 897	Amphora
Athens NM 18444	336	Athens 897	Oenochoe
Ex Breslau Coll.	338a	Athens 897	Amphora
Athens EPK 569	361	Horse P.	Oenochoe
Athens EPK 570	362	Horse P.	Oenochoe PL.57a
Athens EPK 567	363	Horse P.	Oenochoe
Athens EPK 646	364	Horse P.	Oenochoe
Mildenberg Coll.	366	Horse P.	Kantharos PL.58a
Trachones TR 291	440	?	Kantharos
München 6202	449	?	Kantharos
Athens NM 16058	451a	?	Kantharos
Brauron Museum	373	?	Amphora
Brauron Museum	374	?	Amphora

TABLE 38 (cont.)

NON-ATTIC

<u>Representation</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Bibliography</u>
Aachen Ludwig Coll.	Boeotia	Lullies, <u>Aachener Kunstblätter</u> 37, 1968, no 7.
Argos C.870	Argos	Courbin, 1966, pl.62.
Argos C.3399	Argos	Courbin, 1966, pl.141.
Nauplion 4028	Argos	Courbin, 1966, 440 n.1, 4, 5.
Delos	Cyclades	Courbin, 1966, pl.151.
Heidelberg G88	Cyclades	<u>CVA</u> 3, pl.123, 3.

the horse's back (6). The combination of these two motifs (i.e. horse tied to manger and double axe) is repeated at a slightly later date on Boeotian vases (e.g. Copenhagen 5371 Table 37) and is found twice in Attic iconography: on a kantharos in the Mildenberg Collection (cat.no 366, PL.58a) and on Munich 6202 (cat.no 449) (cf. also Chapter I, Section C).

As can be seen on Table 38 the iconographic theme of two horses tied to a tripod, is by no means confined to the Concentric Circle Group nor is it a LGII innovation. In Attica the theme appears in LGIb on three examples all of which have been attributed to the Hirschfeld Painter or his workshop and was unknown to the Dipylon Master. There is also no relationship between the theme and the shape, since each representation is on a different shape: an amphora, an oenochoe and a kantharos. In LGII apart from the six examples of the Concentric Circle Group, there are sixteen further examples of this iconographic theme. The subject in all cases follows a fixed iconographic scheme, so there is little variation from one workshop or vase to another. The main difference lies in the rendering of the tripod, which will be discussed below, while other elements which are included in the representation, such as the kneeling goat of the London oenochoe (cat.no 284), are of a purely decorative character and are not pertinent to the interpretation of the theme.

6. A horse with double axe can be seen on a fragment from Xeropolis Lefkandi, deposit A: Popham-Sackett, 1979, pl. 39 no 31.

Of the twenty two Late Geometric II examples, seventeen can be attributed to a known workshop or painter. Six oenochoae as we have said belong to group III of the Concentric Circle Group, four oenochoae and one kantharos belong to the Horse Painter, four amphorae and one oenochoe to the Athens 897 Workshop and one amphora to the Workshop of the Hooked Swastikas. What can be observed then is that the iconographic theme of two horses tied to a tripod, became quite popular in LGII, the Concentric Circle Group setting the trend and with no examples known from the Classical Workshops.

Outside Attica the full scheme does not occur in the Euboean cycle and from Boeotian the two examples on kraters represent the horses with double axes above their backs. The most obvious place for the representation of this scheme would be Argos (cf. Chapter I, Section C). Of all the Argive representations, however, involving the horse the specific motif with which we are concerned here, two horses and tripod, is represented on very few examples, in fact only four are mentioned by Courbin.

Single horses in panels occur frequently in Argive pottery, but the abbreviated form, i.e. with the tripod/manger included does not occur; what is commonly represented in Argive pottery is two confronting horses but neither tied nor with a tripod between them (7). Between the horses there is usually some sort of filling ornament, such as lozenges, zig-zag, or maeander. It seems therefore that unlike the motif with which I shall be dealing next (i.e. man

7. Courbin, 1966, pl. 32 MN 231; pl. 33: C. 1023; pl. 34: C. 738; pl. 36: C. 645; pl. 58: C. 20; pl. 63: C. 2441; pls. 82, 83: pyxides from Mycenae; pl. 137: C. 11; pl. 131: C. 2462 etc.

between two horses) the influence of Argive pottery does not seem to be direct or important. It can be concluded therefore that the theme originated in Attica.

Let us now analyse the tripod to which the horses are tied; it is not represented as a tripod in its true sense in all the instances; for this reason it is called either a tripod or a manger by various scholars. Actual bronze tripods have been found in the great sanctuaries of Greece and Cyprus as well as Crete, with the mass of evidence coming mainly from Olympia but with examples from other sites including Argos (Heraeum), Delphi, Ithaka and Delos. Many studies have been devoted to the tripods by various scholars including Benton, Kunze, Amandry, Willemsen, Schweitzer and more recently Maass (1978). Some of these tripods were richly decorated on top of their ring handles with figurines either of a single horse or of a man holding a horse. Since the original publication of the bronzes from Olympia, their meaning and function as prizes in the games and subsequently as votives in the sanctuary has never been doubted.

As far as the representations of tripods on Attic vases go, I shall not make the distinction between tripod and manger, but will distinguish the representation into types according to its characteristic features (PLATE 59).

Type a) is the true representation of what the name implies i.e. a cauldron resting on three legs, with two loops denoting the ring handles. This is a common representation in Attica and is present not only on the vases on which the theme we are concerned with occurs, but also on

a large LGI krater representing a prothesis scene (Louvre A 547, cat.no 21, PL.59a), on a krater fragment in Paris, Musée Rodin (cat.no 20, PL.59b), where tripods are represented in a row in a lower frieze and on the New York 14.130.15 krater (cat.no 310) which is LGIIa. The triple line indicated on the legs of the tripods on the Louvre and Musée Rodin vases can be compared to the fluted legs actually seen on the bronze tripod legs (Maass, 1978, pls. 15, 17, 18, 44, 45).

Examples of the Late Geometric II type a) tripods can be clearly seen on London BM 77.12.7-13 (cat.no 285), Athens NM 18135 (cat.no 322), Agora P 18496, P 15616 (PLATE 59d) (Brann, 1962, no 305 pl.18) and Acropolis 298 (PLATE 59e, Graef, 1909, pl.10). Outside Attica the same type occurs on a pyxis from the Argive Heraeum with bird attachments on top of the ring handles, (PL.59f) and on another one from Eretria (PL.59g, Benton, 1935.106 fig.13a). A slight variation of the type a) tripod is represented without the ring handles (e.g. Louvre CA 2999, cat.no 288, PL.60a) and the cauldron is sometimes rendered in a more rectangular form and the inside cross-hatched rather than black silhouette (e.g. Louvre CA 2999, cat.no 288 and New York 14.130.15, cat. no 310).

Type b) is not a tripod in its strict sense, since the legs are not distinctly rendered. On the München 8748 vase (cat.no 54, PL.59c) the lower part of the "tripod" is rendered by two horizontal zig-zag lines, while on the BM 77.12-7.12 oenochoe (cat.no 284), two diagonally intersecting cross-hatched bars are represented, making it more like a Cypriot

rod-tripod, rather than as a tripod cauldron: the diagonal bars could therefore well be comparable to the outer and inner struts of these stands (Catling, 1964, 196, pls. 27-31).

Type c) is a monopod rather than a tripod. It is represented on two vases by the Horse Painter (Athens EPK 569, cat. no 361; Athens EPK 570, cat. no 362, PL. 57a). I think that one should assume that the painter had in mind a tripod cauldron, but that in attempting some kind of perspective, omitted two legs; otherwise the representation has the salient features of a tripod cauldron: the ring handles and oval cauldron.

On Argive pottery the tripod/mangers followed a different route of development. The oldest type of Argive manger is distinctly three-legged (Argos C.870: Courbin, 1966, pl. 62). Eventually the two side branches become short and no longer touch the ground (Argos C.201: Courbin, 1966, pls. 44, 45), while in its final phase it is completely schematically drawn, the two side branches having quite disappeared and the manger assuming the form of a capital "T". Another type then appears consisting of a single leg supporting a rectangular box (8). Mangers, however, are not represented always between the horses; they may be depicted below the horse in representations of man and horses (e.g. Argos C. 201: Courbin, 1966, pl. 43), in which case it acquires no other significance than that of a purely decorative or filling ornament, unless we assume that we are dealing here with a condensed narrative representation of a man leading

8. Argos C.210: Courbin, 1966, pl. 41; Athens NM 843: Coldstream, 1968, pl. 29a.

a horse to be tied to the manger. Boardman has recently (1983,16ff.) analysed Argive tripod/mangers in connection with other Geometric filling ornament such as the linked circles which appear sometimes hanging from the tripod/mangers (9). These he considers as some sort of yoke for a heavier cart provided with tethering ropes (the linked circles), while the one-legged manger which appears under a horse on the same vase (Argos C.210) clearly denotes a different object, which Boardman considers as the true manger.

The subject of one or two horses which has so far been analysed has received various interpretations. The horse has been considered by Roes (1933,33ff.) as a solar symbol, because horses pulled the Sun's chariot and also because of the associated motifs, such as what has been thought to be a "standard". This "standard", however, far from being an Iranian standard, is nothing more than what Courbin calls a manger (Courbin,1966,482), the natural development into a schematic representation of the tripod/manger. For a view opposing a solar interpretation cf. J. K. Anderson (1961, and Benton, JHS 83,1963,206). Furthermore, the horse has been interpreted as having funerary connotations, or even of representing death itself (10), but as Courbin has noted (1966,483 n.3), vases with horses have been found in domestic contexts (wells, settlements, sanctuaries) as well as in tombs.

A realistic interpretation seems the most logical.

9.e.g. Argos C.870: Courbin,1966,pl.62; Argos C.201: id., pl.43; Argos C.210: id.,pl.42.

10.Hinrichs,1955,138 sees the horse as a funerary daemon, cf. also Malten, JdI 29,1914,179.

The tripod then is the actual prize of the funeral games (cf. Iliad XIII); the horse could represent either the status of the winner (i.e. belonging to nobility) or an indication of the category of contest in which victory and prize had been achieved.

Subgroup IV of the Concentric Circle Group is represented by only one vase: Berlin 3374 (cat.no 289, PL.60b). The central panel consists of a man with a horse on either side. A grazing deer and two birds are used as filling ornament. Below the main panel is a secondary panel representing a pair of naked figures facing each other and holding branches in their hands. Apart from this representation the subject was frequently depicted in LGII (thirteen examples are known, Table 40, while seven more belong to the LGI period (Table 39), the subject was therefore well established before LGII. The Late Geometric I representations do not seem to be the work of a particular painter or workshop with no known examples by the Dipylon Master and Workshop, nor is there any connection between shape and subject. At this point mention should be made of the Late Geometric Ib amphora in Munich (cat.no 54), a work of the Hirschfeld Painter. One side of the neck is decorated with the theme of man between two horses; the other side however is decorated with a figure standing between two goats and holding them with upstretched arms by the muzzle. This theme is very close to the theme we are concerned with here, but the choice of animals on either side of the human figure, renders it unique and no parallels can be found in either the contemporary or later Greek art (11). Since the

11. On a Sub-Minoan krater from Mouliana in Crete a man with spear is represented between two wild goats, but here

TABLE 39

TWO HORSES HELD BY A MAN

Representation	Cat. No	Workshop	Shape	Characteristics
LGI				
BM 1912.7-18.1	58	Hirschfeld	Pitcher	helmet/sword
Canellopoulos Coll.	80	?	Amphora	Dipylon warrior
Kerameikos 1306	88	?	Toy-amphora	naked PL. 61b
Athens EPK 630	89	?	Kantharos	naked /sword PL.61a
Kerameikos 268	90	?	Kantharos	helmet/sword
Athens NM 190	96	?	Krater	naked
Kerameikos 3238	108	?	Fr.	Dipylon warrior with three spears

central figure represented is of a considerably smaller scale. It is impossible to interpret the theme as a "Master of Animals" representation.

This theme, however, was further widespread in the Near East and a bronze bit from Luristan representing a human figure holding two goats on either side, offers a good example (12). Two Assyrian seals furthermore, represent a hero standing between two goats (13).

Turning now to the other LGII representations of a man between horses (Table 40), we see that the subject is found on two mainly shapes: oenochoae and kantharoi; it is also found once inside a skyphos and once on the neck of an amphora. Apart from the Concentric Circle Group oenochoae, three more oenochoae can be assigned to an identifiable workshop: the Hunt Group. Another oenochoe in New York cannot be assigned to a specific workshop, while the skyphos is a work of the Birdseed Painter. All the above mentioned examples are products of the non-Classical Workshops and as was the case for the horse tied to tripod/manger theme, no examples are known from the Classical Workshops.

The human figure between the two horses can be naked (e.g. Berlin 3374, cat.no 289, PL.60b), helmeted (e.g. Copenhagen 1628, cat.no 296, PL.64b) or a fully armed Dipylon warrior (e.g. Athens NM 13038, cat.no 227).

the subject is clearly hunting: Buchholz, 1973, J 59 fig. 13 and J 61 no 35; cf. also Chapter II, Section A, n.2; Kassite seal from Thebes: ILN 28.11.1964, 861 fig.20; Tenian relief pithos: Schäfer, 1957, pl.XI, 67 T1.
12. The Joseph Ternbach Collection, Jerusalem, 1981, no 59.
13. Marcopoli Coll.: Teissier, 1984, 182 no 285, 182 no 293.

TABLE 40

MAN BETWEEN TWO HORSES

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape	Characteristics
LG II Athens NM13038	227	Birdseed	Skyphos	Dipylon warrior
Berlin 3374	289	C.Circle Group	Oenochoe	Naked PLATE 60b
Cambridge GR I- 1935	295	Hunt Group	Oenochoe	Helmeted/sword
Copenhagen 1628	296	Hunt Group	Oenochoe	Helmeted/sword PLATE 64b
Private Coll. New York	297	Hunt Group	Oenochoe	Helmeted/ sword PLATES 62a,b;63a,b
New York 10.210.7	348	Benaki	Amphora	Helmet/round Shield
Athens 14447	368	?	Kantharos	Dipylon warrior
Laon 37769	438	?	"	Naked
Thorikos TC.66.192	441	?	"	Naked
Oxford 1929.24	442	?	"	Sword
Brauron Museum	443	?	"	Dipylon warrior PLATE 58b
New York 35.11.12	444	?	"	Naked
New York 06.1021.5	-	?	Oenochoe	Unpublished

Before turning to the regional representations of the subject, mention should be made of a Mycenaean example (LHIII B) on a krater from Ras Shamra in Ugarit, which is unique in Mycenaean art. On both sides on the vase is represented a figure with a "Phrygian" cap, and on one side with a sword round the waist, holding two horses by the muzzle; other animals such as fish and goats are also represented (Karageorghis-Vermeule, 1982, XIII 28). The uniqueness of this Mycenaean representation does not allow us to claim a Mycenaean inspiration or connection for the Geometric iconographic scheme.

Outside Attica the theme of two horses held by a man occurs in Boeotia and Argos. There is a great number of representations occurring in Argive pottery: at least twenty nine examples (Table 41). In Argive pottery apart from the full type of a man symmetrically flanked by two horses, the man with one horse occurs also frequently (14).

At this point the close connection between the theme studied here and another iconographic theme with a man leading a horse, i.e. leader of horses, must be considered. In the Argolid the choice between the one horse or the two horse representation seems to be dictated by the space conditions of the vase. In Attica, however, the situation is somewhat different. Before analysing the theme in the Late Geometric II period, mention should be made of the occurrence of the subject on a Middle Geometric I fibula from Lefkandi, tomb ST59 (Popham-Sackett, 1972, 19). Even earlier

14. Amphora from Asine: Courbin, 1966, pl. 12; Argos C 1017: id., pl. 36; Argos C.240: id., pl. 40; Argos C.210: id., pl. 41; Argos C.201: id., pl. 43; Argos C.4: id., pl. 61; Argos C.1146: id., pl. 65; Mycenae pyxis: id., pl. 83; Argos C.1020: id., pl. 141.

TABLE 41

TWO HORSES HELD BY A MAN (NON-ATTIC)

ARGIVE

Representation	Shape	Bibliography
Argos C.1	Kantharos	Courbin, 1966, pl. 28
Argos C.1018	Krater fr.	Courbin, 1966, pl. 35
Argos C.2362	Krater	Courbin, 1966, pl. 37
Argos C.890	Krater	Courbin, 1966, pl. 64
Argos C.3282	Fr.	Courbin, 1966, pl. 141
Argos C.1263	Fr.	Courbin, 1966, pl. 141
Argos C.4313	Fr.	Courbin, 1966, pl. 141
Argos C.3286	Fr.	Courbin, 1966, pl. 141
Argos C.3399	Fr.	Courbin, 1966, pl. 141
Argos C.4437	Fr.	Courbin, 1966, pl. 141
Argos C.3462	Fr.	Courbin, 1966, pl. 141
Argos C.3944	Fr.	Courbin, 1966, pl. 142
Würzburg	Pyxis	Courbin, 1966, pl. 78
Mycenae	Pyxis	Courbin, 1966, pl. 81
Athens NM 877	Krater	Coldstream, 1968, pl. 29d
Nauplion 1915	Kantharos	Coldstream, 1968, pl. 29f
Argos C.210	Krater fr.	Courbin, 1966, pl. 41
Mycenae	Cup	Courbin, 1966, pl. 62
Argos C.1022	Fr.	Courbin, 1966, pl. 138
Argos C.1239	Fr.	Courbin, 1966, pl. 138
Argos C.4210	Fr.	Courbin, 1966, pl. 138
Argos C.2537	Fr.	Courbin, 1966, pl. 138
Argos C.871	Skyphos	Courbin, 1966, pl. 57
Tiryns gr.23 no 2	Krater	Verdelis, 1963, pl. 14, 3
Tiryns gr.23 no 3	Krater	Verdelis, 1963, pl. 17, 1
Tiryns gr.23 no 5	Pyxis	Verdelis, 1963, pl. 17, 3

TABLE 41 (cont.)

Representation	Shape	Bibliography
Tiryms gr.23 no 7	Cup	Verdelis, 1963, pl. 16, 2
Tiryms gr.23 no 8	Cup	Verdelis, 1963, pl. 16, 3
Tiryms gr.23 no 9	Cup	Verdelis, 1963, pl. 16, 1
BOEOTIAN		
Ludwig Coll.	Krater	Lullies, <u>Aachener Kunstblätter</u> 37, 1968, 7B
Thebes Museum	Amphora	Rückert, 1976, Ba 39, pls. 13, 2; 14, 4
Madison Univer. of Wisconsin	Amphora	<u>Greek Vase Painting in Midwestern Collections</u> , 1980, no 4
Athens NM 236	Oenochoe	Rückert, 1976, O 19, pl. 4, 1, 2
Amsterdam 3283	Amphora	Rückert, 1976, Ba 38, pls. 13, 3; 14, 3
CYCLADIC		
Andros Museum 1281	Pyxis fr.	Cambitoglou, 1981, fig. 56

still, the theme occurs in the Mycenaean period and is seen on a deep bowl krater fragment from Mycenae, where a man in armour is walking beside a single horse and leading it by two reins (Crouwel, 1981, 46ff. pl. 57 V24). For the Iron Age Karageorghis notices (Karageorghis-Gagniers, 1974, 19 n. 13) that the theme of a man leading a horse is very common on the Assyrian Palace reliefs (15). The context of the Assyrian reliefs, where the horses are led to the king's chariot for the lion hunt, shows that there can barely be any connection between the Greek and the Eastern representations.

Turning now to the Late Geometric I period, we see that there is just one example of the theme represented on a krater in the Louvre (A 541, cat. no 23). The theme is repeated at least eight times in a frieze decorating the lower part of the krater, which is also decorated with prothesis and chariot representations. The leaders of the horses have a sword round their waist and are all represented in the same attitude of touching the forehead of the horse with the left hand, while stretching the other hand towards the horse in front of them. This is surely a procession of noblemen.

In the LGII period the theme occurs on five amphorae: Athens NM 223 (cat. no 134, PL. 32b), Röhsska Museum Gothenburg (cat. no 148, PL. 32b), Athens NM 898 (cat. no 175, PL. 7b also followed by a second horse), New York 10.210.7 (cat. no 348), Stuttgart KAS (cat. no 369) a kantharos in Oxford (cat. no 442) and a few fragments from the Kerameikos. The

15. Barnett, 1960, pls. 57, 58, 85, 99; Nineveh Palace of Ashurbanipal, Room C. BM no 124884.

four above mentioned amphorae were painted by the Sub-Dipylon Group, the Philadelphia Painter, the Athens 894 Workshop and the Benaki Painter respectively. On the amphora in Sweden the leader of horse carries two spears held vertically in front of him, while his reserved chest decorated with a battlement pattern may denote a corselet: he is therefore partially armed. A similar pattern on a square "shield" or corselet is seen on a fragment from the Kerameikos (Tölle, 1963, 650 fig.5) where the figure is also holding two spears vertically in front of him and not diagonally. On the Athens and Stuttgart amphorae the leader of horses is naked; on the Athens NM 898 and the New York vases he is inserted in a chariot frieze. The equipment of the leader of horses is not standard but unlike the full symmetrical composition of a man with two horses, the leader of one horse is never represented as a fully armed Dipylon warrior.

As we have seen the representation of one man with a horse is frequently represented on Argive pottery, but it also occurs on Boeotian vases (e.g. Athens NM 12896, Thebes Museum: Rückert, 1976, Kr 2, pl. 17, 3; Fr 12, pl. 30, 14) and on a few fragments from Lefkandi which belong to the Cesnola Group (Popham-Sackett, 1972, 69, 75 no 21). On Argive pottery the human figure is never a fully or even partially armed Dipylon or other warrior, but is always naked. The only exception is the representation on a kantharos, where the man is wearing a short cross-hatched tunic (Verdelis, 1963, pl. 17 no 1: from Tiryns grave XXIII). On the other hand, in Boeotia the leader of horses or the man between horses is represented with a sword and sheath round his

waist (e.g. Athens NM 12896: Rückert, 1976, Kr 2. pl. 17, 3).

The theme continues into the Early Protoattic period and is exemplified on a goldband (16) which represents a man to the left holding by his right hand a horse and in his left a long vertical stick.

The iconographic theme of our subgroup IV, man between horses, has given rise to many different interpretations and theories often of diametrically opposing views. There is no reason to derive the motif of the man with horse from the East, because the horse played no role in Oriental religion. As for Ahlberg's mention of the occurrence of the two sided motif in Assyrian art, there does not seem to be any evidence to justify such an influence (Ahlberg, 1971, 211), especially since her parallels are sculptural and date from near or after 700 B.C.

The two major trends are represented by a) those who believe that the figure between two horses is a representation of a divinity and b) by those who advocate that the central figure is merely human. The supporters of the first theory do not agree as to the identity of the divinity represented. The most strong candidate is Hippios Poseidon (17), the master of horses. Another view held by Roes (1933, 25), is that we have a representation of the

16. T. Hackens, "Un bandeau funéraire en or de style protoattique" Etudes d'Orfèvrerie antique, Studies in Ancient Jewelry. Edited by T. Hackens, 1980, fig. 1-3, 10-17. On a bronze hydria from Treia (Picenum) is represented in relief a man with helmet and corselet between two horses: Alföldi, "Die Herrschaft der Reiterei in Griechenland und Rom nach dem Sturz der Könige" Gestalt und Geschichte: Festschrift K. Schefold, 1967, pl. 5, 1.

17. Charbonneux, Préhistoire I, 1932, 225ff. Yalouris, MH 7, 1950, 82; Schweitzer, 1969, 55, 64ff.

Sun god himself, the horses being solar symbols, also followed by Bouzek (Homerisches Griechenland, 1969, 177-178). Roes supports her view by interpreting the motifs such as the tripod/manger as an Iranian standard having a solar symbolism; there can be no doubt that the object between or below the horses is a tripod/manger (cf. also above).

Schweitzer's interpretation on the other hand may be summarized as follows: he interprets the fish which appear on many Late Geometric Argive vases below the horses, as "determinatives"; the fish then as the symbolic animal of Poseidon determines the Poseidonian character of the horse; Schweitzer applies the same for the double axe, the traditional weapon of Poseidon's sons, the Aktorione twins. He also mentions Pausanias's description of a cult image of Demeter and Poseidon in Arcadia (Book VIII, 42, 314). A last point is Schweitzer's mention of the famous horse breeding in the plain of Argos. A different interpretation of the fish is given by Boardman (1983, 19ff.), who using the Argos C 240 vase as an example, associates the fish with the wavy lines (water) and the horse, and produces the linked theme of horse and water.

Schweitzer's arguments have been refuted by Kahane (1973, 130ff.), who does not consider the fish as being a determinative of Poseidon, since the representation also occurs without the appearance of fish. Furthermore Schweitzer's interpretation is limited to Argive representations; but it is hard to see how one can interpret the theme in one area as, say, representing one thing and not take into account the other areas in which it occurs. Schweitzer's

interpretation implies that the man between horses on Argive pottery is Poseidon, whereas on Attic or Boeotian where the theme is the same, the sole difference being the omission of the fish, the figure is not a representation of Poseidon. He therefore leaves the question on the interpretation of the theme outside Argos unexplained.

A quite different interpretation would perhaps identify the horse holding animal with Master of Animals -Πότνιος Θηρών - a male counterpart of the Πότνια Θηρών the ubiquitous fertility goddess of Oriental origin. The main argument against such an interpretation was put forward by Courbin (1966,487), who notes that at least as far as Argive pottery is concerned, the size of the figure is never larger than the horses, thus hardly conveying the idea of domination.

This then leaves us with the most likely interpretation of the theme, as belonging that is to the world of reality, which means that the human figure is neither divine nor chthonian. Kahane too rejects Schweitzer's interpretation and treats the two subjects (horse tied to tripod and man between two horses) as a unit and has indicated that the motif relates to the nobility and the world of heroes, while the tripod points to this world's agonistic aspect.

A strong indication in favour of a realistic interpretation are the bronze tripod attachments which always represent the non-symmetrical scheme (i.e. with one horse) (Schweitzer,1969,figs. 191,192). Apart from the more general symbolism of social status of the man and horse or

horses theme, the strong connection between the vase representations and the bronze tripod attachments, indicates that the activity must be connected in some way to athletic contests of funeral games held in honour of the dead, or in other contests not necessarily connected with funeral games.

Before ending this section a brief look must be cast at the Boston 25.43 oenochoe (cat.no 291,PL.74b). This vase lies outside the iconographic subjects dealt with here but will be included in this section because it unmistakably belongs to the Concentric Circle Group. This vase represents the unique scheme of a figure standing on its head, between two other figures. I believe that we have here an acrobatic scene. Tölle (1964,62ff.) was the first to identify such acrobatic scenes (18), while a LG vase (Kerameikos 812,cat.no 95,PL.74a) is comparable to the Boston vase and has captured a different moment and is showing the man back on his feet again.

B.THE RATTLE GROUP

The group is named after J.M.Cook (1946,97ff.), from the ritual objects depicted on the figured scenes of the shoulders of the pitchers belonging to the group. From the eleven pitchers and one oenochoe listed by Coldstream (1968,71-72 nos 1-11), nine have a figured scene depicting a funeral ritual. Three pitchers : Louvre CA 2506 (CVA 16,pl.26,1,2),Prague 2500 (Bouzek,1959,120 no 12,pl.7) and

18.cf. Iliad XVIII,605ff. and Odyssey 4, 18ff.
δοῖώ δὲ κυβιστητήρε κατ'αυτοῦς
μολπήε ἐξάρχοντος ἐδίνεον κατὰ μέσσους

Baltimore Robinson Collection (CVA 1,pl.13) have no such figured decoration, but as Coldstream has remarked (1968, 72) "these vases are linked by style as well as subject matter". Apart from the vases mentioned above, four more vases can be ascribed to the Rattle Group. The first is a bowl at Mount Holyoke College (cat.no 259) which has been ascribed to the group more on grounds of its iconography than on affinities in shape and decoration to the other vases of the group. The other two vases are skyphoi (Athens NM 729, cat.no 257, PLS.47c,51a and London BM 1950.11-9.1, cat.no 258, PLS.47d,51b) and have been attributed by Borell (1978, no 23,79) to Painter B of the Rattle Group. The fourth vase is a pitcher, as yet unpublished, in Brauron Museum.

I have divided the Rattle Group into four sub-groups, according to shape and subject matter: Sub-group I consists of six vases (Table 42), where the motif is repeated on each piece with only some variation in details. The representation comprises two figures sitting on either side of a rectangular chequered object or table. The central block may have one or two Dipylon shields set above it, or it is replaced by two shields. On the Boston pitcher 03.777 (cat.no 252) there are six men on either side of the shields, while on either side of the Louvre CA 1940 vase (cat.no 251, PLS.47e,50a) there is a procession of warriors fully armed with Dipylon shields, two spears and sword. On the pitcher in Brussels A 1941 (cat.no 253, PL.47g) the chequer-board block has been substituted by a cauldron. All the seated figures of this group carry the same type of instru-

TABLE 42

THE RATTLE GROUP

Representation	Cat.No	Central Object	Other Objects	Figures	Lateral Figures
<u>Sub-Group I</u>					
Athens BSA K 83	248	chequerboard	Dipylon s.	2 male	- PLS.47a,48a
BM 1916.1-8.2	249	chequerboard	2 Dipylon s.	2 male	- PL.50b
Private Coll.	250	chequerboard	-	1 male ?/ 1 female	-
Louvre CA 1940	251	chequerboard	2 birds	2 female	Dipylon warriors PLS.47e, 50a
Boston 03.777	252	zig-zag line	2 Dipylon s.	2 male ?	seated figures with rattles
Brussels A 1941	253	cauldron	bird	2 male ?	- PL. 47g
<u>Sub-Group II</u>					
Athens NM 18542	254	stool	kantharos	2 rattle holders/two lyre-players	PLS.47b, 49b
Copenhagen 9367	255	-	-	2 rattle holders/two lyre-players	
Athens NM 17497	256	-	-	2 rattle holders/one lyre-player	PLS.47f 49a

ment in each hand.

The scenes depicted on the vases of the second subgroup (cat.nos 254-256) are similar to the ones analysed above, but whereas in the previous group both figures hold a distaff-like object, in this group one of the figures is replaced by a lyre-player. On Athens NM 18542 (cat.no 254, PLS.47b,49b), the pair of figures is doubled and we find neither the square structure nor the krater-like objects; instead there is on this vase a small three-legged table on which stands a kantharos. On the Copenhagen 9367 vase (cat.no 255) the table is reduced to a sort of filling ornament, while on the other vase in Athens NM 17497 (cat.no 256, PLS.47f,49a) a kylix is depicted standing on the ground and the double pair has been contracted by omitting one lyre-player, so that the two object-holding figures flank a single lyre-player.

To the third group belong the two skyphoi, (cat.nos 257,258, PLS.47c,51a,47d,51b) and the high-rimmed bowl at Mount Holyoke College (cat.no 259). The figured scenes of the two previous groups all differ in that they are always in a symmetrical composition. The figured scenes on the skyphoi occupy the interior and were painted by Painter B (Borell,1978,42-43), while the exterior of the London skyphos is decorated with a file of bird and birdseed, a strong indication of the Birdseed Painter's influence, but not in itself a sufficient enough criterion for ascribing the vase to this Workshop. The other skyphos in Athens is only glazed on the exterior. The skyphos in Athens has twelve figures sitting on high-backed chairs,

while on the British Museum one, there are thirteen figures. On the high-rimmed bowl the decoration is similar but occupies the exterior. This is a remarkable vase, since it is the only one in its class carrying figured decoration the complete absence of filling ornament is another unusual feature (19) since the Geometric artist's "horror vacui" is well known.

Closely connected to the iconographic scheme of these vases, is the scene represented on the body of an oenochoe in Copenhagen (cat.no 398, PL.48b); the other features of its decoration, however, do not allow for an ascription to the Rattle Group. The figured scene on this latter vase consists of five seated figures to the right and although only two have their breasts indicated it is reasonable to assume that they are all female. Only the third woman from the right has her arm raised. Hahland (1954.180) doubts whether this scene is connected with grave ritual, since the figures are not holding the characteristic objects featuring on the other vases. A comparison, however, with the figures on an amphora in Münster (cat.no 383) could shed some light. The hands of the figures on the amphora have three lines: it is quite possible as Wegner (1969,178) has remarked, that these three lines do not indicate fingers (three being an unusual number for a hand) and by comparison to the vases of the Rattle Group, they could be holding some instrument of bronze or wood. Wegner

19. The Middle Geometric II skyphos from Eleusis has no filling ornament; cf. also the krater in New York 34.11.2 (cat.no 76), the neck of an amphora in London (cat.no 347, PL.13a) by the Painter of Paris CA 3283 and the fragments from Merenda and Thorikos (cat.nos 315, PL.66a,b; 314, PL.11a).

TABLE 43

SEATED FIGURES

Representation	Cat. No	Workshop	Shape	Context
LG I New York 14.130.14	48	Hirschfeld	Krater	Prothesis PLATES 1f, 10a
LG II London BM 1950.11-9.1	258	Rattle G.	Skyphos	Ritual PLATES 47d, 51b
Athens NM 729	257	Rattle G.	Skyphos	Ritual PLATES 47c, 51a
Mt Holyoke College	259	Rattle G.	High-r. bowl	Ritual
Athens NM 784	202	Athens 894	Skyphos	Dancing, sphinxes PLATE 46b
Copenhagen NM 7307	398	?	Oenocohoe	Ritual

thinks of the metal trigonon played nowadays by children at Christmas and the New Year. This possibility, however, seems to be far fetched and I do not see how there could be any connection. Anyway it is quite possible that the figures on the Copenhagen oenochoe hold the same instruments as on the Münster amphora, only that the painter has captured a different moment of the ritual.

The seated figures on the vases of the Rattle Group and on the Copenhagen oenochoe can be compared to the terracotta figurines of the Geometric period, belonging to the same type. Three-dimensional seated figures were not uncommon in the Bronze Age and as E. French has remarked (BSA 66, 1971, 167), the earliest example goes back to the Late Helladic IIIA1 period (20), while the latest comes from Perati and is dated to Late Helladic IIIC. The Mycenaean terracottas are female, occasionally of the kourotrophos type, while the chairs are in the majority three-legged with only two examples of the four-legged type. From Cyprus there is a seated kourotrophos dated to the Late Cypriot II period and published by Karageorgis (RDAC 1975, 62ff.).

Turning back now to the Geometric examples, we see that there are three examples fully preserved with their throne belonging to the same type. One was found in the Athenian Agora, the second is in the Metropolitan Museum New York, while the third comes from a tomb in Callithea

20. Also studied by G. Mylonas in "The Aegean and the Near East", Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman, 1956, 110ff. For thrones in general including Late Bronze Age specimens and the ivory throne from Salamis Tomb 79, cf. Laser, 1968, 99ff.

(21). All the above mentioned thrones have four legs. The figurines are seated on the thrones with both arms extended along the arms of the throne (the arms of the Callithea figurine are missing, but the upper part of the arm and shoulder indicate a similar position) and with their legs hanging in mid-air. The Agora figurine is also holding in her right hand a sphere, which has been interpreted as a pomegranate and consequently that the figure holding it is Persephone. But as we shall see below, on analogy of the representations on the vases of the Rattle Group, the sphere could be an object similar to the ones held by the figures painted on the vases, i.e. a rattle.

Two of the above mentioned figurines were found in a grave context, which is a strong indication of their connection with a funerary ritual. Furthermore on the New York figure, on the back of the throne used to support the upper cross-piece, there is a small kneeling figure with both arms raised to the head in the typical mourning gesture, thus connecting both the seated and the mourning figures with a funerary ceremony. The back of the throne of the Callithea figurine represents in a panel a horse galloping to the right; this led Callipolitis-Feytmans to interpret the statuette as representing a chthonian divinity. But as we have seen above, these figurines as well as the figures on the vases, do not represent a goddess,

21. Athenian Agora T 762: Young, 1939, 65 fig.41, no XII 23; Metropolitan Museum 31.11.8: MetMus Stud 5, 1934-36, 164 fig.10; Callithea tomb 1: 2nd Ephoria, inv. no 1125: Callipolitis-Feytmans, 1963, 414ff. fig.8f, pl.12; for early seated figures cf. also Kranz, 1972, 10ff.

but rather are connected with a funerary ritual and as Hahland has suggested (1954) that the female seated figures carried on a rite of mourning at home (the high-backed chairs indicating an interior setting) while men go to the grave.

Apart from the above mentioned terracotta seated figurines which have been preserved complete with their thrones there are a number of other Geometric seated figurines, but whose throne is missing (cf. Kranz, 1972, pl. 8, 1-4). One of the three examples mentioned by Kranz, the one in Berlin, seems to have the arms raised in the same attitude as the above mentioned examples, the other two, however, have both arms raised to their head connecting them thus to the seated mourning figures frequently represented below or around the bier of the prothesis scenes (22). The seated figures of the New York 14.130.14 krater (cat. no 48, PL. 10a) are unique because although connected to the prothesis scene they are not shown in a mourning attitude. As has been shown in the Appendix, kneeling or seated figures connected to the prothesis are always represented in a mourning gesture (i.e. hands to the head).

At this point mention should be made of another vase belonging to the Workshop of Athens 894 and which has already been discussed in connection with another iconographic theme: sphinxes (Chapter II). This vase is the Athens NM 784 skyphos (cat. no 202, PL. 46b) and represents

22. cf. Athens NM 804, cat. no 1, Louvre A 517, cat. no 4, Athens NM 802, cat. no 17 all of which are LGI; in LGII the mourning figures below the bier are kneeling rather than sitting, cf. Appendix "The Villa Giulia Painter" Table 53.

a woman (?) seated on a throne with her feet on a foot-stool, approached by four dancers whose leader is holding a crown (23). Another kneeling figure with some sort of musical instrument which has been interpreted as a harp or a Syrian lyre is separated from the rest of the scene by a Dipylon warrior on either side, while the antithetical sphinxes round off the decoration. Carter (1972, 46ff.) has explained this scene in connection with a well-known Oriental scene of a procession to a seated figure (deity or ruler) (24) and interprets the scene as a "mangled piece of Syrian iconography". The Greek elements, however, apart of course from the sphinxes are very noticeable: the Dipylon warriors, the female dancers with branches and crown, even the seated figure is as we have seen in this context not uncommon. What is puzzling and unique is the combination of these themes. Yet, if the seated figure is not a deity but a person of high status or a ruler, then he would be presiding over some festival where dancing, processions and music making were part of the programme: now whether these activities were part of funerary games, remains, I believe, a matter of opinion.

Turning now to the vases of the Rattle Group again, an analysis of the types of chair represented must be made. The chairs or thrones which occur on these vases can be divided into types, defined here as a) and b) and easi-

23. Carter, 1972, 46 interprets the round object held by the first dancer as a tambourine, but cf. Appendix, "The Villa Giulia Painter" for other examples of figures with crowns.

24. e.g. Nimrud ivories: Barnett, 1957, pls. XVI-XVII; eighth century bronze bowl from Idalion, Cyprus: OpArch IV, 1946, pl. 1.

ly distinguished as those without a back and those with a back (PLATE 47). To the first group a) belong the chairs represented on the BSA K83 and the Athens NM 18542 pitchers. The chairs are schematically drawn and are depicted as a rectangle: on the BSA pitcher it is cross-hatched in the interior (the same type is also found on the Copenhagen 9376 vase ,cat.no 255) while on Athens NM 18542 pitcher the inside is decorated with an "X" formed by two diagonal intersecting lines.

To the second group b) belong the remaining chairs with backs, which occur in different varieties. The simplest is formed by adding a back to a) type: this is represented on the Athens NM 729 skyphos (cat.no 257, PLS. 47c, 51a), on the Boston 03.777 pitcher (cat.no 252) and on the oenochoe in a private collection (cat.no 250); finally with an extra triangle at the back, on the British Museum skyphos (cat.no 258, PLS.47d, 51b). On the chair depicted on the Louvre CA 1940 pitcher (cat.no 251, PLS.47e, 50a) there is for the first time an attempt to differentiate the legs by depicting them separately. On the Athens NM 17497 pitcher (cat.no 256, PLS.47f, 49a), an attempt for perspective is observed by the representation of all four legs. This is also shown on the Brussels A 1941 pitcher (cat.no 253, PL.47g). In contrast to the three-dimensional figurines, no chair is shown with arms. On the Copenhagen 7307 oenochoe (cat.no 398) three legs are shown. It is ambiguous, however, whether the three-legged chair is an attempt at perspective or a three-legged chair in the manner of the Mycenaean figurines (Kranz, 1972, pl.21).

Let us turn to the first two groups and try to explain the representations: the interpretation of the scenes depends on the identification of the objects held by some of the figures on the vases of the first three groups and on many other objects shown on the pitchers - the Dipylon shields, the birds, the vases and stools as well as the chequerboard construction.

I begin with the central chequerboard construction which is depicted on four vases of sub-group I. It is not a square object in profile view (i.e. table), covered with a chequerboard cloth: if the artist wished to represent a table or similar construction he would have done so more explicitly, by showing such elements as the table's legs; this can be seen from the stools depicted on the Athens NM 18542 pitcher of subgroup II (cat.no 254, PLS.47f,49a). It seems more likely that the chequerboard is a bird's eye view of an object or structure between figures in profile. Perspective in Geometric art is very controversial: bier cloths in LGI and LGII are always shown in bird's eye view and are always decorated with a chequerboard pattern: this viewing from above means that the horizontal plane has been lifted from its further end which therefore appears higher in the picture. During this period the Geometric onlooker would have been familiar with the chequerboard as denoting the bier cloth and consequently the chequerboard would be taken as a symbol of the grave even in its most abstract form, as seen on the pitcher in Merenda (cat.no 260, PL.54a,b).

On the Brussels vase (cat.no 253, PL.47g) the chequer-

board has been substituted by a cauldron; this could well be a bronze cremation cauldron (25).

Turning to the other objects we see that on three vases Dipylon shields have been placed above the chequer-board. These shields are either resting on the chequer-board (i.e. BSA K 83, cat. no 248) or floating in mid-air (i.e. Boston 03.777, cat. no 252). Since I have explained the square chequerboard as representing a grave, then the scene of subgroup I is definitely depicted in the open air, so that the shields cannot be considered as hanging on the wall of a room. The shields should rather be considered as an iconographic symbol characterising the status of the grave's occupier, i.e. warrior. This is emphasized by the lateral figures of the Louvre pitcher. It also explains why the shields are not represented on all the vases of the group. Not all the dead in whose honour the funerary ritual was performed were warriors. There is no reason furthermore to believe that the shields are grave offerings, since no shields have been found in Attic graves of the Geometric period (Cavanagh, 1977, 360 Table 12, 361). Birds occur also on two vases of group I; these again seem to stress the open-air setting of the scenes.

Let us now consider the objects held by the figures of the first three groups and which give their name to the group. These objects resemble spindle and whorl

25. Cavanagh, 1977, 381 : "there is a small number of cremations of the eighth century which are placed inside copper cauldrons". cf. id., 382 fig. 91 for a preserved cauldron from Pnyx grave; cf. also Coldstream, 1977, 120 fig. 40a and note 28.

as shown on later Attic vases, but this identification has been rightly rejected by both Cook and Hahland, Cook (1946,101) because of its unsuitability to the setting he assumes - one may say to ritual action in general- Hahland (1954,187ff.) because to its inappropriateness to men. Boardman (1966,3) suggested that they could be flat objects of metal or wood, struck together as clappers or cymbals and he draws attention to the famous bronze tympanon from the Idaean Cave in Crete (Kunze,1931,pl.49); these tympana were used in pairs as is seen on the scene of the bronze tympanon itself, where two daemons swing them in their hands, one up one down. Hahland (1954,187) identified the objects with the vases in the form of pomegranate, which he thinks are the *plemochoae* of the Eleusinian mysteries, used as sprinklers in connection with the cult of the dead, and were always used in pairs and were directed one to the east and the other to the west (cf. also Ahlberg,1967,pl.VIa). In this way Hahland accounts for the raising and the lowering of the objects which he thinks Cook's identification as clashing instruments leaves unexplained. Hahland's explanation, however, does not seem probable since the majority of these pomegranate vases have no holes and could therefore not be used as sprinklers. Cook's suggestion of music making or noise still seems the most logical.

As regards the other elements of the theme, the seated position which is characteristic of all three groups surely indicates that the activity lasted over a considerable period of time. On the Late Geometric I prothesis scenes,

seated figures appear below or around the bier (cf. above note 22), but are invariably shown in the typical female mourning gesture with both arms raised to the head. The figures therefore on the vases of the Rattle Group are definitely not mourners, and their action cannot be considered as being an integral part of either prothesis or ekphora.

Cook stressed the belief that they all represent the same rite and suggested that the meal after burial was portrayed. Looking at more vases than Cook, we have seen the differences between them, suggesting different settings and occasions. The second subgroup where the central checkerboard has been omitted and where other elements occur, such as the stools and the kantharos, as well as the lyre-players, could possibly represent a rite, probably involving food, while the lyre-player would be making music for the pleasure of the dead. These elements as well as the high-backed chairs would then indicate an indoor setting; one should note also that no birds occur in this group.

Turning now to subgroup IV (Athens NM 18474, cat.no 261, PLS.52a,b;53a,b), we see that it is not linked in subject matter either to the Merenda pitcher which belongs to the same subgroup or to any other vase of the Rattle Group. It is the only vase of the Rattle Group which represents a prothesis scene: as with the other vases, the scene is depicted on the shoulder and contains the fundamental elements of all prothesis scenes: the bier (Ahlberg's type f) with the corpse in a rightward direction- the dead person can be easily identified here as female,

since the breasts are indicated (Ahlberg,1971,39); the bier cloth is projected above it, and the accessory figures in mourning on each side of the bier and the two female figures kneeling below the bier, constitute the fundamental elements of the prothesis scene. Furthermore to the left of the central panel we have male figures identified by their swords and to the right female, identified by their breasts.

The division into iconographic subgroups has shown that different moments connected with the cult of the dead are represented on all the vases; starting with the prothesis scene (subgroup IV), then the ritual at the grave (subgroup I), while other participants remained at home (subgroup III) and finally the meal at home held to the accompaniment of music (subgroup II).

In conclusion I shall make a brief mention of Ahlberg's theory concerning the first three subgroups of the Rattle Group and its association to a North Syrian theme (Ahlberg,1967,177-186). In North Syrian art there is a type of banqueting scene which occurs frequently on grave stelae and orthostat reliefs (PL.55a): this type consists of two people sitting opposite each other at a table. According to Ahlberg, the general resemblance between the representations on the vases of the Rattle Group and the North Syrian reliefs seems to be very strong. But firstly she considers the square chequerboard object to be a table, while as we have seen the strong probability is that it is a grave, and secondly by following Hahland she interprets the characteristic objects held by the figures,

as representations of pomegranate vases, the pomegranate being, since ancient times, associated in the Orient with life and death. We saw, however, that the objects are better explained as some sort of noise producing instrument; furthermore on the Near Eastern reliefs the lyre-player is always standing. Another weakness in Ahlberg's theory is that she does not treat the material as a whole and omits from the discussion those scenes which do not appear to have Oriental counterparts. Lastly and perhaps wisely enough, she refuses to discuss how Geometric artists could have been familiar with the conventions of North Syrian sculpture. The motif of the so-called ritual banquet with musicians, common in the Near East, appears in an abbreviated form on a number of seals which have been dated to the last quarter of the eighth century (Boardman-Buchner, 1966, 48ff.). The subjects of these seals have parallels on Neo-Hittite reliefs from Zinjirli, Tell Halaf and Karatepe. The table of these seals is sometimes omitted, but on two seals (Boardman-Buchner, 1966, figs. 30, 41; 36, 125) the seated figure himself is playing the lyre.

The exact place of origin of these seals cannot be determined with certainty: E. Porada suggested Rhodes, but Tarsus in Cilicia is a strong candidate in view of the fact that they were widely distributed in the East. As Buchner and Boardman (1966, 61) have argued, it seems unlikely that the Greeks were involved in their production or in ordering them. It seems therefore highly unlikely that they could have influenced in any way the iconography of the Rattle Group.

To push my point to the extreme, I shall draw attention to a painting by Matisse, which contains all the fundamental elements - two figures on either side of a chequerboard- but here the similarity ends (J.Jacobus, The Hermitage, Matisse, pl.23) (PLATE 55b).

The motif of these vases is quite unparalleled in Early Greek art and no trace of it survives in later art. These scenes were suddenly, and only for a brief period, important and are the only instance in LGII art when a specific iconographic theme is painted exclusively by one painter or workshop.

The last vase to be discussed and which is included in subgroup IV, is the unpublished pitcher from Merenda in the Brauron Museum (cat.no 260, PL.54a,b). There are many reasons for including the Merenda pitcher in this group: first of all in shape: it stands 33,5cm in height, with the largest of the group, Boston 03.777 (cat.no 252) standing only 40,2cm high. The Merenda pitcher also has the characteristic strap handle with single strut and no ring foot, the former found on all the pitchers and the latter occurring in just a few. Secondly in decoration: the neck is decorated with a hatched rope pattern, like Athens NM 17497 (cat.no 256, PL.49a), Louvre CA 2500 (CVA 16, pl.26, 1,2) and Copenhagen 9376 (cat.no 255) although the Copenhagen vase also has the hanging and upright triangles as filling ornament.

Outside this workshop, the hatched rope pattern was frequently used as a decorative frieze by the Hirschfeld Workshop (26) in Late Geometric Ib as well as the Lambros

Workshop (Davison, 1961, figs. 85, 86), but can also be seen in LGII on a number of vases belonging to the Burly Workshop (e.g. Louvre CA 3452, cat. no 309, Louvre CA 1821, cat. no 306, PLS. 4e, 6a).

This hatched rope pattern could be regarded as a stylized snake (cf. CVA Louvre 16, pl. 26). The connection of the snake with the underworld is firmly established (27) despite the fact that snakes in either painted or plastic form, do occasionally occur on vases from wells not graves (28). Snakes, however, decorated in a plastic form the rim, shoulder and handles of the majority of the Late Geometric II funerary amphorae and hydriae (29). In Late Geometric I painted undulating snakes flanking a wheel occur on a fragment from the Agora mentioned above (Agora P 7024, cat. no 6) and in LGII the scheme occurs on vases belonging to the Sub-Dipylon Group (e.g. Leiden I/09/II, cat. no 125).

In a painted form but not flanking a wheel, the undulating snake appears on the München 6080 amphora of the Dipylon Workshop (cat. no 30) and on the München 6083 ring vase (CVA 3, pl. 129, 10-11); snakes in a painted form are

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26. Krater New York 14.130.14 (cat. no 48, PLS. 1f, 10a), Dune-din E.57.155 (cat. no 57) where the rope pattern decorates the neck and shoulder of a pitcher; an amphora body from grave LXXII from the Kriezi street cemetery attributed to the Hirschfeld Workshop (cat. no 52).
27. A.B. Cook, Zeus, a Study in Ancient Religion, vol. II, 2, 1925, 1054ff.; Nilsson, 1967, 198, 199.
28. Agora P 7024 from well D11:5, (cat. no 6); Agora P 10154 from well T19:3: Brann, 1962, nos 246, 384, pls. 14, 22.
29. Coldstream, 1968, 60, 67-68, 79, 82; Kübler, 1954, 177 n. 170; Hampe, 1960, 80; the earliest plastic snakes are seen on Athens NM 769: Davison, 1961, fig. 17 which is LGI, but became popular only in LGII. Only in Boeotia do plastic snakes decorate other shapes than amphorae or hydriae: e.g. the handles of oenochoae: Rückert, 1976, pls 1, 2, 1-4; 3, 2-4; 4, 2-3; 6; handles of kantharoi: Rückert, 1976, pl. 26.

also found on the handles of two kantharoi: München 8050 (CVA 3,pl.121), Tübingen 2658 (cat.no 61); all the examples listed above are LGI, while for the LGII period the Louvre CA 1821 oenochoe (cat.no 306,PL.6a) and the Frankfurt VFB 224 pitcher by the Anavyssos Painter (CVA 1,pl.6,7) offer good examples.

The dotted lozenge chain enclosing the hatched rope pattern, or stylized snake, on the neck of the Merenda pitcher is characteristic too of nearly all the vases belonging to the Rattle Group.

The shoulder decoration is unique on this vase by comparison to the other vases of the group, although it shares many features with them in the metopal system of decoration. The central panel is flanked on either side by mastoi: here they are encircled by dots and bordered below by two cross-hatched triangles like the giant oenochoe in a Private Collection (cat.no 250) and London BM 1916.1-8.2 (cat.no 249,PL.50b). Between the triangles there is also a dotted rosette.

Unlike the other vases of this group with a figured scene, here the central panel is decorated with a chequerboard pattern, bordered below by a triple band and hanging and upright cross-hatched triangles, like the ones on the Boston vase (cat.no 252). I shall refer to below to the interpretation of the chequerboard.

The two shoulder side panels which are flanked by the mastoi have an identical figured scene depicting a lion attacking a goat; the lion on the left is facing right and the one on the right left, thus forming a sym-

metrical composition with the chequerboard panel in the centre. Such a symmetrical composition is also seen on the Cesnola krater from Kourion in New York (30).

The chequerboard zone on the lower body is also found on the BSA K 83 vase (cat.no 248), Athens NM 18542 (cat. no 254), Baltimore Robinson Collection (CVA 1,pl.13) and Copenhagen 9367 (cat.no 255). The lower part of the body is glazed like the other vases of the Rattle Group. Since there is no human figured decoration, it is difficult to assign the vase to a painter within the group; however, both the shape and the decoration reveal a talented artist.

I shall now turn to the figured panels on the shoulder and examine the representation both in a wider and a narrower context. I shall start by making an iconographic analysis of the actual form of the figures and their relationship constituting Panofsky's "primary or natural subject matter" (Panofsky, 1972, 11-17).

The lion is drawn in the silhouette technique; the eye however is indicated in outline and part of the thigh and the neck are cross-hatched, probably to denote the muscle and the mane. The teeth and the tongue are shown, thus emphasizing its wildness, while its victim, a helpless goat, has been caught by the neck; the captured animal has been identified as a goat on grounds of its upright tail (cf. Chapter I, Section A, B "Goats" "Deer"). One of the lion's front paws is raised and the claws are indicated. A curious feature of the representation is the lion's tail which is represented like a wavy line along the lion's body and back again. The nearest equivalent of a

30. New York 74.51.965: Coldstream, 1968, 172 no 1, pl. 135.

tail represented as a wavy line is the hanging tail of bulls as seen in the interior of skyphoi: Athens NM 14475 (cat.no 432, PL.38b), Athens NM 13038 (cat.no 227), Basel Erlenmeyer Collection (cat.no 431, PL.43b) and the tails of the bulls on the lower frieze of an amphora in Stockholm (MM 1976.11, cat.no 153, PL.21b), which form a fork. The tails of centaurs on the hydria neck in the Polites Collection in Athens (cat.no 198) are also similar. In all these instances, however, the tail is hanging and not represented above the animal's body as here.

The filling ornament in the panels consists of a chevron column to the right of the goat, zig-zag lines, an M column and vertical and dotted line below the lion's body and, finally, an upright cross-hatched triangle.

The schematic and detailed rendering of the lion on the Merenda pitcher does not seem to have an exact counterpart in Attic LGI or II vase painting. However it seems to me to bear some resemblance to the two confronting lions which are depicted on the skyphos-pyxis from the Athenian Kerameikos (cat.no 303, PL.38a) which in other details of the decoration shows affinities to our vase. At all events the impression of the lion which is conveyed to us is the same which characterises all Geometric lions: a widely open mouth with sharp teeth and tongue, as well as long claws (e.g. Copenhagen NM 727, cat.no 305, PL.37c, 39a, also by the Burly Workshop). The large eye of some lion representations should be understood as a threatening glance - the visual perception of the Homeric γλυκιάων and χαροποί τε λέοντες.

Although separate features of our scheme of representation such as the raised paw and the rendering of the tail, could have, as we have seen, an Oriental prototype, I believe that the theme and the further significance that it acquires on the specific vase where it is represented, is purely Greek. This is further emphasized if the Merenda pitcher is viewed within the group of pitchers and other vases to which it belongs.

The iconographic theme of a lion attacking an animal is just one of the schemes in which the lion occurs in Late Geometric vase painting. As we have seen in Chapter II the lion occurs in a decorative frieze or panel; we also saw that the earliest representation of a lion in Attic vase painting is the Louvre A 514 pyxis-krater. Kübler (1970, 73 n.225, 84) who identified the animals under the handle, links them to the animals under the other handle, which are deer, he thus forms a group of lions attacking deer. This link is extremely important for our study because apart from being the earliest lion in Geometric vase painting on the Mainland, it further proves that the subject with which we are concerned here, i.e. lion attacking an animal, has its iconographic origin in the Middle Geometric II period.

The theme of a lion attacking an animal is extremely rare in Attic Late Geometric vase painting and unique within the Rattle Group. In fact there is just one more example in Attic LGII of a lion attacking an animal and it comes from the Workshop of Athens 894 and is therefore slightly later than the Merenda pitcher. On Table 44

TABLE 44

LION ATTACKING ANIMAL LGII/ EPA

Representation	Workshop	Shape	Bibliography
Kerameikos K 2	Athens 894	Amphora	cat.no 185 PL.27a
Vlastos Coll.	N Painter	Kantharos	Cook, 1935, 184 fig.8
BM 1936.10-17.1	N Painter	Amphora	Hampe, 1960, 37 fig. 19. PLATE 29a
Agora P 22436	N Painter	Oenochoe	Davison, 1961, fig. 56; Brann, 1962, no 427, fig.5.
Cambridge	?	Krater	Tölle, 1963, 218ff. n. 12, 222 fig.5.
Kerameikos 81	?	Oenochoe	Kübler, 1954, pl.56
Louvre CA 825	Boeotian	Amphora	CVA 17, pls.7, 1, 3; 9, 1, 3; Rückert, 1976, 83 BA 10.
Bonn 1950	Boeotian	Amphora	Canciani, 1965, 21 no 13, fig.16; Hampe, 1936, 27 V 39, pl.9-9c; Rückert, 1976, 83 BA9, pl.9; Müller, 1978, 239 no 63.
Berlin A 26	Attic	Krater	CVA 1, pl.16, 1.
Berlin A 23	Attic	Krater lid	CVA 1, pl.14, 1.
Berlin A 22	Attic	Krater	CVA 1, pl.12; 13, 3.

a full list of the Late Geometric and Early Protoattic vases where the theme occurs is given. The same theme occurs also on fourteen goldbands which are listed on Table 45.

In other media the earliest representation of a lion is seen on the Middle Geometric catch plate of a gold fibula from the Elgin Collection in the British Museum (Higgins, 1969, 147) mentioned above, but the animal there is alone. From the end of the eighth century several fibulae represent the subject of a lion attacking an animal (31).

Apart from Boeotian vase painting and the Cretan Protogeometric krater mentioned above (Chapter II) the other Greek areas have little to offer: the occurrence of lions in Argive pottery is rather obscure and exemplified only by fragments (32).

Innumerable lions appear too in Mycenaean and Minoan iconography, not just on pottery but on other media and mostly on seals. Buchholz has gathered one hundred and thirty two examples of the theme in the Bronze Age (Buchholz, 1973, J19-J27 nos 1-132). The completely different rendering of the theme however in the Bronze and Iron Ages does not allow for any comparisons and contrasts of the subject.

The subjects involving lions continue to be popular throughout the seventh century in various media (33).

31. Northern Greek: Hoffmann, 1971, 151 no 71; Boeotian: Hampe 1971, nos 125, 127, 129; id., 1936, pls. 8, 9: at least thirteen examples in all.

32. Courbin, 1966, 415, all of which come from sanctuaries not tombs. From Achaea there is also one example of a lion pursuing a deer: PAE 1956, 200 fig. 2; Coldstream,

TABLE 45

GOLDBANDS: LION ATTACKING ANIMAL

Athens NM 813	Ohly, 1953, group I, A1, pl. II; Brückner-Pernice, 1893, 107ff. grave VI; Schweitzer, 1969, fig. 222; Müller, 1978 229 no 1.
Athens NM 15309	Ohly, 1953, group I, A2, pl. 1.2.3; 6, 1, 2; Kübler, 1954, 185ff. 260 grave 72, pl. 158; Schweitzer, 1969, 198, fig. 222.
Berlin GI 306	Ohly, 1953, group I, A3, pl. 1, 4; Müller, 1978, 229 no 1.
From Kynosarges	<u>AD</u> , 1972, Chronika B1, 165ff. fig. 12; <u>BCH</u> 97, 1973, 26; Müller, 1978, 229 no 1.
Louvre MNB 475	Ohly, 1953, group 1, A5, pl. 2, 2, 7, 1; Müller, 1978, 229 no 2.
Kerameikos	Ohly, 1953, group I, A6, pl. 3; Kübler, 1954, 185ff. 245, grave 50, pl. 185; Müller , 1978, 229 no 3.
Oxford 1106	Ohly, 1953, 33ff. group III, A15, pl. 9, 1-3; Müller, 1978, 14ff. 230 no 5.
Oxford 1107	Ohly, 1953, 33ff. group III, A16, pl. 11, 2-4; Müller, 1978, 14ff. 230 no 5.
Berlin GI 308	Ohly, 1953, 34ff. group III, A17, pl. 9, 4, 11, 1; Müller, 1978, 14ff. 230 no 6.
Athens NM 3637	Ohly, 1953, 22ff. group II, A7, A8, pl. 3, fig. 7, 8; Schweitzer, 1969, 202, fig. 229; Müller, 1978, 14ff. 230 no 9.
Louvre MNC 1291	Ohly, 1953, 31 group II, A12, pl. 4, 1; 7, 2; fig. 12; Müller, 1978, 14ff. 230 no 9.
Swiss Market	Ohly, 1953, 154; Hampe, 1952, pl. 12 note 35;

TABLE 45 (cont.)

Ex Coll.Dr.W.Orendi	Ohly,1953,31 group II, A13, pl.4,3; 8,2-3, fig.13; Müller,1978,14ff. 229 no 4.
Goldband now lost	Ohly,1953,46, A25 (probably belongs to Ohly's group I); Müller,1978, 14ff. 230 no 7.

By comparing the scene with similar ones on vases and other media, I will examine the theme in its wider context; firstly the problem of whether lions were extant during the Late Geometric period will arise. Fittschen (1969,85 n.440) supports the view that lions were still extant in Greece at this time, mainly to support his non-mythological approach to Geometric scenes on the whole and he cites Herodotus (Book VII,124-126) and Pausanias (Book VI,5,5) as literary evidence; even if we accept this it seems unlikely that the artists would have seen a real lion wandering about in Attica.

Hampe (1936,39ff.), and his view is shared by Kunze (34) regards the lion as having a mythological rather than a daily character. But here again what is not daily is not necessarily mythological and vice-versa. On the whole, however, I think that this is a natural history problem and I do not think that it is pertinent to the interpretation of the theme.

Artists may draw their inspiration from nature -although the schematic representation of Geometric lions renders it doubtful whether artists did in fact see the real animal alive (Gabelmann,Studien zum frühgriechischer Löwenbild,1965,106, who believes that dogs could have served as a model) , or as Gombrich says by citing Malraux:

1968,232.

33. Fittschen, 1969, 77ff. L6 (goldplaques from Ephesos), L9 (krater from the Heraeum in Samos), L10, L35 (ivory from Perachora and Delphi), L11, L21, L33, L34 (relief amphorae), L14 (silver fibula from Thorikos), L18, L19, L20 (MPC aryballoi), L22(LPC Chigi vase), L23 (LPC olpe); cf. also Buchholz, 1973, 228 nos 145, 146, 148, 149, J29 nos 159-168; J30 nos 169-175.

"art is born of art not nature" (Gombrich, 1960, 20) and applying this to Geometric art, would mean that they drew their inspiration from earlier and contemporary Greek or Oriental prototypes.

At this point I would like to stress what I mentioned earlier as regards Oriental prototypes: although I do not wish to minimize the importance of the Near East as a source of inspiration especially during a period of renewed contacts (Coldstream, 1968, 358ff.), I would like to differentiate the actual meaning of the representation, regarding at the same time the combination of the motifs as being purely Greek.

The subject, however, of a lion attacking an animal can hardly be considered as an innovation of the Attic vase painters; these must have borrowed the theme from the goldbands, these latter too having been inspired by non-Attic works, whose ultimate source of inspiration was the Near East. The goldbands could well be the work of Oriental immigrant craftsmen who brought with them the new ideas (Coldstream, 1977, 124, 232). For a discussion concerning the problems and the dating of the goldbands cf. above (Chapter I, Section A "Goats" p.50ff.). The theme of a lion attacking an animal is found in Ohly's groups I, II and III; it is not represented in a panel but always in a frieze, where it is repeated several times. Both schemes which occur on the vases are found on the goldbands, i.e. lion lurking behind its victim and lion grasping its victim; on the goldbands we have both schemes in the same frieze (e.g. Louvre MNB 475, Athens NM 3637, cf.

Table 45).

Let us now make an iconographical comparison of the theme as represented on the Merenda pitcher to the other vases listed on Table 44. We can see from the list that the earliest representation of a lion attacking an animal, if we exclude the pyxis-krater in the Louvre (CVA 16, pl. 3) where the theme is separated and represented in two panels, is the representation on the Merenda pitcher; on the Kerameikos fragment, which is the only representation of the theme within the Workshop of Athens 894 (which otherwise uses the lion motif frequently), it only occupies the very inconspicuous space of a purely decorative shield emblem of one of the marching warriors. The scheme of the representation on the shield conforms to the known type of lion with one paw raised, large eye, teeth and tongue and hanging tail forming a spiral: the head is turned backwards towards the victim which is unidentifiable and represented above the lion's back, its forelegs touching the lion's tongue and not in direct contact. On the Cambridge krater we have another example from the EPA period but not coming from any of the known workshops. As Tölle (1963, 219ff. and n.12) remarked, the lion is quite close to the lions of the Essen K 969 amphora (cat.no 169, PLS. 171, 26b, 36c) and the victim- already dead?- lies under the lion's body. The other LGII workshops do not favour the theme at all and it is only found again in the EPA period, where it is seen on two vases attributed to the N Painter.

The representation in EPA apparently acquires new im-

portance since it occupies both panels on the neck of the British Museum amphora (PLATE 29a). The main frieze of the body of this vase is decorated with a chariot procession, while the plastic snakes on the handles indicate its funerary purpose. The scheme of the lion is well known, while the victim - a deer - squats on the ground held under the pressure of the lion's paw.

On the Vlastos kantharos a different moment is depicted: not the actual action of the lion killing its victim, but the moment before, while the tension is mounting and the juxtaposition of power and weakness make clear the outcome of the attack. These two different moments for representing a story are reflected in later Greek art, when Archaic artists depicted the climax of an action, while the moment before or after was favoured by the Early Classical artists.

The EPA oenochoe from the Agora is a work of the N Painter or as Brann says at least from the Painter's workshop. This is originally Cook's N Group (Cook, 1947, 151) and Davison's Oxford Workshop (Davison, 1961, 49-51, figs. 54-58). The scheme of the representation of the oenochoe is different and it is interesting to note that all three works which stem from the same workshop use different schemes of the same theme. The latest Attic work mentioned here is the trefoil-lipped oenochoe from grave 62/LXII in the Kerameikos dated by Kübler in the first decade of the seventh century: on the body of the jug there is an animal frieze moving to the right: a lion with frontal head and a double row of teeth and opposite him a lying

sphinx; between the lion and the sphinx there is a volute ornament and a deer which is caught from the neck by a lion which also has its left paw raised, while the sphinx raises her right paw towards the volute ornament; finally a bird is turned towards the sphinx.

On both the Paris and Bonn Boeotian amphorae, the scheme is the same and is depicted on the shoulder on both sides: the lion crouching to the right, behind a springing goat. As Canciani remarks (1965,20,21) they directly remind us of the works of the N Painter.

The separate elements of the representation do not allow us to characterize the lion as being anything more than a wild animal of prey; but when the theme is viewed in a wider context, then it is possible to attach a symbolic significance. By symbolic I mean that the representation carries beyond its own material significance a broader idea, and more specifically, here we are dealing with the symbolism of an abstract idea. Even though Fittschen admits that the lions are more than ordinary animals of prey and treats them under the general section of daemonic creatures, he denies the existence of symbolism in Greek art during this early period (35). I do however believe that daemonic and symbolic are two notions which go together; an animal which we characterize as daemonic immediately acquires a further significance which lies beyond its actual visual form and which becomes the symbol

35. Fittschen, 1969, 86 notes 441, 442; cf. also Malten, *JdI* 29, 1914, 223ff. The word symbol is often avoided by many scholars, but not Hampe, 1936, 31 "gleichnishafter symbolhalt"; Brunnsaker, 1962, 235 n.2; Hahland, 1937, 130; Matz, 1950, 64, among others.

of an abstract idea.

At this point Ohly's interpretation of the themes on the goldbands is very important. From the Homeric lion similes he interprets these representations as similes for the human and especially the universal fate of death. He distinguishes two types: the "clear" and the "mixed" similes; the first are represented by the "lion attacking animal" scheme, and the second by the "lion attacking men."

Müller (1978, 13ff.) goes further and sets forth the conjecture that the poets of the Homeric epics recognised behind the lion's power and wildness a daemonic power and as R.A.Hood (1974, 98ff.) remarks "the lion... the symbol of natural ferocity and untamed destructive power... taken by the Greeks as a more specific symbol of ravaging death". The fact that the theme is depicted on vases and goldbands which were clearly funerary, emphasizes this fact.

In the case of the Merenda pitcher this point is further stressed, since the other vases of the Rattle Group have clearly a funeral iconographic context with scenes depicting various rituals connected with the cult of the dead. I would go further to suggest that the chequerboard on the shoulder of the Merenda pitcher by association to the chequerboard of subgroup I, is the symbol of the grave, a bird's eye view of the grave around which some of the rituals were performed.

C. THE HUNT GROUP

To the five original oenochoae (Table 46) grouped by Coldstream (1968,76-77) and ascribed to the same workshop on grounds of style and iconography, should be added another oenochoe which is actually in a private collection in New York and which has many affinities with the oenochoae of the Hunt Group.

The unpublished New York vase (cat.no 297,PLS.62a,b; 63a,b) which Professor Coldstream has kindly drawn to my attention and given me pictures of, is very close in style to the Copenhagen 1628 vase (cat.no 296,PL.64b) and less so to the Cambridge GR-I-1935 vase (cat.no 295); the neck panel with the theme of man between horses is almost identical in all three: the narrow waist, the broad shoulders and heavy thighs are characteristics of the Non-Classical Workshops (Coldstream,1968,76-77), while other common features are the reserved eye, the helmet and the sword (on the New York and Cambridge oenochoae the sword and sheath) round the waist. One of the two birds which flank the man on the neck of the Cambridge oenochoe has moved above the horse's back on the New York vase. Other features of the New York oenochoe which support the attribution to this group of vases, include the dotted rosette and dotted line used as filling ornament and repeated on the Copenhagen and Cambridge vases; this filling ornament was frequently used by the Hirschfeld Workshop (e.g. München 8748,cat.no 54) while other features of this latter workshop such as the chequerboard zone and the style of the horses, indicates its influence on the Hunt Group.

TABLE 46

THE HUNT GROUP

<u>Representation</u>	<u>Cat.No</u>	<u>Hunting scene</u>	<u>Context</u>
Athens NM 17457	292	three dogs and fox	horses PL.8a
Boston 25.42	293	dogs, foxes and four men	-
München 8696	294	dogs and hare	shipwreck PL.64a
Cambridge GRI- 1935	295	dogs and fox	man and horses Dipylon warriors
Copenhagen 1628	296	dogs and hare	Man and horses sea fight PL.64b
New York	297	man and cattle	man and horses PLS.62a,b 63a,b

The New York oenochoe has the hunting scene decorating the shoulder: the animals though not readily identifiable are close in style to the animals of the Munich 8696 vase (cat.no 294,PL.64a) and Copenhagen 1628 (cat. no 296,PL.64b). Furthermore the chequerboard which decorates the main body zone is found also on the neck of the Boston 25.42 oenochoe (cat.no 293). Finally the circular bands which decorate the lower body, characterize all the vases of the group.

The hunting themes are by no means the only figured decoration of the vases (the Boston vase being the only exception), but the only one which is common to all six. It is interesting to note that this group of vases which shows strong homogeneity in one subject also has a wide range of other subjects.

The other subjects include "man between horses" on the Cambridge, Copenhagen and New York vases (this iconographic theme has been discussed above in connection with the Concentric Circle Group), three horses alternating with three wheels on the Athens NM 17457 vase (PLATE 8a), or more complex representations such as the "shipwreck scene" and the "fighting from ship", which decorate the Munich 8696 (PL.64a) and Copenhagen 1628 (PL.64b) respectively (Table 46). These two representations (i.e. sea fight and shipwreck) are either extremely scarce or unique in Greek Late Geometric painting and have been discussed in Chapter I, Section G, Ship Scenes).

I shall now analyse the hunting scenes themselves as they occur not only on the vases of the Hunt Group, but

on other vases as well (Table 47).

Iconographically speaking the LGII hunting scenes can be divided into seven schemes: the first three represent the purely animal scenes and the remaining four involve both animals and men:

scheme a) dogs and hare

scheme b) dogs and fox

scheme c) dogs and deer

scheme d) men, dogs and foxes

scheme e) men, dogs and hare

scheme f) man, dogs and goat/cattle

scheme g) man and birds

Let us start first with scheme a) found on two vases belonging to the Hunt Group (Münich 8696, Copenhagen 1628); both these vases are connected as we have seen above and in Chapter I, Section G, with ship scenes. The representation of the hunting scene is identical on both vases and is depicted on the shoulder: four dogs are hunting a hare; It is clear that there can be no logical connection with the other scenes of the vases and should be considered as subsidiary decorative panels.

Outside the Hunt Group the scheme of dogs chasing hare is met with on thirteen vases belonging to the Classical and non-Classical Workshops of the LGII period. (Table 47). From the former cycle we have only three amphorae, two of which belong to the Workshop of Athens 894 and one to the Philadelphia Painter. These friezes are only subsidiary zones of ornament similar in meaning and function to the "running dogs" frieze. Seven vases belong to the

TABLE 47

HUNTING SCENES LGII

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape	Scheme
Röhsska Museum	148	Philadelphia	Amphora	a PL.32a
Berlin S.M.	151	Athens 894	Amphora	a PL.25b
Cleveland 1927. 27.6	164	Athens 894	Amphora	a PL.21a
Marseille 7471	174	Athens 894	Amphora	e
BM 1927.4-11.1	262	Anavysos	Amphora	a PL.20b
Athens NM 17457	292	Hunt Group	Oenochoe	b PL.8a
Boston 25.42	293	Hunt Group	Oenochoe	d
München 8696	294	Hunt Group	Oenochoe	a PL.64a
Cambridge GR.I- 1935	295	Hunt Group	Oenochoe	b
Copenhagen 1628	296	Hunt Group	Oenochoe	a PL.64b
N.Y.Private Coll.	297	Hunt Group	Oenochoe	f PLS.62a,b 63a,b
Copenhagen 3153	307	Burly	Oenochoe	g
Athens NM 13138	318	Athens 897	Amphora	a
Louvre CA 1789	320	Athens 897	Amphora	a
Reading 50.10.1	323	Athens 897	Amphora	a PL.44a,b
Berlin 31005	327	Athens 897	Amphora	a/b
Athens NM	328	Athens 897	Amphora	a/b
Athens NM 18444	336	Athens 897	Oenochoe	a
Agora P 23655	337	Athens 897	Oenochoe	a
Athens 3rd Ephoria	391	?	Oenochoe	f
Athens NM 18518	395	?	Oenochoe	c
Amsterdam 3506	397	?	Oenochoe	e
Athens NM 15271	454	?	Kotyle	a/b?
Kerameikos 1240	457	?	Cup	a

Workshop of Athens 897, where they frequently constitute the sole figured decoration of the vase; one more example of scheme a) comes from the Anavyssos Painter, while the remaining two vases cannot be ascribed to a recognisable painter of workshop.

Scheme b) is similar in composition to scheme a), only that the hunted animal is a fox. Within the Hunt Group it is seen on two vases where it decorates their shoulder (Athens NM 17457, cat.no 292 , PL.8a; Cambridge GR-I-1935, cat.no 295). Outside the Hunt Group it is not met as frequently as the "dogs hunting hare " theme, but occurs only on a couple of vases both of which belong to the Workshop of Athens 897 and have the "dog hunting hare " theme decorating the reverse side of the vase (Berlin E 31005, cat.no 327; Athens NM, cat.no 328).

The "dogs hunting deer" scheme c), occurs only on one vase which is unpublished: the Athens NM 18518 oenochoe (cat.no 395). This is obviously not a favoured subject, despite its relative frequency in Mycenaean times. Outside Attica deer are hunted not by dogs but by men and the theme is depicted in different media (36).

36. Goldband from Eretria: Vienna AM 124: Ohly, 1953, 48 E3, pl.13,2; fig.25; the central theme is a man attacked by two lions and has been discussed in Chapter II, Section B; the deer hunt is shown at the left side of the goldband: the deer is depicted suckling its young, a theme which recurs on the bronze fibula in a private collection in Philadelphia depicting a deer hunt: Hampe, 1936, pl.8. In three dimensional art there are two bronze groups from Olympia representing three and two dogs, respectively, attacking a deer: Heilmeyer, 1979, 143 no 723, pl.87=Olympia Museum 1106; no 722=Athens NM 6193. On pottery the theme of a deer hunt is depicted on an unusual vase from Ithaka: Benton, BSA 48, 1953, 328 no 1036 fig.26. These two latter representations of man and deer have been interpreted as the capture of the Ceryneian hind by Herakles; against this cf. Fittschen,

From the first half of the ninth century the earliest and most interesting deer hunt comes from Crete and is seen on a Protogeometric bell krater from Tekke tomb F, found in 1976 (37). The hunting scene is represented on both sides of the vase in a free field among the purely Geometric ornament and consists of two hunters, one with a square shield (Blome) or a net (Coldstream), a dog and two animals and a bird; the largest of these animals has been identified by Coldstream as a goat, probably on grounds of its upright tail (Chapter I, Section A, "Goats"). In any case these animals are more easily identifiable than the earlier goats seen on a bell krater from Fortetsa (Brock, 1957, pl. 4, 45) which could be either deer or goats or both.

In scheme d) men have now entered the scene. This scheme is represented only by one vase from the Hunt Group (Boston 25.42, cat. no 293). Some of animals are dogs, but apart from the short tail are otherwise similar to the foxes (cf. Coldstream, 1968, 76: "the fox can only be recognised by its long furry tail"). The Boston vase is the only one from the Hunt Group on which the hunting scene is represented on the body rather than on the shoulder. Outside the Hunt Group this scheme is not found on any other vase.

Men, dogs and hare constitute scheme e), which is not represented in the Hunt Group, but which occurs on two vases, one of which belongs to the Workshop of Athens 894 (Marseille 7271, cat. no 174; Amsterdam 3506, cat. no 397).

1969, 62.
37. Coldstream, 1980, 70ff. fig. 1; Blome, 1982, 91ff. figs. 19-20.

To scheme f) belongs a vase which has not been fully published (cat.no 391), representing a hunter, with whip or stick, hunting a hare, accompanied by three dogs and six goats; it is not clear whether the hare hunt and the frieze of goats should be separated or whether they belong to one scene; if the goats are regarded as wild goats, then they are part of the hunting scene and not purely decorative. With this group should be included the oenochoe from the Hunt Group in New York (cat.no 297, PLS. 62a,b; 63a,b), although the animals are not easily identifiable and could be goats or cattle.

Finally scheme g) is represented by just one vase belonging to the Burly Workshop (Copenhagen 3153, cat.no 307); the scene on this vase has been interpreted by many scholars (38) as a representation of the slaying of the Stymphalian birds by Herakles. Webster's view is supported by the representation on a Boeotian fibula in London (Hampe, 1936, no 100 pl.1), which has been interpreted as depicting Herakles and Iolaus slaying the Stymphalian birds. Fittschen (1969, 64ff.), however, has ingeniously pointed out that the two figures on the fibula are female and therefore not Herakles and Iolaus, who in any case are not known from tradition to have taken part together in the slaying of the Stymphalian birds. Since, then, the interpretation of the oenochoe depends directly on the interpretation of the fibula, it seems logical to conclude with Fittschen, that the scene does not belong to the

38. Poulsen 1954, 33ff.; Webster, 1955, 40; Kirk, The Songs of Homer, 1962, 284; Schefold, 1964, 21.

mythical sphere but to the world of reality.

Let us now turn to the Mycenaean hunting scenes. Before doing so, it is interesting to note that the earliest hunting representation is seen on a wall painting from level III at Catal Hüyük and has been dated to the sixth millennium B.C.(39). During the Mycenaean period, hunting scenes together with the fighting representations, were a theme peculiar to the Mainland, but unknown in Crete and found in both wall-painting and vase representations; the free composition of the latter makes it highly probable that the vase painting representations were inspired by the frescoes (40). From Cyprus, too, there are three Mycenaean imports which represent hunting (41).

As Johansen has pointed out (1923,86), the subject of hunting -and he is referring to hare hunting in particular- though found in Mycenaean iconography, should rather be considered as a theme borrowed from the Near East.

There are, however, a few Late Bronze Age representations of hunting, which seem to be much closer to the Geometric representations than the frescoes and vases mentioned above. As Coldstream has remarked (1980,73)"the bronze stands of Cyprus ought to be considered as a possi-

39. Mellaart, Earliest Civilisations of the Near East, 1965, 83 fig.50.

40. For Pylos cf. M.Lang, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in W.Messenia, vol.II, The Frescoes, 1969, 16H43, pls.12, 121B; for vase painting cf. Akerstrom, OpAth I, 1953, 18ff.: LH IIIB krater from Tsounta's House representing hounds, hunters and deer.

41. From Aradippo in the Louvre AM675: hunter, dogs, deer, goat boar; from Klavdhia in the British Museum C399: hunter,

ble source". Animal friezes representing hunting scenes decorate three such bronze stands, one of which is securely dated to the early twelfth century (42).

From scheme f) representing a man, dogs and goats, the nearest parallel is on a larnax from Tanagra (43). On the one side of the larnax the decoration is in two registers; on the upper register a man is turned to the right and is holding a whip or stick in his right hand; on either side of him are two goats, of a much larger scale than the man; scattered all over the field are seventeen more goats of different sizes. Very similar to the larnax is the representation on a Sub-Minoan krater from Mouliana in Crete (44). This krater has already been discussed in another context, in connection with riders. The difference in the composition of the krater, is that the two goats are facing outwards not inwards as on the larnax.

Turning to the Near East, the closest parallel for the Geometric hunting scenes are the decorated metal bowls from Nimrud. On one bowl (Borell, 1978, 76 Or30), a hare has been seized by one or two birds of prey: this theme is not met with in the Geometric representations. On the

deer and hound: Karageorghis-Vermeule, 1982, 203 V60, 204 V73, 206 V113.

42. New York 4704: dogs pursuing wild goats; fragmentary tripod from Myrtou Pighades in Cyprus: dog facing boar; dog seizing stag: Buchholz, 1973, J113, fig. 40a, b; the Anthedon Hoard from Boeotia: deer and dog preserved: Catling, 1964, 197 no 15, pl. 30a, b, c; 211 no 42, pl. 36c, d.

43. Stavropoulos, *AAA* 3, 1970, 184-197, fig. 16.

44. Furumark, 1944, 266 dates it to Late Minoan IIIB; cf. Chapter II: Section A, "Riders" note 2.

other hand, the frequent motif of hare pursued by dogs, is seen on another bowl from Nimrud in the British Museum (Borell, 1978, 76 Or32). Other Oriental hunting scenes include a stag hunted from a chariot as seen on an ivory pyxis from Nimrud (Barnett, 1957, 59). The Oriental hunting scenes are rich in iconography and include griffins fighting bulls or lions and combats of lions and bulls. Friezes with running hare but with the dogs being omitted, are seen on another bronze bowl from Sybaris (Borell, 1978, 54 fig.6).

Outside Attica the hunting representations are not so frequent. Considering neighbouring Boeotia first, we see that there are two examples of boar hunts, a theme unknown in Attic iconography (45). On the kantharos in the British Museum the animal is attacked from the right by a man with a spear and from the left by two dogs which have got hold of its tail, while on the Bonn kantharos the boar is attacked by two men with double axe and spear. Boar hunting is a subject found in both Minoan and Mycenaean iconography, but occurs neither in the Near East nor in Egypt (46). Boeotia does not seem to have any other variation of the hunting theme, which does not seem to have been favoured in any other part of Greece outside Attica, except for the Cretan krater which has been dis-

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45. British Museum 1910-13.1: Rückert, 1976, Ka 25, pl. 24a; Fittschen, 1969, 61 J4 believes that the animal is a stag, but the long tail and hair speak against such an interpretation. Bonn Akademisches Kunst Museum 664: Canciani, 1965, 43 no 15, 45 figs. 3, 4.
46. A boar hunt appears on the Tiryns fresco: Buchholz, 1973, J31, fig. 4; cf. above note 41 for a boar hunt on a tripod stand from Myrtou Pighades.

cussed above. The boar hunts have frequently been interpreted as representing the mythical Calydonian boar hunt, but Johansen (1923,149) has rightly pointed out that "ce sont tout simplement des scènes de genre", also followed by Fittschen (1969,61).

The subject continues well into the seventh century when apart from Early Protoattic (Table 48) examples, it occurs on Middle Protocorinthian aryballoi (Johansen,1923, pls.29,1;21;5,26,5;30,2;32;33; Fittschen,1969,60 J3). The most famous LPC hunting representations are seen on two vases both painted by the Macmillan Painter: the Chigi vase in Rome and the Macmillan aryballos in London (Johansen,1923,pl.40,31)(47) . In the sixth century scenes of reality become increasingly rarer with only a very few hunting scenes represented (48).

We have seen that the most likely source of inspiration for the hunting scenes are the Oriental metal bowls from Nimrud, although the twelve century bronze tripods are a strong candidate too; the Cypriot bronze stands, however, have not actually been found in Attica, whereas the Oriental bowls are much more widespread. On the other hand, the subject belongs to the sphere of reality and would reflect scenes from daily contemporary activities. These hunting scenes represent a more gay aspect of life when compared to the solemn prothesis scenes or to the formal character of the chariot representations.

47. For seventh century examples of hunting from Crete, Rhodes, Samos and Sparta cf. Buchholz, 1973, J61ff. nos 37-44 and from Corinth, id., J62 nos 22-39b.

TABLE 48

EPA HUNTING

Athens Passas Coll.	(amphora): Hampe, 1960, 41 Pa 3; Passas Painter.
Oxford 1935.18	(amphora): Hampe, 1960, 36 N2, 38 fig. 20; N Painter.
British Museum A 471	(oenochoe): Hampe, 1960, 36 N8, 40 fig. 24; N Painter.
New York 12.198.1	(oenochoe) : Unpublished; N Painter.
Würzburg 79	(amphora): Langlotz, 1932, 10 no 79, pl. 7.
Athens NM 222	(amphora) : <u>CVA</u> 2, III He, pl. 5, 2-4; Buchholz, 1973, J38 no 13.

The Homeric poems testify also that hunting was the favourite occupation of Early Greeks. In the Iliad and the Odyssey boar hunts are frequently mentioned (e.g. Iliad XII 41ff;146ff.). Hunting of deer and goats with the help of dogs is also described (e.g.Iliad XV 271ff.)

οιδ'ὼς τ' ἠέλαφον κεραόν ἢ ἀγριον αἶγα
εσσεύαντο κύνες τε καί ἀνέρες ἀγριώται

In the poem "the Shield of Herakles", a work ascribed to Hesiod, a hare hunt is described (302ff.).

τοῖδ'ὠκύποδας λαγός ἤρην
ἀνδρες θηρευταί καί καρχηρόδοντε κύνε πρό
ιέμενοι μαπέειν, οἱ δ'ιέμενοι υπαλύξαι

Another theme which is closely linked to the hunting scene is the "return from hunt " theme. From the LGII period it is seen on the Kerameikos 407 stand (cat.no 414, PL.37b), but became popular only from the seventh century onwards (49). Centaurs are represented also returning from hunt (e.g. Athens NM 238 (Boeotian), Bromhall Collection (cat.no 332).

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48. Boston MFA 97.363: orientализing Boeotian bowl: dogs hunting hare: Fairbanks, 1928, 531, pl. LVI; London A 147: amphora from Vulci by Exekias: on the lid deer and boar hunt: Beazley, 1956, 135 no 44; Würzburg 442: lekanis: boar hunt: Langlotz, 1932, pl. 119; Boston MFA 67.598: Caeretan hydria: deer hunt: Buchholz, 1973, J54 fig. 11; Louvre: cup: deer hunted from horseback: Beazley, 1956, no 18.
49. On the EPA München stand : Vierneisel, 1967, 241-248, is represented a hunter with a branch over his shoulder with a deer and bird hanging from it. Other examples: fragment from the Acropolis 338: Graef, 1909, no 345a, pl. 11; Fittschen, 1969, J16-J21.

APPENDIX
NEW WORKSHOPS

In the Appendix new workshops will be considered. Since the identification of a workshop or painter is based more on style rather than on iconography, their analysis has not been included in the main body of this research.

Iconographic details and peculiarities of the new workshops shall be discussed with reference to the appropriate sections of the main text, while a short digression on "mourners" and "dancers" has been included in the section of the Villa Giulia Painter.

A. THE VILLA GIULIA PAINTER

Three vases appear to have been painted by the same hand and to form a group: these vases are two hydriae and one amphora: Villa Giulia 1212 (cat.no 224, PLS.15m,), Athens Canellopoulos Collection 821 (cat.no 225) and Philadelphia 30.33.133 (cat.no 226, pl.26a).

Jean Davison was the first to consider the Villa Giulia hydria since its original publication by Carpino and attributed it to the Hydria Hand within the Workshop of Athens 894 (Davison, 1961, 83 figs.12 a-b). Coldstream (1968, 60 note) on the other hand considered it only as a "wild Subgeometric work".

This vase, however, has assumed more importance since its re-examination by Bronson (1964, 175ff.57-59), who has shown that it does not belong to the Hydria Hand and to quote his own words: "...the potter of the Hydria Hand hydriae and the potter of the Villa Giulia hydria are profoundly different personalities, so much that one cannot imagine them working in any sort of immediate proximity,

much less the same workshop".

Since shape is not always a safe criterion, the painter and the potter not being necessarily the same person, we should turn to the decoration which also suggests a different hand from the Hydria Hand. Among the peculiarities noted by Bronson on this vase, we should stress the artist's tendency towards irregularity and to mention but a few irregular features: not all the women have their torso in the silhouette technique; some have cross-hatching : the cross-hatched torso is an irregular feature in Greek Geometric art; it is found on the handle zone on the krater in New York 14.130.14 (cat.no 48,PLS.1f,10a) by the Hirschfeld Painter, where some of the female mourners have cross-hatched torsos, while the others have their whole bodies in silhouette. Ahlberg (1971,176) believes that the variation of the dress has a specific meaning, denoting a different function in the funeral ritual and that it characterizes professional and private mourners on the prothesis scenes. Since on the Villa Giulia vase we are dealing with a dance scene and not a prothesis, I believe that this assumption, even if it applies to the prothesis scenes, which in any case I find difficult to accept, does not acquire this significance on the dancing scenes. The variation of dress on the Villa Giulia hydria should rather be considered as an iconographic experiment of the painter and as we shall see below, is not a characteristic feature of Attic vase painting, but was favoured, however, in other regions.

Besides the above mentioned example, cross-hatched

torsos are seen on a hydria in Athens NM 14423 (cat.no 400) and the shipwreck hydria of the Hunt Group in München (cat.no 294,PL.64a). On the Benaki 7675 amphora by the Benaki Painter (cat.no 349) the two figures on either side of the bier of the prothesis scene and the female mourners on the reverse neck panel, have fully cross-hatched robes.

This cross-hatching seems to be a more common feature of Geometric vases outside Attica. As L.Kahil remarked (1), this cross-hatching of the torso is a much commoner feature on vases of Euboean origin or imitation and is seen on the Euboean amphora neck (inv.no 3278 FK 2786) and also on the colonial Euboean oenochoe in London (BM 49.5-18.18: Coldstream,1981 ii,fig.2,pl.XI) and on the Pithecussan stand representing a rider (AR,1967-68,36 fig. 10,cf. also Chapter II,Section A,"Riders"). Another vase from Pithecussae (barrel-jug) representing three women to the right, has their torsos rendered in cross-hatching (AR 1970-71,64 fig.3). From Boeotia too, on a hydria under strong Euboean influence, representing a rather disorganised prothesis scene, all the figures whether male or female, including the dead figure, have cross-hatched torsos (2). As we have seen, the difference between hatching and silhouette does not seem to have any consistent meaning in terms of drapery, but should be considered as a more realistic attempt to represent clothing (Coldstream,1981,246, cf. also Chapter I,Section F note 86); it seems rather to be a regional particularity

1.L.Kahil,1979,99ff.,pl.27.(Kahil mistakenly refers to the hydria in Markopoulo as having cross-hatching on the women's torsos.

2.Louvre A 575:Coldstream,1968,205 no 17; Ahlberg,1971,

of Euboea and of areas under Euboean influence.

Turning back now to the Villa Giulia hydria, we see that Bronson (1964,176) notes the dangles or folds hanging from the waist of the figures, but he does not site any other examples from inside Attica. Nevertheless, this is no longer true, since we see that the recently published hydria in the Canellopoulos Collection (cat.no 225) has these characteristic folds: this feature is characteristic of Argive pottery (Courbin,1966,435,pls.146-7); it is also found on the Euboean neck mentioned above and is therefore no longer unique in Attica ,but is shared by these two hydriae.

Bronson coined the name of the Painter of the Villa Giulia hydria as the "Painter of the Elizabethan Collar", derived from the mourning women on the hydria's neck, who have six white discs on the shoulders and which he thought resembled Elizabethan collars, but he could point to no other examples of the painter's work.

Mrs.Brouskari in her recent publication of the Canellopoulos Collection (1979), attributes the hydria to the Hydria Hand; she seems however a little hesitant since she remarks that "On relève pourtant quelques differences entre notre vase et les autres vases du peintre"; I hope to show that these doubts are not unfounded and that this vase does not belong to the Hydria Hand, but was painted by the same artist who painted the Villa Giulia hydria.

As regards the shape these two vases have almost the

fig.52a,b.

same proportions, implying that the potter, at least, was the same (Villa Giulia 1212,height:0,45m,diameter of mouth:0,145m; Canellopoulos Coll.hydrria,height:0,46m; diameter of mouth:0,145m.). Furthermore the belly handles on both vases are set vertically and are decorated with plastic snakes. Although plastic snakes decorate the rim, neck and strap handles of the hydrriae of the Hydria Hand, they are not found on the belly handles. Only the unpublished hydrria from Markopoulo (cat.no 193,PL.69a,b) has the plastic snakes on the belly handles, but in any case it does not belong to Davison's original Hydria Hand.

Another feature which is common on these two hydrriae is the meander: on the Villa Giulia vase it occupies the more conspicuous field on the body between the handles, a feature also shared by the third vase of this group, an amphora which Miss King (1969,664,pl.128,1,2) calls the companion to the Villa Giulia hydrria; and to repeat her own words:"there are enough similarities between the hydrria and the Philadelphia amphora to warrant the assumption that the same man painted both of them". The most striking feature on these two vases is the representation of a chariot frieze with chariots with cross-bars in outline, which pass over the charioteer's legs and the vertical bar behind him which is unique in Attic Geometric pottery. Bronson suggests that the artist of the Villa Giulia hydrria is using outline for the parts of the chariot that appear on both sides of the body; the two side rails for example, are both being shown. His explanation

is probably correct especially since the front rail is not shown in outline. The Villa Giulia and Philadelphia chariots belong to type e) (cf. Chapter I, Section E, "chariots"). A chariot frieze does not decorate the third vase of the group , the hydria in the Canellopoulos Collection.

From an iconographic point of view, the Canellopoulos hydria is the poorest, since figured decoration is only found on the neck; like the Villa Giulia hydria, female figures moving to the right occupy this zone; no female figures appear on the Philadelphia amphora, where the neck is decorated with three armed warriors on either side, moving respectively to the left and right. If we compare the female figures on the two hydriae, we note that there are certain differences: first of all on the Canellopoulos hydria, they all have their torsos in the silhouette technique and the six white discs do not appear on the shoulders of the female figures. Secondly and also more important, the figures on the two vases have different gestures: on the Canellopoulos hydria they do not hold hands or branches or crowns (3), but have the right hand raised to the chest and the left hanging to the side. This gesture for female dancers is, as far as I know unique in Late Geometric art.

The gestures of female and male dancers and mourners

3. Crown or tambourine holding figures (always female) appear only in Late Geometric II either as part of a dance (e.g. Villa Giulia 1212, cat. no 224 ; Athens NM 784, cat no 202; München 6228, cat. no 190; Germany Private Collection, cat. no 142) or in no connection with dancing (e.g. BM 1899.2-19.1, cat. no 136).

have been studied and classified by many scholars (Tölle, 1964; Wegner, 1968, 47ff.; Ahlberg, 1971, 261-267) and have therefore not been included in the main text of the present research. A short digression is needed, however, at this point in order to examine the theme from a LGII viewpoint.

The gestures of the figures in Late Geometric art (both LGI and LGII) can be classified into two groups: those directly connected with the funerary sphere and which are therefore mourning attitudes and the dancing attitudes which are not necessarily connected with "Totenkult".

To the first group belong two types of gestures, exemplified by the two/hand mourning attitude or the one/hand attitude, represented either on the prothesis scenes (e.g. Baltimore 48.2231, cat. no 165, PL.23a), or when the prothesis itself is absent (e.g. Essen K 969, cat. no 169, Tables 49, 50). The two/hand mourning gesture is formed by placing both hands on the head. Wegner (1968, U47, fig. 4 a-e), distinguished five types of this attitude for either male or female figures. According to Ahlberg, however, (1971, 261), the two/hand mourning attitude in Attic prothesis is restricted to female figures and she consequently uses the two/hand gesture as a criterion of distinction for female figures. All the LGI male and female mourners are directly connected with prothesis or ekphora; only in LGII do the mourners appear in a different context.

As can be seen on Table 50 there are thirty eight

TABLE 49

FEMALE MOURNERS

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape	Context
LGI				
Athens NM 804	1	Dipylon	Amphora	Prothesis
Sèvres MN	3	Dipylon	Amphora	Prothesis
Louvre A 517	4	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Louvre A 522	7	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Halle Robertinum	15	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Athens NM 802	17	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Pireus street	18	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Amsterdam P2015	19	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Louvre A 547	21	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Sydney Nicholson	22	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Louvre A 541	23	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Louvre A 552	24	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Athens NM 812	72	?	Krater	Prothesis
Athens NM 806	73	?	Krater	Prothesis
Brussels A1506	78	?	Krater	Prothesis
Dresden ZV 1635	55	Hirschfeld	Pitcher	Prothesis
N.Y.14.130.14	48	"	Krater	Prothesis
Kriezi street	52	"	Amphora	Prothesis
Athens NM 990	46	"	Krater	Ekphora
Athens NM 803	2	Dipylon	Amphora	Ekphora
Louvre A 545	45	Dipylon	Krater	?
New York 34.11.2	76	?	Krater	Prothesis

TABLE 50

FEMALE MOURNERS

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape	Context
LGII				
Oxford 1916.55	137	Sub-Dipylon	Amphora	Prothesis
Berlin 3203	143	Philadel.	Amphora	-
Brauron Museum	145	Philadel.	Amphora	1.Prothesis 2. -
MFA Houston	147	Philadel.	Amphora	Prothesis
Berne 23270	149	Philadel.	Amphora	-
Cleveland 1927.27.	164	Athens 894	Amphora	1.Prothesis 2. -
Baltimore 48.2231	165	Athens 894	Amphora	1.Prothesis 2. -
Agora P 4990	167	Athens 894	Amphora	1.Prothesis 2. -
Stathatou Coll.	168	Athens 894	Amphora	1.Prothesis 2. -
Essen K 969	169	Athens 894	Amphora	1.Prothesis 2. -
Hamburg 1966.89	170	Athens 894	Amphora	Prothesis
Kerameikos 1371	171	Athens 894	Amphora	1.Prothesis 2. -
Kerameikos 5643	172	Athens 894	Amphora	Prothesis
Agora P 5499	199	Athens 894	Hydria	-
Louvre CA 1799	205	Athens 894	Tankard	-
Athens NM 810	215	Athens 894	Krater	-
Athens NM	221	Athens 894	Krater	-
Athens NM 16022	230	Birdseed	Pitcher	-
Brauron Mus.148	231	Birdseed	Hydria	-
Hobart 31	232	Birdseed	Oenochoe	Ship scene
Athens NM 18474	261	Rattle	Pitcher	Prothesis
N.Y.14.130.15	310	Trachones	Krater	Prothesis
Uppsala Univ.137	312	Thorikos	?	Prothesis
Florence M.A.	313	Thorikos	?	Prothesis
Merenda 6-IX-61	315	Thorikos	Krater	Prothesis

TABLE 50 (cont.)

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape	Context
Thorikos TC.65.666	314	Thorikos	Krater	Prothesis
Berlin 1963.13	316	Thorikos	Amphora	1. " 2. -
Copenhagen 2680	317	Thorikos	Amphora	Prothesis
Louvre CA 3283	346	Paris 3283	Oenochoe	Prothesis
London Market	347	Paris 3283	Amphora	Prothesis
Benaki 7675	349	Benaki	Amphora	1.Prothesis 2. -
BM 1912.5.22.1	333	Athens 897	Pitcher	Prothesis
Karlsruhe B 2674	377	?	Amphora	1. - 2.Prothesis
Brauron Museum	388	?	Krater	Prothesis
Athens NM	390	?	Oenochoe	Prothesis ?
Tübingen 6259	428	?	Skyphos	-

TABLE 51

MALE MOURNERS

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape	Context
LGI				
Athens NM 804	1	Dipylon	Amphora	Prothesis
Pireus street	18	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Athens NM 806	73	?	Krater	Prothesis
Acropolis 251	110	?	Fr.	?
LGII				
Oxford 1916.55	137	Sub-Dipylon	Amphora	Prothesis
Philadelphia 5464	141	Philadelphia	Amphora	-
Berlin 3203	143	Philadelphia	Amphora	-
Brussels A 3474	144	Philadelphia	Amphora	-
Brauron Museum	145	Philadelphia	Amphora	-
Berne 23270	149	Philadelphia	Amphora	-
Essen K 969	169	Athens 894	Amphora	1.Prothesis 2. -
Hamburg 1966.89	170	Athens 894	Amphora	1.Prothesis 2. -
Athens NM 18474	261	Rattle G.	Pitcher	Prothesis
Louvre CA 3283	346	Paris 3283	Oenochoe	Prothesis
London Market	347	Paris 3283	Amphora	Prothesis
Karsruhe B.2674	377	?	Amphora	Prothesis

examples of female mourners from the LGII period. In the LGI period, the known examples are thirty two (Table 49) and they do not wear long cross-hatched skirts as in LGII. Mourners with both hands to the head appear seated either below the bier or at a side panel, on eleven examples in LGI (Table 52). This scheme is only found once in LGII as exemplified by the New York 14.130.15 krater (cat.no 310). Kneeling mourners (Table 53) become more popular in LGII.

The one/hand mourning attitude is constituted by the placing of the one hand on the head, while the other is held slightly bent at the side, either touching the legs or raised at a distance from the legs. This funerary attitude is found on both male and female figures (e.g. Essen K 969, cat.no 169 -male; Stathatou Collection, cat. no 168-female). On the Athens NM 810 krater (cat.no 215, PL.40a,b) and the krater fragments in Athens NM (cat.no 221, PL.39b), female figures are represented with the one/hand mourning gesture. On the EPA amphora neck from the Kerameikos (inv.no 1370: Ahlberg, 1971, pl.57d), two superimposed panels have both male and female mourners with the one/hand gesture represented. In either case, i.e. two/hand or one/hand attitude, the manifestation of the threnos is clear: the action of beating the head or the action of rending the hair. The combination of the one/hand mourning gesture with the holding of spears or swords has already been discussed in connection with the warrior processions (Chapter I, Section F, Type IV Scheme II, 22).

TABLE 52

SEATED MOURNERS

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape	Context
LGI				
Athens NM 804	1	Dipylon	Amphora	Prothesis
Sèvres MN	3	Dipylon	Amphora	Prothesis
Louvre A 517	4	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Halle Robertinum	15	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Athens NM 802	17	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Piræus street	18	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Louvre A 547	21	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Sydney 46.41	22	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Louvre A 541	23	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Acropolis 256	111	?	Fr.	?
Louvre CA 3385	105	?	Fr.	?
LGII				
N.Y.14.130.15	310	Trachones	Krater	Prothesis

TABLE 53

KNEELING MOURNERS

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape	Context
LGI				
Athens NM 804	1	Dipylon	Amphora	Prothesis
Athens NM 803	2	Dipylon	Amphora	Ekphora
Piræus street	18	Dipylon	Krater	Prothesis
Dresden ZV 1635	55	Hirschfeld	Pitcher	Prothesis
Athens NM 812	72	?	Krater	Prothesis
N.Y.34.11.2	76	?	Krater	Prothesis
Louvre CA 3385	105	?	Fr.	Seated mourners
LGII				
Oxford 1916.55	137	Sub-Dipyl.	Amphora	Prothesis
Brauron Museum	145	Philadel.	Amphora	Prothesis
Cleveland 1927.27.6	164	Athens 894	Amphora	Prothesis
Baltimore 48.2231	165	Athens 894	Amphora	Prothesis
Athens Private Coll.	166	Athens 894	Amphora	Prothesis
Agora P 4990	167	Athens 894	Amphora	Prothesis
Stathatou Coll.	168	Athens 894	Amphora	Prothesis
Essen K 969	169	Athens 894	Amphora	Prothesis
Hamburg 1966.89	170	Athens 894	Amphora	Prothesis
Louvre CA 3283	346	Paris 3283	Oenochoe	Prothesis
London Market	347	Paris 3283	Amphora	Prothesis
Berlin 1963.13	316	Thorikos	Amphora	Prothesis
Karlsruhe B 2674	377	?	Amphora	Prothesis
Athens NM 18474	261	Rattle	Pitcher	Prothesis

Let us consider next the second group of gestures which are not connected with mourning. The attitude of both hands held at the sides is met with male figures without properties (i.e. weapons): on the amphora in a Private Collection by the Philadelphia Painter (cat.no 142), on the amphora in Toronto C.951 by the Athens 894 Workshop (cat.no 180) and the amphora in Münster (cat.no 383) which has already been discussed in connection with the Rattle Group (Chapter III, Section B), the male figures are clasping their hands in front of them. The occurrence of the double-flute player on the other hand, on the amphora by the Philadelphia Painter, makes it clear that although the figures are not shown holding hands, a different moment of dancing has been captured by the artist and the clapping of hands would therefore not be unusual as part of a dance (cf. also the krater in Basle cat.no 367). The iconographic scheme of a dance without the holding of hands can be placed however, at an earlier period, namely in LG Ib, as exemplified by a pitcher in Bochum (4) belonging to the Hirschfeld Workshop. The neck of this pitcher is decorated with a frieze of figures moving left and right towards the central figure of the lyre-player. The figures, as already mentioned, are not holding hands, the presence, however, of the lyre-player confirms the identification of this scene as the earliest dancing representation in Attic Late Geometric art.

4. I wish to thank Dr. N. Kunisch for sending me pictures of this vase and its dimensions: Antikenmuseum inv.no S.1066 Ruhr Universität Bochum; H: 0,335m. This vase is now published in Jahrbuch der Ruhr Universität Bochum, 1984.

Other Late Geometric II representations of dancing but without the holding of hands, include the Louvre CA 1823 amphora body (cat.no 243,PL.73b) already mentioned in Chapter I, Section F,p.137 notes 88,89). This representation has been interpreted as a dance in armour (Kaufmann-Samaras,1972,23ff.). On a kantharos in Athens NM 14447 (cat.no 368), though there is no link between the figures, the occurrence of the lyre-player and the explicitly rendered jumping and clapping of the figures, make it manifest that a dance is represented. The same applies for the Copenhagen NM 727 kantharos (cat.no 305,PLS.37c, 39a) of the Burly Workshop, where the dancing is even more acrobatic. Acrobatic dancing has already been mentioned in Chapter III,Section A "The Concentric Circle Group" in connection with the unusual scene depicted on the Boston 25.43 oenochoe (cat.no 291,PL.74b).

Two vases furthermore from the Athens 894 Workshop (Swiss Market,cat.no 184; Athens NM 810,cat.no 215,PL.40 a,b)represent naked men without holding hands and have been interpreted as runners; the context of the Athens krater confirms the assumption in view of the other athletic events depicted on the same vase (cf. Chapter II,Section C,p.213,notes 63,64).

Turning now to the female dancing attitudes we see that the simplest scheme (scheme a) (Table 54) is represented by seven examples all of which belong to the LGII period. One is an amphora by the Philadelphia Painter (cat.no 142) and two hydriae are by the Workshop of Athens 894.

TABLE 54

A.FEMALE DANCERS HOLDING HANDS

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
Germany Private C.	142	Philadelphia	Amphora
Paris CA 1333	192	Athens 894	Hydria PL.70a
Berlin 32.029	195	Athens 894	Hydria
Berlin 31045	355	Mainz/Prov.	Hydria
Providence 15006	356	Mainz/Prov.	Pitcher
Trachones 303	387	?	Pithos-krater
Athens NM 14423	400	?	Hydria

B.FEMALE DANCERS HOLDING HANDS AND BRANCHES

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
Copenhagen 9378	179	Athens 894	Amphora
München 6228	190	Athens 894	Hydria
Mainz Univer.	191	Athens 894	Hydria PL.69a,b
Brauron Museum	193	Athens 894	Hydria
Athens NM 17470	194	Athens 894	Hydria
Athens NM 784	202	Athens 894	Skyphos PL.46b
Canellopoulos 237	206	Athens 894	Tankard
Athens	207	Athens 894	Tankard
Newcastle 367	223	Athens 894	Fr.
Tübingen 1086	212	Athens 894	Standed bowl
Columbia 66.49.58	213	Athens 894	Pyxis
Villa Giulia 1212	224	Villa Giulia	Hydria PL.26a

C.FEMALE DANCERS NOT HOLDING HANDS OR BRANCHES

Representation	Cat.No	Workshop	Shape
Canellopoulos Mus.	225	Villa Giulia	Hydria

TABLE 55

MALE /FEMALE MOURNERS EPA

MALE MOURNERS

- Kerameikos 1370 (amphora neck) Mesogeia Painter: King, 1976, pl.14 fig.6.
- Kerameikos 1133 (mug) Mesogeia Painter: King, 1976, pl.14 fig.10 a,b.

FEMALE MOURNERS

- Mainz University 156 (krater D) Analatos Painter: Hampe, 1960, pls. 21, 24.
- Würzburg 80 (hydria): Langlotz, 1932, 10 no 80, pl.8.
- New York 10.210.8 (amphora) Davison, 1961, fig.69a,b.
- kerameikos 1370 (amphora neck) Mersogeia Painter: King, 1976, pl.14 fig.6.
- Victoria D23/1982 (hydria): Analatos Painter: R.G.Hood, 1982, 38-50, figs. 1-4. PLATE 14.
- Athens Vlastos Coll. (fr.) Mesogeia Painter: King, 1976, pl. 15e.

TABLE 56

MIXED / MALE DANCERS EPA

MIXED DANCERS

- Agora P 10.154 (hydria) Analatos follower: Brann, 1962, no 384, pls. 22,42; Tölle, 1964, 21 no 48.
- Athens NM 313 (hydria) Analatos Painter: Cook, 1935, pls. 38,39; Hampe, 1960, fig. 16. PL. 28a.
- Louvre CA 2985 (amphora) Analatos Painter: Audiat, 1938, pl. 2.
- Berlin 31573 (A1) (hydria) CVA 1, pls. 1,1;2; Wegner, 1968, no 69. From Aegina.
- Berlin 31312 (hydria) Mesogeia Painter: Cook, 1935, pl. 43.
- Athens NM 291 (fr. from the Acropolis): Graef, 1909, no 303, pl. 11; Tölle, 1964, 21 no 51.

MALE DANCERS

- Oxford 1936.599 (amphora): Davison, 1961, fig. 60, cf. Table 57, C.
- MFA Houston Texas (amphora): Analatos Painter?: Hoffmann, 1971, no 152, figs. 152a-c; Mesogeia Painter: King, 1976, 80, pl. 13 fig. 3.
- Oxford 1935.19 (amphora): Mesogeia Painter: Davison, 1961, fig. 59; King, 1976, 79.
- Oxford 1935.22a (fr.) Tölle, 1964, 18 no 35, pl. 16a.
- Eleusis 841 (fr.) Cook, 1935, 175 fig. 1; Tölle, 1964, 18 no 34.

TABLE 57

FEMALE DANCERS HOLDING HANDS

Athens NM 18435	(hydria): Tölle, 1964, 22 no 55; Bakalakis, 1961, 65 no 3, pl. 38.
Vlastos Collection	(hydria): Cook, 1935, pl. 45.
Passas Collection	(pitcher): Tölle, 1964, pl. 10.
Agora P 10229	(hydria neck): Brann, 1962, no 416, pl. 25.
Athens NM 274	(fr. from the Acropolis): Tölle, 1964, 18 no 32.
Athens NM 293	(fr. from the Acropolis): Tölle, 1964, 18 no 33.
Agora P 13325	(fr.): Brann, 1962, no 443, pl. 27; Tölle, 1964, 22 no 59.

FEMALE DANCERS HOLDING HANDS

Berlin 31045	(hydria): Vulture Workshop: Tölle, 1964, pl. 7.
Athens NM 270	(fr.) Tölle, 1964, 18 no 31.
Eleusis Museum 279	(fr.) Tölle, 1964, pl. 16e

FEMALE DANCERS NOT HOLDING HANDS OR BRANCHES

Oxford 1936.599	(amphora): Davison, 1961, fig. 60; Tölle, 1964, 17 no 28, pl. 9.
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The second scheme of dancing (scheme b) (Table 54) is represented by a row of women holding hands and branches and occurs on twelve vases. This scheme is represented by two types of gesture (Wegner, 1968, U53ff.): a) with hanging arms and b) with arm half raised and bent at the height of the elbow; both are being characterised by the letters V and W respectively (Wegner, 1968, fig. 4j).

Turning now to our group of vases, we see that although the Villa Giulia vase conforms to one of the above mentioned and analysed schemes (i.e. holding hands and branches) the representation on the Canellopoulos hydria is as mentioned above unique: the figures do not hold hands, so they cannot be considered as forming a dance in the strict sense of the word; on the other hand they do not have the typical mourning gestures mentioned above, in which case they do not form a threnos either. I have been unable to find any parallels for the gesture of the figures on the Canellopoulos vase in Geometric vase painting; the closest parallels are seen only in three dimensional art.

Before turning to examples from the Greek world, mention should be made of the occurrence of this gesture - one hand to the side and the other bent to chest - in Egyptian three dimensional art (cf. Demargne, La Crète Dédalique. Etudes sur les Origines d'une renaissance, 1947, pl. VI, 4, 5.)

In Greece, in large scale sculpture the earliest example representing the gesture with which we are concerned, is seen on one of the statues which decorate the temple of Prinias in Crete (Beyer, 1976, pl. 22). Beyer's dating

of the temple seems too early- in any case it is later than our vase. Secondly from the middle of the seventh century comes the more famous statue of the Dame d'Auxerre (J.Charbonneaux,La Sculpture grecque au Musée du Louvre, 1938), which is represented robed. This type of robed figure with one hand to the chest evolved from earlier small-scale figurines of the same type represented either naked or robed (Demargne,La Crète Dédalique.Etudes sur les Origines d'une renaissance,1947,273ff.no 3;276 no 2; cf. also Harald Schmid,Gestalt und Geschichte,Festschrift Seefeld,1965,172 pl.58,4); for later terracottas with the same gesture cf. P. G.Leyenaar Plaissier (Les Terrescuites Grecques et Romaines à Leiden,1979,no 48,pl.9). None of these,however, can be regarded as having served as a prototype for the Canellopoulos hydria. Unable to find a more positive or plausible interpretation, I would tend to regard the gesture as a variation of a dancing attitude. These dances should not necessarily be connected with any funerary rite, but could well be performed at festivals and other such happy and joyful occasions.

Both male and female mourners as well as dancers continue to be represented in the EPA period. Mourners are less popular than dancers (Table 55). All the different schemes of dancing seen in LGI and II are present in the EPA period: male dancers, mixed dancers (Table 56), female dancers holding hands and branches, female dancers holding hands, female dancers not holding hands or branches (Table 57).

B. THE BURLY WORKSHOP

Twelve vases (cat.nos 298-309, pls. 71a, b; 35b; 38a; 68b; 37c; 39a; 4e; 6a) can be attributed to the Burly Workshop, which owes its grouping to Davison (1961, 83ff. figs. 127-134), who ascribed four vases to the painter and five to the workshop and coined furthermore the name "Burly" because of the characteristic "broad-shouldered fully hipped dancers". Of Davison's nine vases, the Athens NM 17497 pitcher (cat.no 256, PLS. 47f, 49a) has been ascribed to the Rattle Group, while the Boston 2542 and the Copenhagen 1628 oenochoae (cat.nos 293, 296, PL. 64b) on grounds of iconography and style belong to the Hunt Group and have been analysed above (Chapter III, Section C). Mrs. Brouskari added two more vases to the group from a grave south of the Acropolis (Athens EPK 645, 643, cat.nos 302, PL. 35b; 303, PL. 38a). Two more oenochoae in the Louvre have also been added (CA 1821, CA 3452, cat.nos 306, PLS. 4e, 6a; 309). Kaufmann-Samaras attributed the two Paris oenochoae to the painter of the Copenhagen kantharos (cat.no 305, PLS. 37c, 39a) and the oenochoe in Berlin (cat.no 299, PL. 71b) (CVA Louvre 16); (cf. also Coldstream, JHS 95, 1975, 290ff. and King, AJA 84, 1980, 383 on a review of Borell, 1978,). Three more vases in München, Copenhagen and Athens respectively, though bearing no figured decoration must surely have been painted in the same workshop (5).

5. Copenhagen 7060, oenochoe, CVA 2, pl. 72, 1; München 8501, kantharos, CVA 3, pl. 120, 1; Athens EPK 641, skyphos-pyxis, Brouskari, 1979 ii, pl. 16.

Considering the linear ornament first, the hatched rope pattern characterizes nearly all the vases of the group: on the Berlin 4506 oenochoe (cat.no 299,PL.71b), it decorates the lower body, while on the Louvre CA 1821 CA 3452 and Tübingen 2657 oenochoae (cat.nos 306,309,298) and the Amsterdam 3491 amphora (cat.no 301) it decorates the neck; it is also seen on the rims of the Athens EPK 643,645 skyphoi pyxides (cat.nos 303,302) and the Munich 8501 kantharos (cf.note5). Outside this workshop the hatched rope pattern characterizes several pitchers of the Rattle Group, with which, as we shall see, the Burly Workshop shares other features as well.

A broad chequerboard band decorates the bodies of the two Louvre oenochoae (CA 1821, CA 3452,cat.nos306,309) and two narrower ones the body of the Amsterdam amphora (cat.no 301); chequerboard zones decorate also many vases of the Rattle Group. The triglyph-metope system of decoration is seen on the Berlin 4506 oenochoe (cat.no 299,PL.71b) and the Copenhagen 3153 vase (cat.no 307) (the metope in both cases being filled with a swastika) and on the Munich 8501 kantharos, where the metopes are alternatively filled with swastikas and eight-leaved rosettes. An eight-leaved rosette decorates also the shoulder of the Louvre CA 3452 oenochoe (cat.no 309), while a four-leaved rosette can be seen on the rim of the Copenhagen NM 727 kantharos (cat.no 305,PLS.37c,39a). False spirals and dotted false spirals decorate many vases of the Workshop: on the neck of Berlin 4506 (cat.no 299,PL.71b), on the shoulder of Tübingen 2657 (cat.no 298,PL.71a), on the

body and neck of Copenhagen NM 727 (cat.no 305), round the mastoi, on the shoulder and neck of Louvre CA 3452 (cat.no 309), on the shoulder and neck of Kerameikos 2160 (cat.no 300), on the neck and body of Copenhagen 7060 and the rim of Athens EPK 641 (note 5).

Other characteristic linear ornaments of the Burly Workshop are the maeanders (simple: Tübingen 2657; stepped: Amsterdam 3491). A strong influence of the LGIb Lambros Workshop can be detected, since characteristic ornaments of this workshop are repeated on vases of the Burly Workshop; for example the hatched rope pattern (Athens NM 178: Coldstream, 1968, 44 no 3), the metopes with swastika and eight-petalled rosette, the broad chequerboard band and the maeander zone (Davison, 1961, figs. 85, 86).

Let us now consider the figured drawing; as mentioned above, the drawing of the figures is characteristic and easily recognisable. The depiction of the human body, however, resembles that seen on other vases which do not belong to the Classical Tradition. For example, the figures on the high-rimmed bowl at Mt Holyoke college of the Rattle Group (cat.no 259) and the figures of the Thorikos Workshop (cf. Section C) are quite similar. What is very characteristic of the Burly Workshop is the style of the animals which is drawn in a markedly peculiar style (e.g. the deer of the two Louvre oenochoae and the Copenhagen kantharos, are in a regardant attitude which is met with only within this workshop and are also very distinct in style.

The iconography furthermore, despite its variety

has common elements on all the vases. Five distinct iconographic themes were used by the workshop: 1) row of dancers men with swords, figures with branches; 2) roaring lions, and one or two lions attacking a man; 3) grazing and regardant deer; 4) man and birds; 5) the mixed scenes of the Copenhagen kantharos. The first theme is probably one of the most popular iconographic themes of LGII on the whole, with examples from many workshops. The dancing scenes have been more fully analysed in Section A of the Appendix. Dancing appears on three vases of the Burly Workshop (cat.nos 298,299,301) in a frieze ; what characterizes these dancers is that the female figures are naked. A lyre-player is also repeated on the Copenhagen kantharos , while the branches held by some of the figures are hanging. A similar single figure with two hanging branches decorates the handle of the Copenhagen 3153 oenochoe (cat.no 307), while two similar figures , but each with a vase on the head, are seen on side B of the Copenhagen kantharos. A frieze of men holding their swords is seen on an oenochoe in a Private Collection (cat.no 308). All the lion themes have been discussed in Chapters II, Section B and III, Section B. The Copenhagen 3153 oenochoe (cat.no 307) has attracted much attention and discussion, due to its representation of a man with birds, which has been thought to be a scene from the mythical world and more precisely to depict Herakles and the Stymphalian birds (6).

6. For a more detailed discussion cf. Chapter III, Section C, The Hunt Group, scheme g, p.323.

Finally the Copenhagen kantharos needs brief mentioning here, despite its popularity in all studies of Geometric pottery. Iconographically speaking it is the richest of the group, since it includes on one vase scenes and themes which occur separately on the other vases. The various postures of the deer, which have already been discussed, decorate the rim; the lions attacking a man occupies the central position of the one side of the vase; the other scenes include dancers, a lyre player, two wrestlers, two Dipylon warriors with spears facing one another and an acrobat surrounded by two figures clapping their hands and a lyre player. None of these scenes is unique if taken separately: boxing and wrestling figure on the Athens NM 810 krater (cat.no 215, PL.40a,b) and on the krater fragments (cat.no 221, PL.39b; cf. also Chapter II, Section C); figures wrestling with a tripod between them occur also on a Boeotian krater fragment in Serajewo (PL.57b); the occurrence of the tripod cauldrons make it clear that these activities were part of a contest; dancing too was popular and acrobatic performances though rare are not unique. What is unique, however, on the Copenhagen kantharos, is the combination of these motifs and the influence from the goldbands can be detected (7). The closest parallel is again the Athens NM 810 krater, where dancing, wrestling and a duel are all present: we are faced here with a number of joyful and entertaining activities which were part of a festival or ceremony. The picture is dark-

7. Coldstream, *JHS* 95, 1975, 290: "influence from the goldbands can be seen in the choice and arrangement of scenes on the kantharos", esp. Stathatou Coll.: Ohly, 1953, A20a.

ened, however, by the depiction of the sad and fierce lions and man scene, where we see the symbolism of death and are reminded of the fate of man.

To sum up, despite the diversity of subject matter and decoration, the vases analysed above, display a homogeneity which warrants a workshop status for the group, although it cannot be claimed that a single artist was responsible for painting all of them. The chronological span for the Burly Workshop is quite long, since the earliest vases of the group can be placed in LGIb and the latest in LGII. The two Athens vases from the grave south of the Acropolis which contained Middle Geometric and Late Geometric I material are the earliest in the series, while the Copenhagen 727 kantharos is the latest vase of the group; this can be clearly seen from the style of the lions which have evolved.

C. THE THORIKOS WORKSHOP

Six vases (cat.nos 312-317, PLS.11a, 66a, b, 12b, 12a), of which only two are fully preserved, seem to be closely related and probably form a workshop lying outside the Classical Tradition: the provenance of two of these vases is secure, one coming from Thorikos and the other from Merenda, a strong indication that we shall be dealing with a provincial workshop. The Merenda fragments (cat. no 315, PL.66a, b) from a grave of the south east bothros are unpublished, while the Thorikos krater (cat.no 314, PL. 11a) has recently been reconsidered and several new fragments ascribed to it, giving thus a more complete picture of the shape and decoration (Bingen, 1982).

The three joining Merenda fragments are decorated with two figured zones of female mourners moving to the left with both arms raised to the head. The fourth fragment is also decorated with two figured zones: of the upper zone only the lower part of a female figure is preserved, while the other zone is decorated with male figures. A fifth fragment probably belongs to the same vase and represents the upper part of a figure holding a child in its arms.

The drawing of the female figures of the Merenda vase is almost identical to that on the Uppsala and Florence fragments (cat. nos 312, 313). The bow-like rendering of the arms above the head, the short robes with trails hanging in front and at the back, the extremely small size of the head set on an unusually long neck, the indication of breasts for robed figures, are all characteristics of a very individual painter or workshop.

The vertical chevron column bordered by triple band and the hatched meander of the Merenda fragment, are an exact reproduction of the Florence fragment. This is also reproduced on the Thorikos krater, only that the chevron has been substituted by cross-hatching.

Between the Florence and Uppsala fragments on the one hand and the Merenda fragments on the other, there are, however, slight differences: the dotted vertical lines common on all the fragments in Florence and Uppsala, are absent from the Merenda fragments, while it is interesting to note that this latter has no filling ornament whatsoever: the absence of filling ornament characterizes the

Thorikos krater too (cf. Chapter III, Section B, The Rattle Group, note 19).

According to Tölle (1963, 662) the fragments in Florence and Uppsala are so close to one another that they could only have been painted by the same hand; they thus form a closed group together with the Copenhagen 2680 amphora (cat. no 317, PL; 12a). Ahlberg too (1971, 27 nos 27, 28, 29) connects these three vases in a group, which she dates slightly earlier than the Hunt Group, which according to Coldstream (1968, 76-77) belongs to the period LG Ib-LG IIa. On the other hand, Ahlberg attributes the Florence fragments to the same hand as her no 26 fragment from the Kerameikos, near the Hirschfeld Workshop (cat. no 68); but the rendering of the mourning gesture is different, since on the Kerameikos fragments the arms form a square above the head, this being typical of the Hirschfeld Painter and his Workshop, while the bow-like rendering of the arms is typical of this group of vases.

I will now analyse the characteristic features of the group separately: the arms of all the figures of this group form, as mentioned, a bow above the head. According to Wegner (1968, U46) this bow-type of rendering the arms represents a style which is not far removed from that of the Dipylon amphora (cat. no 1). The conception of the human figure of this group is quite different from that of the Dipylon Master. The arched arms, with no indication of elbows, are also characteristic of the Birdseed Painter, especially seen on the Merenda 148 hydria (cat.

no 231, PL.67a,b), the Athens NM 16022 (cat.no 230) and the oenochoe in Hobart (cat.no 232). The bow-type rendering of the arms is also found on the Benaki 7675 amphora (cat.no 349) and the London pitcher (BM 1912.5-22.1, cat. no 334, PL.11b) by the Workshop of Athens 897. It can therefore be said with certainty that it is a characteristic feature of the non-Classical Workshops.

The rendering of the dress is also characteristic of our group, the black tail almost touching the ground. Outside Attica this type of dress is seen on a fragment from Aegina which comes from an Argive plaque (Kraiker, 1951, no 68, pl.5) and seems to correspond to the Homeric τανύπεπλος (Iliad III, 228; Odyssey 4, 305). Furthermore the rendering of the female mourners' dress is close to the above mentioned vases of the Birdseed Painter, while R.G.Hood (1967, 82ff.) remarks, that "dresses in silhouette with trailing skirts first appear under the handle of the Athens NM 803 amphora by the Dipylon Master".

At this point the Thorikos fragments need some attention. The fragment representing the prothesis scene was found in 1965, while more fragments came to light in 1975 and a second prothesis scene occupying another part of the vase, was recognised. These finds led to the reconsideration of the krater by J. and M. Bingen; these two scholars have drawn comparisons to the Middle Geometric II krater in New York (34.11.2, cat.no 76), which led them to an early dating of the Thorikos krater. Despite the similarities to the New York krater, however, I believe that the Thorikos krater is more closely connected to the vases of the group analysed above. The common features of

the vases are triglyphs and metopes on either side of the figured panel; the triglyphs are equally similar on the other hand to the Uppsala and Merenda fragments. Furthermore the depiction of a prothesis scene more than once is not only characteristic of the New York and Thorikos vases, as it is repeated several times on a pitcher in London (BM 1912.5-22.1, cat. no 334, PLS. 1c, 11b). The figures of the New York krater are more freely drawn and not stylised as on the other vases of the group, the former being an indication of an earlier date. There is no way, however, that one can deny a connection between these two vases: and there can be no doubt that the painter of the New York krater set out a fashion outside the Classical Tradition which was closely followed by the artists of our group.

Ahlberg (1971, nos 30-33) dates her three vases to the LGIIa period and classifies them under different painters. I believe, however, that the Thorikos krater was painted by the same hand as the Merenda fragments: the rendering of the male figures in the frieze above the prothesis is very similar; furthermore the figures below the bier represent the same arching of the arms. The linear ornament is also similar, only that on the Thorikos vase, the chevron column has been substituted by a cross-hatched band.

Finally another amphora in Berlin (cat. no 316, PL. 12b) is very close to our group, especially the neck panel of side B, showing five female mourners with both hands raised to the head.

The problem with this workshop, nevertheless, is its vast chronological range, especially if one includes the very late works exemplified by the Berlin amphora (cat. no 316, PL.12b) and the amphora in Copenhagen (cat. no 317, PL.12a). Bingen's new joins of the Thorikos krater show that it was made in a MGII tradition, but if one allows for provincial retardation, the date could be lowered to LGI. The same applies for the New York krater (cat. no 76).

The nucleus of the workshop is then formed by the Thorikos, Merenda, Florence and Uppsala vases and it could be named the Thorikos Workshop after the fragments found at Thorikos. Its floruit would be in LGIb-LGIIa, but its influence would still be seen on many works of LGII. This workshop lies outside the Classical Tradition and has affinities with other workshops especially that of the Birdseed Painter, while the dogs of the Copenhagen 2680 amphora (cat. no 317) closely resemble those of the Anavyssos Painter (cat. no 262, PL.20b). From an iconographical point of view this workshop was interested in the stock themes of the period: prothesis and mourners.

D. THE TRACHONES WORKSHOP

Two kraters which belong to the LGII period, seem to be closely connected and that the same artist painted some of the figured scenes. These two kraters are: New York 14.13.15 (cat. no 310) and Trachones TR 81 (cat. no 311). King in a recent study also believes that both vases were painted by the same hand. Before looking at the figured

and other decoration, a brief look at the shape of these two vases is needed. Both are on a large scale, in the tradition of the Late Geometric I kraters of the Dipylon and Hirschfeld Workshops. The New York krater is one metre thirty centimetres high, while the Trachones vase is slightly shorter, standing just over one metre; the double loop handles characterize both vases, while their rims are decorated with a meander frieze.

Davison (1961,111) dated the New York krater to the transition from Villard's Group to the Hirschfeld Workshop in LGIb. In view, however, of the Trachones krater to which it is closely linked, a later date to the second phase of Attic Late Geometric does not seem unreasonable. The fact too, that these two vases come from a provincial workshop (8) may account for the persistence of the shape after it had gone out of fashion in the leading workshops of the Late Geometric II period. For a date around 725 B.C. cf. King (1977,34 n.30).

The New York vase has three figured zones, the Trachones one only two, thus leaving more room for linear decoration. Zig-zag lines, leaves and cross-hatched triangles, decorate the lower body of both vases. On the Trachones krater, in the space between the handles, there are two panels decorated with hooked swastikas; this is a characteristic feature of the Hooked Swastika Workshop (e.g. Louvre CA 1823, cat.no 243, PL.73b). The metope next to the hooked swastika metope, is decorated with alter-

8. The New York vase has no provenance, but the Trachones krater was found at the Trachones cemetery near a cluster of graves; it seems therefore logical to assume that, as with other vases found at Trachones, that this too is of local manufacture.

nating dark and light squares. This type of decoration is also seen on two pitchers by the Workshop of Athens 897 (Louvre A 511, CVA 16, pl. 31; London BM 1905.10-28.1, cat. no 333). On these two examples the light ground squares are filled with zig-zag lines, while on the Trachones vase, the light squares have a bird to the right, in each.

Turning now to the figured decoration, we see that the two vases have many affinities: on the Trachones krater a frieze of male figures with characteristic long crested helmets and sword at the waist, decorates a panel of the handle zone. These figures are identical to the male figures represented on the prothesis scene of side A of the New York krater. On both vases a two/wheeled eight-spoked chariot with two loops, one at the back and the other at the front (Type A) is represented. Professor Coldstream has suggested to me that at least two different painters were involved in the painting of the New York 14.130.15 krater, especially in the painting of the chariot friezes: the closest affinity lies between the New York upper frieze and the Trachones frieze; the lower frieze of the New York vase on the other hand, was painted by a different artist as the style of the horses indicate, perhaps the Painter of the Hooked Swastikas. On the whole the style of the kraters indicates that they were both produced in the same workshop and the help of a second artist for the completion of the larger krater is very probable. Since the Trachones krater has a secure provenance and was found at Trachones, a site eight kilometres south of Athens, I shall name the workshop the "Trachones Workshop".

Let us examine next the iconography of the two kraters. As far as the Trachones vase is concerned, there do not seem to be any peculiarities or unusual features; the chariot type belongs as we have seen to type A), while the frieze of armed male figures seems to be a procession rather than a dance since the figures do not hold hands, nor do their gestures indicate such an activity. The New York vase of the other hand, represents a few unusual features which already have been discussed by various scholars. On account of the prothesis scene depicted on side A of the krater, Ahlberg (1971,241ff.) notes several peculiarities: firstly the dead person lying on the bier is helmeted: of all the known prothesis scenes, only on the Essen K 969 amphora (cat.no 169) , does the deceased wear a helmet. Secondly the substantial bier type has no parallels. The placing of women only to the left of the bier, and of men only to the right is also unique. Finally the male figures seem to be carrying different objects which have been variously explained: the circles with a central dot held by the first figure have been identified by Ahlberg as floral ornament, while Boardman (1966,2) sees them as oysters; the other figures carry dead animals, fish and birds and despite the fact that some figures seem to be touching the sword of the figure in front of them, I do not think that this is a strong indication of a dancing attitude: dancing while loaded with food and offerings would be a rather cumbersome procedure. The "twin" figure at the extreme right of the scene, and the symbolic, realistic or mythical connotations that it entails, will be

discussed below, since it reappears in other contexts of the same vase. Furthermore the diminished size of the two figures standing on the bier and performing various actions is no indication that they are children, but was caused by the restrictive space of the representation.

Side B of the New York krater is decorated with a scene which does not seem to have any exact parallels in Late Geometric art. To the left of an object stands a male figure with sword, while to the right a "twin" figure (9). I will now consider the two chariot friezes of the New York krater; the chariot type is the same on both friezes (Type A) and similar to the one depicted on the Trachones krater. On the upper frieze, however, it is drawn by two horses, while the charioteers are naked, while on the lower frieze they are fully armed Dipylon warriors. The upper frieze has been interpreted by Boardman (1966) as a procession and his view is supported by the fact that a child occurs as a second occupant in one of the chariots.

The second frieze could also represent a procession rather than a race, since it shows no uniformity; apart from the Dipylon warriors as charioteers, two "twin" figures are inserted in the frieze. The chariot type (A), furthermore indicates, as we have seen in Chapter I, a procession not a race.

It is now important to look at the interpretation of the "twin" figure, which occurs four times on the New York krater. Fittschen (1969, 68ff. M1-M8) has listed such "twin" figures. To his list should be added a few more examples: the Athens NM 4313 fragment which was first noticed

9. For a discussion and interpretation of the scene, cf. Chapter II, Section C, "Sporting Events", p. 210.

by King (1977,29 fig.1a,b) and three Boeotian fibulae in Heidelberg (Hampe,1971,nos 123A,124B,128B,pls.87,88,98).

The occurrence of the "twin" figures in the lower chariot frieze of the New York vase cannot be regarded as a mythical scene representing the Molione who fought Herakles (as Hampe,1952,52,first thought), or the Aktorione who fought Nestor (as Hampe later thought), participating in a race, or rather a procession, since it leaves unexplained the occurrence of the "twins", twice side by side, in the same frieze, and secondly and perhaps more important, because no mythical scene has positively been identified for this period. Nor does Ahlberg (1971,250ff.) explain, why of all the realistic and narrative scenes on contemporary vases, she selected this one vase as representing a mythical scene from Homer (Iliad XXIII,638ff.): the famous chariot race, where the Aktorione-Molione defeated Nestor at the funeral games of king Amarynkeus.

Another interpretation for the "Siamese twins" has been offered by Coldstream (1968,351), who suggested that the "twins" represent a family crest, indicating that the men who lay under the kraters on which they were represented, were members of the Neleid clan. But as Boardman has argued (1970,507ff.) the "family crest" is very difficult to believe in view of their appearance four times on the New York 14.130.15 krater (cat.no 310), while their representation in non-Attic works of art, speaks against such an idea.

The representation, therefore, of the "twin" figure

on the New York and other Attic representations should be considered as a way of rendering -unsuccessfully one should add- two figures side by side and overlapping (this view is strongly advocated by Fittschen, 1969, 71). The Geometric artists not knowing or using the outline and incision techniques, experimented at doubling figures in an attempt towards perspective. The failure of this endeavour explains the paucity of the representations of "twin " figures in Late Geometric art in general and the abandonment of the scheme until a generation later it was effectively accomplished with the invention of the black-figured technique.

CONCLUSIONS

During the course of the analysis of the Late Geometric II iconographic representations on Attic vases, the material was treated and divided into three distinct chapters: in Chapter I the subjects which form a continuity from the previous Late Geometric I period were dealt with; in Chapter II the Late Geometric II innovations and in Chapter III the workshops which specialised in specific themes. In all three Chapters material was also drawn from the Early Protoattic period for comparison, as well as the iconography of other areas and other media.

Late Geometric II is distinguished from Late Geometric I by three basic features:

- 1) a wider range of iconographic themes
- 2) a change of vase shapes
- 3) a larger number of workshops working independently.

1) If we look at the list of iconographic themes on Table 1, which cover the period from Late Geometric I and including Early Protoattic, we see that there are fifty six themes in all, of which only the Ekphora (no 1) and the Man between Goats (no 35) representations occur in LGI but not in LGII. In Late Geometric II the themes are fifty four in number: twenty four new themes were introduced in LGII:

1. Chariots with warriors entering/ dismounting
2. Procession of warriors with round shields
3. Figures carrying objects
4. Boxing
5. Female dancers holding hands and branches

6. Female dancers holding hands
7. Female dancers not holding hands or branches
8. Armed dancers
9. Male dancers
10. Acrobats
11. Cult scenes with sitting participants
12. Hunting
13. Kriophoros
14. Riders
15. Lion attacking man
16. Lion attacking animal
17. Lions walking
18. Frieze of striding horses
19. Regardant deer
20. Running dogs
21. Bulls/cow
22. Centaur attacking
23. Sphinxes
24. Winged goats.

Apart from these twenty four innovations in LGII, there are other scenes which are innovations, but which have been included in a larger group (e.g. the shipwreck representation of Munich 8676, cat.no 294, PL.64a which has been classified under "ship scenes not involving fighting").

From the fifty four LGII themes, twenty five were dropped completely in Early Protoattic, while others became much less popular. In this respect then the LG II period is the richest of the three, despite the fact that

the massed land and sea fights of LGI are represented in LGII only by a single example each and on a much reduced scale, since both occur on oenochoae (Chart II).

In this concluding Chapter, the iconographic themes have been divided into three groups (A, B, C); such a grouping will enable us to have a more comprehensive view of the development, changes and influences which occurred in iconography during the Late Geometric II period.

The analysis of the material showed that a large majority of themes is connected with daily life and ritual. Group A includes all those representations which have a narrative character, i.e. the iconographic schemes and combinations tell us a story. To Group A belong the prothesis and chariot scenes, the sea and land fights, other ship scenes not involving fighting, the warrior processions, dancers, mourners, riders, man and lion and lion and animal, grave rituals, hunting and athletic games.

One important problem for the interpretation of the various scenes, is whether they are "particular" or "typical", the former implying that they are connected with a special event. Despite the traits of individualism I prefer to regard the scenes as not referring to a particular story but as being what most art-historians would call "genre scenes". The differences of the "formulaic language", rather than explained as denoting particular scenes connected with a special person, place and time, are better explained as denoting stylistic differences.

From these "typical genre scenes" are self-evidently excluded those scenes which are unique in LGII iconography

C H A R T I
 I C O N O G R A P H I C
 T H E M E S

WORKSHOPS

	Sub-Dipylon	Philadelphia	Athens 894	Villa Giulia	Birdseed	H.Swastikas	Rattle Group	Anavyssos	Lion Painter	Concentric C.	Hunt Group	Burly	Trachones	Thorikos	Athens 897	Mannheim	Paris 3283	Benaki	Kerameikos	Mainz/Prov.	Toledo	Horse	Unknown
Prothesis	1	2	14			1							1	5	1								5
Land fight	1																						
Sea fight										1													
Ship scenes	1									1													
Chariots I					1																		
Chariots II	1												1										3
Chariots III	10	6	24	2	2	1							2		2	1							4
Chariots IV	1	4	2																				1
Chariots V			3					1															1
Twins	1												1										
Procession I	1					1	1			1													
Procession II	2	5	7	1														1					
Procession III																							2
Procession IV		1	8									1	1										
Warrior	3	2							1														
Fig./objects		1											1										
Duels		1										1											
Boxing		1										1											
Seated Mourn.													1										
Kneeling mourn.	1	1	7			1								1		2							1
Seated fig.		1				3																	1
Male mourn.	1	5	3			1										2							1
Female "	1	4	12	3	1							1	6	1		2	1						4
Dancers I		1	2																		2		2
Dancers II			1	1																			
Dancers III				1																			
Mixed dancers			2									3											
Male dancers	1	1																					1
Acrobats				1				1															1
Cult scene						9																	
Hunting		1	3				1			6	1			7									5
Rider	1	1	4	1	2	1																	4
Leader/horse	1	1	1																1				
Man/horse				1					1	3								1					7
Horse/tripod	1				2				9				5									5	6
Horse	1	6	2					2	4				3		1								12
" striding		3																					5
" grazing		2	1	3										2		1	2		3				9
Deer "		19	2								3		3						2		1		13
" regardant											3												1
Goat "														1									1
" kneeling				2	1		1							1									9
" striding																			1				2
Running dogs	1	1											1	10									6
Bulls/cows		1	2																1				4
Lions		9	1				4			1													1
Lion/man											3												2
Lion/animal		1				1																	
Centaur		5												1									1
" attacking		1																					
Sphinxes		1																					
Winged goats		1																					

and to which I shall refer below.

The representations which belong to Group A, may have a funerary character or may represent scenes from daily life which are not connected with the funerary rituals and ceremonies. The most manifest expression of the funerary sphere remain the LGII prothesis scenes, whose basic elements (i.e. the laying out of the corpse on a bier and the representation of male and female mourners) are the same for the two Late Geometric periods, implying that the ritual too remained unchanged for two generations. What the LGII artists are more interested in, is minor details of rituals such as the preparation of food and the placing of weapons above the bier (e.g. Benaki 7675, cat.no 349; Kerameikos 5643, cat.no 172, PL.9). On the other hand the type of seated mourner usually below the bier, was replaced in LGII by the type of kneeling mourner without affecting the ritual (kneeling mourners were introduced by the Dipylon Master, e.g. Athens NM 804, cat.no 1, but were not popular).

The analysis of the chariot representations and the division into five groups, as well as the analysis of the separate elements such as the chariot type, or the number of horses used to pull the chariot, made possible the identification of processions and races. The schemes identified as processions (group I, shieldless charioteer and Dipylon warrior; group II, Dipylon charioteer; group V, shieldless charioteer and spearman) show a closer relationship between the chariots and the funerary rituals (prothesis, ekphora). Of these, group I was the most pop-

ular in LGI, with only one example in LGII, and is represented mainly by the Dipylon Workshop. Group II is represented in LG Ib by the Hirschfeld Painter and has a fair distribution in both periods (cf. Table 1). Those schemes on the other hand which have been identified as races (group III, shieldless charioteer; group IV, with entering/ dismounting warriors) are not necessarily connected with funerary activities. What is important for the LGII scenes, is the fact that in LGII we have an increasing number of race representations (in LGI six, in LGII fifty three, cf. also Table 1 and Chart I) and also the introduction of the apobates race. Furthermore the frequent insertion of warriors in the friezes with shieldless charioteer (group III) could be an indication that they are apobatic competitors, increasing thus the positive evidence for an identification as racing. These races or apobatic races are not always connected with prothesis: of the sixty one vases only fifteen represent also a prothesis (1). From the provincial workshops only the New York 14.130.15 vase (cat.no 310) represents both a prothesis and a chariot frieze on the same vase; the other provincial kraters with prothesis are too fragmentary and we do not know whether chariots were also present. This implies that although racing events were held in honour of the

1. Oxford 1916.55, cat.no 137; Philadelphia 5464, cat.no 141; Germany Private Coll., cat. no 142; Berlin 3203, cat.no 143; Brussels 3474, cat.no 144; Brauron Museum, cat.no 145; MFA Houston, cat.no 147, PL.22a,b; Private Coll., cat.no 166; Agora P 4990, cat.no 167; Stathatou coll., cat.no 168; Essen K 969, cat.no 169, PL. 26b; Kerameikos 1371, cat.no 171; New York 14.130.15, cat.no 310.

dead, racing was also practised on other occasions (in Athens the Panathenaic festival was the most important).

Continuing with other representations which belong to group A, we saw that mourners and warriors were found in both periods (LGI, LGII), while among the themes not necessarily connected with the funerary sphere are the various dancing scenes. All three schemes with female dancers are Late Geometric II innovations; the earliest dancing scene, however, can now be securely dated to LGIb (Bochum pitcher by the Hirschfeld Painter, cat.no 56) representing a mixed dance and including a lyre player. It is also worthwhile noting that the earliest dateable inscription in Athens is on the shoulder of a LGIb oenochoe from the Dipylon Workshop (Coldstream, 1968, 32 no 36), a complete hexameter verse announcing a male dancing competition:

ος νυν ορχεστον παντων αταλότατα παίζει τοτοδεκκλμιν
Twenty eight dancing scenes are represented in LGII (Chart I), in different schemes, with the holding or not of hands and branches, dancing in armour, acrobatic dancers with or without a lyre player.

The comparative analysis of the representations from other areas of the Greek world and the Near East, showed that the representations which belong to group A were not borrowed from abroad, but were the creation of the Attic artists and reflect contemporary society. There are two exceptions however: the theme of a "rider" and the theme of "man and lion", both of which are LGII innovations. Unlike the Near Eastern representations, in which, by the thirteenth century riders appear in fighting contexts, the

Geometric riders, even though armed in some instances are never shown in actual combat in vase painting. The Attic LGII riders are in most cases inserted in chariot friezes of group III which have been interpreted as representing races, the riders symbolize then the high status of the participants.

The analysis of the non-Attic material of riders, showed that the theme was fairly commonly represented by the cycle of the Cesnola Painter, with examples from the Vrokastro Group, the Western colonies of Euboea and from Zagora on Andros. All these examples are earlier than any of the Attic representations; the earliest among the latter belong to the Birdseed Painter, who has been credited with the introduction of the theme to the Attic repertoire. As shall be seen in group B), the Birdseed Painter introduced another Euboean theme: the grazing horse.

Quite a different source of inspiration and interpretation was offered for the "man and lion" representations. The earliest man and lion scene (Athens EPK 643, cat. no 303, PL.3 a) is LGIb, but I have included this theme among the Late Geometric II innovations, because the workshop to which the vase belongs (Burly Workshop) covers the transitional period between the later phase of LGI and the early phase of LGII. This theme was divided into three different schemes (a,b,c) of which schemes a) and b) represent the man devoured by two and one lions respectively. Scheme c) is a unique scene and will be considered below. Since it was concluded that encounters with lions could hardly be a daily and common event, and since a connection with the

Homeric similes has been accepted, a symbolic significance was attached to these scenes: i.e. symbolizing death and unavoidable fate. The ultimate source of inspiration was the Near East, and the idea would have been indirectly transmitted via the goldbands which represent scheme a) and which are earlier in date (MGII-LGIa) than any of the vase representations. Earlier still is the Protogeometric Tekke krater representing our scheme a), for which the Near East would have provided a prototype on such a medium as the Cypriot bronze stands.

The early series of the goldbands represents another subject which has also been given a symbolic significance of death: "lion devouring animal"; In Attic vase painting it occurs twice, one example being on the inconspicuous shield emblem of a warrior (Keramēikos K2, cat.no 15, PL.27a); the other is the unpublished pitcher from Merenda belonging to the Rattle Group (cat.no 260, PL.54a,b), where the lion devouring animal themes flank a chequerboard which has been interpreted as symbolizing a grave.

The analysis of the LGII iconography showed that during this period, the Athenian and Provincial workshops are readily recognisable not only in terms of style but also in terms of iconography. Subjects rarely or never adopted by the Classical Workshops, became the speciality of distinct non-Athenian workshops, exemplified best by the Rattle, Concentric Circle and Hunt Groups.

The Rattle Group (Chart I) specialized in representations of ritual scenes with sitting participants (an innovation of LGII), and took its name after the objects held,

which have been identified as rattles creating music or noise. The division into sub-groups made possible the distinction of various details and the determination of the setting, the time and the ritual performed.

A comparison of the iconographic representations of the Rattle Group with other representations in the Near East, either in the form of seal stones or grave stelae and orthostat reliefs, has shown that there can hardly be any connection. It can be concluded therefore, that all the rituals and ceremonies represented on the vases of the Rattle Group originated in Attica, were produced only by a specific workshop and during their short heyday never influenced other areas of the Greek world.

Turning now to another non-Classical workshop specializing in a specific theme, we saw that the Hunt Group represented scenes which gave it its name. The hunting scenes which are LGII innovations were divided into seven different schemes with just animals involved or with man participating also in the hunt. The dogs and hare or fox schemes were also met with on other vases both from the Classical and non-Classical workshops (Chart I), while the Hunt Group represented also two "unique" scenes which will be discussed below.

The Concentric Circle Group specialized in representations of horses and "man between horses". Unlike the representations of the Rattle and Hunt Groups these are not LGII innovations (cf. Table 1). The theme of "man between horses" is represented once by the Concentric Circle Group (Chart I), while the remaining twelve examples are all

from non-Classical workshops. The theme of two horses tied to a tripod-manger is shown for the first time in LGIb with examples from the Hirschfeld Painter and Workshop. In LGII five vases with this theme are found in the Concentric Circle Group and thirteen more, again all from non-Classical workshops (Chart I). Apart from the striding and grazing horses friezes which are decorative (cf. below group B), all the other representations of horses, whether in a panel with rope hanging from the muzzle, or tied to a tripod-manger, or held by a man, are all wealth and status symbols of the nobility, and the tripod-manger representations indicate furthermore the prize at games.

From Aristotle's discussion of the classification of citizens in early Athens, it appears that the original criterion of rank, i.e. the volume of one's farm produce, was supplemented subsequently by the number of horses that one could maintain (Ath.Pol.7,3-4). This fits well with the picture we have, that during the Late Geometric II period there is an emigration to the countryside and a dispersal of wealth, since the majority of man and horses and horse-tripod themes come from non-Classical workshops.

In this concluding chapter attention must be drawn to those scenes which are unique in LGII iconography and which may therefore represent problems of interpretation, since their meaning is often obscure.

These unique vases can be divided into three categories: Category a): to this category belong the following themes: land fight, sea fight, shipwreck, chariot with shieldless charioteer and Dipylon warrior, seated mourners, female

dancers not holding hands or branches, sphinxes, centaur attacking centaur or man (Table 1).

Category b): the scenes which belong to this category are not themselves unique but their combination on the same vase is unique. To this category belong the following vases: Athens NM 784 (cat.no 202,PL.46b), Athens NM 13038 (cat.no 227), Athens NM 14475 (cat.no 432,PL.38b) and Copenhagen NM 727 (cat.no 305,PLS.37c,39a).

Category c) is exemplified by known scenes which use unique schemes (e.g.Cohn skyphos, cat.no 228).

Finally it is possible that a single vase may represent two or even three categories of "uniqueness": for example, the Copenhagen kantharos (cat.no 305) has jug-bearers (category a) and a combination of themes (category b); the Kerameikos 407 stand (cat.no 414,PL.37b) has a kriophoros (category a), a combination of themes (category b) and a standing lion (category c).

Category a) unique scenes can be interpreted as:

1)mere chance: at any moment one or more further finds may change the uniqueness; this interpretation is also valid for categories b) and c).

2)passing out of fashion: iconographic scenes which were popular in the previous period but which die out in LGII; for example, land fight (Agora P 4885,cat.no 135), sea fight (Copenhagen 1628,cat.no 296,PL.64b) and seated mourners (New York 14.130.15,cat.no 310). The scarcity of fighting scenes has been explained as reflecting the historical situation of the period, while the predilection in LGII for kneeling mourners rather than mourners seated below

the bier, indicates more a change in style and is not in itself a strong argument in favour of a change in the ritual of the prothesis scenes.

3) expressing a new idea: an innovation which either never became popular or only reached popularity during the next period, for example, female dancers not holding hands or branches (Canellopoulos Coll., cat. no 225), jug bearers (Copenhagen NM 727, cat. no 305, PLS. 39a, 37c), kriophoros (Kerameikos 407, cat. no 414) and sphinxes (Athens NM 784, cat. no 202, PL. 46b).

4) representing an unusual and important event lying outside the current trend and stock in use; an event portrayed because of its uniqueness, for example, the shipwreck scene (MUnich 8676, cat. no 294, PL. 64a) which has been shown as having no mythical connotation.

The vases which fall under category b) can be interpreted as follows: the Athens NM 784 skyphos combines various themes among which the antithetical sphinxes (unique motif a) do not seem to be related to the rest of the scenes, but are used for their decorative effect, to fill in the remaining space. The dependency of the other representations (cf. catalogue for a full description) to the well-known Oriental theme of a procession towards a seated figure and its occurrence on a skyphos, confirm the connection with the Oriental metal bowls. The seated figure on the Greek representation could be the goddess Athena presiding over her own festival and the dancing activities and music (cf. also Borell, 1978, 67ff. who interpreted the two Dipylon warriors who flank the kneeling figure with an

instrument as representing a dance in armour -pyrriche- which was danced during the Panathenaic festival).

For the Athens NM 13038 skyphos by the Birdseed Painter (cat.no 227), the three themes, man between horses, riders and man with sword followed by bull, do not seem to be connected in any way. On the Athens NM 14475 skyphos, (cat.no 432,PL.38b), the lions devouring man theme cannot again be connected to the decorative cows; the same applies to the lions devouring man theme of the Copenhagen NM 727 kantharos (cat.no 305), which is unrelated to the remaining themes; these latter are connected and have been interpreted as representing various activities which occurred at a festival.

From the Classical Workshops other unique combinations occur on the body friezes of amphorae: in two instances the combination involves riders; on the Buffalo C 12847 amphora (cat.no 154) by the Athens 894 Workshop, a rider is inserted in a chariot frieze with shieldless charioteer and spearman (group V) and it is clear that he is part of a procession; on the Prague amphora by the Philadelphia Painter (cat.no 146,PL.33a,b), the riders alternate with round shield warriors and must again represent a procession.

The combinations of the representations of the small vases which belong to group b), can be interpreted in two ways:

- 1) on the Athens NM 784 and the Copenhagen NM 727 vases, the painter represented specific events (festival, games).
- 2) on the Athens NM 13038 and NM 14475 skyphoi the painters felt free to improvise and combine different unrelated

themes. Once again the Birdseed Painter of the Athens NM 13038 vase shows a tendency for experimentation and innovation.

Now for the rider combinations of the Classical Workshops, it is more difficult to reach a conclusion. Since however the rider theme is in itself an innovation, the painters could more easily break away from the iconographic formulae; like other man and horse themes the riders too are surely a mark of high status.

To category c) belong three vases which use unique schemes:

Cohn skyphos (cat.no 228) where riders are represented standing on horses.

Boston 25.43 (cat.no 291, PL.74b) acrobatic scene where one acrobat is represented upside down.

Kerameikos 407 (cat.no 414) where the lion and man scheme is represented with the lion standing.

The first two vases were interpreted as representing acrobatic performances and both belong to non-Classical Workshops (Birdseed and Concentric Circle Group). The Birdseed Painter included other unique scenes in his repertoire (cf. above). The lion and man scheme is just one of the schemes involving man and lions in Attic iconography, and the only one where man is not the victim but victorious. The scheme of the Kerameikos vase is repeated four times (on each of the four feet) with slight differences in detail. This is very rare in LGII iconography and has only been found elsewhere on a pitcher by the Athens 897 Workshop (cat.no 334, PLS.1c, 11b), where the prothesis scenes are repeated four

times without any marked border between them. As with the pitcher each panel of the stand seems to represent a different phase of the same story. It is, however, the unique scheme of the standing lion, which most interests us here and which together with the theme of rider, is the only representation of this group A, which originated outside Attica. Several examples of a similar scheme were traced in Cretan metalwork, while the Near East offers many more examples, the most strikingly similar being the Late Assyrian Royal seal impressions.

We saw that the iconographic themes which belong to group A, are connected with ritual and daily life, while a couple of scenes could be taken as symbolizing an abstract idea. In the LGII period, there is an increasing interest in non-funerary scenes and a tendency to depict "unique" scenes, mainly on smaller vases such as skyphoi and oenochoes. For all these scenes the analysis of the non-Attic material showed that only the "rider" and the "man and lion" themes are non-Attic in origin.

This is not the case, however, for the purely decorative animal friezes which comprise group B. These purely decorative animal friezes include for both the Late Geometric I and II periods, six different animals: deer, goats, horses, lions, dogs and bulls/cows. Of these six animal friezes, the striding and grazing horses (2), the lions, the running dogs and the bulls/cows are all LGII innovations, and only the goats and deer friezes are found in LGI: the regardant type A goat and the grazing deer were introduced

2. There is one unique example of a grazing horse in LGI (cat. no 86) but is otherwise unknown during this period.

by the Dipylon Master; types B and C (kneeling, striding) were introduced by the Hirschfeld Workshop. The type of deer on the other hand in a regardant attitude is a LGII innovation with all the extant examples coming from the Burly Workshop (Chart I). The grazing deer unlike the goat, whose popularity drops in LGII, is favoured by the leading Classical Workshop of Athens 894.

In order to trace the origin of the various iconographic themes, different Oriental models were drawn for comparison and discussed. These Oriental ideas would have been transmitted through easily portable and precious materials such as ivory and bronzes and through immigrant craftsmen, in which case we would have indirect copying of Oriental models which gradually became hellenized (i.e. in such media as the goldbands).

The Oriental models which were discussed and analysed are the following:

- 1) Syro-Phoenician metal bowls
- 2) Ivory pyxides from Nimrud
- 3) Samaria ivories
- 4) Cypriot bronze stands
- 5) Mittanian seals
- 6) Late Assyrian seals

For type A goats the Mittanian seals, Mycenaean seals and eighth century seals offer good examples of prototypes, while for types B and C, the prototype was found on the Attic goldbands (indirect copying). The source of inspiration for the grazing deer is in Syro-Phoenician ivories and again indirectly copied via the Attic goldbands. The

dependence of bulls/cows on a Near Eastern prototype is testified by the occurrence of the motif on the Oriental metal bowls.

Finally lions occur also on the Oriental metal bowls, while the scheme of lion with one paw raised is the most Oriental in style.

The other animal friezes (i.e. horses, dogs) did not seem to have Oriental prototypes. Of these the horses in decorative schemes are shown either striding or grazing. These latter were introduced to the Attic repertoire by the Birdseed Painter, who borrowed the theme from Euboea. Another Euboean theme involving animals is the theme of two goats flanking a tree; this subject was borrowed from Near Eastern iconography but was not copied by the Attic painters; the Birdseed Painter is therefore selective in his choice of Euboean themes.

The decorative animal friezes also offer some unique combinations: on the Copenhagen NM 9378 amphora by the Workshop of Athens 894 (cat.no 179) lions are inserted in the striding horses frieze. Another unique animal combination is seen in the interior of a skyphos, formerly in the Vlastos Collection Athens (cat.no 433), where the frieze of striding horses is interrupted by a jumping dog.

From the analysis of the animal friezes it may be concluded that Oriental influence in Late Geometric II iconography is largely limited to the decorative animal friezes.

Finally in group C) are included the fantastic (i.e. mythical) creatures: the sphinxes, winged goats and centaurs. The first two themes are LGII innovations, while the earliest centaur can now be placed in LGIb; it was only

in LGII, however, that the theme became popular. Despite the popularity of "mixed-beings" in Eastern art, the creation of a fantastic animal with horse body and human torso is a Greek achievement.

Sphinxes on the other hand were clearly borrowed from the Near East, especially North Syrian art; in spite of its increasing popularity from the seventh century onwards, only one LGII experimental example has been recognised (cf. above "unique" scenes). Sphinxes were more popular from an earlier date in Cretan art, but since we cannot speak of a direct copying of the iconographic type, the idea must have reached Attica independently from the East via the metal bowls: the occurrence of the one Attic example in the interior of a skyphos and its close connection to the Oriental metalbowls, confirms the assumption.

Winged goats too are derived from Near Eastern art and would have reached the Attic repertoire via bronze-work.

Finally as for the various "mythical scenes" which have received varying interpretations by various scholars. I have been unable to find positive evidence confirming the various interpretations, which remain very subjective. As Boardman notes (1983,26) "the major stumbling block to recognising myth scenes in Geometric art remains the lack of both specific actions and of recognisable attributes..."

Even in the EPA period, when one would expect to find an increase in the depiction of mythical scenes, there is absolutely no evidence for identifying any scenes as alluding to specific myths. In the EPA period the group A scenes are typical genre scenes.

In this concluding chapter the changes and similarities of the next period (EPA) must also be considered. The similarities are due to the fact that the leading PA painters, the Analatos and Mesogeia Painter, were trained in the Workshop of Athens 894. What clearly distinguishes EPA from LGII is the introduction of Orientalizing ornaments (curvilinear decorative motifs) and a change in vase shape: the EPA amphorae and hydriae become "slim and steep" (Cook, 1935, 166).

When comparing the iconography of EPA to LGII, it is possible to make the following conclusions. The gradual lack of interest in funerary representations which was noticed for LGII, continues in EPA. Now the change is more dramatic: the prothesis scenes drop to only two, both of which can be placed to the early phase of EPA (Victoria D/23/1982; Vlastos Collection fr.). On the vase in Melbourne the depiction of such a scene on a hydria is unique, both for LGII and EPA. There is furthermore no attempt to represent an ekphora in EPA, while male and female mourners become also less popular (cf. Table 1).

Of the five different chariot groups in LGII, the only one represented in EPA is with shieldless charioteer, while the complete absence of apobates racing is surprising since an increasing interest in games and sports was noticed for the Late Geometric II period.

Among the warrior processions, the Dipylon shield warriors disappear completely (the Dipylon shield has now been totally substituted by the more manageable round shield), and the other warrior processions become less popular. By

far the most common themes in EPA are the riders and the various dancing representations.

From the decorative animal friezes, only the deer and horse continue to be popular in the EPA period. Regardant deer disappear, but grazing deer are very popular, continuing the tradition of the Dipylon Master and the Athens 894 Workshop. Of the horse schemes the most common is the horse standing in panel; among the new themes the grazing water bird was reintroduced in EPA after a gap in LGII and the winged horse was introduced by the Würzburg Painter.

The most popular subject in EPA is the sphinx (thirty one examples) and the type betrays strong Cretan and Oriental influence; there is no indication, however, that the theme has any further significance than that of a purely decorative motif.

2) Looking at the relationship between the theme and shape it is possible to make the following observations: there are in LGII fourteen shapes on which iconographic representations occur (Chart II). Of these the cup and the saucer are exemplified once each with figured decoration: the saucer with a single warrior decorating the tondo (Agora P 5282, cat.no 216) and the cup with a hunting scene (Kerameikos 1240, cat.no 457).

Self-evidently there is a close relationship between the choice of the representation and the choice of vase shape. During the LGII period, the belly-handled amphora dies out as a shape and is substituted by the neck-handled amphora. The LGII Classical Workshops represent all the prothesis scenes on the necks of neck-handled amphorae (with one exception: Oxford 1916.55, cat.no 137, where it decorates

C H A R T II ICONOGRAPHIC THEMES	SHAPES														
	Amphora	Krater	Hydria	Pitcher	Oenochoe	Tankard	Skyphos	Kantharos	Kotyle	Pyxis	H-R Bowl	Fen. Stand	cup	Saucer	Fragments
Prothesis	17	2		2	1										11
Land fight					1										
Sea fight					1										
Ship scenes		1			2										
Chariots I	1														
Chariots II		2			1				1						
Chariots III	45	5	1		2										
Chariots IV	4		1		2										1
Chariots V	4														1
Twins		1			1										
Procession I	1			1	2										
Procession II	16														
Procession III											1				1
Procession IV	8	1			1	1									
Warrior	3	1			1									1	
Fig./objects	1	1													
Duels		1						1							
Boxing		1						1							
Seated mourn.		1													
Kneeling "	13			1											
Seated fig.					1		3				1				
Male mourn.	10			1	1										
Female "	18	6	2	3	3	1	1								
Dancers I	1	1	4	1											
Dancers II	1		5			3	1			1		1			
Dancers III			1												
Mixed dancers	1		1		1		1	1							
Male "	3														
Acrobats					1		1	1							
Cult scene				8	1										
Hunting	10	2			12				1					1	
Riders	8						2								
Leader/horse	5							1							
Man/horse	1				5		1	6							
Horse/tripod	9			1	14			4							
Horse	6	2		5	8	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1		1
" striding	3	2					5								
" grazing	9	2	2	4	1	1	4								
Deer "	16	4	3	1	4	2	6	3	1		1	1			1
" regardant					2		1	1							
Goat "				1	1										
" kneeling	1	1	1	2	1				1		3	4			
" striding				1	1		1								
Running dogs	20	3			4			2							
Bulls/cows	2	1					5								
Lions	3	2	2	2			5		2						
Lion/man					2		1	1				1			
Lion/animal	1			1											
Centaur	1	3	2									1			
" attacking	1														
Sphinxes															
Winged goats						1	1								3

the belly). The non-Classical Workshops on the other hand represent prothesis on other shapes such as oenochoae and pitchers, while the neck amphorae may carry the representation round the belly rather than on the neck (e.g. Copenhagen 2680, cat. no 317, PL. 12a). Chariots too predominate on neck-amphorae, where they are represented in a frieze around the belly. Only twice does a chariot appear on the neck of neck-amphorae (Amsterdam 6249, cat. no 176; Private Possession, cat. no 375).

Warrior processions are exclusively drawn on amphorae, usually decorating the lower body frieze. Mourners too predominate on amphorae, either flanking the prothesis scene or as a substitute for it.

The neck-amphora is therefore the shape which bears the largest variety of themes, since thirty four different themes are represented on them (Chart II).

Kraters become much less popular in LGII and all the large scale kraters with prothesis scenes were painted by Provincial Workshops (Trachones, Thorikos, Merenda). This indicates that during the LGII period there is a dispersal of wealth, an emigration to the countryside (Coldstream, 1977, 133ff.). The kraters bear twenty three different themes.

Another shape on which a large variety of themes is represented is the oenochoe (twenty eight themes). Several unique themes occur also on oenochoae : (land fight, sea fight, shipwreck). Skyphoi too favour "unique" scenes and mixed scenes (cf. above).

A shape which acquires figured decoration for the first time in LGII is the hydria, while its funerary func-

tion is made clear by the plastic snake attachments, which occur also on amphorae but not on other shapes in Attica. The theme which predominates on hydriae is the various combinations with female dancers. The importance of the hydria in LGII is manifest both as a vase associated with funerary rites and for its use in festive ceremonies. At this point I would like to draw attention to J.Camp's theory of a drought towards the end of the eighth century, accompanied by famine and pestilence (3). According to Camp the abandonment of numerous Late Geometric wells in the Athenian Agora indicates that a prolonged severe drought occurred at that time, and material from the Sanctuary of Zeus Ombrios on Mt Hymettus would seem to point to the same conclusion. Increased religious activity is all too often the direct result of need and times of trouble might be expected to produce religious fervour. It is probably not insignificant that the hydria -its name clearly implying its function- for the first time in its history is honoured with figured decoration during this period.

There are two representations which appear on more different shapes than any other theme: single horse and grazing deer (on ten different shapes, but predominating on amphorae).

3) Another feature of the LGII period is the large number of workshops working independently. On the one hand the so-called Classical Workshops (Sub-Dipylon, Philadelphia, Athens 894, Villa Giulia) and on the other hand the workshops outside the Classical Tradition, to which apart from Coldstream's workshops (Hooked Swastika, Birdseed,

3.J.Camp " A Drought in the late eighth century B.C." Hesperia 48, 1979, 397ff.

Rattle Group, Anavyssos Painter, Lion Painter, Concentric Circle Group, Hunt Group, Athens 897, Mannheim Painter, Benaki Painter, Painter of Paris 3283) belong also the Burly Workshop, the Thorikos Workshop, the Trachones Painter, the Mainz-Providence Painter, the Toledo Painter, the Horse Painter and the Painter of Kerameikos 1314. There are therefore twenty two different workshops or painters active during this period, while for the LGI period, figured decoration was produced mainly by the two leading workshops of the Dipylon Master and the Hirschfeld Painter.

Looking at the relationship between shape and workshop it is possible to make the following observations (Chart III):

All the figured scenes by the Philadelphia, Anavyssos and Toledo Painters are on amphorae. Conversely the Rattle Group, the Lion Painter, the Painter of Kerameikos 1314 and the Horse Painter (all non-Classical), never used amphorae. The pitcher furthermore is absent from all the Classical workshops.

The Athens 894 Workshop represents figured scenes on more shapes than any other workshop (nine different shapes); next comes the Birdseed Painter with figured representations on seven different shapes and third the Athens 897 Workshop with representations on six different shapes.

The Concentric Circle Group and the Hunt Group are represented only by oenochoae, the Trachones Painter only by two kraters.

Our knowledge of the historic and social/economic conditions of the eighth century is very limited. Since, however, I have regarded the representations as reflecting

		C H A R T III		S H A P E S		WORKSHOPS	
Amphora		*	*				Sub-Dipylon
Krater		*	*				Philadelphia
Hydria				*	*		Athens 894
Pitcher					*		Villa Giulia
Oenochoe		*	*	*	*	*	Birdseed
Tankard		*	*				Hooked S.
Skyphos		*	*	*	*	*	Rattle Group
Kantharos							Anavyssos
Kotyle						*	Lion Painter
Pyxis		*	*			*	Concentric C.
H-R Bowl						*	Hunt Group
Fen. Stand		*	*				Burly
Cup							Trachones
Saucer		*	*			*	Thorikos
						*	Athens 897
						*	Mannheim
						*	Paris 3283
						*	Benaki
						*	Kerameikos
						*	Mainz/Prov.
						*	Toledo
						*	Horse
						*	Unknown

contemporary society with very few allusions to symbolism and even less to myth, it is possible to make some general observations.

The larger and finer vases from the Classical Workshops and the large kraters from the Provincial Workshops (Tra-chones, Thorikos, Merenda) were made for and ordered by the aristocratic families. The smaller much less ambitious vases on the other hand, the creations of lesser artists and which were much cheaper, could have been afforded by more people. Owning and affording a vase with figured decoration is no longer the privilege of the aristocracy; the increase in the demand for small cheap vases in LGII explains also the large number of independent workshops and the large number of vases which cannot be ascribed to a recognisable workshop. It is on these smaller vases that we observe a tendency to break away from the usual stock of funerary scenes. This growing interest in non-funerary scenes is what characterizes LGII iconography.

These scenes reflect a peaceful prosperity, an interest in the joyful aspects of life, of people who had given up travelling, warfare and adventures.

A large number of innovations include scenes which would be part of festivals and games. There is a growing interest in sport: boxing, wrestling and running. This sporting spirit is also diffused in the Iliad and the Odyssey; although in the Iliad the occasion is the Funeral of Patroklos, in the Odyssey the games were held by the Phaeacians to entertain Odysseus after a feast. In the Hesiodic Shield too, in the peaceful city together with the scenes

of harvest there are also sporting scenes in wrestling, boxing and chariot racing.

We seem furthermore to have positive evidence for the identification of such events as the apobates race and armed dancing (pyrriche), both of which, as we know from later literature, were part of the Panathenaic festival. The jug-bearers too of the Copenhagen 727 kantharos (cat. no 305) could be compared to the youthful hydrophoroi participating in the Panthenaic procession on the Parthenon frieze (North VI,17-20). This festival, which gradually became the most important event of Athens seems to have been of immemorial antiquity and its foundation is ascribed to king Erechtheus . The earliest representations of activities connected to the Panathenaic festival appear on vases which belong to the Late Geometric II period.

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THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ATTIC LG II POTTERY

VOLUME II

THEODORA ROMBOS

BEDFORD COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

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b.Kerameikos 407 (cat. no 413);c.Copenhagen NM 727 (cat. no 305).
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- PLATE 42 a.Würzburg H 5171 (cat. no 38);b.Ortiz Collection Geneva: Falsone,1985,pls.XXI-XXIII.
- PLATE 43 a.Edinburgh 1956.422 (cat. no 229);b.Basle Private Collection (cat. no 430).
- PLATE 44 a.b.Reading 50.10.1 (cat. no 323).
- PLATE 45 a.Athens NM 19332: Brann,1960,pl.15; b.Louvre CA 3256 (cat. no 214).
- PLATE 46 a.Athens NM 14441 (cat. no 203);B.Athens NM 784 (cat. no 202).
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- PLATE 48 a.Athens BSA K 83 (cat. no 248);b.Copenhagen NM 7307 (cat. no 398).

- PLATE 49 a.Athens NM17497 (cat.no 256);b.Athens NM 18542 (cat.no 254).
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- PLATE 54 a.b.Brauron Museum 1/68 (cat.no 260).
- PLATE 55 a.Istambul Museum :grave stele from Zinjirli;
b.Leningrad Hermitage: J.Jacobus Matisse,pl.23.
- PLATE 56 a.b.Mainz Museum O.1980a (cat.no 247).
- PLATE 57 a.Athens EPK 570 (cat.no 362);b.Serajevo Museum: CVA Jugoslavia,pl.11 no 36.
- PLATE 58 a.Mildenberg Collection (cat.no 366);b.Brauron Museum (cat.no 443).
- PLATE 59 a.Louvre A 547 (cat.no 21);b.Musée Rodin (cat. no 20);c.München 8748 (cat.no 54);d.Agora P 18496, P15616: Brann,1962,66 no 305,pl.18; e. Acropolis 298: Graef,1909,pl.10,298;f.Argive Heraeum pyxis;g.Délos 15,BC 6 ,pls.XLIII,LVI.
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874 (cat. no 304).
- PLATE 69 a.b.Brauron Museum (cat. no 193).
- PLATE 70 a.Louvre CA 1333 (cat. no 192);b.Munich
6228 (cat. no 190).
- PLATE 71 a.Tübingen 2657 (cat.no 298);b.Berlin 4506
(cat.no 299).
- PLATE 72 a.b.Ruhr Universität Bochum (cat.no 56).
- PLATE 73 a.Munich 6029 (cat.no 419);b.Louvre CA 1823
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- PLATE 74 a.Kerameikos 812 (cat.no 95);b.Boston 2543
(cat.no 291).

C A T A L O G U E

The catalogue is divided into two parts: Part A includes the Late Geometric I vases with a short description and bibliography; this part includes only those vases with figured decoration which have been mentioned in the main text. Part B of the Catalogue includes all the Late Geometric II vases with figured decoration with a detailed description of each vase and full bibliography. Both parts of the catalogue are grouped by painter or workshop, while the vases which cannot be ascribed to any of these, are grouped by shape.

PART A

THE DIPYLON MASTER AND HIS WORKSHOP

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| 1.ATHENS NM 804
Belly-amphora | Prothesis; mourners; grazing deer; regardant goats.
Davison,1961,fig.1; Coldstream,1968,29 no 1,pl.6. |
| 2.ATHENS NM 803
Belly-amphora | Ekphora; mourners.
Marwitz, <u>AntAb</u> 10,1961,10,pl. 3 fig.5; Coldstream,1968,30 no 2,46. |
| 3.SEVRES MUS.NAT.
Belly-amphora | Prothesis; mourners; grazing deer.
Coldstream,1968,30 no 3; Ahlberg,1971,25 no 3, fig. 3. |
| 4.LOUVRE A 517
Krater
PLATES 15b,17a,31b | Prothesis; mourners; chariots; ship.
<u>CVA</u> 11,pl.1,1-10;pl.2,5; Ahlberg,1971,25 no 4, fig.4. |
| 5.ATHENS NM 811
Oenochoe | Grazing deer.
Davison,1961,fig.7; Coldstream,1968,30 no 5,pl. 7d. |
| 6.AGORA P 7024
Amphora fr. | Regardant goats; horse.
Young,1940,180, fig. 130 C134; Davison,1961,fig. 6. |
| 7.LOUVRE A 552+A 525+A 550+A 534+ATHENS FR.
Krater I | Prothesis; mourners; Dipylon warriors; chariots; ship scene; sea fight.
<u>CVA</u> 11,pl. 4,1-7; Coldstream,1968,30 no 8; Ahlberg,1971,25 no 5,fig. 5a-f; Kunze,1953, |

- pl.2,1;pl.4,1(bottom left),
4,2.
- 8.LOUVRE A 523+A 527+A 520+
A 535
Krater II
Sea fight; Dipylon warriors
and archers; chariots.
CVA 11,pl.2,2;pl.5,10;pl.3,
7; Coldstream,1968,30 no 9.
- 9.LOUVRE A 526+A 528+A 539+
A 538+A 540+A 537
Krater III
Sea fight; Dipylon and other
warriors; chariots.
CVA 11,pl.7,1,6-8,10,11;pl.
3,9(lower part),10; Coldstream,
1968,31 no 10.
- 10.ATHENS fr.+LOUVRE CA 3362
+COMPIEGNE+GOTTINGEN 533s
Krater IV
Sea fight.
CVA 11,pl.7,15-16;Coldstream,
1968,31 no 11.
- 11.LOUVRE A 530
Krater
Ship;Dipylon and other war-
riors.
CVA 11,pl.6,1-9; Coldstream,
1968,31 no 12.
- 12.OXFORD AE 406
Stand fr.
Dipylon and other warriors.
Coldstream,1968,31 no 14.
- 13.WARSAW 142172+LOUVRE A 532
Krater
Sea fight; ship scene.
Ahlberg,1971 ii,89 fig.90;
CVA 11,pl.7,2.
- 14.BRUSSELS 21.628+ATHENS fr.
Krater
Ship scene; corpses; Dipylon
warriors.
Davison,1961,fig.16;Coldstream,
1968,31 no 15; Ahlberg,1971
ii,26 B9,fig.40.
- 15.HALLE ROBERTINUM 58/58
A1-2
Prothesis; mourners; Dipylon
warriors; chariot; regardant

- goat.
- Krater
Coldstream, 1968, 31 no 16;
Ahlberg, 1971, 25 no 6, fig. 6.
16. LOUVRE A 519+YALE
Land fight; Dipylon and other
Krater warriors.
Davison, 1961, figs. 11, 12a, b;
Coldstream, 1968, 31 no 17.
17. ATHENS NM 802+
GOTTINGEN 533n
Prothesis; Dipylon warriors;
Krater chariots; regardant goats;
PLATE 1a land fight.
Ahlberg, 1971, 26 no 7, fig. 7a-
d.
18. PIREUS STREET
Prothesis; mourners; chariots.
Krater Coldstream, 1968, 31 no 19; Ahl-
berg, 1971, 26 no 8, fig. 8a-b.
19. AMSTERDAM 2015
Prothesis; mourners.
Krater fr. CVA Musée Scheurleer 2, pl. 3,
3; Ahlberg, 1971, no 9, fig. 9
20. MUSEE RODIN+TUBINGEN
Chariots; shieldless warriors.
S/10.1465 CVA Rodin, pl. 9, 1-2, 4; CVA Tü-
bingen 2, pl. 26, 1.
Krater
21. LOUVRE A 547
Prothesis; mourners; tripods;
Krater chariots; Dipylon warriors.
PLATE 59 Davison, 1961, fig. 22; Ahlberg,
1971, 26 no 13, fig. 13 a-d.
22. SYDNEY NICHOLSON MUS.
Prothesis; mourners; chariots.
46.41 Coldstream, 1968, 31 no 22;
Krater Ahlberg, 1971, 26 no 14, fig.
14 a-d.

23. LOUVRE A 541
Krater
Prothesis; mourners; chariots;
leader of horse.
Davison, 1961, fig. 23; Ahlberg,
1971, 26 no 15, fig. 15.
24. LOUVRE A 552
Krater
PLATES 17b, 30a
Prothesis; mourners; chariots;
Dipylon warriors.
Davison, 1961, fig. 24; Ahlberg,
1971, 26 no 16, fig. 16 a-c.
25. BARING COLL. LONDON
Neck-amphora
Chariots.
Davison, 1961, fig. 93; Cold-
stream, 1968, 32 no 25.
26. AGORA P 10664
Amphora fr.
Prothesis; chariots.
Davison, 1961, fig. 9; Brann,
1962, nos 1, 245.
27. MUNICH 6402
High-rimmed bowl
Regardant goats.
Davison, 1961, fig. 19.
28. LOUVRE CA 1790
High-rimmed bowl
Regardant goats.
CVA 16, pl. 12; Coldstream,
1968, 33 no 43.
29. ATHENS NM 866
High-rimmed bowl
PLATE 1b
Regardant goats.
Wide, 1899, 214, fig. 96 (top
right); Davison, 1961, fig. 20.
30. MUNICH 6080
Neck-amphora
Grazing deer; regardant goats;
grazing water birds.
CVA 3, pl. 106, 1-2; pl. 107, 2-4;
Coldstream, 1968, 32 no 32.
31. MUNICH 6400
Oenochoe
Grazing deer.
Davison, 1961, fig. 106; CVA 3,
pl. 110, 3; pl. 112, 1-2.
32. ATHENS NM 152
Grazing deer.

- Oenochoe Davison, 1961, fig 9; Coldstream, 1968, 32 no 34.
33. OXFORD 1927.4448
Oenochoe Grazing deer.
Davison, 1961, fig 103; Coldstream, 1968, 32 no 35.
34. ATHENS NM 192
Oenochoe Grazing deer.
Davison, 1961, fig. 104; Coldstream, 1968, 32 no 36.
35. AGORA P 15122
Oenochoe Grazing deer.
Davison, 1961, fig 105; Coldstream, 1968, 32 no 37.
36. ELEUSIS 501
Oenochoe Grazing deer.
PAE 1955, pl. 25a; Coldstream, 1968, 32 no 41.
37. HANOVER 1958.60
giant Oenochoe Grazing deer.
CVA 1, pl. 2; Coldstream, 1968, 32 no 33.
38. WURZBURG H 5171
Pitcher Grazing water birds.
CVA 1, pl. 8.
39. UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
Fen stand Grazing deer.
Davison, 1961, fig. 107.
40. LOUVRE A 551
Krater fr. Chariot.
CVA 11, pl. 8, 26; Coldstream, 1968, 31 n. 4.
41. LOUVRE CA 3384
Fr. Regardant goats.
CVA 11, pl. 9, 5; Coldstream, 1968, 31 n. 4.
42. KERAMEIKOS
Ship.

- Belly-amphora fr. Unpublished.
 PLATE 31a
- 43.LOUVRE CA 3382 Mourners; Dipylon warriors.
 Krater fr. CVA 11,pl.9,1-3; Coldstream,
 1968, 31 n. 4.
- 44.LOUVRE CA 3391 Prothesis; mourners.
 Fr. CVA 11,pl. 9,14; Coldstream,
 1968,31 n. 4.
- 45.LOUVRE A 545 Prothesis ? mourners; Dipylon
 Krater fr. warriors.
CVA 11,pl. 9,17(fr.785);Ahl-
 berg,1971,26 no 11,fig.11.

THE HIRSCHFELD PAINTER AND WORKSHOP

- 46.ATHENS NM 990+ATHENS NM Ekphora; mourners; chariots.
 +ex BONN 1634+FREIBURG Davison,1961,fig.25; Cold-
 +AMSTERDAM ALLARD PIERSON stream,1968,41 no 1a,b,c,d,
 MUS.2010 pl.8b; Ahlberg,1971,220 no
 Krater 54,fig. 54 a,b.
 PLATE 15a
- 47.HALLE ROBERTINUM 59+ Chariots.
 AMSTERDAM ALLARD PIERSON Coldstream,1968,41-42,no 3
 MUS.2009+ BONN 16+ a,b,c,d; Ahlberg,1971,220
 +LOUVRE A 533 no 55,fig.55 a-e.
 Krater frs.
 PLATE 16b
- 48.NEW YORK 14.130.14 Prothesis; chariots; seated
 Krater figure; kneeling goats;
 PLATES 1f,10a mourners.
 Schweitzer,1969,fig.41; Cold-
 stream,1968,42 no 13.

49. LEIPZIG T 2384+LEIDEN
Krater
Chariots.
JdI 48, 1943, 24ff. figs. 11-13;
Coldstream, 1968, 42 no 4.
50. LOUVRE
Krater fr.
Land fight.
Unpublished.
51. KERAMEIKOS
Krater fr.
Shieldless warriors; chariot.
AD 18, 1963, 29-30, pl. 29 a-b;
Coldstream, 1968, 41 no 2.
52. ATHENS KRIEZI STREET
Amphora body
Prothesis; mourners.
Unpublished; Ahlberg, 1971,
314, text fig. 3.
53. ATHENS NM 18062
Neck-amphora
Prothesis; mourners; Dipylon
warriors.
Davison, 1961, fig. 28; Cold-
stream, 1968, 42 no 6.
54. MUNICH 8748
Neck-amphora
Two horses tied to tripod;
man between goats.
PLATE 59c
Lullies, AA 1962, 594ff. figs.
1-2; Coldstream, 1968, 42 no 9.
55. DRESDEN ZV 1635
Pitcher
Prothesis; mourners.
Hinrichs, 1955, pl. 6; Ahlberg,
1971, 27 no 23, fig. 23 and text
fig. 1.
56. RUHR UNIV. BOCHUM
Pitcher
Mixed dance.
PLATES 8b, 72a, b
Jahrbuch der Ruhr Universität
Bochum, 1984 .
57. DUNEDIN 57.155
Pitcher
Striding goats.
Coldstream, 1968, 42 no 14, pl.
8e.
58. LONDON BM 1912.7-18.1
Man between horses.

- (ex Lambros Coll.)
- Pitcher
59. MUNICH 6249
- Oenochoe
60. COPENHAGEN NM 726
- Spouted krater
61. TUBINGEN 2658
- Kantharos
62. ATHENS NM 16193
- Tankard
63. FLORENCE MUS. ARCH.
- Tankard
64. WURZBURG H 5335
- Tankard
65. BRUSSELS A 1942
- (ex Lambros Coll.)
- Tankard
66. ATHENS PROMACHOU STREET
- High-rimmed bowl
67. AGORA P 17196
- Fr.
68. KERAMEIKOS
- Man between horses.
- Schweitzer, 1918, pl. 4 no 5.
- Two horses tied to tripod.
- CVA 3, pl. 113, 1-2; pl. 110, 4;
- Coldstream, 1968, 42 no 8.
- Horse in panel; kneeling goat;
- Dipylon warriors.
- Davison, 1961, fig. 27 a-b; Cold-
stream, 1968, 42 no 7.
- Two horses tied to tripod.
- CVA 2, pl. 23; Coldstream,
1968, 42 no 12.
- Horse in panel.
- Coldstream, 1968, 42 no 10, pl.
8f.
- Centaur with branches.
- Unpublished; Tölle, 1964, 96
no 303.
- Horse in panel; regardant
birds.
- CVA 1, pl. 12, 1-3.
- Horse in panel.
- CVA 3, IIIHb, pl. 2, 9 a-b; Schweit-
zer, 1918, pl. 5 no 3; Cold-
stream, 1968, 42 no 11.
- Kneeling goats.
- AD 23, 1968, pl. 50; AAA 3, 1970,
115, fig. 1.2.
- Regardant goat.
- Brann, 1962, no 321, pl. 8.
- Prothesis.

Fr.

Tölle, 1963, 660-664 no 19, fig.
16; Ahlberg, 1971, no 26, fig. 26.

THE WORKSHOP OF ATHENS 706

69. KERAMEIKOS 385

Neck-amphora

PLATE 4a

Grazing deer.

Kübler, 1954, pl. 3, 5; Cold -
stream, 1968, 51 no 4.

70. ATHENS NM 706

Pitcher

Grazing deer.

Wide, 1899, 206 fig. 73; Davison,
1961, fig. 91.

71. TUBINGEN 1090

Pitcher

Grazing deer.

CVA 2, pls. 10, 11.

PLATE 2b

OTHER WORKSHOPS AND VASES

72. ATHENS NM 812

Krater

Prothesis; mourners.

Coldstream, 1968, 34 n. 1, 38, 39,
n. 4; Ahlberg, 1971, 26 no 18,
fig. 18.

73. ATHENS NM 806

Krater

Mourners; regardant goats;
chariots.

PLATE 15c

Davison, 1961, fig. 18; Ahlberg,
1971, 26 no 20, fig. 20.

74. ATHENS NM 4310

Krater fr.

Prothesis; chariot.

Hinrichs, 1955, pl. 10a; Ahl-
berg, 1971, 26 no 19, fig. 19
"close to the Athens 806 vase".

75. ATHENS 3rd EPHORIA

Krater fr.

Prothesis; mourners.

Kaufmann-Samaras, AD 28, 1973,
pl. 127b . By the Painter of
the Athens NM 806 vase.

76. NEW YORK 34.11.2

Prothesis; Dipylon warriors;

- Krater sea fight; mourners.
Schweitzer, 1969, pl. 34; Ahlberg, 1971, 25 no 1, fig. 1 a-e.
77. KERAMEIKOS 1255
Krater Horse in panel; grazing deer.
Kübler, 1954, pl. 23
78. BRUSSELS A 1506
Amphora Prothesis; mourners.
CVA 2, pl. 1, 1a-c; Ahlberg, 1971, 27 no 21, fig. 21.
79. KERAMEIKOS 410
Neck-amphora Regardant goats.
Kübler, 1954, pl. 34.
80. CANELLOPOULOS COLL. 843
Neck-amphora Man between horses.
Brouskari, 1979, 439 no 5, fig. 6.
81. BERLIN 3367
Pitcher Horse in panel.
Ohly, 1953, pl. 24.
82. VIENNA 402
Pitcher Kneeling goats.
Masner, 1892, no 30, pl. 1.
83. TUBINGEN 6214
Pitcher Kneeling goats.
CVA 2, pl. 13, 2-4.
84. TUBINGEN 28.5446
Oenochoe Regardant goats.
CVA 2, pl. 8.
- PLATE 2a
85. KERAMEIKOS 4271
Oenochoe Grazing deer.
Freytag AM 89, 1974, no 1, pl. 2, 2-4.
86. ATHENS
Oenochoe From Ag. Theodoroi
Grazing horses.
AD 17, 1961-2, Chronika, pls. 55, 56.
87. BRAURON MUSEUM
Oenochoe From Anavyssos
Dipylon warriors and archers.

- Unpublished; Themelis:Braaron,
Guide to the site and Museum,
1971,pl.102b.
- 88.KERAMEIKOS 1306
Toy amphora
PLATE 61b
Man between horses.
Kübler,1954,pl.110.
- 89.ATHENS EPK 630
Kantharos
PLATE 61a
Man between horses.
Brouskari,1979 ii,pl.22. By
the same painter as no 88.
- 90.KERAMEIKOS 268
Kantharos
Man between horses.
Kübler,1954,pl.87.
- 91.NEW YORK 36.11.10
Basket
Kneeling goats.
BullMetMus 32,1937,177,fig.5.
- 92.MUNICH 6182
Basket
Horse in panel.
CVA 3,pl.121,2-4.
- 93.ATHENS NM 166
Skyphos
Kneeling goats.
Wide,1899,215,fig.100 right.
- 94.ATHENS NM 723
Skyphos
Regardant goat.
Wide,1899,213,fig.99.
- 95.KERAMEIKOS 812
Skyphos
Dipylon warriors; figures
holding hands.
PLATE 74a
Kübler,1954,pl.117.
- 96.ATHENS NM 190
Krater
Man between horses; regardant
goat.
AM 69,1954,pl.18.
- 97.LOUVRE A 567
Pyxis
Standing deer.
CVA 16,pl. 21.
- 98.MFA HOUSTON TEXAS
Pyxis
PLATE 3b
Grazing deer.
Hoffmann,1971,no 149,fig.149
a-b.

- 99.CAMBRIDGE GR 18
Pyxis
Horse tied to tripod; standing deer; grazing water bird.
Gardner, A Guide to the Greek Vases in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge, 1897, no 18, pl. II, 18.
- 100.HEIDELBERG G27/3
Jug
Grazing deer.
CVA 3, pl. 109, 1, 2; pl. 112, 6.
- 101.CORINTH MP3/4
Jug
Grazing deer.
Hesperia I, 1932, 63 fig. 9;
same painter as no 100.
- 102.ATHENS NM 18509
Tankard
Kneeling goats.
Unpublished.
- FRAGMENTS
- 103.LOUVRE CA 3398
Chariots; land fight.
CVA 11, pl. 10, 6 fig. 4.
- 104.LOUVRE CA 3375
Chariots.
CVA 11, pl. 8, 17, 19, 23.
- 105.LOUVRE CA 3385
Seated, kneeling mourners.
CVA 11, pl. 9, 6.
- 106.LOUVRE CA 3448
Chariot.
CVA 11, pl. 16, 23.
- 107.LOUVRE CA 3441
Chariots.
CVA 11, pl. 16, 14, 15, 16.
- 108.KERAMEIKOS 3238
Man between horses.
Kübler, 1954, pl. 87.
- 109.ACROPOLIS MUS.257
Dipylon warriors.
Graef-Langlotz, 1909, 25 no 257,
pl. 9.
- 110.ACROPOLIS MUS.251
Male mourners.

- Graef-Langlotz, 1909, 25 no
251, pl. 8.
111. ACROPOLIS MUS. 256 Seated mourners.
Graef-Langlotz, 1909, 25 no
256, pl. 8.
112. LOUVRE CA 3364+ATHENS Sea fight; ship.
CVA 11, pl. 8, 1; Ahlberg, 1971
ii, 25 B2, fig. 27; Kirk, 1949,
101 no 11.
113. LOUVRE Ship scene.
Ahlberg, 1971 ii, 26 B12, fig.
44.
114. TORONTO 957x245+
ATHENS NM 17384 Duel.
Cambitoglou, AJA 64, 1960, 366ff.
fig. 109, 1-4; Ahlberg, 1971 ii,
49 nos 1, 2, figs, 47, 48.
115. LOUVRE CA 3422 Dipylon warriors.
CVA 11, pl. 10, 31.
116. LOUVRE CA 3424 Dipylon warriors.
CVA 11, pl. 10, 33.
117. LOUVRE CA 3376 Dipylon warriors.
CVA 11, pl. 8, 18.
118. LOUVRE CA 3382 Dipylon warriors; mourners.
CVA 11, pl. 9, 1; Coldstream,
1968, 31 note.
119. ATHENS NM Prothesis?
Ahlberg, 1971, 26 no 12, fig. 12.
120. LOUVRE CA 3421 Dipylon warriors and archer.
CVA 11, pl. 10, 30.
121. LOUVRE A 536 Ship.

- 122.ATHENS NM 287,288
 Ship.
 Graef-Langlotz,1909,299,300;
 Kirk,1949,,no 20 a,b.
- 123.LOUVRE CA 3361
 Ship.
CVA 11,pl.7,13.
- 124.ATHENS NM
 Ship.
 Kirk,1949,106 no 24; Morrison-
 Williams,1968,no 15.

PART B

THE SUB-DIPYLON GROUP

- 125.LEIDEN 1.1909/1.1
 Amphora
 PLATE 15g
 H:1m35cm. From the Kerameikos
 Neck:four panels with four/
 spoked wheels flanked by
 painted snakes.
 Body:frieze of nine one/horse
 chariots with shieldless char-
 ioteer to the right.
 Brants,1930,pl.7,52; Davison,
 1961,fig.94; Tölle,1964,90
 no190; Coldstream,1968,55 no
 1,pl.11 a-b; Crowel,1981,pl.
 143.
- 126.PARIS MUSEE RODIN
 Amphora body
 H:0,93m.
 Body:frieze of one/horse
 chariots with shieldless
 charioteer to the right.
CVA Musée Rodin,pl.8,7; Da-

- 127.ELEUSIS 454
Amphora
- vison, 1961, fig.95; Coldstream, 1968, 55 no 2.
H: 1m17cm.
Neck: divided into four panels, the two lower ones have a horse tied to a tripod/manger.
Body: frieze of one/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer, alternating with Dipylon warriors to the right.
Wide, 1899, 194 fig.57; Davison, 1961, fig.99; Tölle, 1964, 89 no 176; Coldstream, 1968, 55 no 5.
- 128.AGORA P 22435
Amphora neck
- H: 0,39m. From well N11:5
Neck: divided into four panels, the two lower ones have a horse facing towards the centre.
Hesperia 22, 1953, 39 fig.18a; Brann, 1961, pl.14 M1; Davison, 1961, fig.100; Brann, 1962, no 303.
- 129.ATHENS NM 14763
Amphora
PLATE 20a
- H: 0,80m. From Eretria
Body: frieze of one/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer to the right;
lower zone: frieze of armed

- round shield warriors to the right.
- AE 1903,15ff. fig.7; Boardman, BSA 47,1952,pl. 3a; Davison, 1961,fig.101; Tölle,1964,89 no 167; Coldstream,1968,55 no 8.
- H:0,52m.
- Body:frieze of one/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer to the right.
- Wide,1899,194 fig.56; Davison, 1961,fig.96; Tölle,1964,90 no 186; Coldstream,1968,55 no 10; Kübler,1970,567 no 3.
- 130.ATHENS NM184
Amphora
PLATES 15d,19b
- H:1m05cm. From the excavations south of the Acropolis,grave 23
- Neck:two metopes with a warrior fully armed with round shield, helmet and two spears.
- Body:bands of concentric circles.
- AD 28,1973.11 VIII,f a.3a,b; pl.6.
- 131.ATHENS NAK 479
Amphora
- H:0,18m.
- Neck:panel with fully armed round shield warrior to the right.
- Schweitzer,1918,136-7,fig.31; CVA 3,pl.116,1,2; Coldstream,
- 132.HEIDELBERG G 140
Fragment

- 1968,55 note.
133. TRACHONES 390
Amphora
H:0,95m. From grave K42
Neck:two panels with a fully armed round shield warrior facing towards the centre.
Body:bands of concentric circles.
Geroulanos,1973,K42,pl.26,1; pl.35,2-3;pl.43,4-5,pl.50,7.
134. ATHENS NM 223
Amphora
PLATE 32b
H:0,84m. From the Kerameikos
Neck:man with two spears and helmet leading a horse to the right.
Body:bands of concentric circles.
Wide,1899,193 fig.54; Coldstream,1968,55 no 7.
135. AGORA P 4885
oenochoe
H:0,228m. From grave 12:12
Neck:three warriors fully armed with Dipylon shields, helmets,two spears and sword to the right.
Body:land fight:under the handle two warriors behind one square shield,one of them mounting a two/horse chariot, the other fighting against a warrior who is poising a spear, followed by another warrior with spear and sword

and a one/horse chariot
with shieldless charioteer;
in front of the "twin figure's"
chariot another two/horse
chariot with fully armed
Dipylon warrior as charioteer.
Young, 1939, 68-71, figs. 43-44;
Webster, 1955, 40 fig. 1; Davi-
son, 1961, fig. 97; Brann, 1962,
no 304, pls. 4, 17; Coldstream,
1968, 55 no 9; id. 1977, fig.
112a; Schweitzer, 1969, fig. 15.

136.LONDON BM 1899.2-19.1

Krater

H:?

Side A: a female figure with
crown in one hand facing a
male figure who is turned to-
wards her and grasping her
by the hand and boarding a
ship with two rows of nine-
teen and twenty oarsmen.

Side B: two one/horse chariots
with longrobed shieldless
charioteer followed by a
rider.

JHS 19, 1899, pl. 8; Pfuhl, 1923,
pl. 4, 15; Hampe, 1936, 26ff., pl.
22b; Davison, 1961, fig. 98;
Tölle, 1964, 90 no 203; Cold-
stream, 1968, 55 no 4; id. 1977,
fig. 112b.

137.OXFORD 1916.55

Amphora

H: ? Plastik snakes

Body: Prothesis scene: on either side of the bier a figure at a reduced scale; below the bier two kneeling mourners; to the right three female mourners standing higher on a pedestal and turning to the left; then to the right a one/horse chariot with shieldless charioteer, a fully armed round shield warrior, a two/horse chariot, two round shield warriors fully armed and three male mourners with sword.

Zschietzschmann, 1928, pl. 8, 13; Davison, 1961, fig. 111a, b; Tölle, 1964, 97 no 330; Coldstream, 1968, 55 no 11; Kübler, 1970, 568 no 10.

138.COPENHAGEN NY CARLSBERG

3187

H: 0,77m. Plastik snakes

Neck: three warriors fully armed with round shields and two spears to the right.

Body: upper zone: frieze of four/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer; lower zone: procession of fully armed round shield warriors.

Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg

Glyptotek 19,1962,3ff.figs.

2,3;Tölle,1964,89 no 169,pl.

30a; Coldstream,1968,55 no

12.

139.ACROPOLIS MUSEUM 293

H:?

Fr.

Remains of chariot with shieldless charioteer.

Graef,1909,29 no 293,pl.10.

140.BSA ATHENS

H:?

Fr.

Man leading horse.

Unpublished; Coldstream,1968,55 note.

THE PHILADELPHIA PAINTER

141.PHILADELPHIA MS 5464

H:0,435m. Plastic snakes

Amphora

Neck:six youths wearing short cross-hatched chitons,with one hand to the side and the other raised to the head to the right.

Body:upper zone:frieze of one/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer to the right; lower zone:frieze of fully armed round shield warriors to the right.

Pennsylvania University Museum Journal,1917,16; Cook,1947,149fig.7c;Davison,1961,fig.49; Brokaw,1963,67,pl.

30,5; Tölle, 1964, 19 no 42;
Fittschen, Gnomon 37, 1965,
835; Coldstream, 1968, 57 no
1; Kübler, 1970, 567 no 5.

142. GERMANY PRIVATE COLL.

Amphora

H: 0,65m. Plastic snakes

Neck: A: six youths wearing
short cross-hatched chitons,
clasp their hands in front
of them; a seventh youth is
turned to the left towards
them and plays the double
auloi; B: seven female dancers.
Shoulder: grazing horses.

Body: upper zone: frieze of
one/horse chariots with shield-
less charioteer to the right;
lower zone: frieze of fully
armed round shield warriors
to the right.

Tölle, 1964, no 26, pl. 8; Cold-
stream, 1968, 57 no 2.

143. BERLIN 3203

Amphora

PLATE 15k

H: 0,70m.

Neck: A: nine women with both
arms raised to the head.

B: ten naked men with one
hand to the side and the
other raised to the head.

Body: upper zone: frieze of
eight one/horse chariots
with robed shieldless chario-

144.BRUSSELS A 3474

Amphora

teer to the right; lower
zone:twenty five fully arm-
ed round shield warriors
AA 1892,100 no 4; RendPont
Acc 1941,161,fig.4; Cook,
1935,167,205; id.1947,149;
Davison,1961,fig.48 a,b;
Tölle,1964,20 no 43; Fitt-
schen,Gnomon 37,1965,835;
Coldstream,1968,57 no 3;
Wegner,1968,U75 no 63; Kü-
bler,1970,567 no 4.

H:0,575m. Plastic snakes

Neck:A:upper zone:nine men
with one arm raised to the
head and the other to the
side, to the right; lower
zone:nine women with both
arms raised to the head.
B:similar to A but with
eight figures.

Body:upper zone:frieze of
seven one/horse chariots
with shieldless charioteer
lower zone:frieze of fifteen
fully armed warriors with
round shields and spears.

Verhoogen,1951,39ff figs.5-
7; Céramique Grecque aux
Musées Royaux,Brussels,1956,

145.BRAURON MUSEUM

Amphora

fig.3; Coldstream,1968,54
no 4; Kübler,1970,569 no 13.

H:0,80m. From Merenda

Neck:A:upper zone:prothesis:
two female mourners to the
right of the bier; to the
left three male figures with
weapons; below the bier four
kneeling figures; lower zone
female mourners.

B:upper zone:warriors with
rectangular shields to the
right,with one arm raised
to the head and the other to
the side; Lower zone:female
mourners.

Shoulder:grazing horses.

Body:upper zone:frieze of
two/horse chariots with
shieldless charioteer;lower
zone:procession of fully arm-
ed round shield warriors.

Ergon 1960,35 fig.48; BCH
85,1961,629 fig.7; Tölle,
1964,19 no 38,pls.11,12;
Coldstream,1968,57 no 6.

146.PRAGUE PRIVATE COLL.

Amphora

PLATE 33a,b

H:0,504m. Plastic snakes

Neck A/B:two riders to the
right.

Shoulder:running dogs.

Body:frieze with riders
alternating with warriors
fully armed with round
shields,two spears and
helmet.

A.Salak,Listy Filologicke 55
1928,121ff.; Bouzek,1959,115
no 7,pl.6; Coldstream,1968,
57 no 7; CVA 1,pl.12,1;pl.
16,2.

147.TEXAS MFA HOUSTON

Amphora

PLATE 22a,b

H:0,543m. Plastic snakes
Neck:A:prothesis:on either
side of the bier a pair of
female mourners,a fifth
kneeling below.

B:six men to the right carry-
ing two spears in one hand
and the other raised to the
head.

Body:upper zone;frieze of
four two/horse chariots with
shieldless charioteer to the
right; inserted fully armed
and shieldless warriors;
lower zone:running dogs.

Hoffmann,1971,no 148,figs.
148 a-d; Borell,1978,44 n.66.

148.ROHSSKA MUS.GOTHENBERG

Amphora

PLATE 32a

H:? Plastic snakes
Shoulder:dogs pursuing hare
to the left.

Body:frieze of striding horses to the left; one of the horses is led by a man holding two spears vertically in front of him.

Unpublished.

149.BERNE 23270

Amphora neck fr.

H:0,195m. Plastic snakes

Neck:A:six naked male figures to the right.

B:five female mourners with both arms raised to the head.

AK 9,1966,53,pl.12,2; Coldstream,1968,57 no 5; Tölle, 1964,20 no 45,pl. 15; Wegner, 1968,U76 no 71; Ahlberg,1971, 183 n.5.

THE WORKSHOP OF ATHENS 894

150.ATHENS NM 17935

Amphora

H:?

Body:upper zone:frieze of seven one/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer to the right; a shieldless figure with helmet and sword inserted in the frieze and touching with one hand the chariot; lower zone:sixteen roundshield warriors to the right.

Tölle,1964,89 no 166; Coldstream,1968,58 no 1,pl.11c; Wells,1980,53ff.

151. BERLIN STAATLICHE MUS. H:0,528m. Plastic snakes
 Amphora Shoulder: three dogs hunting
 PLATE 25b hare.
 Body: frieze of six one/
 horse chariots with shield-
 less charioteer to the left.
 Metzler, 1972, pl. 1.
152. HANOVER 1953.148 H:0,675m. Plastic snakes
 Amphora Body: frieze of eight one/
 PLATE 24b horse chariots with shield-
 less charioteer to the right.
MÜM 11, 23.11.1953, no 307;
 Hentzen, Erwerbungen des Kest-
ner Museum Hannover, 1952-55,
 fig. 12; Tölle, 1964, 90 no 189;
 Coldstream, 1968, 58 no 2; Kü-
 bler, 1970, 566 no 2; CVA 1,
 pl. 1.
153. STOCKHOLM MM 1976.11 H:0,73m. Plastic snakes
 Amphora Neck: A: four warriors fully
 PLATE 21b armed with round shields to
 the right.
 B: three round shield warriors
 and one shieldless warrior
 with helmet and sword to the
 right.
 Body: upper zone: frieze of one/
 horse chariots with shield-
 less charioteer alternating
 with fully armed warriors

- to the right; lower zone:
frieze of bulls to the
right.
- Wells, 1980, 50-58, figs. 1-5.
154. BUFFALO C 12847
Amphora
- H: 0,70m. plastic snakes
Shoulder: four grazing deer
to the right.
- Body: upper zone: frieze of
three/horse chariots with
shieldless charioteer and
warrior holding two spears;
inserted one rider with
spear leading a second horse;
lower zone: procession of
fully armed warriors with
round shields.
- Alföldi, Gestalt und Geschi-
chte, Festschrift K. Schefold,
1967, 24 no 99, pl. 7, 1 (detail).
coldstream, 1968, 59 no 21a;
Wiesner, 1968, F121, pl. FIV a.
155. LOUVRE CA 2503
Amphora
PLATE 25a
- H: 0,47m. Plastic snakes
Body: frieze of six one/horse
chariots with shieldless
charioteer to the right.
- Villard, 1957, 35, figs. 18, 19;
Brokaw, 1963, pl. 30, 4; Cold-
stream, 1968, 58 no 5; Tölle,
1964, 90 no 198; CVA 16, pl.
34; Kübler, 1970, 574 no 42.

156.MANNHEIM 170

Amphora
PLATE 5a

H:0,355m.

Neck:grazing deer to the left; between its forelegs a water bird.

Shoulder:two running dogs to the right.

Body:bands of concentric circles.

CVA 1,pl. 2,3;pl.3,2; Davison,1961,fig.147; Tölle,1964, no 193; Cook,1935,212: id. 1947,146 n. 1; Coldstream, 1968,59 no 18; Kübler,1970, 571 no 26.

157.ATHENS

Amphora

H:? From Anavyssos cemetery grave XIV.

Neck:horse to the right.

Shoulder:running dogs to the left.

Body:bands of concentric circles.

Unpublished; AD 29,1973-74, Chronika 108-110,pl.85.

158.LONDON MARKET

Amphora

H:0,406m.

Neck:horse to the right; above Dipylon shield,below water-bird.

Shoulder:running dogs.

Body:bands of concentri circles.

- Sotheby Catalogue, 11.12.1961,
no 182; Sotheby Catalogue, 13.
7.1970, no 113.
159. SWISS MARKET
H: 0,299m.
Amphora
Neck: A : horse to the right.
B: horse to the left and
waterbird.
Shoulder: running dog to the
left.
Body: bands of concentric cir-
cles.
MüM 51, 15.3.1975, no 67.
160. ATHENS
H: 0,54m. From the Academy
cemetery
Amphora
Neck: grazing horse.
Body: bands of concentric cir-
cles.
Stavropoulos, BCH 81, 1957, 508
fg. 10; Ergon 1956, 12 fig. 8;
Kübler, 1970, 574 no 40.
161. LONDON MARKET
H: 0,43m.
Amphora
Neck: confronting birds.
Body: bands of concentric
circles.
Sotheby Catalogue, 13.7.1970,
no 119.
162. LUCERNE MARKET
H: ?
Amphora
Decoration not available
Schefold, Antiken Galerie
Fischer Luzern, 5.12.1963, pl.

13 no 382; Coldstream, 1968,
58 no 12; Kübler, 1970, 630 no
337.

163. HIRSCHMANN COLLECTION

Amphora

PLATE 24a

H: 0,715m.

Neck: panel with seven naked
youths to the right, holding
in their left hand a spear
and with their right hand
touching a sword round their
waist.

Shoulder: frieze of running
dogs to the right.

Body: upper zone: frieze of
grazing deer to the right;
lower zone: frieze of two/
horse chariots with shield-
less charioteer to the
right.

Bloesch, 1982, no 1, pl. 1.

164. CLEVELAND 1927.27.6

Amphora

PLATE 21a

H: 0,59m. Plastic snakes

Neck: A: prothesis: two mourn-
ing women at each side of
the bier and one kneeling
below. B: six mourning women
to the right.

Body: upper zone: seven two/
horse chariots with shield-
less charioteer to the
right; inserted one warrior
with round shield and two

spears; lower zone:dogs
hunting hare.

Bulletin of Cleveland Museum, June 1927, 99; Cook, 1947, pl. 21; Zschietzschmann, 1928, 37 no 7; Davison, 1961, fig. 34; Tölle, 1964, 97 no 327; Coldstream, 1968, 58 no 6; Ahlberg, 1971, 28 no 36, fig. 36 a-d and further bibliography.

165. BALTIMORE 48.2231
(ex Lagunillas Coll.)
Amphora
PLATES 4d, 23a

H: 0,51m. plastic snakes
Neck: A: prothesis: two mourning women on either side of the bier, and one kneeling below. B: four mourning women to the right.
Shoulder: running dogs to the left.

Body: upper zone: four three/horse chariots alternating with three warriors carrying Dipylon, round and no shield respectively; lower zone: grazing deer to the right.
Villard, 1957, 34 fig. 17; MÜM 16, 30.6.1956; Davison, 1961, fig. 35; Hill, Journal of the Walters Art Gallery 24, 1961, 39ff. figs. 1, 3; Tölle, 1964,

97 no 324; Coldstream,
1968,58 no 7; Kübler,1970,
568 no 11; Ahlberg,1971,
28 no 37,fig.37 a-c.

166.ATHENS PRIVATE COLL.

Amphora

H:?

Neck:A:prothesis:mourning
figures on either side of
the bier and kneeling fig-
ure below; B:procession of
naked youths with two spears
and one arm raised to the
head.

Shoulder:A/B:grazing deer
to the right.

Body:frieze of thræ/horse
chariots with shieldless
charioteer; inserted single
fully armed Dipylon warrior.

Tölle,1964,19 no 41,pl.14;
Coldstream,1968,58 no 10;
Ahlberg,1971,28 no 38,fig.
38 a,b.

167.AGORA P 4990

Amphora

H:0,327m. From grave G12:19

Plastic snakes

Neck:upper panel:six male
mourners with spears;lower
panel:prothesis:one mourn-
ing figure on either side
of the bier and one kneeling
below.B:upper panel:female

mourners; lower panel: three male figures carrying objects; the first two have one arm raised to the head. Body: frieze of five three-horse chariots with shieldless charioteer to the right.

Young, 1939, 55-57, figs. 37-38; Davison, 1961, fig. 36; Brann, 1962, no 336, pls. 1, 12; Coldstream, 1968, 58 no 11; Ahlberg, 1971, 28 no 39, fig. 39 a-c, text figure 2 and further bibliography.

168. ATHENS STATHATOU COLL.

Amphora

H: 0,60m. Plastic snakes
Neck: A: prothesis: on either side of the bier two female mourners; below the bier two kneeling figures. B: six female mourners to the right.

Shoulder: grazing deer to the left.

Body: upper zone: frieze of seven one-horse chariots with shieldless charioteer and one figure stepping into one chariot; lower zone: frieze of grazing deer to

the left.

Cook, BSA 46, 1951, 45-49, fig. 1, pl. 10; Davison, 1961, fig. 115; Coldstream, 1968, 59 no 15, pl. 11g; Tölle, 1964, 96 no 320; Kübler, 1970, 569 no 15; Ahlberg, 1971, 28 no 40, fig. 40 a-c.

169. ESSEN K 969

Amphora

PLATES 171, 26b, 36c

H: 0,726m. Plastic snakes
Neck: frieze of fourteen lions to the left; A: upper panel: thirteen male mourners to the right; lower panel: Prothesis: two female mourners to the right of the bier; to the left of the bier two male mourners; below the bier three kneeling mourners and weapons. B: upper panel: male mourners to the right; lower panel: ten female mourners to the right.

Body: upper zone: frieze of five chariots with shieldless charioteer to the left: four are drawn by four horses and include mounting warriors, while the fifth is drawn by one

horse; lower zone: eight lions and one horse to the right.

Tölle, 1963, 210ff. figs. 1-4; id., 1964, 19 no 39, pl. 13; Coldstream, 1968, 59 no 21; Ahlberg, 1971, 28 no 41, fig. 41 a-f and further bibliography.

170. HAMBURG 1966.89

Amphora

PLATE 23b

H: 0,73m. Plastic snakes
Neck: A: prothesis: a male and a female figure on either side of the bier; B: seven youths with two spears in the left hand and the right raised to the head.

Body: upper zone: five two-horse chariots with shieldless charioteer and spearman to the right; lower zone: thirty one warriors with round shields and two spears to the right.

CVA 1, pl. 10; Hoffmann, AA 1969, 333-334, fig. 15a, b;

Vasen des Klassischen Antike, eine Ausstellung des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, 21.11.1969-

171, KERAMEIKOS 1371

Amphora fr.

3.1.1970; Ahlberg, 1971, 28
no 43, fig. 43 a-e.

H: 0,20m. (neck) 0,09m. (body)

From grave 51b

Plastic snakes

Neck: upper panel: prothesis:

to the left of the bier

one female mourner, three

mourners standing behind

the bier and two standing

below; lower panel: female

mourners; upper panel: mourn-

ers; lower panel: female

mourners.

Body: upper zone: frieze of

two/horse chariots with

shieldless charioteer to

the right; lower zone: running

dogs to the right.

Kübler, 1954, pl. 39; id., 1970,

573 no 38; Davison, 1961,

fig. 39; Webster, 1955, 46

n. 61, 49 n. 87; Fittschen,

1969, 103 n. 510e; Tölle,

1964, 96 no 321; Coldstream,

1968, 59 no 23; Ahlberg,

1971, 28 no 42, figs. 42 a-c.

172. KERAMEIKOS 5643

Amphora neck fr.

PLATE 9

H: 0,21m. plastic snakes

Neck: upper panel: remains

of five warriors to the

right with two spears in one hand and the other raised to the head;second panel:prothesis:on either side of the bier a female figure,below the bier two standing females;hanging above the bier a round shield,two spears and a racket -like ornament (helmet?); third panel:similar frieze of warriors as upper panel.

Unpublished.

173.ATHENS NM 894

Amphora

PLATE 19a

H:0,78m. Plastic snakes
Body:upper zone:frieze of four/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer and warrior alternating with two/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer;lower zone:frieze of fully armed round shield warriors to the right.

Wide,1899,197 fig.61;Cook,1947,pl.22b; Kunze,1954,165 n.161; Davison,1961,fig.33; Arias-Hirmer-shefton,1962,pl.9; Brokaw,1963,pl.30,6; Tölle,1964,89 no 165; Coldstream,

- 1968,58 no 4; Kübler,
1970,568 no 12.
H:0,375m.
Shoulder:hunting scene:
man and dogs.
Body:frieze of one/horse
chariots with shieldless
charioteer to the right.
Lés Trésors d'Art du Musée
Borély,Marseille,fig.13;
Fittschen,1969,63 J12,pl.
5/6: Kübler,1970,570 no 21.
- 174.MARSEILLE 7471
Amphora
- 175.ATHENS NM 898
Amphora
PLATE 7b
H:0,42m. Plastic snakes
Neck:man leading horse ac-
companied by second horse.
Body:frieze of grazing
deer to the right.
Collignon-Couve,1902-4,pl.
11,210; Coldstream,1968,
59 no 20; Kübler,1970,570
no 22.
- 176.AMSTERDAM 6249
Amphora
H:0,445m.
Neck:two men in a two/
horse chariot.
Shoulder:grazing deer to
the left.
Body:frieze of grazing
horses to the right.
Allard Pierson Museum,Al-
gemeene Gids,1937,pl.48;

177.KARLSRUHE 60/12

Amphora

Coldstream,1968,59 no 14.

H:0,695m. Plastic snakes.

Shoulder:running dogs to the left.

Body:upper zone:frieze of five four/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer to the right; inserted three warriors armed with two spears and sword,two spears and round shield and two spears and Dipylon shield respectively;lower zone:eleven centaurs holding branches in each hand.

Bildhefte des Badischen Landesmuseums,Karlsruhe, Antike Vasen.2,fig.7; AA 1960,58 fig. 12; Tölle, 1964,pl.30b; Coldstream, 1968,58 no 8; Fittschen, 1969,93 R2; Kübler,1970, 569 no 16.

178.COPENHAGEN 7029

Amphora

H:0,48m. Plastic snakes

Neck:A:centaur turned to the left facing a man who is holding branches and is wearing a petasos. B:identical,but the man is replaced by another centaur who is stretching his hand

towards his companion.

Body:frieze of eleven centaurs holding a branch in each hand,to the right.

CVA 2,pl.73,3; Webster, 1955,49 fig.3; Tölle,1964, 39 n.49,96 no 305; Coldstream,1968,59 no 17; Fittschen,1969,93 R1,SB2; Kübler,1970,569 no 14.

179.COPENAHGEN 9378

Amphora

H:? Plastic snakes:

Neck:upper zone:frieze of striding horses to the left; lower panel:seven women to the left holding hands and branches.

Body:frieze of two/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer to the right.

Johansen,Arkeologisk-Kunsthistoriske Meddelelser 3, 1945,14ff.fig.5,6; Guide to the National Museum Copenhagen,1950,pl.13; Tölle,1964,17 no 25; Coldstream,1968,59 no 22.

180.TORONTO C 951

Amphora

PLATE 15e

H:0,457m. Plastic snakes

Neck:A/B:upper zone:four grazing deer to the left; lower panel:A:four men to the left clasping their

their hands in front of
them; B:three similar men
to the left.

Body:frieze of four one/
horse chariots with shield-
less charioteer and rider
inserted.

Robinson-Harcum-Iliffe,1930,
no 630,pl. 101; Cook,1935,
168ff.; Davison,1961,fig.
119; Tölle,1964,17 no 27;
Coldstream,1968,59 no 16;
Kübler,1970,575 no 44.

181.SWISS MARKET

Amphora

H:0,483m. Plastic snakes

Neck:A/B:dance of six women
and one man to the right,
holding hands and branches.

Body:frieze of six two/horse
chariots with shieldless
charioteer to the right,in-
serted naked man clasping
with both hands his sword.

MjM 26,5.10.1963,no 53 pl.
15; Tölle,1964,no 137;
Coldstream,1968,58 no 9;
Kübler,1970,568 no 9.

182.PARIS MARKET

Amphora

H:? No illustration avail-
able

Neck:frieze of lions.

Shoulder:frieze of warriors

183. PARIS LOUVRE CA 3468

Amphora

PLATE 36d

with round shields.

Body:upper zone:chariot
frieze;lower zone:running
dogs.

Himmelmann-Wildschütz,Gnomon
34,1962,81; Kübler,1970,
567 no 7.

H:0,825m.

Neck:A/B:upper zone:six
two/horse chariots accompa-
nied by a warrior in front
and followed by a rider;
lower zone:twelve men hold-
ing spears,to the right.
Body:upper zone:frieze of
seven two/horse chariots
alternating irregularly
with five warriors to the
right,two with square shields
one with Dipylon and two
with round ones;lower zone:
frieze of eight running
dogs to the right.

Villard,1957,17ff.figs.1-
12; Tölle,1964,89 no 173;
Coldstream,1968,58 no 13;
Kübler,1970,567 no 6; CVA
16,pl.40; Ahlberg,1971,
fig.58b.

184.SWISS MARKET

Amphora neck

H:0,315m. Plastic snakes
Neck:A:upper zone:grazing
deer to the left;second
zone:eight round shield
warriors with two spears
to the right; B:upper zone:
grazing deer to the left;
second zone:nine youths
holding a spear in each
hand to the right; third
zone:seven naked men to
the right.

MüM ,14.3.1975,no 66.

185.KERAMEIKOS K 2

Amphora body fr.

PLATE 27a

H:0,40m.

Upper zone:frieze of four/
horse chariots with robed
shieldless charioteer and
fully armed warrior mount-
ing, followed by two warriors
fully armed with helmets,
two and one spears respec-
tively and shields, one dec-
orated with a lion attack-
ing an animal; lower zone:
frieze of warriors fully
armed with two spears,
round shields and different
types of helmet.

Hamdorf, 1976, 197ff. fig. 211;

Müller, 1978, 232 no 14 bis.

- 186.KARLSRUHE B 2675
amphora fr.
H:0,107m.
Remains of one/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer to the right.
CVA 1,12 fig.2; Coldstream, 1968,58 no 3.
- 187.KEOS K 3026
Amphora fr.
H:? From the temple of Ay.
No illustration available.
Keos excavation Catalogue, 59ff.164 no 1; Coldstream, 1968,59 no 19.
- 188.KERAMEIKOS 735
Body frs.
+
H:0,042m. and 0,048m.
Body:one/horse chariot with shieldless charioteer to the left.
Tölle,1963,652 no 13,14, fig.10.
- KERAMEIKOS 5566
H:0,074m.
Fragment from the same vase as Kerameikos 735.
Unpublished.
- 189.KERAMEIKOS 1369
Body frs.
H:? From Opferinne 2
Grazing deer to the left.
Kübler,1954,pl.140.
- 190.MUNCHEN 6228
Hydria
H:0,38m. Plastic snakes
Neck:dance of ten women holding hands and branches; the first woman from the left is also holding a crown.

191. MAINZ UNIVERSITY 46
 Hydria
 H:0,39m. Plastic snakes
 Neck:dance of thirteen women holding hanging branches.
CVA 3,pl.109,1-4;pl.110,1-2; Davison,1961,fig.124 a, b; Bakalakis,1961,group B1 no 3; Tölle,1964,15 no 13; Bronson,1964,pl.59 fig.10; Wegner,1968,U51 no 113; Coldstream,1968,59 no 26; Kübler,1970,577 no 52.
192. LOUVRE CA 1333
 Hydria
 PLATE 70a
 H:0,418m. Plastic snakes
 Neck:fifteen dancing women holding hands to the right.
CVA 1,pl.5; Neugebauer,Antiken in deutschem Privatbesitz,no 139,pl.59;Bakalakis,1961,group B1 no 7; Tölle,1964,15 no 14; Bronson,1964,pl.59 fig.9; Wegner,1968,U 51 no 107; Coldstream,1968,59 no 27.
193. BRAURON MUSEUM
 Hydria
 PLATE 69 a,b
 H:? From Markopoulo.
 Plastic snakes
 Neck:thirteen dancing women

- holding hands and branches to the right; another figure half size stands at the extreme right with a branch in one hand.
Unpublished. Tölle, 1964, 15 no 16, pl. 6a; Coldstream, 1968, 59 no 30.
- 194.ATHENS NM 17470
Hydria
H:0,38m. Plastic snakes
Neck:eleven dancing women holding hands and branches to the right.
Body:panel with four dancers holding hands and branches.
CVA 2, pl. 13, 1, 5; Davison, 1961, fig. 123; Bronson, 1964, pl. 59 fig. 8; Bakalakis, 1961, group B 1 no 10; Tölle, 1964, 16 no 17; Coldstream, 1968, 58 no 28, pl. 11d; Wegner, 1968, U 51 no 44.
- 195.BERLIN 32.079
Hydria neck fr.
H:0,108m.
Neck:thirteen dancing women.
Rohde, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlungen: Führer, 1957, 79 no 3, fig. 43.
Tölle, 1964, 16 no 20; Coldstream, 1968, 59 no 32.
- 196.CAMBRIDGE MCA 345
Hydria
H:0,43m.
Neck:two groups of two fe-

- male dancers facing one another; in the centre a youth with a lyre.
Body: on both sides between the handles two antithetical lions.
Tölle, 1964, 21 no 49, pl. 18;
Coldstream, 1968, 59 no 31;
Wegner, 1968, U 76, fig. 1g;
pl. U11b.
197. BAGHDAD IM 52041
Hydria
H: ? Plastic snakes
Neck: centaurs holding one branch in the left and three in the right hand.
Body: between the handles three grazing deer to the right.
Davison, 1961, fig. 116 a, b;
Bakalakis, 1961, 65 no 11;
Coldstream, 1968, 59 no 33;
Kübler, 1970, 598 no 184.
198. ATHENS POLITES COLL.
Hydria neck fr.
H: ? Plastic snakes
Neck: frieze of helmeted centaurs holding a branch in each hand.
Unpublished.
199. AGORA P 5499
Hydria body frs.
H: 0,21m. From grave 11
Handle zone: procession of least six mourning women.
Young, 1939, 49 XI 7, figs. 33-

200. WURZBURG L. 58
 Skyphos
 PLATE 35a
- 35; Coldstream, 1968, 59 no 29.
 D: 0, 128m.
 Interior: four striding lions with one paw raised. Langlotz, 1932, no 58, pl. 4, 5; Coldstream, 1968, 60 no 47; Kübler, 1970, 585 no 103; Borell, 1978, no 93, pl. 22, Beilage E 6.
201. ATHENS NM 15283
 Skyphos
- D: 0, 13m. From Spata grave 3
 Interior: seven horses to the right.
AD 6, 1920-21, 134ff. fig. 8, 1, 9; CVA München 3, pl. 125 3-4; CVA Würzburg 1, pl. 15, 1-3; Borell, 1978, 14 no 48, pl. 18; Kübler, 1970, 584 no 98.
202. ATHENS NM 784
 Skyphos
 PALTE 46b
- D: 0, 125m. From Dipylon grave VII
 Interior: four female dancers holding hands and branches, the first also holding a crown, moving towards a seated figure with foot-stool holding a branch; two warriors with Dipylon shield and two spears; between them a kneeling figure on

- bema holding in one hand a string instrument and in the other a branch; two antithetical sphinxes. Brückner-Pernice, 1893, 113ff. fig. 10; Kraiker, 1954, 43ff. pl. 3; Coldstream, 1968, 60 no 48; Wegner, 1968, no 27; Kübler, 1970, 583 no 93; Carter, 1972, 46ff. pl. 11b, c; Borell, 1978, 8 no 24, pl. 20.
203. ATHENS NM 14441
Skyphos
PLATE 46a
D: 0, 121-0, 125m. From Anavyssos
Interior: six winged goats. PAE 1911, 121 no 8; Coldstream, 1968, 60 no 46; Borell, 1978, 10 no 30, pl. 21, Beilage E2.
204. MUNICH 8506
Skyphos
D: 0, 126m.-0, 134m.
Interior: six grazing deer to the right. CVA 3, pl. 125, 3, 4; Davison, 1961, fig. 122; Coldstream, 1968, 60 no 45; Borell, 1978, no 88, Beilage E 4.
205. LOUVRE CA 1779
Tankard
PLATE 68a
H: 0, 245m. Plastic female mourner
Frieze of eight female mourning figures to the right.

- CVA 16,pl.39; Coldstream,
1968,60 no 42; Kübler,
1970,582 no 87.
- 206.CANELLOPOULOS COLL. 237 H:0,15m.
Tankard Frieze of female dancers
holding hands and branches
to the right.
Brouskari,1979,433 no 2,
fig.2.
- 207.ATHENS H:0,16m. From Marathon
Tankard Frieze of female dancers
holding hands and branches
to the right.
Tölle,1964,16 no 23; Cold-
stream,1968,60 no 44,pl.11f;
Brouskari,1979,435 n.21.
- 208.MARATHON K 134 H:0,175m.
Tankard Frieze of nine naked men
holding a spear in each hand
vertically in front and at
the back,to the right.
Unpublished.
- 209.LOUVRE CA 1780 H:0,176m, Plastic figurine
Tankard Frieze of five winged goats
followed by a figure hold-
ing a branch.
CVA 16,pl.39,3,4; Coldstream,
1968,60 no 43; Kübler,1970,
582 no 86.
- 210.KERAMEIKOS 1364 H:?
Tankard fr. Frieze of grazing deer to

- the left.
Kübler, 1954, pl. 133; Id.,
1970, 588 no 125.
H: 0,152m.
Frieze of grazing deer to
the right.
Ars Antiqua III, 29.4.1961.
211. SWISS MARKET
Tankard
H: 0,21m.
Bowl: three figured metopes:
1: female dancers facing one
another holding hands and
branches; 2/3: a centaur to
the right holding a branch
in one hand and three
branches in the other.
Auktion Helbing 27, 8.6.
1910, no 37, pl. 1; Watzinger,
1924, B11, fig. 4; CVA München
3, 23 on pl. 123; Hinrichs,
1955, 141 n. 65; Tölle, 1964,
22 no 62, pl. 20, 21; Cold-
stream, 1968, 63 n. 2; Wegner,
1968, U 47, fig. 4j no 155;
Fittschen, 1969, 44 n. 214, 94
R7; Kübler, 1970, 287 no 120;
CVA 2, figs. 16-17, pl. 22.
212. TUBINGEN UNIVERSITY
S/10 1086
Standed bowl
H: 0,05m.
Two panels: 1: two female
figures facing one another,
holding hands and branches.
213. COLUMBIA MA 66.49.58
Pyxis

214.LOUVRE CA 32 56

Krater

PALTE 45b

2;horse to the right.

Mack,1974 ,no 5 fig.5a.

H:0,467m.

Upper zone:A/B:two centaurs holding two branches in one hand and one in the other, are facing each other on either side of a volute tree; lower zone:frieze of three three/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer alternating with two warriors fully armed with helmet,round shield and two spears.

CVA 16,pl.42,43; Davambez, Bulletin des Musées de France,1947,VII,fig.2.

Tölle,1964,89 no 181;

Coldstream,1968,60 no 41;

Fittschen,1969,94 R9; Kübler,1970,94 n. 340.

215.ATHENS NM 810

Krater

PLATE 40 a,b

H:0,57m. Plastic snakes

Foot:panel 1:rider on rearing horse;panel 2:two warriors one above the other, the lower one collapsing: both have decorated round shields and two spears; panel 3:striding warrior to the left with sword

round the waist and one hand raised; panel 4:rearing lion.

Body:lower zone:grazing deer to the right; middle zone:frieze of four/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer and fully armed round shield warrior to the left; upper zone:left panel:five striding naked youths to the right;on either side a cauldron with animal attachments; middle panel:lower zone:seventeen female mourners with one hand raised to the head and the other to the side,to the left;upper zone:two duels on either side of a cauldron with animal attachments and a lion in a panel;right panel:duel and cauldron.

AM 17,1892,pl.10; Hampe, 1960,figs.33-38; Davison, 1961,fig.38;Cook,1935,167; id.1947,148ff.; Tölle,1964, 18 no 30, Beilage I; Brokaw, 1963,68 pl.4,5; Coldstream,

- 1968,60 no 39; Kübler,
1970,no 131.
- 216.AGORA P 5282
Saucer fr.
H:0,017m. From grave 12:19
Tondo decorated with a warrior fully armed with helmet,two spears and decorated round shield.
Young,1940,59 XII,4; Brann, 1962,no 337,pl.19.
- 217.KERAMEIKOS 1356
Oenochoe
PALTE 27b
H:? From Opferrinne I
Neck:horse to the right.
Shoulder:running dogs.
Body:frieze of one/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer and mounting figure, to the left.
Kübler,1954,pl. 79; Villard, 1957,34; Davison,1961,146; Brokaw,1963,67 pl.30,3; Tölle,1964,90 no 185;Coldstream,1968,59 no 34; Kübler, 1970,579 no 64.
- 218.AGORA P 21428
Oenochoe
H:0,215m. From well R9:2
Neck:grazing deer.
Body:bands of concentric circles.
Brann,1961,137 P6,pl.15;
Davison,1961,fig.118; Brann, 1962,,no 51,pl.4; Coldstream, 1968,59 no 35.

- 219.AGORA P 23654
 Oenochoe
 H:0,25m. From well Q8:9
 Neck:grazing deer.
 Body:bands of concentric circles.
 Brann,1961,129 N11,pl.16;
 Davison,1961,79 fig.117;
 Brann,1962,no 360,pl.21;
 Coldstream,1968,59 no 36,
 pl.11e.
- 220.AGORA P 22427
 Oenochoe
 H:0,245m.From well N11:6
 Panel with two horses to the right.
 Brann,1961,144 R5,pl.15;
 Coldstream,1968,59 no 37.
- 221.ATHENS NM
 Krater fr.
 PLATE 39b
 H:?
 Upper zone:two pairs of naked wrestlers on either side of a tripod cauldron; panel with lion to the left; lower zone:frieze of female mourners to the left; the upper part of the body preserved with the right hand touching the head and the other at the side.
 Pernice,AM 17,1892,226,figs. 10-14; Hampe,1960,fig.39;
 Coldstream,1968,60 no 40.
- 222.AGORA P 13287
 Krater fr.
 H:0,128m.
 Shoulder:grazing deer to

223. NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE 367

Fr.

the right.

Brann, 1962, no 341, pl. 21;

Coldstream, 1968, 59 no 38.

H:?

The remains of two female dancers to the right holding hands and branches.

Unpublished. Brouskari, 1979, 436 fig. 3.

THE VILLA GIULIA 1212 PAINTER

224. VILLA GIULIA 1212

Hydria

PLATE 15m,

H: 0,457m. Plastic snakes

Neck: frieze of female dancers holding hands and branches the first two also holding crowns.

Body: beneath the vertical handle, panel with three grazing deer; lower zone: frieze of two horse chariots with shieldless charioteer, alternating with warriors fully armed with two spears and round shield and one rider inserted.

Carpino, RendPontAcc 17, 1941, 155-165; Davison, 1961, figs. 126 a, b; Bakalakis, 1961, 65 group B1 no 8; Tölle, 1964, 16 no 24; Bronson, 1964, 175 ff., pls. 57-59; Coldstream, 1968, 60 note; Wegner, 1968,

- U 52 no 137; Kübler, 1970, 611
no 251.
- 225.CANELLOPOULOS COLL. 821
Hydria
H:0,46m. Plastic snakes
Neck:six female figures
with right arm to the
chest and the left hang-
ing to the side,to the right.
Brouskari, 1979, 436 no 4, fig.
5.
- 226.PHILADELPHIA 30.33.133
Amphora
PLATE 26a
H:0,508m. Plastic snakes
Neck:three marching war-
riors with two spears,hel-
met,sword and round shield
to the left; B:same but to
the right.
Shoulder:A/B:grazing deer
and smaller animal to the
left.
Body:frieze of four two/
horse chariots with shield-
less charioteer to the
right,alternating with four
warriors fully armed with
two spears and round shields:
one of them is mounting a
chariot.
King, 1969, pl. 128, 1, 2; Ahl-
berg, 1971, fig. 60d, e,

WORKSHOPS OUTSIDE THE CLASSICAL TRADITION

THE BIRDSEED PAINTER AND HIS WORKSHOP

- 227.ATHENS NM 13038
Skyphos
D:0,158m. From Messavouno
Thera
Interior:bull,man with sword,two riders,Dipylon warrior with sword,two spears and helmet between two horses.
Exterior:birds and birdseed. Pfuhl,AM 28,1903,H1 19,pl. 3; id.,1923,pl.4,4; Davison,1961,fig.80; Schweitzer,1969,fig.16; Coldstream,1968,67 no 7; Borell,1978, no 53 fig.10,pl.1.
- 228.PAUL GETTY MUSEUM
H.COHN COLL. L.73.AE.26
Skyphos
D:0,14m.
Interior:four horses with riders standing on their backs,alternating with fully armed Dipylon warriors. Hood,1974,95-100,figs.1-2; Borell,1978,no 82.
- 229.EDINBURGH 1956.422
Skyphos
PLATE 43 a
D:0,127m.-0,129m.
Interior:two cows facing each other, a lion and a panther.
Exterior:birds and birdseed. Webster,Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Lit-

terary and Philosophical
Society 82,1937-38,10ff.
no 15,pl.2a; Cook,1935,191
n.2; Coldstream,1968,69 no
28; Schweitzer,1969,49 n.
67,no 9; Kübler,1970,583
no 94; Borell,1978,no 73,
pls.8,9.

230.ATHENS NM 16022

Pitcher

H:? From Ay,Paraskevi
Neck:frieze of female mourn-
ers with both arms raised
to the head.
Coldstream,1968,67 no 5,pl.
12d.

231.BRAURON MUSEUM 148

Hydria

PLATE 67 a,b

H:0,305m. From Merenda
Neck:frieze of eight female
mourners with both arms
raised to the head to the
right.
Shoulder:frieze of birds
and birdseed.
Body:panel with two goats
kneeling to the right.
Unpublished.

232.HOBART 31

UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA

Oenochoe

H:0,25m.
Shoulder:frieze of birds
and birdseed.
Body:ship scene:to the left
of the ship six male fig-
ures with swords round
their waist and one hand

stretched forward;the first two men are boarding the ship;the men are followed by two women with both arms raised to the head; the ship has a large stern and no platform.

R.G.Hood,Greek Vases in the University of Tasmania,1964, no 31,pl.3; id.,1967,82ff. pl.31,fig.1,pl.32,figs.2,3; Coldstream,1968,67 no 8,pl. 12f;Fittschen,1969,n.296.

233.ERLAGEN 1458

Amphora

PALTE 15h

H:? Plastic snakes
Neck:birds and birdseed .
Shoulder:birds and birdseed.
Body:frieze of two/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer with robe to the right.

W.Grünhagen,Antike Originalarbeiten,1948,32 pl.10;
Davison,1961,fig.77 a-c;
Tölle,1964,90 no 188; Coldstream,1968,67 no 6; Kübler,1970,566 no 1.

234.LONDON BM 1914.4-13.1

Amphora

PLATE 15f

H:? Plastic snakes
Body:frieze of one/horse chariots with robed shield-

less charioteer interrupted by eight Dipylon warriors fully armed with helmet, two spears, to the right.

Davison, 1961, fig. 102 (Sub-Dipylon Group); Coldstream, 1968, 67 no 15.

235. DUSSELDORF HETJENS MUS.

1970.19

Amphora

PLATE 18a,b

H: 0,565m. From Koropi

Neck: frieze of birds and birdseed.

Shoulder: A/B: metope with two grazing horses to the right, with a bird under each horse.

Body: upper zone: frieze of five three/horse chariots and one two/horse chariot with naked charioteer and Dipylon warrior fully armed with helmet and two spears, to the right; lower zone: frieze of birds and birdseed.

A. Klein, Das Hetjens Museum 800 Jahre Keramik, 1972; CVA Nordhein-Westfalen, pls. 2, 3.

236. BOSTON MFA 98.894

Amphora

H: 0,605m. Plastic snakes

Shoulder: frieze of four

- grazing horses to the right, below each horse a bird.
- Lower body: frieze of birds and birdseed.
- Fairbanks, 1928, pl. 20, 261; Davison, 1961, fig. 76; Coldstream, 1968, 67 no 1.
237. HAMBURG 1919.363
Pitcher
PALTE 41a
- H: 0,507m. Plastic horse
Neck: two metopal friezes of birds and birdseed.
Shoulder: frieze of grazing horses to the right; below each horse a suckling fowl; at the end of the frieze a standing horse is turned to the left.
- Davison, 1961, fig. 74; Coldstream, 1968, 67 no 2; CVA 1, pl. 7 for full bibliography.
238. CANELLOPOULOS COLL.919
Pitcher fr.
- H: 0,09m.
Metope with grazing horses to the right.
Brouskari, 1979, 453ff. fig. 17.
239. ATHENS 3rd EPHORIA
High-rimmed bowl
- H: ? From Erisichthonos and Neleos street, grave 1.
Panel with kneeling goat to the right; below: frieze

- of birds and birdseed.
AD 22,1967,pl.80c.
- 240.BERLIN 31046
 Amphora
 H:?
 Body:frieze of fully armed
 Dipylon warriors alter-
 nating with horses to the
 right.
 Coldstream,1968,67 no 16.
- 241.MUNICH 6234
 Krater
 H:0,272m. Plastic skyphos
 Rim:frieze of birds and
 birdseed.
 Body:A/B:two panels with
 standing horse and bird
 facing towards the centre;
 below the handles two graz-
 ing waterbirds.
CVA 3,pls.104,105;pl.107;
 Davison,1961,fig.78; Cold-
 stream,1968,67 no 11.
- 242.TORONTO C 201
 Pitcher
 H:0,419m. Plastic snakes
 Shoulder:frieze of birds
 birdseed to the right.
 Body:panels with standing
 horse and bird to the
 right.
 Robinson-Harcum-Iliffe,1930,
 no 117,pl.8,117; Davison,
 1961,fig.72; Coldstream,
 1968,67 no 3.

THE WORKSHOP OF THE HOOKED SWASTIKAS

243.LOUVRE CA 1823

H:0,48m.

Amphora body

Shoulder A:warrrior to the right,fully armed with helmet,two spears and Dipylon shield preceeded by two one/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer;B:similar chariots to the right.

PLATE 73b

Body:frieze of twenty three warriors to the right,with helmet and Dipylon shield holding in their right hand a spear vertically, their other hand holding their sword round their waist,while a second spear is attached to their back.
CVA 16,pl.27; Coldstream, 1968,66 no 6,pl.12 b,c; Kaufmann-Samaras,1972,23-30,figs.1-3.

244.LISBON SALAZAR COLL.

H:?

Pitcher

Body:metopes with horse tied to a tripod to the right.

Pereira,Greek Vases in Coimbra,1962,pl.2; Coldstream,1968,66 no 3.

- 245.ATHENS MARKET
Amphora
H:?
Neck:rider.
Unpublished; Coldstream,
1968,66 no 11.
- 246.DRESDEN ZV 1820
Amphora
H:0,57m.
Neck:two horses on either
side of a tripod.
AA 1902,114 no 17; Cold-
stream,1968,66 no 12.
- 247.MAINZ MUSEUM O.1980a
Amphora
PLATE 56a
H:0,587m.
Neck:A/B:two horses tied
to a tripod.
CVA 1,pl.7,1;pl.8,5.
- THE RATTLE GROUP
- 248.ATHENS BSA K 83
Pitcher
PLATES 47a,48a
H:0,363m. From Kynosarges
Shoulder:figured scene
between two relief mastoi:
a seated figure on either
side of a chequerboard
block holding rattles;
above the chequerboard a
Dipylon shield.
Droop,BSA 12,1905-6,81 figs
1,2b; Hahland,1954,178,pl.
7,fig.1; Cook,1946,97ff.;
Tölle,1964,99 no 371; Ahl-
berg,1967,178 group A no
1,fig. 1; Coldstream,1968,
71 no 7; MacNally,1969,462.

249.LONDON BM 1916.1-8.2

Pitcher

PLATE 50b

H:?

Shoulder:figured scene between two relief mastoi: a seated figure on either side of a chequerboard block holding rattles;above the block two Dipylon shields.

Hahland,1954,178 pls. 9,10; Tölle,1964,99 no 372; Ahlberg,1967,178 group A no 2,pl.Ia; Coldstream,1968,71 no 5; MacNally,1969,462.

250.PRIVATE COLLECTION

Giant oenochoe

H:0,44m.

Shoulder:figured scene between two relief mastoi: a male and a female figure seated on either side of a chequerboard block holding rattles.

Boardman,1966,4-5,pl.4; Ahlberg,1967,186 Addendum fig.4; Coldstream,1968,72 no 12.

251.LOUVRE CA 1940

Pitcher

PLATES 47e,50a

H:0,23m. From Boeotia

Shoulder:figured scene between two relief mastoi: two seated female figures on either side of a chequerboard block holding rattles;left panel:four

fully armed Dipylon warriors to the right; right panel: three similar warriors to the left.

Hahland, 1954, 178, pl. 11
figs. 7-8; Webster, 1955, 42
n. 31; Tölle, 1964, 99 no
374; Ahlberg, 1967, group
A no 4, pl. 1c; Coldstream,
1968, 71 no 1; MacNally,
1969, 462; CVA 16, pl. 24.

H: 0,402m.

252.BOSTON 03.777

. Pitcher

Shoulder: figured scene between two relief mastoi: two seated male figures with rattles on either side of two Dipylon shields; right: five more seated male figures with rattles turned to the left; left: six male seated figures with rattles turned to the right.

Fairbanks, 1928, 267, pl. 22;
Hahland, 1954, 178, pls. 9, 10
figs. 4-6; Tölle, 1964, 99
no 373; Ahlberg, 1967, 178
group A no 3, fig. 2; pl. 1b;
Coldstream, 1968, 71 no 6;
MacNally, 1969, 462.

253. BRUSSELS A 1941
 Pitcher
 PLATE 47g
 H: 0,365m. Plastic snakes
 Lip: frieze of kneeling goats
 to the right.
 Shoulder: two seated figures
 with rattles and footstool
 on either side of a cauldron
 with bird above.
CVA 2, IIIHb, pl. 1, 2a, b; Cook,
 1946, 97 no 4; Hahland, 1954,
 179 no 5, pl. 12 fig. 9; Ahl-
 berg, 1967, 178 group A no
 5, pl. Id.
254. ATHENS NM 18542
 Pitcher
 PLATES 47b, 49b
 H: ?
 Shoulder: figured scene be-
 tween two relief mastoi:
 two similar scenes: a lyre-
 player and a male figure
 with rattles are facing
 each other; Between them
 a stool and a kantharos.
 Hahland, 1954, 179, pls. 13, 14,
 figs. 10-12; Cook, 1946, 97;
 Tölle, 1964, 99 no 376; Ahl-
 berg, 1967, 178 group B no
 6, pl. IIa; Coldstream, 1968,
 71 no 8; Wegner, 1968, U74
 no 46.
255. COPENHAGEN NM 9376
 Pitcher
 H: ?
 Shoulder: figured scene be-
 tween two relief mastoi:

two similar groups with a seated lyre-player facing a figure with rattles. Hahland, 1954, 179, pls. 16, 17, figs, 13, 14; Tölle, 1964, 99 no 377; Ahlberg, 1967, 178 group B no 7, pl. IIb; Coldstream, 1968, 71 no 9; Wegner, 1968, U79 no 101; MacNally, 1969, 462.

256.ATHENS NM 17497

Pitcher

PLATES 47f, 49a

H:0,27m.

Shoulder:figured scene between two relief mastoi:a seated lyre-player in the centre; on either side a seated figure with rattles; the right figure also has a footstool; between the figures a kantharos is placed on the ground.

CVA 2, pl. 12, 1-4; Hahland, 1954, 179 no 8, fig. 15; Davison, 1961, fig. 129 (Burly Workshop); Tölle, 1964, 99 no 378; Ahlberg, 1967, 178 Group B no 8, pl. IIc; Coldstream, 1968, 71 no 2; Wegner, 1968, U73 no 45.

257.ATHENS NM 729

Skyphos

D:0,136-0,144m. From the Kerameikos

PLATES 47c,51a

Interior:frieze with twelve figures seated on high-backed chairs holding rattles.

Collignon-Couve,1902-4, 351; Hahland,1954,179ff. no 9,fig.26; Wegner,1968, U72 no 26; id.,1969,178, pl.29,3-4; Borell,1978,no 23,42ff.,pl.10,Beilage B2. D:0,145m.

258.LONDON BM 1950.11-9.1

Skyphos

PLATES 47d,51b

Interior:frieze with thirteen figures seated on high-backed chairs holding rattles.

Exterior:frieze of birds and birdseed to the right. Davison,1961,fig.83; Coldstream,1968,68 no 24 (the Birdseed Workshop); Wegner, 1968,U68 no 24; id.,1969, 179,pl.29,4; Borell,1978, 21 no 79,42ff.,pl.11.

259.MT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

High-rimmed bowl

D:0,187m.

Panel with six figures to the right seated on high-backed chairs and holding rattles,to the right.

College Art Journal 22, 1962,108,fig.1; Catalogue

of the Exhibition Marking
the Anniversary of the
Nancy Everett Dwight Foun-
dation, 1963; MacNally,
1969, 458ff. pl. 127.

260. BRAURON MUSEUM 1/68

Pitcher

PLATE 54 a, b

H: 0,335m. From Merenda
Shoulder: central panel
decorated with chequer-
board on either side of
relief mastoi; left and
right side panels decorat-
ed with a lion attacking
a goat.

Unpublished.

261. ATHENS NM 18474

(ex Empedocles Coll.)

Pitcher

PLATES 52a, b; 53a, b

H: 0,33m. From Palaia Kokki-
nia

Shoulder: between the relief
mastoi: prothesis scene: to
the left of the bier two
naked figures, to the right
one; below the bier two
kneeling mourners; right
panel: six female naked fig-
ures with both arms raised
to the head to the left;
right panel: seven naked
male figures with sword
round the waist to the
right.

Tölle, 1964, 96 no 314; Cold-

stream, 1968, 72 no 10; Ahlberg, 1971, 28 no 34, fig. 34.

THE ANAVYSSOS PAINTER

262.LONDON BM 1927.4-11.1

Amphora

PALTE 20b

H:0,762m.

Lip:frieze of birds.

Neck:frieze of seventeen warriors fully armed with Dipylon shields, swords and helmets, to the right.

Shoulder:dogs hunting hare.

Body:frieze of one three/horse chariot and three four/horse chariots with charioteer and warrior holding three spears vertically, both with square shields or corselets, alternating with pairs of warriors with Dipylon shields, three spears, helmets and swords, facing left and right respectively.

BMQ 2, 1927-28, 16 pl.8; Coldstream, 1968, 73 no 3; Davison, 1961, fig.136.

THE LION PAINTER

263.LONDON BM 1913.11-13.1

Pitcher

PLATE 36b

H:0,44m.

Neck:metope with lion to the right; frieze of birds and birdseed.

Body:upper zone:frieze of

birds and birdseed; lower
body:metope with standing
horse to the right.

JHS 52,1932,273 fig.4; Da-
vison,1961,fig.31; Cold-
stream,1968,73 no 2,pl.14a;
Kübler,1970,581 no 81.

264.ATHENS MARKET

H:0,58m.

Pitcher

Neck:frieze of birds and
birdseed.

Body:metopes each with
standing horse or lion to
the right.

Kahane,1940,pl.27,3; Davi-
son,1961,fig.30; Brokaw,
1963,pl.29,1; Coldstream,
1968,73 no 1; Kübler,1970,
581 no 82.

265.ATHENS VLASTOS COLL.

H:?

Kotyle

Panel with lion to the
right.

Kahane,1940,pl.28,3; Cook,
1947,144 fig. 4a; Brokaw,
1963,pl.28,7; Coldstream,
1968,73 no 4.

266.MANCHESTER

H:?

Kotyle

Panel with dog to the right.
Cook,1947,144 fig.4b; Cold-
stream,1968,73 no 5.

THE CONCENTRIC CIRCLE GROUP

267.KERAMEIKOS 1327

Oenochoe

H:0,216m. From Kerameikos
grave 48

Concentric circles at the
sides and at the centre:
above the central set,two
confronting birds.

Kübler,1954,pl.76; Cold-
stream,1968,74 no 1.

268.EX LAMBROS COLL.

Oenochoe

H:?

Concentric circles at the
sides;central panel filled
with bird to the left;be-
low chequerboard and three
wavy lines.

Schweitzer,1918,pl.52,2;
Pfuhl,1923,pl.2,6; Cold-
stream,1968,74 no 2.

269.ATHENS G15

Oenochoe

H:? From Marathon

Concentric circles at the
sides;in the centre two
confronting water-birds;
below vertical wavy lines.

270.ATHENS

Oenochoe

H:? From Anavyssos,grave X

Three sets of concentric
circles.

AD 29,1973-74,Chronika 108-
110,pl.85a.

271.PRIVATE COLLECTION

Oenochoe

H:?

Three sets of concentric
circles.

- MJM 14, 15.3.1975, no 60.
272. BRAURON MUSEUM
 Oenochoe
 H: ? From Merenda
 Three sets of concentric circles.
 Unpublished.
273. BRAURON MUSEUM
 Oenochoe
 H: ? From Merenda
 Three sets of concentric circles.
 Unpublished.
274. BRAURON MUSEUM
 Oenochoe
 H: ? From Merenda
 Three sets of concentric circles.
 Unpublished.
275. FRANKFURT AM MAIN
 VfB 222
 H: 0,244m.
 Two sets of concentric circles at the side; centre: horse to the right.
 Schweitzer, 1918, 143ff. no 5, pl. 1b, c; CVA 1, pl. 5, 2, 3; Coldstream, 1968, 74 no 3.
276. BRUSSELS A 1676
 Oenochoe
 H: 0,23m.
 Concentric circles at the sides overlapping with the circles at the back; centre: horse to the right.
CVA 3, III Hb, pl. 2, 11a, b; Coldstream, 1968, 74 no 4.
277. TRACHONES 288
 Oenochoe
 H: 0,235m. From grave 34
 Concentric circles at the sides; central panel: horse

- and bird to the right.
Geroulanos, 1973, grave A34,
pl. 29, 1, 2.
278. ATHENS
Oenochoe
H: ? From the Erisichthonos
cemetery, grave VI
Concentric circles at the
sides; central panel: horse
to the right.
AD 22, 1967, pl. 81a.
279. BRAURON MUSEUM
Oenochoe
H: ? From Anavyssos grave
XXII
Concentric circles at the
sides; central panel: stand-
ing regardant goat or deer
to the right.
Unpublished.
280. ATHENS NM 14424
Oenochoe
H: 0, 24m. From Anavyssos
Concentric circles at the
sides; central panel: horse
tied to tripod to the right;
birds.
PAE 1911, 117, fig. 5; Cold-
stream, 1968, 74 no 5.
281. ATHENS NM 193
Oenochoe
H: 0, 22m. From the Kerameikos
Concentric circles at the
sides; central panel: horse
to the right tied to a tri-
pod.
Wide, 1899, 212 fig. 90 (wrong-
ly stated that two horses

- are tied to a tripod); Collignon-Couve, 1902-4, pl. 13, 242; Coldstream, 1968, 74 no 6.
282. BRAURON MUSEUM
Oenochoe
H: ? From Anavyssos grave XXII
Concentric circles at the sides; central panel with horse tied to a tripod to the right.
Unpublished.
283. ATHENS ex Private Coll.
Oenochoe
H: ?
Concentric circles at the sides; central panel: two confronting horses but no tripod; below three birds facing right.
AD 23, 1968, Chronika B1, pl. 3.
284. LONDON BM 77.12.7-12
Oenochoe
H: 0, 235m.
Concentric circles at the sides; central panel: two confronting horses tied to a tripod; above, a goat to the right; below triple band and three wavy lines.
Coldstream, 1968, 75 no 9, pl. 13d; Kahane, 1973, pl. 28, 1.
285. LONDON BM 77.12.7-13
Oenochoe
H: ?
Concentric circles at the

- sides; central panel:two horses tied to a tripod; above each horse a bird facing the centre; below :triple band and three wavy lines.
Coldstream,1968,75 no 10;
Benton,1935,104 fig.11a.
- 286.LONDON BM 1920.10-14.4
Oenochoe
H: ? From Vari
Concentric circles at the sides;central panel:two horses tied to a tripod; below:a bird to the right.
Unpublished; Coldstream, 1968,75 no 13.
- 287.LONDON MARKET
Oenochoe
H:0,24m.
Concentric circles at the sides; central panel:two horses tied to a tripod; above each horse,a bird facing the centre; below triple band and three wavy lines.
Sotheby's Catalogue,16.11.
1959,no 174; Coldstream, 1968,75 no 11.
- 288.LOUVRE CA 2999
Oenochoe
PLATE 60a
H:0,23m.
Concentric circles at the sides; central panel:two horses tied to a tripod; above a bird to the left,

- another bird under the tripod.
- Coldstream, 1968, 75 no 14;
CVA 16, pl. 18.
289. BERLIN 3374
Oenochoe
PLATE 60b
- H: 0,23m. From Aegina
Concentric circles at the sides; central panel: man with horse on either side; above the man bird to the right, triple band; below: bird and grazing deer to the right and a pair of male naked figures with branches in their hands facing each other.
- Johansen, Historisk filosofiske Meddeleser 39, 1961, pl. 8; Coldstream, 1968, 74 no 15; Schweitzer, 1969, pl. 56; Kübler, 1970, 578 no 62; Kahane, 1973, pl. 28, 2.
290. ATHENS NM 18154
Ex Empedocles Coll.
Oenochoe
PLATE 65a, b
- H: 0,24m.
Concentric circles at the sides; central panel: warrior fully armed with Dipylon shield, helmet, spear and sword round the waist.
Unpublished. Coldstream, 1968, 74 no 7.

291.BOSTON 25.43

Ex Schliemann Coll.

Oenochoe

PLATE 74b

H:0,178m.

Concentric circles at the sides;central panel:two men, the raised hand of one grasping the raised hand of the other; between them a smaller man standing on his head.

Fairbanks,1928,pl.23,269c;
Coldstream,1968,75 no 12;
Schweitzer,1969,48ff.pl.57.

THE HUNT GROUP

292.ATHENS NM 17457

Oenochoe

PLATE 8a

H:0,225m.

Shoulder:three dogs hunting a fox to the right.

Body:three horses to the right alternating with three wheels.

CVA 2,pl.14,1,3; Coldstream, 1968,76 no 1.

293.BOSTON 25.42

Ex Schliemann Coll.

Oenochoe

H:0,23m.

Body: animals(foxes/dogs) in three tiers, separated into groups by one man in the front of the vase,one at the side and a group of two men on each side of the handle; each man has in his left hand a long bent object,probable a whip.

Fairbanks, 1928, pl. 23 269b;
Hampe, 1952, fig. 6; Davison,
1961, fig. 132; Arias-Hirmer-
Shefton, 1962, pl. 6; Cold-
stream, 1968, 76 no 2; Schweit-
zer, 1969, pl. 61.

294. MUNICH 8696

Oenochoe
PLATE 64a

H: 0, 215m.

Neck: shipwreck: in the cen-
tre a man bestrides an over-
turned ship, surrounded by
ten men and eleven fish.
Shoulder: four dogs hunting
a hare.

AA 1954, 263-4, figs. 1-3;
Hampe, 1952, figs. 7-11, 13a;
Webster, 1955, pl. 28a, b; Da-
vison, 1961, fig. 84; Cold-
stream, 1968, 76 no 3.

295. CAMBRIDGE GR-I-1935

Oenochoe

H: 0, 218m.

Neck: man with sword round
the waist holding two anti-
thetical horses by the bri-
dle; between them two anti-
thetical birds.

shoulder: six longtailed
animals (fox/dogs).

Body: frieze of fully armed
Dipylon warriors to the
right.

Coldstream, 1968, 76 no 4, pl.
13e, f.

296.COPENHAGEN 1628

Oenochoe

PLATE 64b

H:0,234m. From the Kera-
meikos

Neck:man with helmet and
sword round the waist

holding two antithetical
horses by the bridle.

Shoulder:four dogs hunting
a hare.

Body:sea fight:on the ship
two Dipylon warriors fight-
ing with one sword and the
other with bow; at the
stern a figure is sitting
holding the naumachon;on
the left side of the ship
a warrior with round shield
is thrusting his sword to-
wards the ship;behind him
a Dipylon warrior is hit
by a spear and is falling
backwards;further to the
left a warrior with two
spears;a shieldless war-
rior is aiming with a bow
towards a Dipylon warrior
with two spears and sword,
who is leaning forward
wounded by a spear at the
knee;on the right side of
the ship a warrior is climb-

ing the prow and levelling a spear, followed by a sword fighter; to the right a Dipylon warrior is represented horizontally to the right, hit by four spears at the edges of his shield and by a fifth at the head; further to the right an archer is aiming his arrow towards the Dipylon warrior; behind the archer a shieldless warrior is falling hit by two spears. The fighting is apparently taking place between Dipylon warriors (the defenders of the ship) and shieldless warriors (the attackers and winners). CVA 2, pl. 73, 4 a, b; Webster, 1955, 43 fig. 2; Dunbabin, 1957, pl. 3, 2; Davison, 1961, fig. 133; Coldstream, 1968, 76 no 5; Schweitzer, 1969, fig. 59; Ahlberg, 1971 ii, 29ff. B4 figs. 31-33.

297.PRIVATE COLL.NEW YORK

Oenochoe

PLATES 62a,b;63a,b

H:?

Neck:man with helmet and sword round the waist is holding two antithetical horses by the bridle; above the horses two birds. Shoulder:two men with whips in their hands alternate with three animals (cattle ?); at the right end of the panel another animal (wild goat?).
Unpublished.

THE BURLY WORKSHOP

298.TUBINGEN UNIVERSITAT

2657

Oenochoe

PLATE 71a

H:0,328m.

Body:frieze of nine male youths and sixteen female dancers to the right;the leader is holding an instrument.

Watzinger,1924,B4,pl.1a;
Tölle,1964,group 1,1,pl.1,
2; Davison,1961,fig.127;
CVA 2,pl.14,1,2;pl.15,1,2,
3 and full bibliography.

299.BERLIN 4506

Oenochoe

PLATE 71b

H:0,425m. Plastic snake:
Neck:row of male dancers
holding hands to the right.
Neugebauer,1932,pl.2; Kü-
bler,1954,58; Davison,
1961,83 no 2; Tölle,1964,
group I no 2; Brouskari,
1979 ii,69ff.pl.41.

300.KERAMEIKOS 2160

Oenochoe

H:?

Shoulder:lion attacking man
to the right.

Body:bands of concentric
circles.

Kübler,1954,pl.77; Davison,
1961,fig.130; Brouskari,
1979 ii,32.

- 301.AMSTERDAM 3491
 Ex Scheurleer Coll.
 Oencohoe
 H:0,49m.
 Body:frieze of dancing men holding hands to the right.
CVA Pays Bas 1,pl.23,1;
 Tölle,1964,group 1 no 3.
- 302.ATHENS EPK 645
 Skyphos-pyxis
 PALTE 35b
 H:0,09m. From Erechtheion street cemetery,grave 2
 Body:A:metope with grazing deer;B:metope with two antithetical lions with wide open jaws.
 Brouskari,1979 ii,31ff.,pls. 16,17.
- 303.ATHENS EPK 643
 Oencohoe
 PLATE 38a
 H:0,124m. From Erechtheion street cemetery,grave 2
 Neck:a naked man is vainly fighting with two lions with wide open jaws.
 Shoulder:two confronting birds.
 Brouskari,1979 ii,24ff. pls. 10,11.
- 304.ATHENS NM 874
 Skyphos
 PLATE 68b
 D:0,16m.
 Interior:frieze of men and women:man with sword play-a lyre,behind him two women holding hands,man with sword and lyre(?),four women not holding hands,man with sword and lyre(?),four

men ,the first two with
swords and three women,
these last seven holding
hands.

Exterior:four tripods be-
tween vertical lines.

Hirschfeld,Annali 1872,
142 no 39; CVA 2,pls.5,10,
11; Tölle,1964,28,78 no 8;
Wegner,1968,U63 no 31,fig.
2a; Schweitzer,1969,54ff.
pls.66,68; Borell,1978,18
no 62,pl.14.

305.COPENHAGEN NM 727

Kantharos

PLATES 37c,39a

H:0,17m. From the Kera-
meikos

Lip:five metopes on either
side separated by a col-
umn of vertical dotted cir-
cles:A:1)deer with head
turned backwards;2)four/
petalled rosette ;3)large
circular ornament;4)kneel-
ing deer;5)striding deer.

B:1/5)two confrontingbirds;
2/4)four petalled rosette;
3)kneeling goat.

Body:A:athletic games:1)
a man with sword round his
waist,looking at two dancers
facing one another and arm-

ed with Dipylon shields and two spears, their feet do not touch the ground; 2) two boxers; 3) jumper facing a lyre-player to the left, followed by two more male figures turned to the left, preparing also to jump.

B: 1) one man with sword holding hands with a female figure; between them a long branch; 2) Duel; 3) two lions devouring a man; 4) a lyre-player turned to the right towards two female figures with hydriae on their heads, holding hands and branches.

AZ 1885, 134, pl. 8 no 2; CVA 2, pl. 74, 2-6; Webster, 1955, 40; Davison, 1961, fig. 128; Tölle, 1964, 78ff. no 6; Coldstream, 1968, 38 n. 9, 72 n. 2, 174 n. 5 (early work of Painter A of the Rattle Group); Schweitzer, 1969, pl. 70; Kübler, 1970, 585 no 108; Brouskari, 1979 ii, 71ff. pl. 42.

306.LOUVRE CA 1821

Oenochoe

PLATES 4e,6a

H:0,32m. From Boeotia

Body:frieze of grazing deer to the right,alternating with regardant deer to the left.

C.Zervos,Civilisation Hellénique,fig.89; CVA 16, pl.15.

307.COPENHAGEN 3153

Oenochoe

H:0,225m.Relief mastoi on the shoulder

Shoulder:naked man to the right,holding from the neck a bird;nine more birds in the field.

Poulsen,Meddelelser fra NY Carlsberg Glyptotek 11, 1954,33ff.,figs.4-6;

Webster,From Mycenae to Homer,1958,175ff.fig.27;

Kirk,The Songs of Homer, 1962,284,fig.5b; Schefold, 1964,21,pl.5b; Fittschen, 1969,64ff.J15.

308.SWISS MARKET

Oenochoe

H:0,216m.

Neck:grazing deer to the left.

Body:frieze of striding men to the left,holding the sword round their waist

309.LOUVRE CA 3452

Oenochoe

MJM, 13.5.1961, no 103, pl.
29; Tölle, 1964, 88 no 147.
H: 0,34m.

Shoulder: regardant deer,
birds.

CVA 16, pl. 14; Bouzek, 1959,
118 no 11.

THE TRACHONES PAINTER

310.NEW YORK 14.130.15

Krater

H: 1m.305

Three figured zones: 1 A:
prothesis scene: the deceased
is male with helmet, below
the helmet is a fish; at
the head and foot of the
deceased are two diminutive
mourners: one standing
touching the head of the
dead person and raising
one hand to the head, while
the other figure is seated
stretching both arms for-
ward and holding an object
(vase?). Below the bier six
women are sitting on
stools with both arms
raised to the head, five
are turned to the right
and one to the left. To
the right of the bier are
eight male figures with
helmets and swords at their

waist;the last figure is a "Siamese twin" without sword;the figures in front of them touch with their right hand the sword of the front figure,while with their left the dead animals or objects piled in front of them; the first figure touches the bier with one hand and holds instead of animals a vertical row of objects shaped like circles with a central dot; in front of the second and third figures the dead animals are most probably dogs;in front of the "Siamese twins" are two live birds;to the left of the bier are ten female figures with both arms raised to the head. 1:B:between two circular ornaments a large tripod flanked to the left by a male figure with helmet and sword touching the tripod with both hands and to the right,by a "Siamese

twin" with helmets and sword; on either side of the circular ornaments is a Dipylon warrior without spears.

2:frieze of fourteen two/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer with helmet and sword and one one/horse chariot with Dipylon warrior as charioteer inserted; one of the chariots has a child as a second occupant.

3:frieze of eleven one/horse chariots with Dipylon warrior as charioteer.

Richter, AJA 19, 1915, 394-6, pls. 21-24; Zschietzschmann, 1928, 38 no 12; Hinrichs, 1955, pl. 11a; Davison, 1961, fig. 139; Tölle, 1964, 97 no 338; Boardamn, 1966, 1-4, pls. 1-3; Ahlberg, 1971, 27 no 22, figs. 22 a-i.

H: 1m007 From grave A15

Body: upper zone: frieze of nine youths with helmet and sword at the waist to the right; lower zone: frieze

311. TRACHONES 81

Krater

of two/horse and one/horse
chariots with shieldless
charioteer to the right.
Geroulanos, 1973, 26, 31, pls.
25, 34, 35, 1; details pls. 43 ,
2, 10, 12; 42, 2; 48, 1; 50, 1; 51,
1.

THE THORIKOS WORKSHOP

312. UPPSALA UNIVERSITY

Frs.

H:?

Prothesis scene: below the
bier the remains of two
female mourners; to the
right of the bier three
more female figures; above
their heads chequerboard.
Tölle, 1963, 661ff. fig. 21;
Ahlberg, 1971, 27 no 28, fig.
28; CVA Louvre 16, 22; Ky-
rieleis, 1969, 100 no 25.

313. FLORENCE MUSEO ARCH.

Two frs.

H:?

1) Prothesis scene: to the
right of the bier two fe-
male mourners to the left;
below the bier three more
female mourners and between
the bier's legs a fourth
one; above their heads four
dead birds hanging upside
down.

2) two female mourners to

the left and two birds.
Tölle, 1963, 662ff. fig. 19, 20;
CVA Louvre 16, 22, 23; Kyrie-
leis, 1969, 100 no 24; Ahl-
berg, 1971, 27 no 27, figs.
27 a-b.

314. THORIKOS TC.65.666

Krater frs.

PLATE 11a

H:?

Prothesis scene: the dead
person identified as male;
below the bier the upper
part of three female mourn-
ers; above the bier the low-
er part of four figures
to the left.

Mussche et al., Thorikos,
Rapport Préliminaire sur
la Troisième Campagne de
Fouilles, 1965, 43 fig. 49;
Kyrieleis, 1969, 100 no 30,
pl. 14, 1; Ahlberg, 1971, 27
no 30, fig. 30; Bingen, 1982,
77-90.

315. MERENDA 6-IX-61

five frs.

PLATE 66a,b

H:?

Three joining fragments:
two zones with female
mourners to the left; the
fourth fragment has remains
of three figures with arms
raised to the side; another
frieze above where only

the feet of a figure to
the right can be distin-
guished; fifth fragment: the
upper part of a figure
holding another figure
(child?) in its arms.
Unpublished.

316. BERLIN 1963.13

Amphora

PLATE 12b

H: ? Plastic snakes

Neck: A: prothesis scene: to
the right of the bier one
female mourner with one
arm raised to the head and
the other touching the
bier cloth; to the left of
the bier two female mourn-
ers; below the bier two
kneeling female mourners
facing one another.

B: five female mourners with
both arms raised to the
head, to the right.

Kyrieleis, 1969, 100 no 26,
pl. 14, 2; Ahlberg, 1971, 27
no 31, fig. 31 a-b.

317. COPENHAGEN 2680

Amphora

PLATE 12a

H: ?

Shoulder: two running dogs
to the right.

Body: prothesis scene: to
the right of the bier eight
female mourners; to the left

ten similar mourners; below the bier, two rows of five and four birds.

Poulsen, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser 2, 1922, 3-4, figs. 2-3; Tölle, 1963, 663-664 note 66; Coldstream, 1968, 77 n.3; Ahlberg, 1971, 27 no 29, fig. 29a-c.

THE WORKSHOP OF ATHENS 897

318. ATHENS NM 18138

Amphora

H: ?

Neck: A/B: two horses one behind the other facing right; bird between the legs of each horse.

Shoulder: A/B: two dogs hunting a hare.

Cook, JHS 73, 1953, 109, fig. 1; Davison, 1961, fig. 44; Coldstream, 1968, 77 no 1; Kübler, 1970, 573 no 34.

319. ATHENS NM 897

Amphora

H: 0,51m.

Body: two friezes with running dogs to the right.

Wide, 1900, 53 fig. 114; Cook, 1947, pl. 20b; Davison, 1961, fig. 40; Brokaw, 1963, pl. 29b; Coldstream, 1968, 77 no 6; Kübler, 1970, 573 no 37.

320.LOUVRE CA 1789

Amphora

H:0,456m. Plastic snake
Neck:A:two running dogs to
the right.B:dog hunting
hare to the right.
Shoulder:A:metope with fif-
teen birds and birdseed to
the left. B:metope with
ten birds and birdseed.
Body:eight running dogs to
the right.

Villard,1957,57 fig.20;
Cook,1947,144; Bouzek,1959,
123; Brokaw,1963,pl.29,3;
Coldstream,1968,77 no 7;
Kübler,1970,573 no 36;CVA
16,pl.30,1,2.

321.BASEL MARKET

Amphora

H:? Plastic snakes
Neck:frieze of running
dogs to the right.
Shoulder:panel with birds
and birdseed to the left.
Body:frieze of running
dogs to the right.

MüM,29.11.1958,no 77,pl.19;
Davison,1961,fig.42; Cold-
stream,1968,77 no 8; Kübler,
1970,573 no 35.

322.ATHENS NM 18135

Amphora

H:0,32m.
Neck:A/B:two horses tied
to a tripod.

- Benton, 1935, 103 no 2, pl. 25
no 2; Coldstream, 1968, 78
no 17.
323. READING 50.10.1
Amphora
PLATE 44a, b
H: 0, 23m.
Neck: A/B: panel with long-
legged bird.
Shoulder: A: running dog; B:
running dog and hare.
AR 1963, 56 no 2; Coldstream,
1968, 78 no 16.
324. KERAMEIKOS 1236
Amphora
H: ? From Opferrine 2
Shoulder: grazing deer to
the right.
Body: frieze of running dogs
to the right.
Kübler, 1954, pl. 138; id.
1970, 572 no 28; Brokaw,
1963, pl. 29, 6.
325. OXFORD 1895.76
Amphora
H: ?
Neck: two metopes with stand-
ing horse to the left and
right respectively, rope
hanging from mouth.
Shoulder: panel with horse
to the right; two panels
with birds.
Davison, 1961, fig. 47; Cold-
stream, 1968, 80 n. 2.
326. ATHENS NM 17514
Amphora
H: ?
Neck: A/B: grazing deer to

- the right.
Shoulder:two running dogs
to the right.
Unpublished; Coldstream,
1968,78 no 18.
H:0,435m.
Neck:two horses on either
side of a tripod.
Shoulder:A:fox hunt;B:hare
hunt.
Benton,1935,106 no 14;
Watzinger,Gnomon 10,1934,
572; Coldstream,1968,77
no 3,pl.14c; Kübler,1970,
572 no 30.
- 327.BERLIN EAST 31005
Amphora
- H:0,42m.
Neck:A/B:two horses on
either side of a tripod.
Shoulder:A:dogs hunting
fox;B:dogs hunting hare.
Benton,1935,106,pl.26,1;
JHS 70,1950,pl.5a; Cold-
stream,1968,77 no 2; Kü-
bler,1970,572 no 29.
- 328.ATHENS
Amphora
- H:? Plastic snake
Neck 1:frieze of running
dogs to the right;2:panel
with two horses one behind
the other facing right.
Shoulder:two running dogs
- 329.ATHENS NM 17519
Amphora

- to the right.
 Body: frieze of horses to the right.
 Coldstream, 1968, 77 no 9, pl. 14e.
330. BONN 15
 Spouted krater fr.
 H:?
 Frieze of running dogs to the right.
 Cook, 1947, pl. 20a; Davison, 1961, fig. 41; Kübler, 1970, 591 no 142.
331. AGORA P 22715
 Spouted krater
 H: 0,25m. From well O
 Panel with at least three running dogs to the left.
 Brann, 1962, no 339 fig. 6; Coldstream, 1968, 78 no 36.
332. LONDON PRIVATE COLL.
 Ovoid krater
 H:?
 A: centaur to the right holding a branch in his right hand and a deer in his left; below and behind the centaur a stylized ornament with volutes; B: similar to A but birds take the place of the plant to the left.
 Body: frieze of grazing horses to the right.
 Beazley, 1951, 5-6, pl. 2; Coldstream, 1968, 78 no 29.

333.LONDON BM 1905.10-28.1

Pitcher

H:0,50m.Relief mastoi on
shoulder

Lower body:frieze of graz-
ing horses to the right.

Davison,1961,fig.32a,b;

Coldstream,1968,77 no 11,
pl.14b.

334.LONDON BM 1912.5-22.1

Pitcher

PALTES 1c,11b

H:0,457m.

Body:four male prothesis
scenes:1)on either side of
the bier three female fig-
ures,the first on the
right holding a branch
above the corpse;below the
bier a regardant goat which
occurs on all four scenes;
2)three female figures to
the right and one to the
left of the bier;both fig-
ures nearest to the bier
are holding branches above
the corpse,represented
here without the bier
cloth;3)five female figures
to the right and three to
the left ;4)four female
figures to the right and
three to the left of the
bier;the two closest to
the bier are holding a

branch above the corpse.
Zschiezschmann, 1928, 38 no
10, suppl. pl. 8, 10; Davison,
1961, fig. 29; Tölle, 1964, 96
no 316; Coldstream, 1968, 78
no 26; Ahlberg, 1971, 28 no
45, fig. 45 a-d.

335. SWEDEN

Hydria

H:?

Shoulder: frieze of grazing
deer to the right.

Unpublished.

336. ATHENS NM 18444

Oenochoe

H: 0,23m.

Neck: two horses tied to a
tripod.

Shoulder: two dogs hunting
a hare.

Benton, 1935, pl. 25, 3-4; Da-
son, 1961, fig. 45; Coldstream,
1968, 77 no 10; Kübler, 1970,
580 no 74.

337. AGORA P 23655

Oenochoe

H: 0,24m. From well Q8:9

Running dog chasing hare
to the right.

Davison, 1961, fig. 46; Brann,
1962, no 359, pls. 7, 21, 43;
Coldstream, 1968, 78 no 38.

338. AGORA P 20730

Oenochoe

H: 0,24m. From well R10:5

Panel with three running
dogs to the right.

Brann, 1962, no 83, pl. 7; Da-
vison, 1961, fig. 43; Cold-

- stream, 1968, 78 no 37.
- 338a. EX Breslau Coll. H: ?
Amphora Neck: two horses tied to a tripod; birds and birdseed. Body: kneeling goat to left. Kübler, AA 1969, 137 fig. 1.
339. ATHENS H: ? From Pireus street grave
Skyphos-pyxis with lid XV
Panel with horse to the right; below the horse bird. AD 23, 1968. Chronika B1, pl. 46c.
340. BRUSSELS A 2113 D: 0, 125m.
Skyphos Interior: four striding horses to the right. CVA 3, IIIG, pl. 3, 2a, b; Coldstream, 1968, 79 no 44; Kübler, 1970, 584 no 96; Borell, 1978, no 71, pl. 25b.
341. BRUSSELS A 2248 D: 0, 135m.
Kotyle Panel with two running dogs to the right. CVA 3, IIIG, pl. 3, 1; Coldstream, 1968, 79 no 43.
- THE MANNHEIM PAINTER
342. MANNHEIM 66 H: 0, 645m.
Amphora Body: frieze of nine one/ horse chariots with naked charioteer to the right. CVA 1, fig. 2, pls. 2, 1-2, 4;

- 343.PRIVATE COLL.WINTERTHUR
Amphora
Coldstream,1968,81 no 1.
H:0,425m.
Body:frieze of six one/
horse chariots with naked
charioteer to the right.
Bloesch,Kleinkunst in
Winterthur,1964,pl.1,3;
id.,1982,no 189; Cold-
stream,1968,81 no 3.
- 344.LONDON MARKET
Amphora
H:?
No illustration available
Sotheby Catalogue,10.12.
1931,pl.1; Coldstream,
1968,81 no 2.
- 345.LOUVRE CA 3442
Krater fr.
H:0,078m.
Part of a horse drawing a
chariot to the right.
CVA 11,pls.16,17; Coldstream,
1968,81 no 4.
- THE PAINTER OF PARIS CA 3283
- 346.PARIS CA 3283
Oenochoe
PLATE 13b
H:0,268m.
Neck:seven female mourners
with both arms raised to
the head,to the right.
Body:prothesis scene:below
the bier three kneeling
mourners;to the left of
the bier four men with
the left arm raised to the
head,then five mourning

warriors with sword round their waist, then two male mourners; to the right of the bier ten female mourners, the first is mounted on a stool and raises her right arm to the head and in her left is holding a long object above the corpse.

Devambez, Bulletin des Musées de France, 1948, 94-96, fig. 1; Tölle, 1964, 96 no 317; Wegner, 1968, 81 no 131; CVA 16, pl. 28; Ahlberg, 1971, 28 no 47, fig. 47 a-g.

347. LONDON MARKET

Amphora

PLATE 13a

H: 1m10

Neck: six female mourners with both arms raised to the head, to the right.

Shoulder: two grazing horses to the right.

Body: prothesis scene: below the bier two kneeling female mourners; to the right of the bier at least seven female mourners with both arms raised to the head, the first is mounted on a stool with left arm to the head and the other

stretched over the corpse;
to the left of the bier
six male mourners with
their left arm raised to
their head and the other
to the side; the first figure
is touching with his
left hand the bier while
the other is raised to the
head.

Zschiezschmann, 1928, 17-47,
38 no 18; Sotheby Catalogue,
25.7.1935 ,no 36,pl.18;
Tölle, 1963, 222 n.29; id.,
1964, 97 no 332; Coldstream,
1968, 82 no 2; Ahlberg, 1971,
28 no 48, fig.48.

THE BENAHI PAINTER

348.NEW YORK 10.210.7

Amphora

H:0,685m. Plastic snakes
Neck:A/B:warrrior with hel-
met and round shield stand-
ing between two horses; be-
low the horses birds.
Body:frieze of five one/
horse chariots with
shieldless charioteer to
the right.

BullMetMus 1911, 33 fig.6;
Cook, 1947, 150; Davison,
1961, fig.51; Coldstream,

349.BENAKI 7675

Amphora

1968,81 no 1.

H:? Plastic snakes

Neck:1:frieze of grazing horses to the right.2:A: prothesis scene:on either side of the bier a female mourner with one arm to the head and the other stretched forward;B:six female mourners with both arms raised to the head. Body:upper zone,frieze of fully armed warriors with round shields decorated with various emblems to the right;lower zone: frieze of grazing horses to the right.

Cook,1935,168;id.,1947,150 pl.19; Davison,1961,fig. 50; Tölle,1964,97 no 323; Coldstream,1968,81 no 2; Kübler,1970,608 no 233; Schweitzer,1969,pl.46; Ahlberg,1971,28 no 46,fig. 46 a-c.

350.AGORA P 24847

Oenochoe

H:0,14m.

Neck:panel with grazing horse to the right.

Body:bands of concentric

- circles.
 Brann, 1961, 142, Q4, pl. 14;
 id., 1962, no 324, pl. 43;
 Davison, 1961, fig. 52; Cold-
 stream, 1968, 81 no 3.
 H: 0, 101m.
 Neck: horse to the right,
 tied with rope.
 Body: bands of concentric
 circles.
 CVA 2, pl. 73, 2; Coldstream,
 1968, 81 no 4.
- THE PAINTER OF KERAMEIKOS 1314
352. KERAMEIKOS 1314
 Pitcher
 PLATE 4b
 H: ? From grave 51
 Lower body: frieze of graz-
 ing deer to the right.
 Kübler, 1954, pl. 113, 140;
 Borell, 1978, 43ff.
353. KERAMEIKOS 1319
 Skyphos
 PLATE 6b
 D: 0, 149m. From grave 51
 Interior: 1) ten grazing
 deer to the right; 2) six
 striding goats to the
 right.
 Exterior: between the handles:
 five grazing deer to the
 right; upside down: three
 grazing deer and a bull.
 Kübler, 1954, pl. 130; Davi-
 son, 1961, fig. 88; Cold-
 stream, 1968, 52 n. 1; Bo-
 rell, 1978, 6 no 10, pls. 12-

13, Beilage B1.

THE MAINZ/PROVIDENCE PAINTER

354. MAINZ UNIVERSITY 47

Hydria

H: 0,39m. Plastic snakes
Body: two metopes with two
grazing horses to the
right, followed by a strid-
ing smaller horse; the
other metope has two
grazing deer.

CVA 1, pl. 6, 1-5; Bakalakis,
1961, 65 no 7; Kübler, 1970,
576 no 51.

355. BERLIN 31045

Hydria

H: 0,40m.

Neck: female dancers hold-
ing hands to the right.
Shoulder: grazing horses to
the right.

Body: panels with grazing
horses to the right.
Tölle, 1964, 16 no 21, pl. 7;
Bakalakis, 1961, 64 no 2, pl.
39; Coldstream, 1968, 60 n.;
Kübler, 1970, 576 no 49.

356. PROVIDENCE 15006

Pitcher

H: 0,543m.

Neck: six women holding
hands are dancing to the
right.
Shoulder: six grazing horses
to the right.

CVA 1, pl. 8, 2; Tölle, 1964,

- 16 no 22; Kübler, 1970, 581
no 78; A.H.Harnwell Ashmead
and K.M.Phillips Jr., Classical Vases: Museum of Art, Rhode Island, School of Design, 1976, no 25, pls. 86, 87.
H: 0,587m.
357. MAINZ MUSEUM O.2031
Hydria
PLATE 7a
Neck: panel with grazing deer to the right.
Body: panel with grazing deer to the right.
CVA 1, pls. 7, 1, 2; 6, 5.
- THE TOLEDO PAINTER
358. KERAMEIKOS 824
Amphora body fr.
PLATE 4c
H: ? From grave 83
Shoulder: grazing deer.
Body: frieze of striding horses; lower body: bird file to the left.
Kübler, 1954, pls. 37, 140.
359. TOLEDO M.A.2643
Amphora
PLATE 41b
H: 0,575m.
Neck: A/B: two antithetical horses tied to a tripod.
Body: striding horses to the left.
Washington, Toledo Museum News, 1962, 75; CVA 1, pls. 1, 2.
- THE HORSE PAINTER
360. BOWDOIN COLLEGE
Oenochoe
H: 0,233m.
Neck: panel with horse.
Body: bands of concentric

- circles.
- K.Herbert,Ancient Art in Bowdoin College,1964,132, pl.18.
- 361.ATHENS EPK 569
Oenochoe
H:0,169m.
Neck:two confronting horses tied to a tripod.
Body:bands of concentric circles.
Brouskari,1979 ii,16,pl.13.
- 362.ATHENS EPK 570
Oenochoe
PLATE 57a
H:0,153m.
Neck:two confronting horses tied to a tripod.
Body:bands of concentric circles.
Brouskari,1979 ii,16 pl.14.
- 363.ATHENS EPK 567
Oenochoe
H:0,17m.
Neck:two horses facing one another,each tied to a pole.
Body:bands of concentric circles.
Brouskari,1979 ii,15 pl.1.
- 364.ATHENS EPK 646
Oenochoe
H:0,28m.
Neck:two horses facing one another,each one tied to a pole;to the right of the right horse an animal (fox?).
Body:triple bands alternating with glazed bands.

- 365.PRIVATE COLL.ATHENS
 Oenochoe
 Brouskari,1979 ii,14ff.pl.2.
 H:?
 Neck:panel with horse to
 the right.
 Body:bands of concentric
 circles.
 Unpublished.
- 366.MILDENBERG COLLECTION
 Kantharos
 PLATE 58a
 Sides:A/B:two horses tied
 to a tripod.
 Unpublished.
- DIFFERENT PAINTERS
- 367.BASEL BS 406
 Krater with lid
 H:0,35m.
 Panel with four dancers
 armed with swords follow-
 ing a lyre-player to the
 right.
MÜM 26,5.10.1963,no 54,pl.
 15,16; Tölle,1964,53 no
 136; Coldstream,1968,205
 n.1 : "probably provincial At-
 tic work,perhaps by the
 same hand as Athens NM
 14447"(cat. no 368).
- 368.ATHENS NM 14447
 Kantharos
 H:0,088m. From Anavyssos
 A:male acrobatic dance;
 four dancers clapping their
 hands and a lyre-player to
 the right.
 B:fully armed Dipylon war-

rior between two horses.
Tölle, 1964, 12 no 4, pl 3;
Coldstream, 1968, 205 n.1.

AMPHORAE/KRATERS

369.STUTTGART KAS 10

Amphora

H:0,453m.

Neck:panel with man leading a horse to the right; behind the horse a large bird.

Body:bands of concentric circles.

CVA 1,pl.6,1; Hinrichs, 1955,pl.20; Tölle, 1964, 95 no 287.

370.HEIDELBERG G 79

Amphora

H:0,556m. From Vouliagmeni

Neck:panel with grazing horse to the right.

Body:bands of concentric circles.

The horse is close to those by the Lion Painter.

Hampe, 1936, V41, fig.9;
Kunze, 1937, 286; CVA 3, pl. 107, 1, 3; Kübler, 1970, 571 no 27.

371.ATHENS

Amphora

H:0,40m. Academy cemetery

Neck:panel with grazing horse to the right.

Body:bands of concentric circles.

- BCH 81, 1957, 508 fig. 10;
Ergon 1956, 12 fig. 8; Kü-
 bler, 1970, 574 no 40.
372. ATHENS
 Amphora
 H: 0,48m. From Spata grave 2
 Neck: fully armed Dipylon
 warrior between two anti-
 thetical horses.
 Shoulder: grazing horses to
 the right.
AD 6, 1920-21, 135 fig. 4;
 Tölle, 1964, 95 no 292
 (wrongly classified under
 riders); Kübler, 1970, 572
 no 31.
373. BRAURON MUSEUM
 Amphora
 H: ? From Anavyssos
 Neck: A/B: panel with two
 horses tied to a tripod.
 Body: bands of concentric
 circles.
 Unpublished.
374. BRAURON MUSEUM
 Amphora
 H: ? From Merenda
 Neck: A/B: two horses tied
 to a racket-like object.
 Unpublished.
375. PRIVATE POSSESSION
 Amphora
 H: 0,395m. From Demos
 Kephale
 Neck: A: chariot with char-
 rioteer to the right; in
 front of the chariot a
 striding man.

B:same as A,without a
striding man.

AA 1963,466ff. fig.3; Töl-
le,1964,92 no 222; Kübler,
1970,569 no 17; Coldstream,
1968,402 site index c.v.
Kaki Thalassa.

376.CANELLOPOULOS COLL. 843

Amphora

H:0,40m.

Shoulder:A/B:a fully armed
Dipylon warrior with two
spears and sword,holding
a horse on either side.

Brouskari,1979,439 no 5,
fig.6(Brouksari attributes
this vase to the Kunze
Painter,but there are many
affinities with Painter B
of the Rattle Geoup.

377.KARLSRUHE B 2674

Amphora

H:0,56m.

Neck:A:five female mourners
with both arms raised to
the head; B:seven female
mourners.

Body:prothesis scene:below
the bier three kneeling
figures;to the left thir-
teen male mourners with
with sword,the left arm
raised to the head and the
other touching the sword;

- to the right twenty female mourners with both arms raised to the head;the figures closest to the bier are smaller in scale.
CVA 1,pl.3,1; Tölle,1964, 97 no 238; Kübler,1970, 570 no 18; Ahlberg,1971, 27 no 32,pl.32.
- 378.STOCKHOLM NM 1741
 Amphora
 H:0,66m.Plastic snakes
 Neck:panel with rider to the right.
 Shoulder:grazing deer.
 Body:upper zone:frieze of three/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer to the right;lower zone:running dogs.
 Tölle,1964,94 no 268.
- 379.SYDNEY C 393
 Amphora
 H:? Plastic snakes
 Striding horses and striding men.
 Kübler,1970,596 no 173.
- 380.KERAMEIKOS 656
 Amphora
 H:? From grave 97
 Neck:panel with single horse tied to a tripod,to the right.
 Body:bands of concentric circles.
 Kübler,1954,pl.37.

381.KERAMEIKOS 850

Amphora

H:0,60m. From grave 85

Neck:panel with helmeted rider to the right.

Body:bands of concentric circles.

Kübler,1954,pl.37; Tölle, 1964,95 no 293.

382.AGORA P 22439

Amphora neck

H:0,135m. From well N11:5

A/B:panel with grazing horses to the right.

Close ot the horses of the Benaki Workshop.

Davison,1961,fig.53; Brann, 1962,no 322 pl.18; Kübler, 1970,596 no 172.

383.MUNSTER 272

Amphora

H:0,452m. Plastic snakes

Neck A/B: seven naked men striding to the right,clasp- ing both hands in front of them.

Shoulder:A/B:running dogs.

Body:five two/horse chariots with naked charioteer to the right;inserted one Di- pylon warrior with two spears and helmet;lower zone:frieze of Dipylon shields.

MÜM 1965; Wegner,1969,172ff. pl. 29.

384. AGORA P 21440
Amphora
H:0,145m. From well R9:2
Shoulder:running dogs.
Body:a helmeted figure leading a bull to the right, while another figure turned to the left is facing them.
Dunbabin, 1957, 83-84; Brann, 1962, no 340, pl. 20.
385. AGORA P 4612
Amphora fr.
H:0,128m. From grave G12:4
Neck:panel with grazing horse to the right.
Brann, 1962, no 344, pl. 21;
Young, 1939, 26 IV 2, fig. 13;
Kübler, 1970, 576 no 48.
(Close to the Workshop of Athens 894).
386. AGORA P 22440
Spouted krater
D:0,38m. From well N11:5
A:two grazing horses to the left; beyond them a running dog to the left; B:three striding bulls to the left.
Brann, 1962, no 339, pl. 20.
387. TRACHONES 303
Pithos-krater
H:0,945m. From grave A30
Shoulder:frieze of horses striding to the right.
Body:handle zone:panel with three female figures holding hands to the right;

lower zone:frieze of two/
horse chariots with Dipylon
charioteer to the right,
alternating with fully
armed warriors with round
shields.

Geroulanos, 1973, 34 pl. 18,
1; pls. 37-41; details pls. 43,
7-9; 45, 5; 10, 10; 46, 1; 47, 12;
48, 5; 50, 3.

388. BRAURON MUSEUM

Krater Frs.

PLATE 10b

H: ? From Merenda

Panel with prothesis scene:
below the bier one kneeling
figure; to the right of the
bier and at a higher regis-
ter, five mourning figures
to the left, the first is
at a reduced scale and has
one arm stretched forward;
the other four figures have
breasts indicated and both
arms raised to the head;
another panel below the
mourners has three kneeling
goats to the left; another
non-joining fragment has
the upper part of three
female mourners to the right.
Unpublished.

389.BRAURON MUSEUM

Krater frs.

H:? From Merenda

Frieze of one/horse chariots with shieldless charioteer to the right; inserted in chariot frieze one helmeted spearman touching with one hand the front chariot. Above the chariot frieze panel with horse to the right with rope hanging from its mouth.

Below the double handles: two ships.

Unpublished.

OENOCHOAE

390.ATHENS

Oenochoe

H:?

Neck:prothesis scene(?): three figures to the right with both arms raised to the head.

Shoulder:frieze of birds.

Body:hunting scene:running dogs to the right and hare (?).

AD 23,1968,Chronika B1,pl. 3.

391.ATHENS 3rd EPHORIA

Oenochoe

H:? From odos Diakou and Anapauseos

Body:hunting scene:man with dog at his feet turned to the left;to his

- right frieze of striding goats to the right.
AD 18,1963,Chronika B1,pl. 39b,c; Fittschen,1969,63 J11.
- 392.KERAMEIKOS 369
 Oenochoe
 H: ? From Opferrine 2
 Neck: fully armed Dipylon warrior with helmet and two spears between two antithetical horses.
 Body: frieze of striding goats to the left.
 Kübler,1954,pl.78.
- 393.FRANKFURT VFB 228
 Oenochoe
 H: 0,165m.
 Shoulder: panel with kneeling regardant goat.
CVA 1,pl.8,4-6.
- 394.AGORA P 7177
 Oenochoe fr.
 H: 0,217m.
 Neck: horse in panel to the right.
 Young ,1939,C 118,figs. 122,124.
- 395.ATHENS NM 18158
 (ex Empedocles Coll.)
 Oenochoe
 H: ?
 Two dogs hunting a hare.
 Unpublished.
- 396.AGORA P 22430
 Oenochoe
 H: 0,26m. From well N11:5
 Body: five running dogs to the right.
 Brann,1962,no 361,pl.21;
 Coldstream,1968,79 no 39

- (Workshop of Athens 897).
- 397.AMSTERDAM 3506
 Oenochoe
 Man with clubs in each hand; in front of him four dogs chasing a hare.
CVA Musée Scheurleer 1, IIIH b, pl. 2, 6; Fittschen, 1969, 63 J13, fig. 7/8.
- 398.COPENHAGEN NM 7307
 Oenochoe
 PLATE 48b
 H: 0,433m. From the Gas Factory near Dipylon
 On the shoulder two relief mastoi; on either side of the spout a painted eye
 Body: five naked women seated on chairs (hair and breasts indicated).
 Hahland, 1954, group IV 180 no 10 (wrong inventory number); CVA .2, IIIH, pl. 72, 2; Tölle, 1964, 99 no 380;
- 399.NEW YORK 25.78.50
 Oenochoe
 H: 0,065m.
 Body: figures moving to the left holding hands and branches; no sex is indicated and the figures are wearing short dresses stopping just at knee height.
BullMetMus 22, 1967, 18 fig. 2; Davison, 1961, fig. 37
 (Workshop of Athens 894)

Tölle, 1964, 22 no 63;
Wegner, 1968, no 119 U54.

HYDRIAE/PITCHERS

400.ATHENS NM 14423

Hydria

H:0,35m. From Anavyssos
Plastic snakes
Neck:dance of seven women
with cross-hatched skirts
and torsos holding hands.
PAE 1911, 125 no 8, pl.23;
Tölle, 1964, no 18, pl.6b;
Bakalakis, 1961, group B1,
no 1; Kübler, 1970, 577 no
56.

401.AGORA P 26002

Hydria fr.

H:0,06m. From area N 18
Plastic snakes
Frieze of centaurs (two
preserved) holding branches
in both hands, to the right.
Brann, 1962, no 488, pl.29.

402.ATHENS 3rd EPHORIA

Pitcher

H:? From Pireus street
Shoulder:frieze with strid-
ing goats to the right
AD 17, 1961-62, Chronika B1,
pl.24; Kübler, 1970, 58; AR,
1963-64, 5 fig.3.

403.TRACHONES 282

Pitcher

H:0,122m. From grave A 30
Panel with kneeling goat
to the right.
Geroulanos, 1973, 34 no 3, pl.
18, 2; pl.31, 2; detail pl.41,

404. AGORA P 10621
Pitcher fr.
H:0,013m. From well T19:3
Neck: women with cross-hatched skirts.
Brann, 1962, 66 no 314, pls. 18, 34.
405. BRUSSELS A 1701
Pitcher
H:0,495m.
Metopes with horse to the left.
CVA 2, IIIH b, pl. 1, 3.
406. CANELLOPOULOS MUS. 497
Pitcher
H:0,50m.
Shoulder: frieze of bird and birdseed.
Body: two metopes with standing horse to the right with rope hanging from mouth.
Brouskari, 1979, no 1, fig. 1.
- STANDS /BOWLS
407. WURZBURG Ha 835
Fenestrated stand
PLATE 1e
H:0,148m.
Three metopes with kneeling goats to the right.
CVA 1, pl. 15, 4-6; Langlotz, 1932, no 50; Kübler, 1970, no 118; CVA Louvre 16 at pl. 21, 1, 2.
408. MUNICH 6231
High-footed stand
H:0,162m.
Four metopes with standing horse to the right.
CVA 3, pl. 123, 1-4.
409. ATHENS NM 747
Foot krater
H:?
On the lid frieze with

- grazing deer to the right.
Brückner-Pernice, 1893, pl.
VIII 1, 1; Kübler, 1970, 590
no 135.
410. ATHENS NM 748
Foot krater
H: ?
Panel with standing horse
to the right.
Brückner-Pernice, 1893, pl.
VIII 1, 7; Kübler, 1970, 590
no 135.
411. KERAMEIKOS 313
High-rimmed bowl
H: ? From grave 56
Panel with standing horse
to the right; above the
horse's back a Dipylon
shield.
Coldstream, 1968, 89, pl. 15m;
Kübler, 1954, pl. 122.
412. ATHENS
High-rimmed bowl
with lid
H: ? From Anavyssos grave 1
Panel with kneeling goat
to the right.
AD 29, 1973-74, Chronika B1,
pl. 81, 5.
413. TRACHONES 299
High-rimmed bowl
H: 0,098m. From grave A39
Two panels on each side
with kneeling goats facing
each other.
Geroulanos, 1973, 41 no 6, pl.
28, 6.
414. KERAMEIKOS 407
Four-footed stand
H: ?
On each foot a scene: 1) hel-

PLATE 37b

meted man with spear in
left hand and sword in
right is attacking a stand-
ing lion; 2)(fragmentary)
helmeted man is attacking
a standing lion ;3)(fragment-
ary)man without weapons(?)
is holding an animal over
his shoulders and a stand-
ing lion;4)standing lion
and helmeted man without
weapons(?)holding an animal
(calf?)over his shoulders.
Rim:frieze of Dipylon and
round shield warriors to
the left.

Kübler, 1954, 177, pl. 69;
Scheibler, Das Symmetrische
Bildform, 1960, 26; Schefold,
1964, 20, pl. 5a; Fittschen,
1969, 81 L28.

415. PRAGUE UNIVERSITY CHARLES

60/10

Fenestrated stand

H:0,204m.

Four metopes with one
grazing horse each, to the
right.

CVA 1, pls. 17; 18, 1, 2.

416. TRACHONES 305

Fenestrated stand

H:0,122m. From grave A 30

Panel with kneeling goat
to the right.

Geroulanos, 1973, 34 no 3, pl.

- 18,2;31,1;detail pl.41,11-12.
- 417.VIENNA 947
 Fenestrated stand
 PLATE 1d
 H:0,14m.
 Foot: eight panels decorated with kneeling goats and birds.
CVA Deutschland 5,pl.3,3-4; Amandry,1965,no 11.
- 418.KERAMEIKOS 1237
 Fenestrated stand
 H:? From Opferinne 2
 Grazing deer to the left.
 Kübler,1954,pl.133.
- SKYPHOI
- 419.MUNICH 6029
 Skyphos
 PLATE 73a
 D:0,06m.
 Interior:frieze of thirteen warriors with helmets,two spears and shields (alternating two rectangular and one round shield);the warriors are holding hands.
CVA 3,pl.124,3,4; Hinrichs,1955,pl.19b; Tölle,1964,77 no 9; Wegner,1968,no 112; Kübler,1970,583 no 95; Kaufmann-Samaras,1972,29ff. fig.6; Borell,1978,no 84, pl.17.
- 420.BRITISH MUSEUM 1895.7-20.11
 Skyphos
 D:0,0122m,
 Interior:four horses to the right.
 Borell,1978,no 78,pl.27.

- 421.THORIKOS TC.66.188
 Skyphos
 D:0,147m.
 Interior:six horses to the right.
Thorikos,1966-67,Iv,81 fig. 55,56; CVA Louvre 16,26 n.; Borell,1978,14 no 48.
- 422.WURZBURG H 5051
 Skyphos
 PLATE 5b
 D:0,146m.
 Interior:seven grazing deer to the right.
CVA 1,pl.15,1-3; Canciani, 1968,127ff.,figs.6-7; Borell,1978,25 no 94,pl.19, Beilage E5.
- 423.LOUVRE CA 1781
 Skyphos
 D:0,125m.From Boeotia
 Interior:tondo decorated with quadruped (cerf?) to the left.
CVA 16,pl. 36,1,2; Borell, 1978,24 no 92.
- 424.LOUVRE CA 1633
 Skyphos
 D:0,153m. From Thebes
 Interior:three striding deer and a bird.
CVA 16,pl.36,2,4; Borell, 1978,24 no 91.
- 425.ATHENS 3rd EPHORIA
 Skyphos
 D:0,15m. From Pireus street 57,grave XV
 Interior:five striding lions to the right with open jaws and eye indicated.
AD 23,1968,Chronika B1,pl.

426. RHODE ISLAND M.A.
 26.398
 Skyphos
- pl.46b; Borell, 1978, 9 no 25.
 H:0,067m.
 Exterior: three metopes: central: quatrefoil; side panels: horse facing centre.
CVA Providence 1, pl.8, 5.
 A.H.Harnell Ashmead and K.M. Phillips Jr., Classical Vases Museum Of Art, Rhode Island, School of Design, 1976, no 26, pl.88.
427. MUNICH 6229
 Skyphos
- H:0,056m.
 Interior: five grazing deer.
CVA 3, pl.125, 1, 2; Borell, 1978, no 86, Beilage D5.
428. TUBINGEN 6259
 Skyphos fr.
- H:0,04m.
 Exterior: the remains of three figures with both arms raised to the head.
 Hinrichs, 1955, 141ff. n.67, 69; 142 n.76, pl.19a; Tölle, 1964, 98 no 390; Wiesner, 1968, U 46, 83 no 317; CVA 2, pl.26, 3.
429. ATHENS NM 343
 Skyphos
- H:0,27m. From Kerameikos grave 2
 Interior: frieze with five grazing horses to the left.
 Collignon-Couve, 1904, no 391; Borell, 1978, no 22.

- 430.MARATHON MUSEUM
 Skyphos
 H: ? From grave 8
 Exterior: regardant deer
 flanked by birds.
PAE 1939,34 fig. 7.
- 431.BASEL ERLNMEYER COLL.
 Skyphos
 PLATE 43b
 D: 0,131m.
 Interior: three cows striding
 to the right.
 Borell, 1978, no 68, pl.28,29,
 Beilage F5.
- 432.ATHENS NM 14475
 Skyphos
 PLATE 38b
 D: 0,142m. From a grave in
 Anavyssos
 Interior: a group of two lions
 facing one another with wide
 open jaws; between them a
 small man with sword and
 spear; four striding bulls
 with reserved eyes: the two
 in the centre are facing
 each other, the other two
 are turned out.
 Schweitzer, 1969, pl.70; Bo-
 rell, 1978, 11 no 31, pl.15.
- 433.EX VLASTOS COLL.
 skyphos
 H: ? Its whereabouts unknown
 Interior: frieze of four
 striding horses to the right;
 between the horses a jumping
 dog with raised front paws.
 Borell, 1978, no 95, pl.25 a;
 also mentioned by Lane, BSA
 34, 1933-34, 104.

- 434.LUCERNE PRIVATE COLL. D:0,165m.
 Skyphos Interior:frieze of four
 striding horses to the
 right.
 Borell,1978,no 80,pl.26.
- 435.POLITES COLL.ATHENS D:?
 Skyphos Interior:tondo with lion.
 Unpublished.
- 436.KERAMEIKOS 2859 D:0,16m. From the Kerameikos
 Skyphos fr. Interior:frieze of four
 striding horses to the
 right.
 Kübler,1954,pl.131; Borell,
 1978,no 12,fig.5.
- 437.KERAMEIKOS 4369 Grazing horses to the left.
 Skyphos fr. Borell,1978,7 no 20,pl.24b.
- KANTHAROI
- 438.LAON 37769 H:0,14m.
 Kantharos A/B:man between horses.
CVA 2,pl.2,3; Kübler,1970,
 630 no 340.
- 439.ATHENS NM 733 H:?
 Kantharos A/B:rider.
 Brückner-Pernice,1893,pl.8;
 Tölle,1964,95 no 298; Green-
 halgh,1973,fig.33.
- 440.TRACHONES 291 H:0,138m. From grave A 34
 Kantharos Two antithetical horses tied
 to a tripod.
 Geroulanos,1973,39 no 7,pls.

- 6,29;7;detail pl.44,2.
 H:0,083m.
 Man between two horses.
Thorikos 1966-67,IV,90-91,
 fig.80.
- 441.THORIKOS TC66.192
 Kantharos
- 442.OXFORD 1929.24
 Kantharos
 A/B:man with sword round his
 waist leading a horse.
 Tölle,1964,95 no 288 (wrong
 inv.no).
- 443.BRAURON MUSEUM
 Kantharos
 PLATE 58b
 Fully armed Dipylon warrior
 with two spears and sword
 between two horses.
 Unpublished.
- 444.NEW YORK 35.11.2
 Kantharos
 Man between two antithetical
 horses.
Richter,Handbook of the
 Greek Collection,1953,pl.16d;
 Tölle,1964,94 no 276.
- 445.AGORA P 7474
 Kantharos
 A/B:two horses to the right.
 Young,1939,C63 fig.112.
- 446.BRAURON MUSEUM
 Kantharos
 H:? From Merenda
 Two horses facing central
 ornament with double ropes
 hanging from mouth;the left
 horse is tied to an upright
 cross-hatched triangle.
 Unpublished.

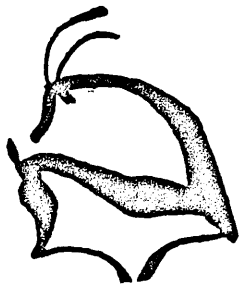
- 447.SARAJEVO MUSEUM 182
Kantharos
H:0,072m.
A/B:two running dogs.
CVA Jugoslavia 4,pl.10,4,8.
- 448.ATHENS
Kantharos
H:? From Palaia Kokkinia
Panel with grazing deer to
the left.
PAE 1951,123,fig.44; Kübler,
1970,630 no 339.
- 449.MUNICH 6202
Kantharos
H:0,08m.
Two horses tied to a tripod;
above each horse a double
axe.
CVA 3,pl.120,2,3.
- 450.BRAURON MUSEUM
Kantharos
H:? From Merenda
Grazing deer to the right.
Unpublished.
- 451.BRAURON MUSEUM
Kantharos
H:? From Merenda
Running dog.
Unpublished.
- 451a.ATHENS NM 16058
Kantharos
H:0,079m. Mt Hymettos Sanc-
tuary
Two horses tied to a tripod.
Langdon,Hesperia Suppl.XVI,
1976,60 no 241,pl.20.
- OTHER SHAPES
- 452.MUNICH 6182
Basket
H:0,215m.
Panels with standing horse
and bird facing the centre.
CVA 3,pl.121,2-4.

453. BOWDOIN COLLEGE 131
Pyxis
H:0,13m.
Panels with one/horse chariots with Dipylon chariot-
eer to the right.
K. Herbert, Ancient Art in Bowdoin College, 1964, 54 no 131, pl. 18.
454. ATHENS NM 15271
Kotyle
H: ? From Spata grave 1.
Two panels with two running animals to the right.
(Young thinks they are dogs, Kübler, dogs and foxes and Philadelphus, hare).
AD 6, 1920-21, Parartema 132ff. figs, 2, 3; Young, 1939, 170; Courbin, BCH 77, 1953, 337, fig. 23; Brokaw, 1963, pl. 28, 5; Coldstream, 1968, 83; Kübler, 1970, 592 no 145.
455. AGORA P 5286
Kotyle fr.
H:0,086m.
Panel with grazing deer.
Brann, 1962, no 343, pl. 21.
(Close to the Workshop of Athens 894).
456. TUBINGEN 5480
Kotyle
H:0,067m. From Phaleron
A: standing horse to the right. B: same as A with a kneeling goat.
Kübler, 1970, 593 no 152;
CVA 2, pl. 24, 3, 4; Brokaw,

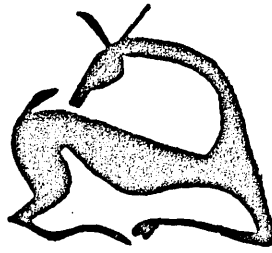
- 1963,69; Fittschen,1969,23
n.69.
- 457.KERAMEIKOS 1240
Cup
H:?
Frieze of running dogs hunting a hare.
Kübler,1954,pl.138; id.,
1970,586 no 116.
- 458.BRUSSELS A 2074
Cup
D:0,082m.
Two metopes with standing horse facing left and right respectively.
CVA 3,IIIG pl.3,5.
- 459.BRAURON MUSEUM
Tankard
H:? From Merenda
Panel with striding horse to the right.
AD 25,1970,Chronika B1,pl.97b.
- 460.DUNEDIN UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO
Tankard
H:0,10m.
Panel with three horses to the right.
J.Anderson,Greek Vases in the Otago Museum,1955,pl.II,6;
Kübler,1970,583 no 91.
- 461.ATHENS NM 847
Tankard
H:0,115m.
Frieze of grazing horses to the right.
Collignon-Couve,1902,no 254, pl.14; Kübler,1970,583 no 89.

462. TRACHONES 79
Fen. stand
H:0,102m. From grave A 14
Panels with kneeling goats.
Geroulanos, 1973, pl. 46, 8, 9.
463. BRAURON MUSEUM
Tankard
H:?
Four panels with standing
horses to the right with
rope hanging from mouth.
Unpublished.
464. AGORA P 7066
Handle plate of
column krater
H:0,06m. From well D11:5
Centaur with branch in the
right hand.
Brann, 1962, no 487, pl. 29.
465. ATHENS NM 15995
Fr.
H:?
From Phaleron
Rider with two spears and
helmet to the right.
Kourouniotis, AE 1911, 251
fig. 18; Tölle, 1964, 95 no
300; Kübler, 1970, 603 no 209;
Greenhalgh, 1973, A1 fig. 34.
466. AGORA P 13286
Bowl fr.
H:0,17m.
Panel with grazing deer to
the left.
Brann, 1962, no 342 pl. 21;
Kübler, 1970, 595 no 169.
467. BSA ATHENS
Amphora fr.
PLATE 16a
H:?
From Kynosarges
Two/horse chariot frieze
with Dipylon warrior as
charioteer and second occu-

- pant with square shield to
the right.
Droop, BSA 12, 1905-6, 82 fig.
2a.
468. KERAMEIKOS 217 +
LOUVRE Fr.
PLATE 30b
- H: ?
Warriors with different
shields.
Pernice, AM 17, 1892, 215 fig. .
4; Tölle, 1964, 88 no 153;
The Kerameikos sherds are
unpublished.
469. KERAMEIKOS 3683
Fr.
- Lions with one paw raised.
B. Bohlen, Kerameikos XII
Rundbauten, 1980, 92 no 15.
470. TUBINGEN S/10.1464
Oenochoe fr.
- H: 0,175m.
Running dogs to the right.
CVA 2, pl. 27, 1-5.



a



b



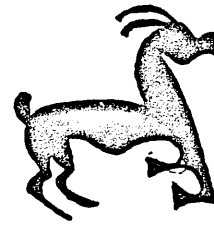
c



d



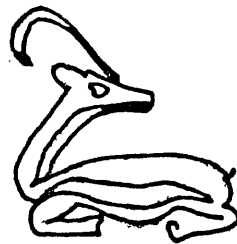
e



f



g



h

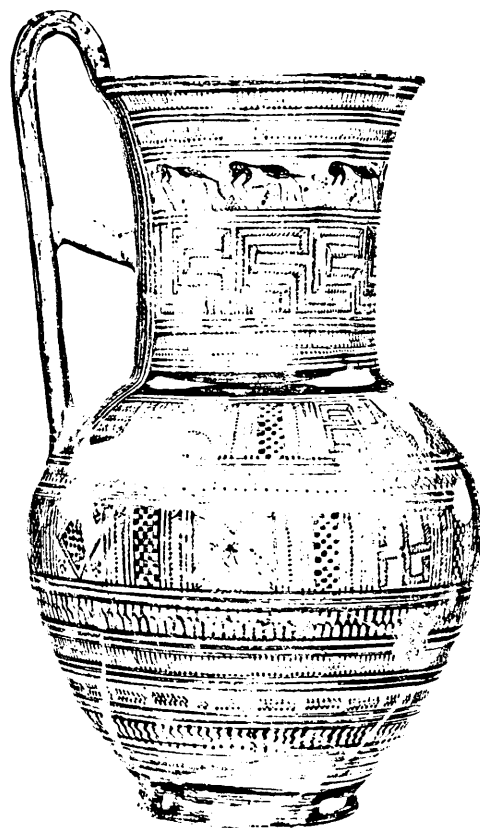


i

a.Athens NM 802 (cat. no 17);b.Athens NM 866 (cat. no 29);c.BM 1912.5-22.1 (cat. no 334);d.Vienna University 947 (cat. no 417);e.Würzburg H 835 (cat. no 407);f.New York 14.130.14 (cat. no 48);g.Berlin: Moortgat,Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel,1940,no 575; h.New York:Pierpont Morgan Library:Porada,Corpus I, 1948,no 584;i.From Nuzi:Porada,Seal Impressions of Nuzi,1947,pl.XXII,444.



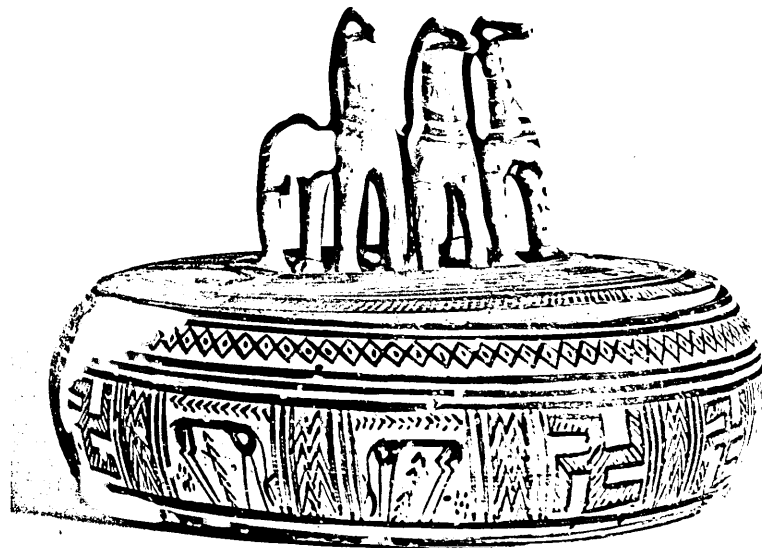
a. Tübingen 28.5446 (cat. no 84)



b. Tübingen 1090 (cat. no 71)



a. Hanover 1958.60 (cat. no 37)



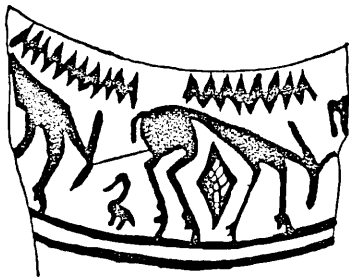
b. MFA Houston Texas (cat. no 98)



a. Kerameikos 385 (cat. no 69)



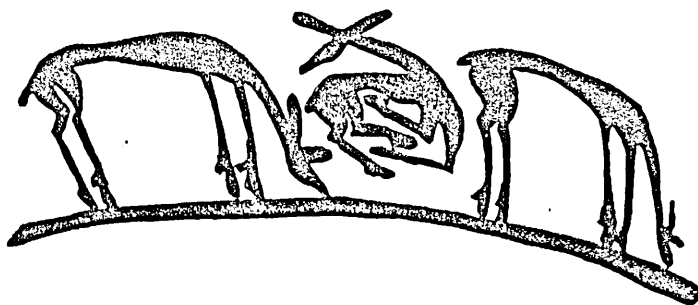
b. Kerameikos 1314 (cat. no 252)



c. Kerameikos 824
(cat. no 358)



d. Baltimore 48.2231
(cat. no 165)



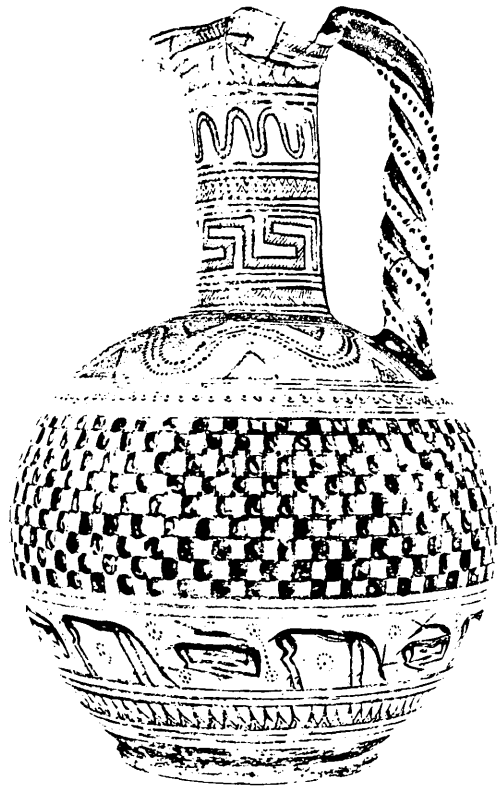
e. Louvre CA 1821 (cat. no 306)



a. Mannheim 170 (cat. no 156)



b. Würzburg H.5051 (cat. no 422)



a. Louvre CA 1821 (cat. no 306)



b. Kerameikos 1319 (cat. no 353)



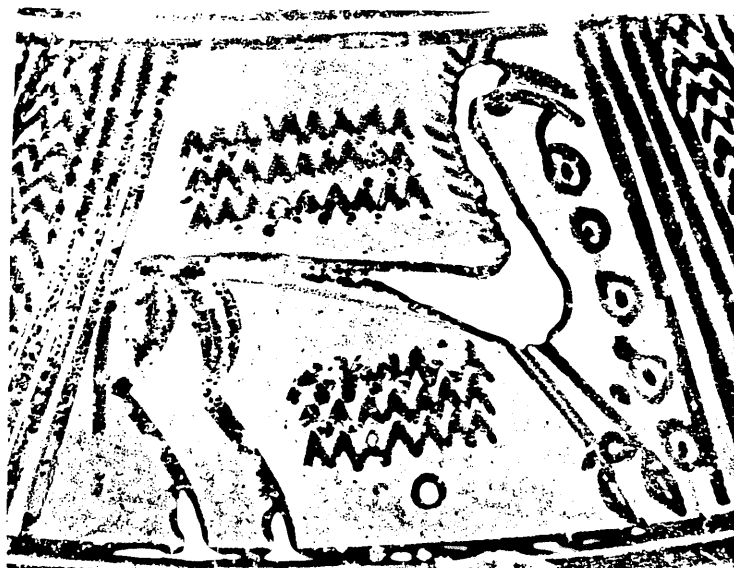
a. Mainz Museum O.2031 (cat. no 357)



b. Athens NM 898 (cat. no 175)



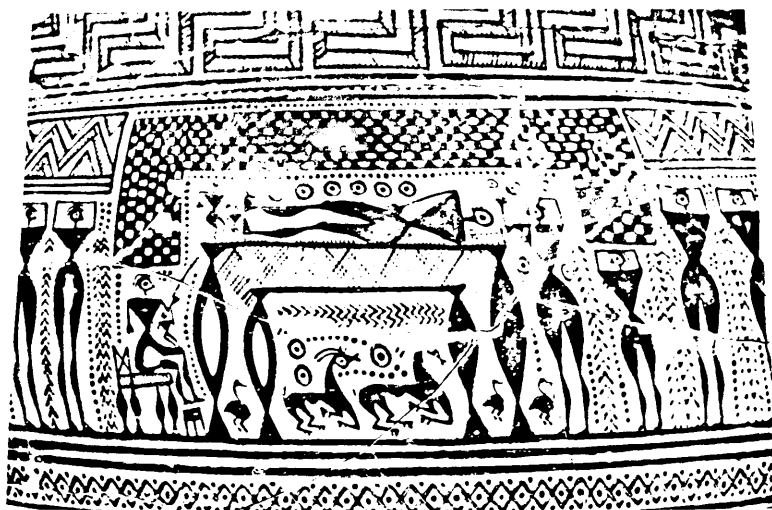
a. Athens NM 17457 (cat. no 292)



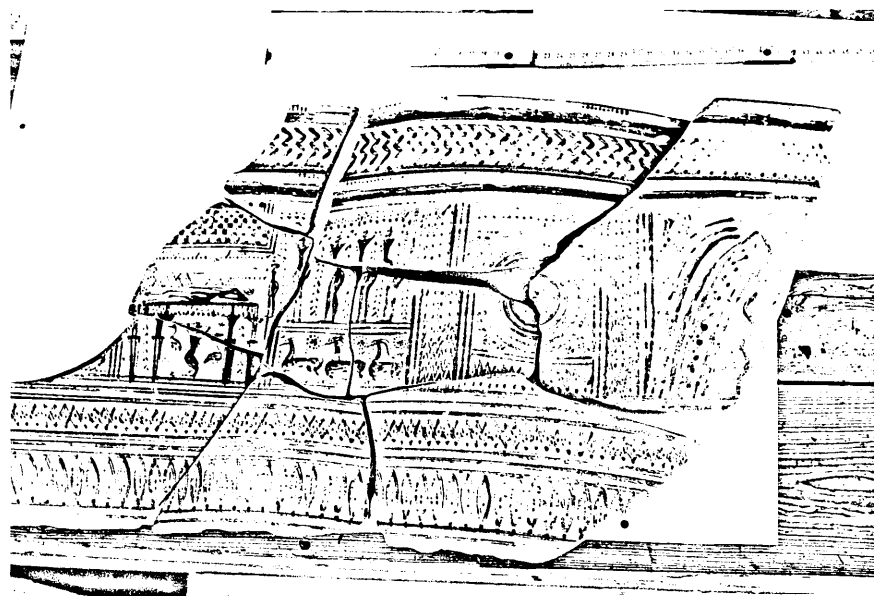
b. Ruhr Universität Bochum (cat. no 56)



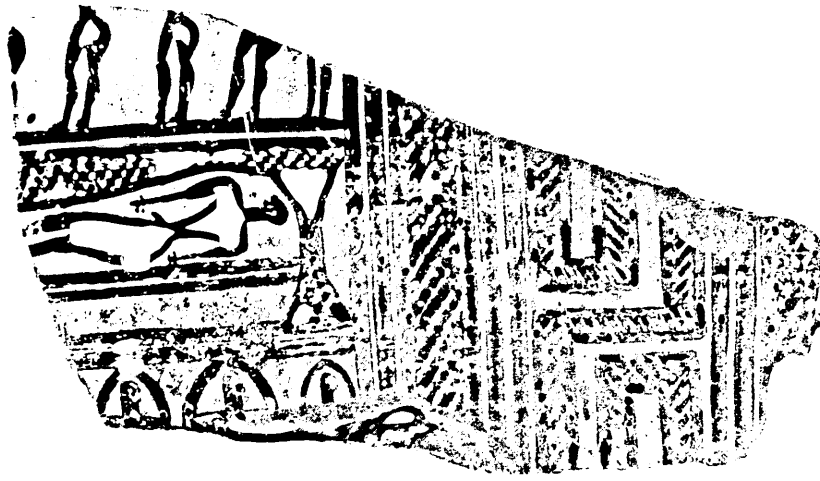
Kerameikos 5643 (cat.no 172)



a. New York 14.130.14 (cat. no 48)



b. Brauron Museum (cat. no 388)



a. Thorikos T.C.65.666(cat. no 314)



b. London BM 1912.5.22.1(cat. no 334)



a. Copenhagen 2680 (cat. no 317)



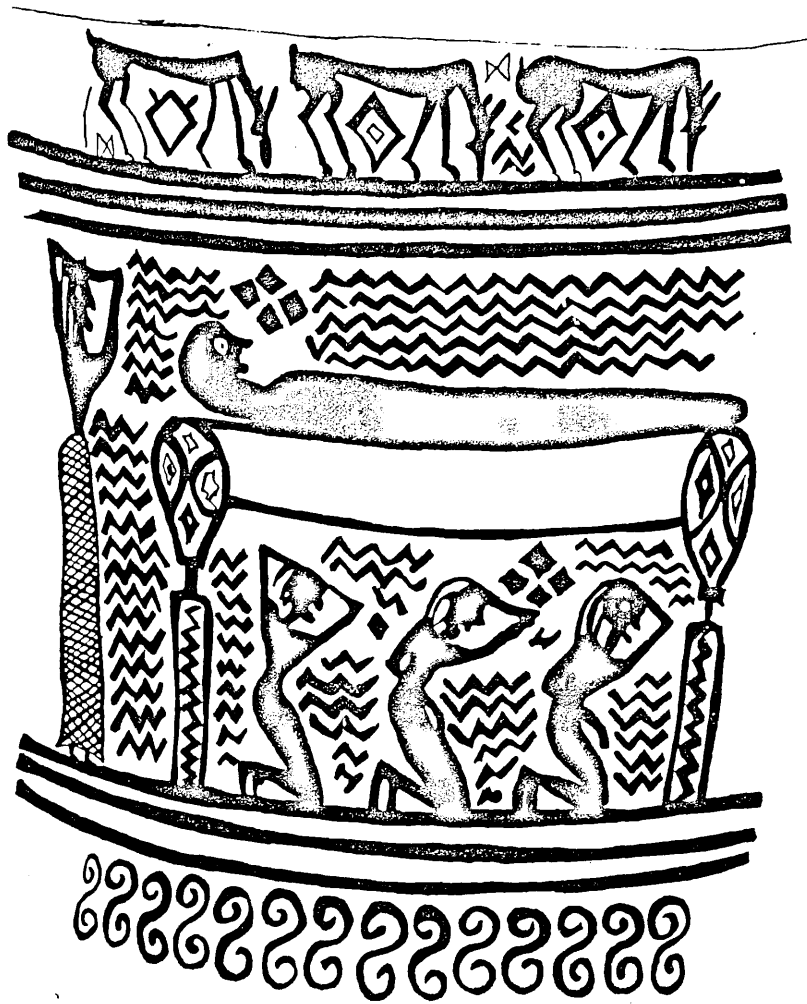
b. Berlin 1963.13 (cat. no 316)



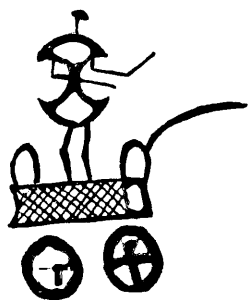
a. London Market (cat. no 347)



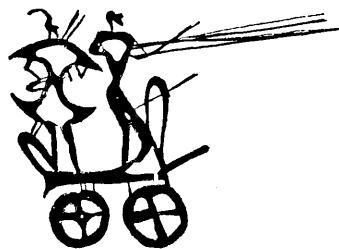
b. Louvre CA 3283 (cat. no 346)



Victoria Museum Australia D23/1982



a.



b.



c.



d.



e.



f.



g.



h.



k.



l.



m.



n.



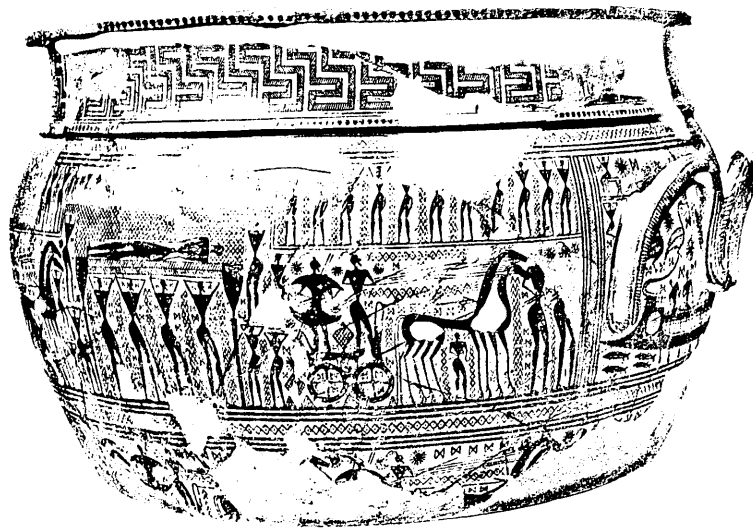
p.



a. Athens British School (cat. no 467)



b. Halle Robertinum 59 (cat. no 47)



a. Louvre A 517 (cat. no 4)

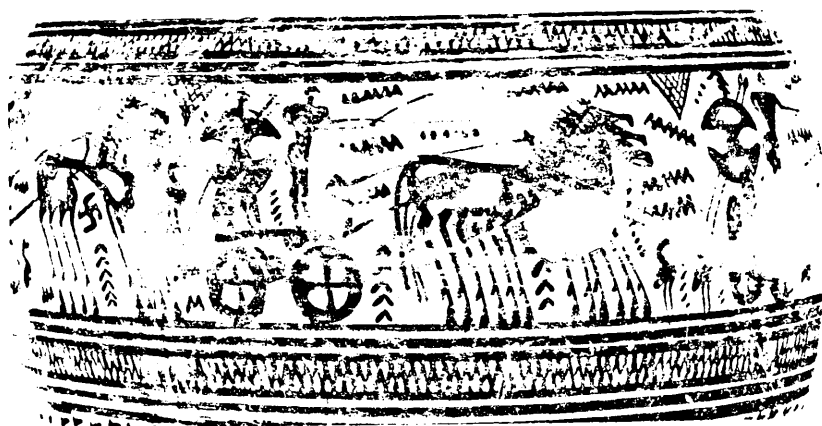


b. Louvre A 552 (cat. no 24)



a. Düsseldorf, Hetjens Museum 1970-19

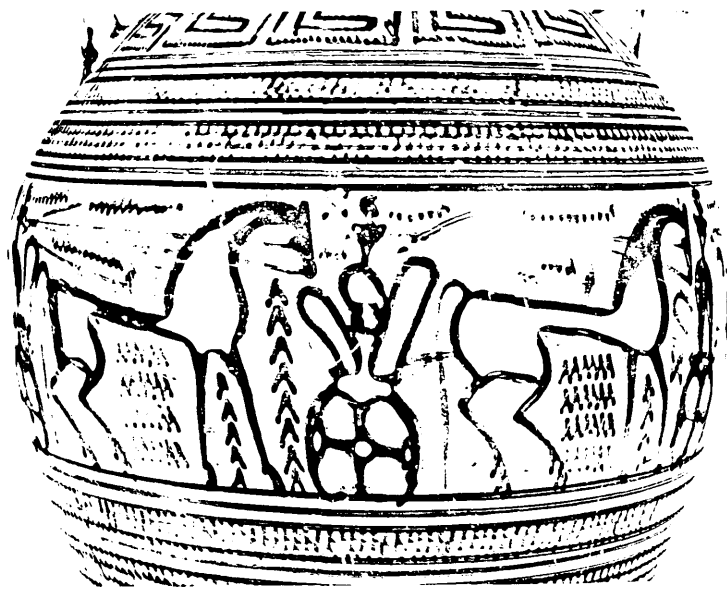
(cat. no 235)



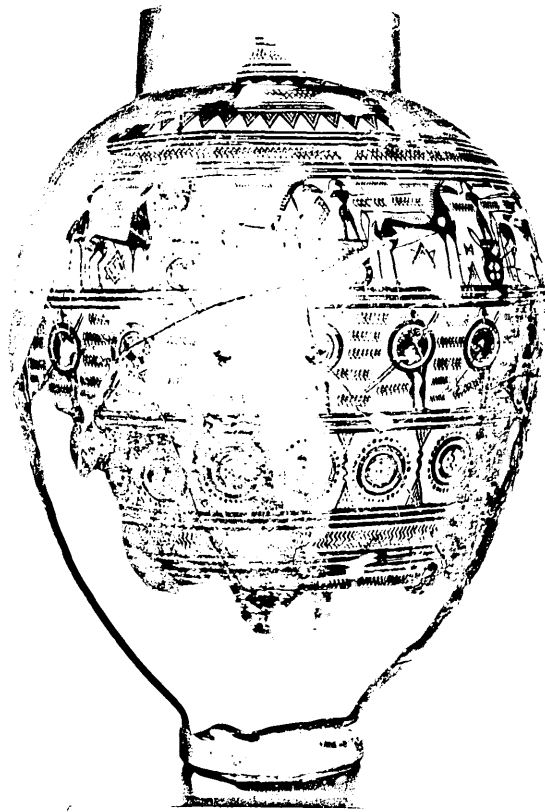
b. Düsseldorf (cat. no 235)



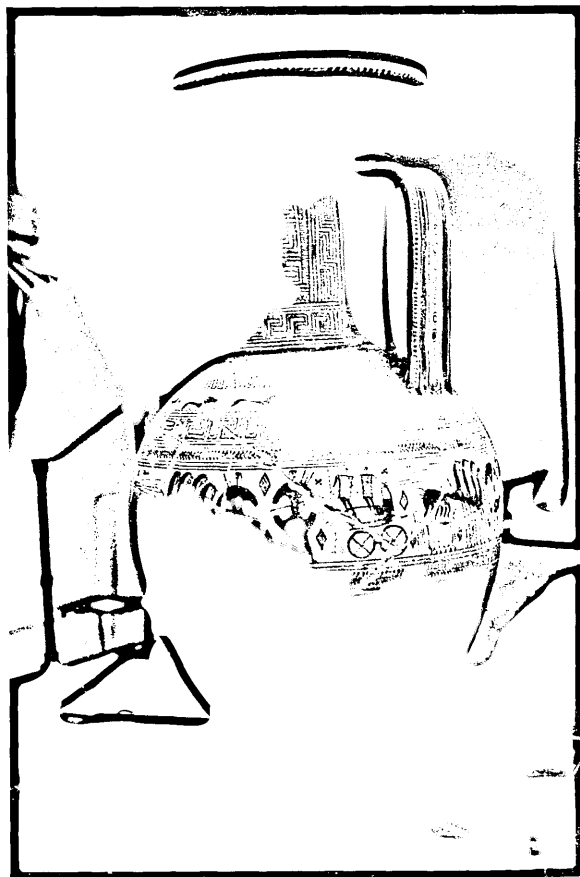
a. Athens NM 894 (cat. no 173)



b. Athens NM 184 (cat. no 130)



a. Athens NM 14763 (cat. no 129)



b. London BM 1927.4-11.1 (cat. no 262)



a. Cleveland 1927.27.6 (cat. no 164)



b. Stockholm MM 1976.11 (cat. no 153)



a. Texas MFA Houston (cat. no 147)



b. Texas MFA Houston (cat. no 147)



a. Baltimore 48.2231 (cat. no 165)



b. Hamburg 1966.89 (cat. no 170)



a. Hirschmann Collection (cat. no 163)

HANNOVER 1



b. Hanover 1953.148 (cat. no 152)



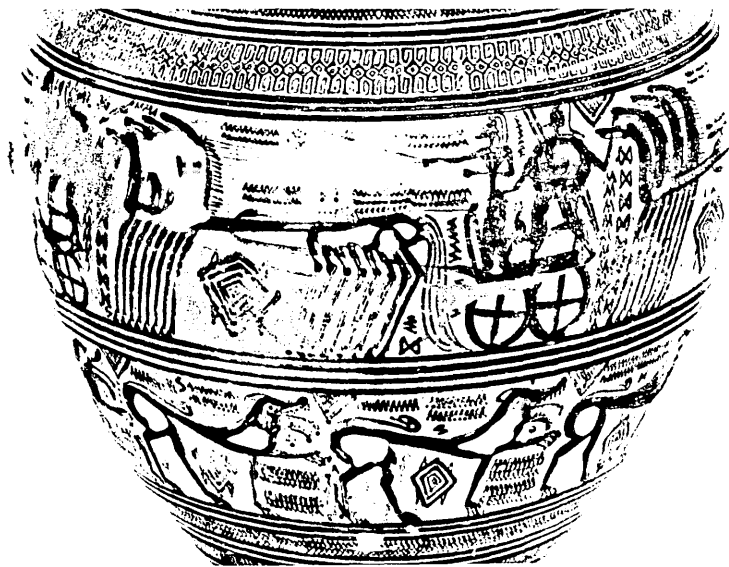
a. Louvre CA 2503 (cat. no 155)



b. Berlin Staatliche Mus. (cat. no 151)



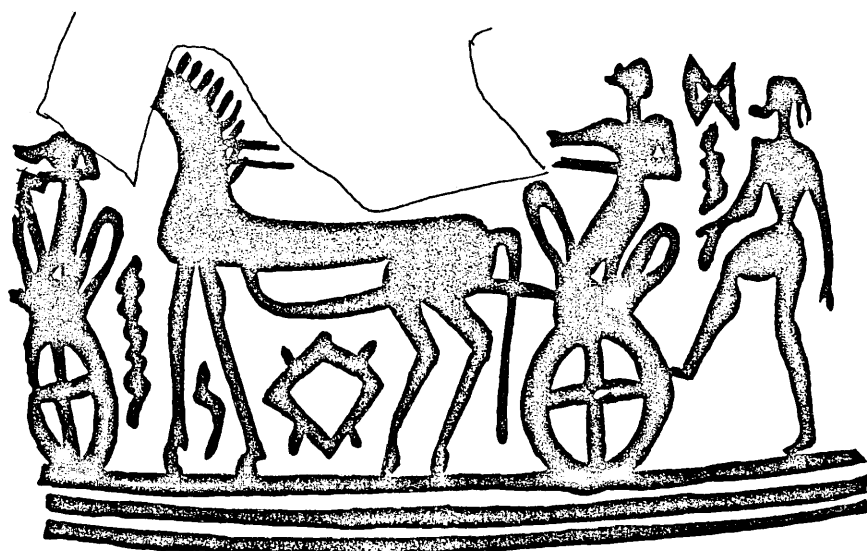
a. Philadelphia 30.33.133 (cat. no 226)



b. Essen K 969 (cat. no 169)



a. Kerameikos K 2 (cat. no 185)



b. Kerameikos 1356 (cat. no 217)



a. Athens NM 313



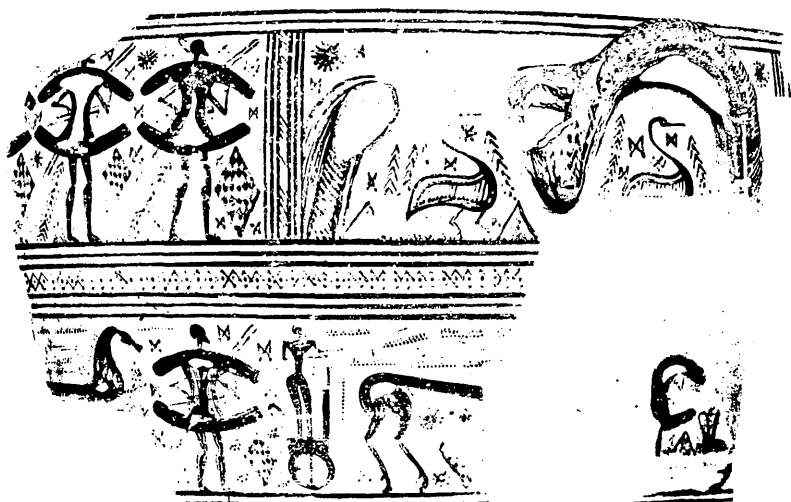
b. Texas MFA Houston



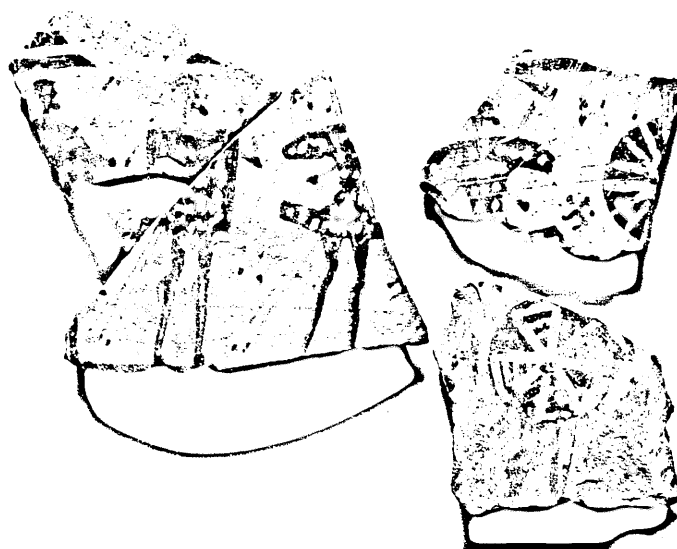
a. London BM 1936.10-17.1



b. New York 21.88.18



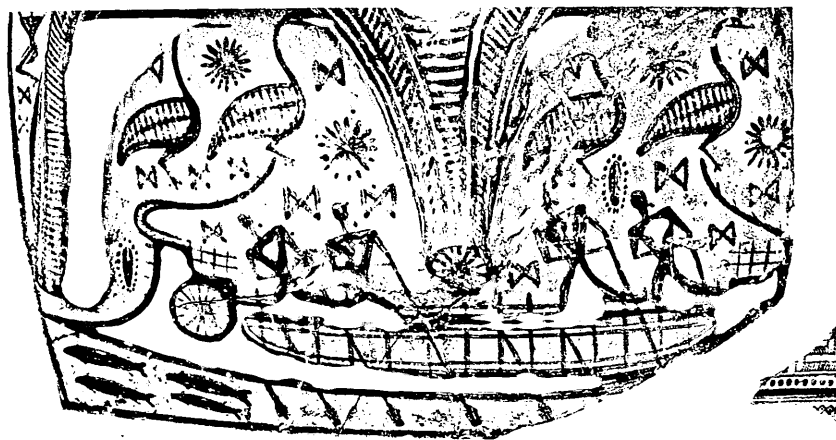
a. Louvre A 552 (cat. no 24)



b. Kerameikos Museum (cat. no 468)



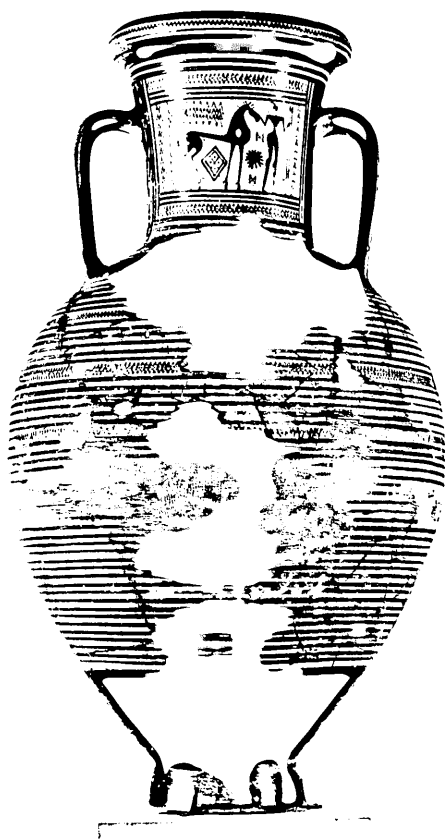
a. Kerameikos (cat. no 42)



b. Louvre A 517 (cat. no 4)



a. Rohska Museum (cat. no 148)



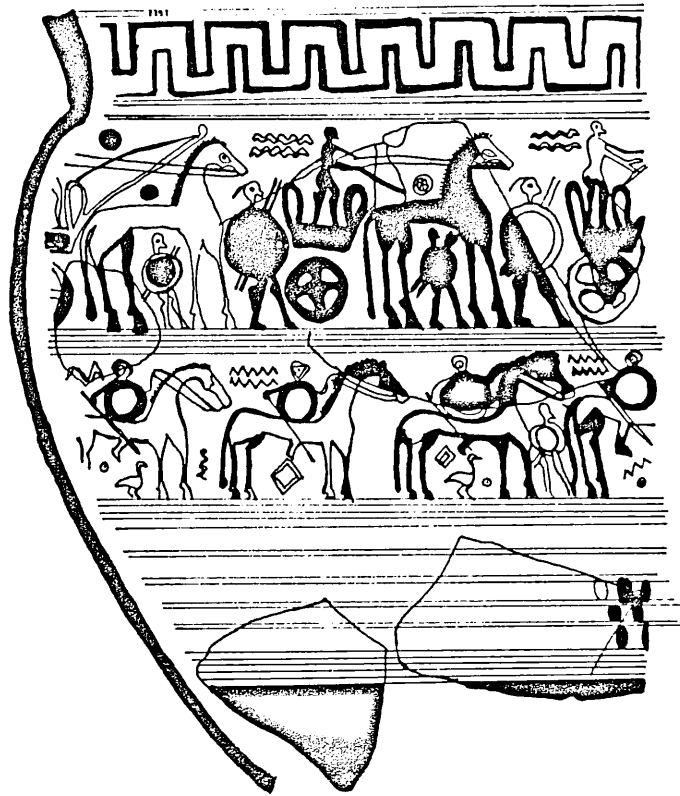
b. Athens NM 223 (cat. no 134)



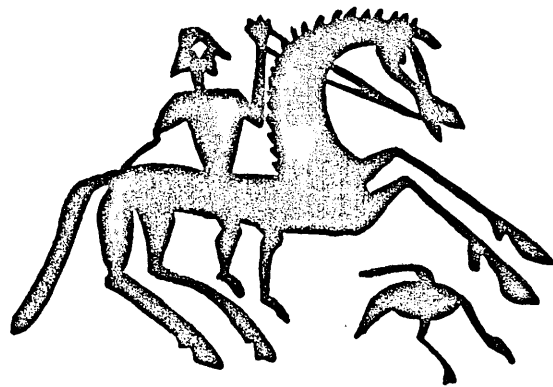
a. Prague Private Collection (cat. no 146)



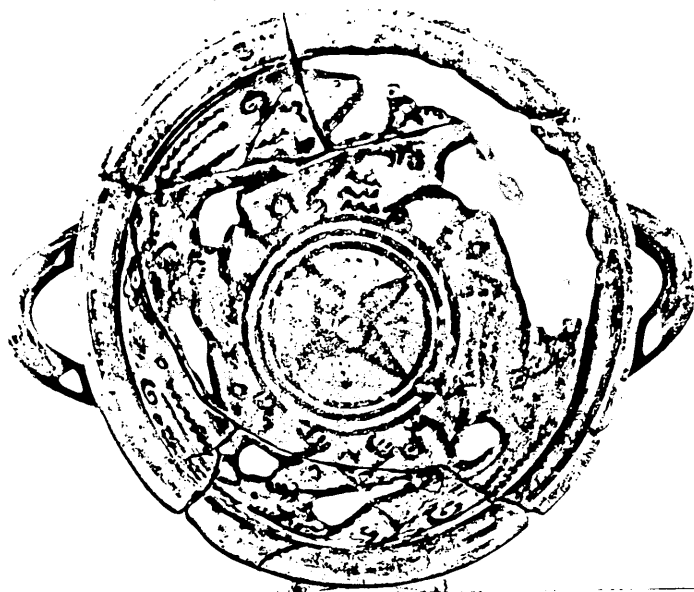
b. Prague Private Collection (cat. no 146)



a. Andros Museum



b. From Cumae Acropolis

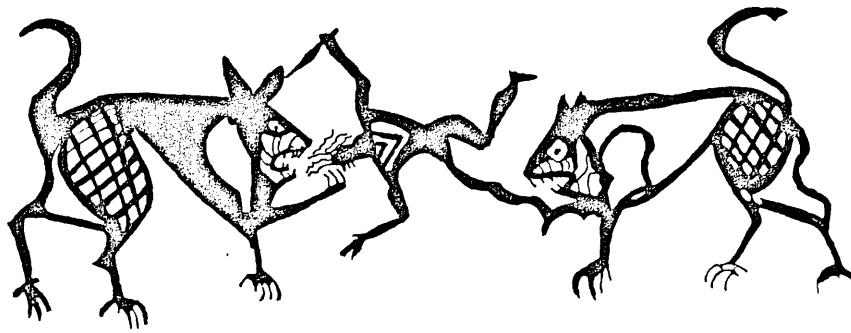


a. Würzburg L.58 (cat. no 200)

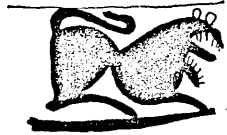


645

b. Athens EPK 645 (cat. no 302)



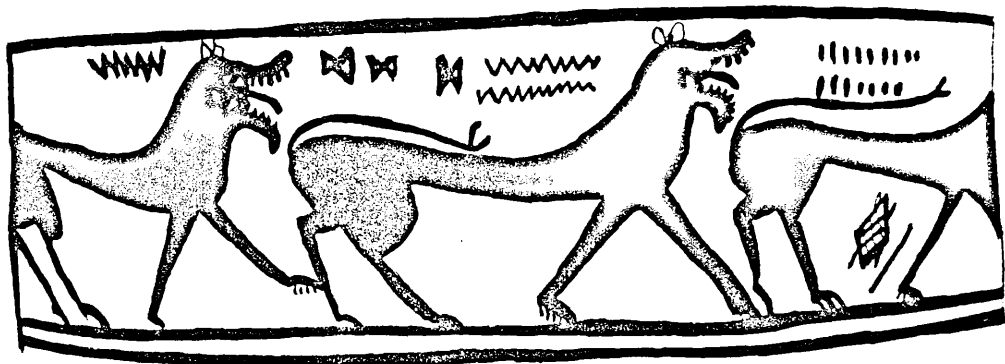
a. Tekke Tomb



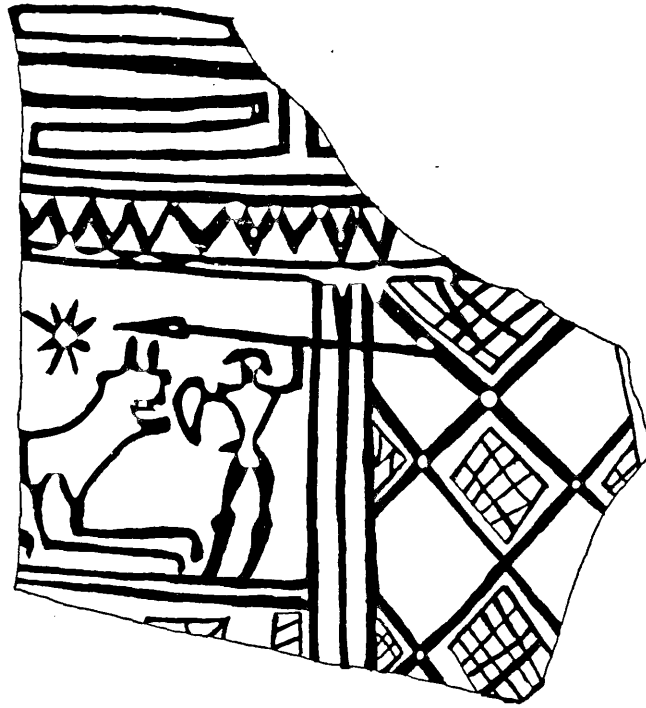
b. London BM
(cat. no 263)



c. Essen K969
(cat. no 169)



d. Louvre CA 3468 (cat. no 183)



a.Chios Museum



b.Kerameikos 407
(cat. no 414)



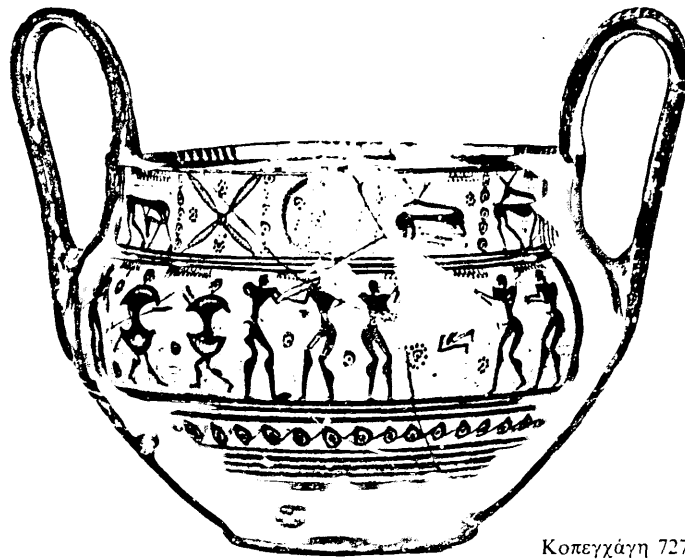
c.Copenhagen NM 727
(cat. no 305)



a. Athens EPK 643 (cat. no 303)

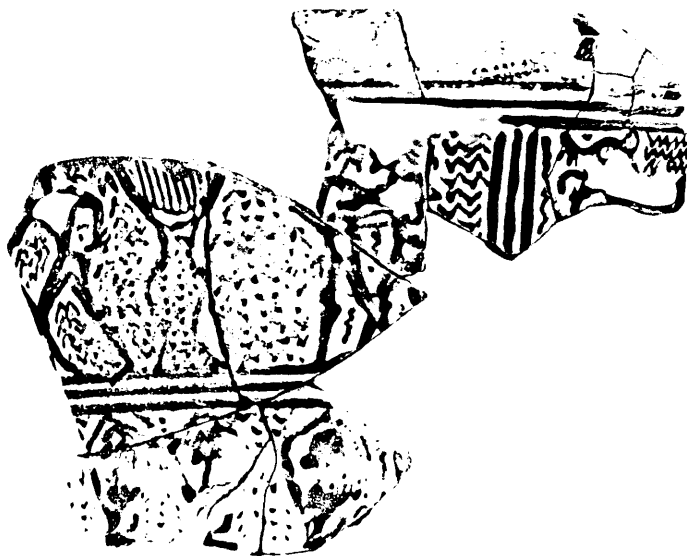


b. Athens NM 14475 (cat. no 431)

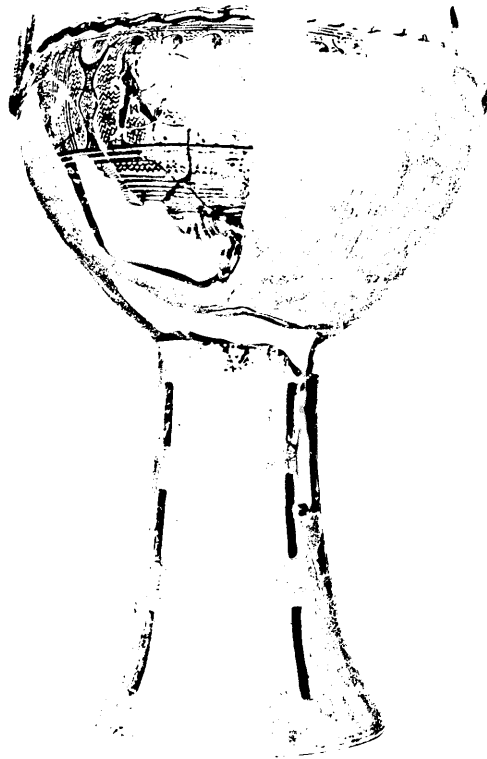


Κοπεγχάγη 727

a. Copenhagen NM 727 (cat. no 305)



b. Athens NM (cat. no 221)



a. Athens NM 810 (cat. no 215)



b. Athens NM 810 (cat. no 215)



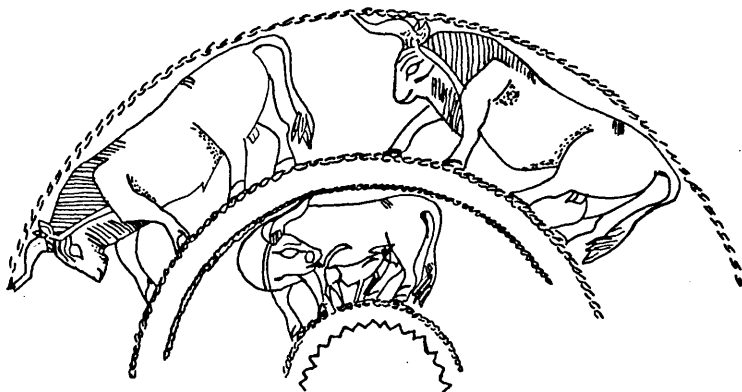
a. Hamburg 1919.363 (cat. no 237)



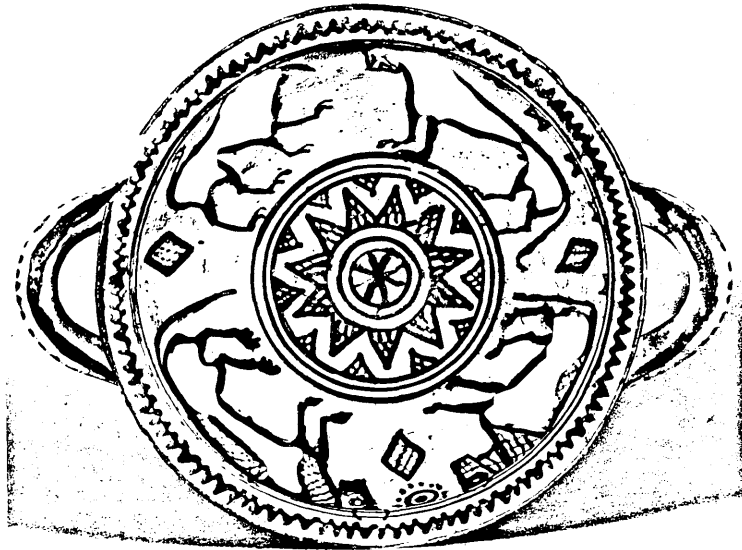
b. Toledo 2643 (cat. no 359)



a. Würzburg H 5171 (cat. no 38)



b. Ortiz Collection Geneva, bronze bull-bowl



a. Edinburgh 1956.422 (cat. no 229)



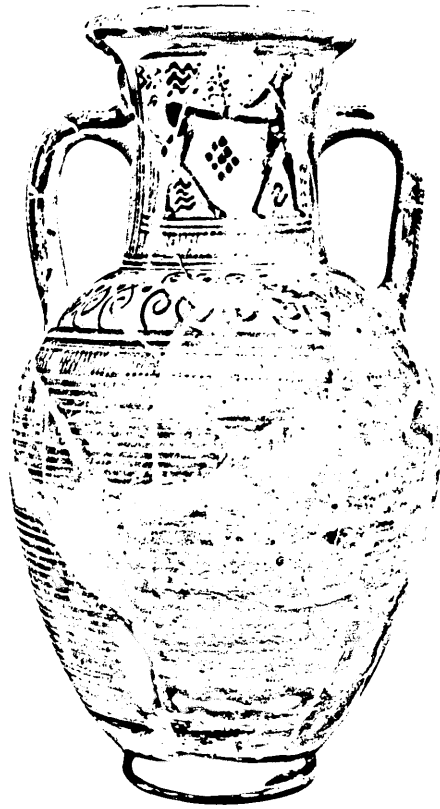
b. Basle Private Collection (cat. no 430)



a. Reading 50.10.1 (cat. no 323)



b. Reading 50.10.1 (cat. no 323)



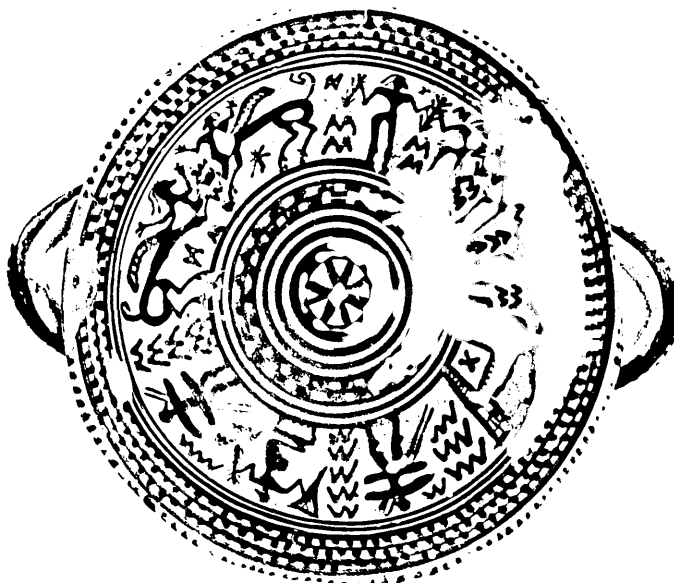
a. Athens NM 19332



b. Louvre CA 3256 (cat. no 214)



a. Athens NM 14441 (cat. no 203)

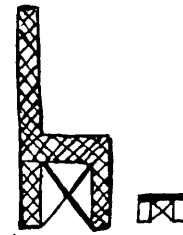


b. Athens NM 784 (cat. no 202)



a. BSA K 83
(cat. no 248)

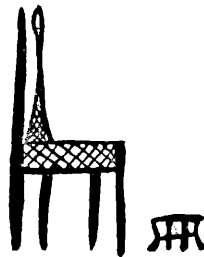
b. Athens NM 18542
(cat. no 254)



c. Athens NM 729
(cat. no 257)

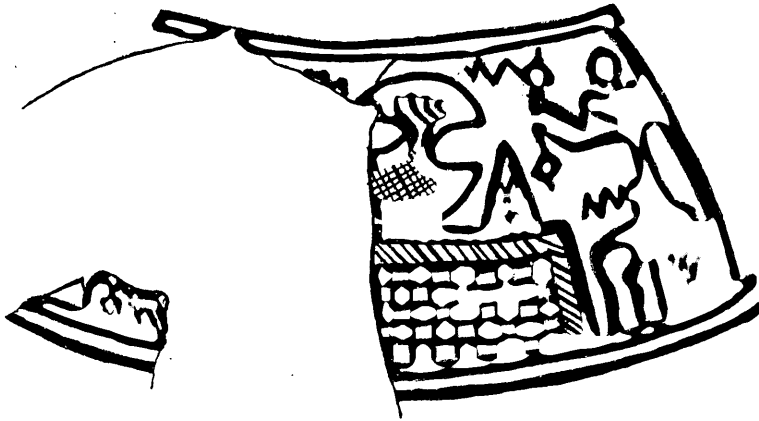
d. London BM
(cat. no 258)

e. Louvre CA 1940
(cat. no 251)

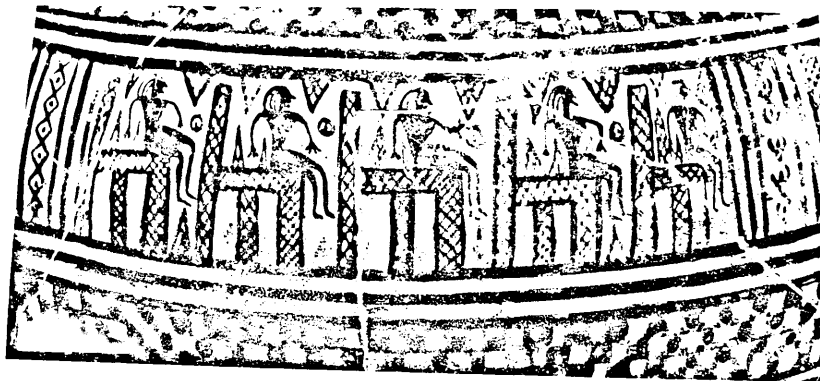


f. Athens NM 17497
(cat. no 256)

g. Brussels A 1941
(cat. no 253)



a. Athens BSA K 83 (cat.no 248)



b. Copenhagen NM 7307 (cat.no 397)



a. Athens NM 17497 (cat. no 256)



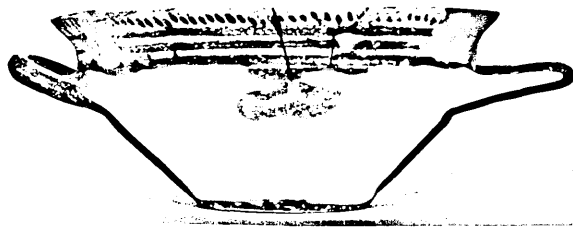
b. Athens NM 18542 (cat. no 254)



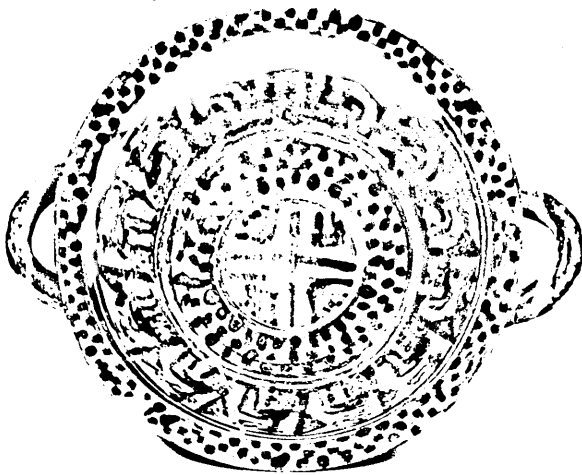
a. Louvre CA 1940 (cat. no 251)



b. London BM 1916.1-8.2 (cat. no 249)



a. Athens NM 729 (cat. no 257)



b. London BM 1950.11-9.1 (cat. no 258)



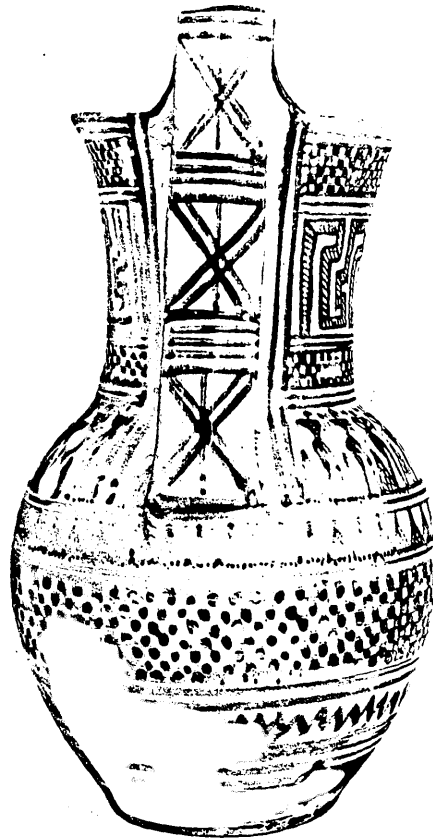
a. Athens NM 18474 (cat. no 261)



b. Athens NM 18474 (cat. no 261)



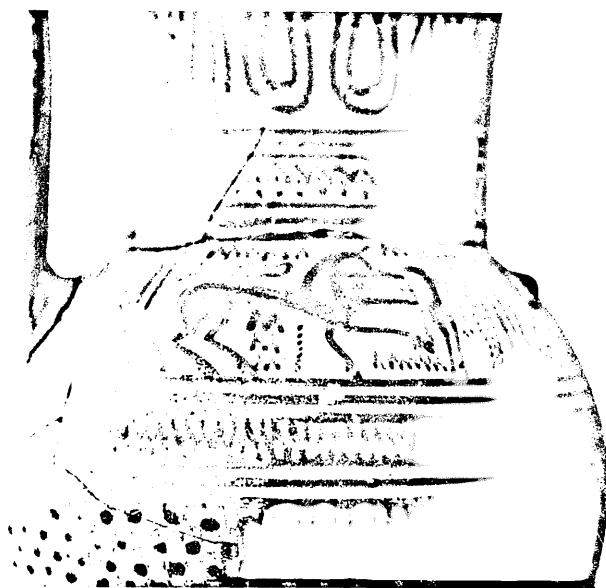
a. Athens NM 18474 (cat. no 261)



b. Athens NM 18474 (cat. no 261)



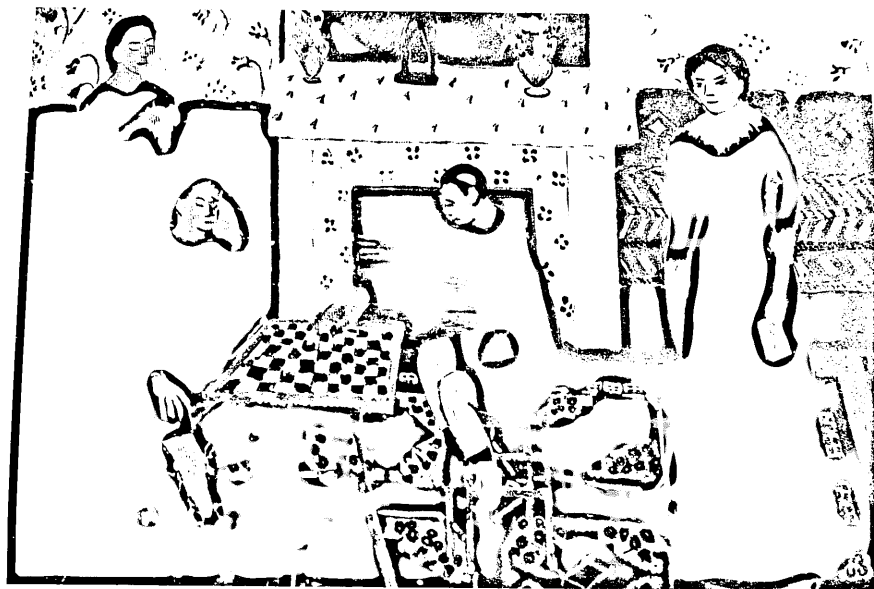
a. Brauron Museum (cat. no 260)



b. Brauron Museum (cat. no 260)



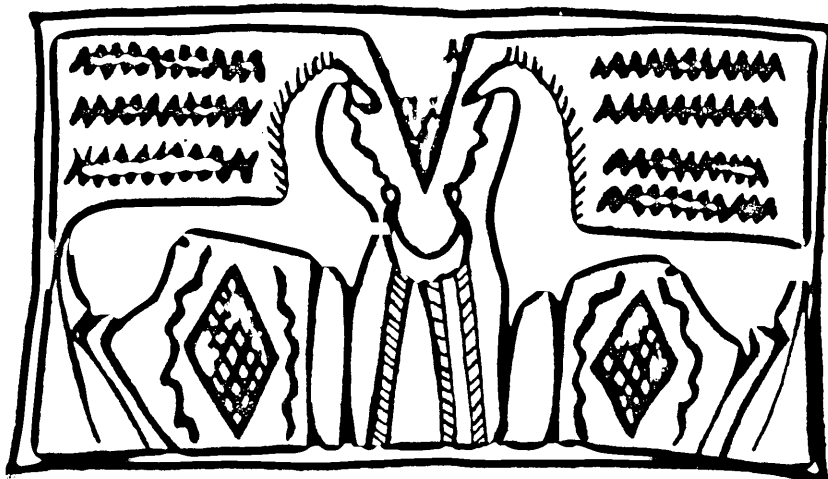
a. Istanbul Archaeological Museum



b. Leningrad Hermitage



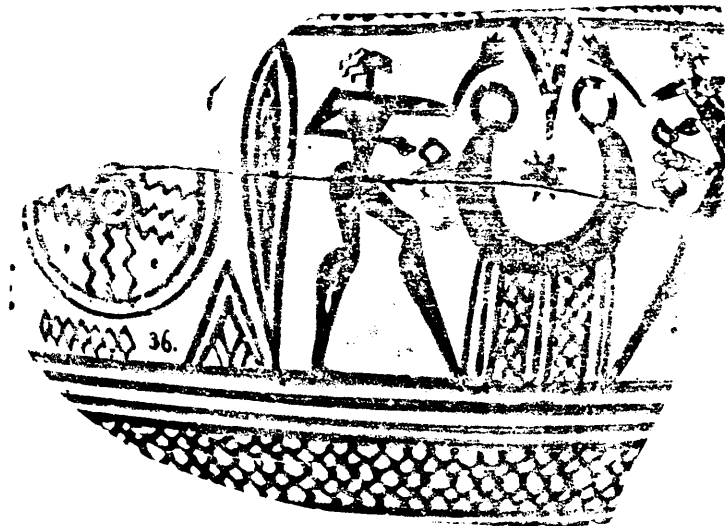
a. Mainz Museum O.1980a (cat.no 247)



b. Mainz Museum O.1980a (cat.no 247)



a. Athens EPK 570 (cat. no 362)



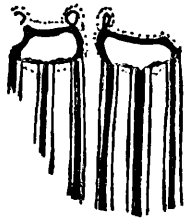
b. Serajewo Museum



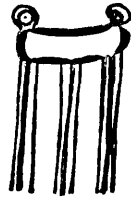
a. Mildenberg Collection (cat. no 366)



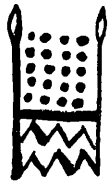
b. Brauron Museum (cat. no 443)



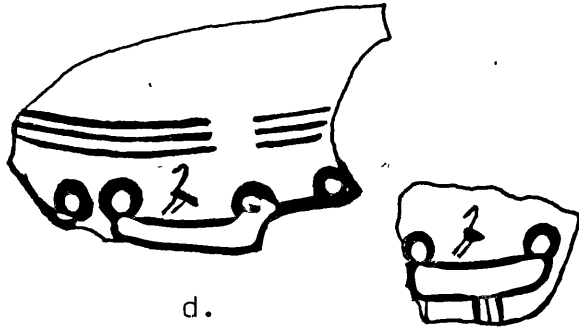
a.



b.



c.



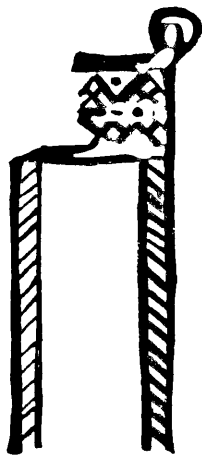
d.



e.



f.



g.



a. Louvre CA 2999 (cat. no 288)



b. Berlin 3374 (cat. no 289)



a. Athens EPK 630 (cat. no 89)



b. Kerameikos 1306 (cat. no 88)



a. New York Private Collection (cat. no 297)



b. New York Private Collection (cat. no 297)



a. New York Private Collection (cat. no 297)



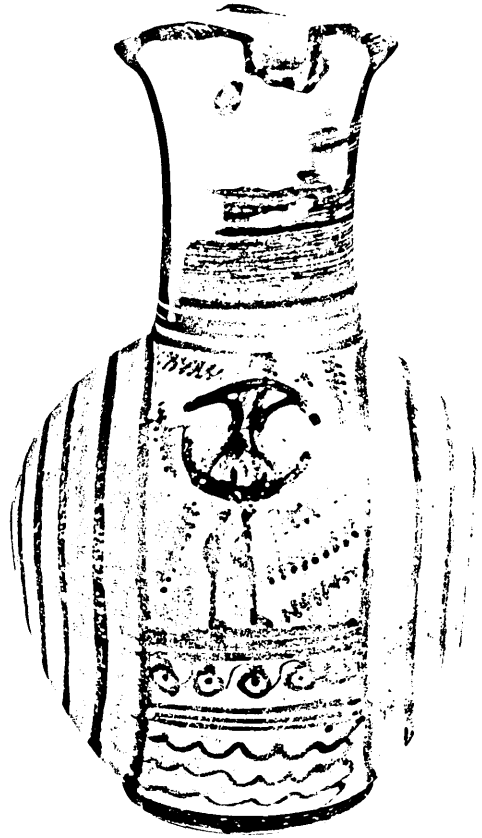
b. New York Private Collection (cat. no 297)



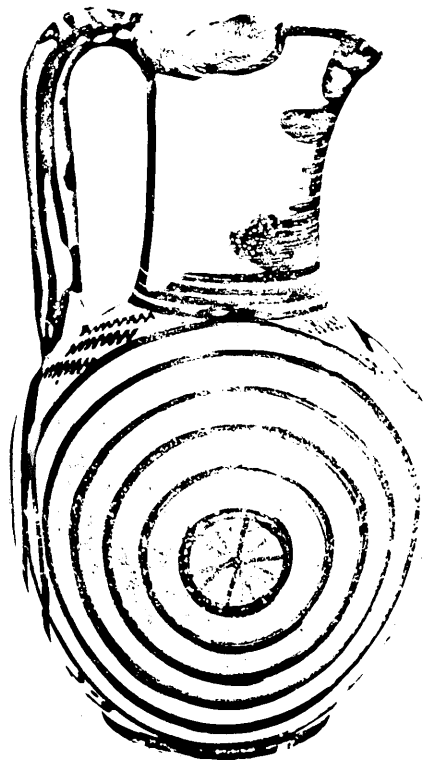
a. Munich 8696 (cat. no 294)



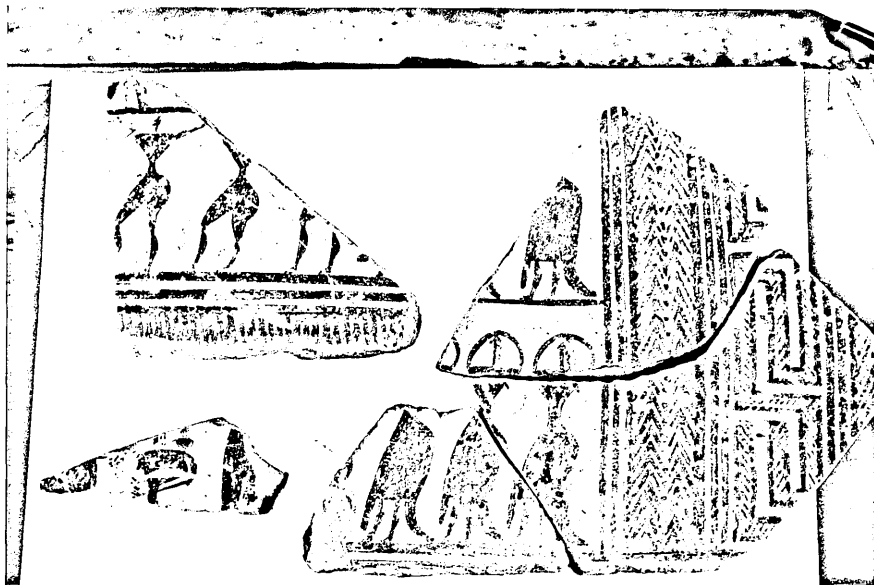
b. Copenhagen 1628 (cat. no 296)



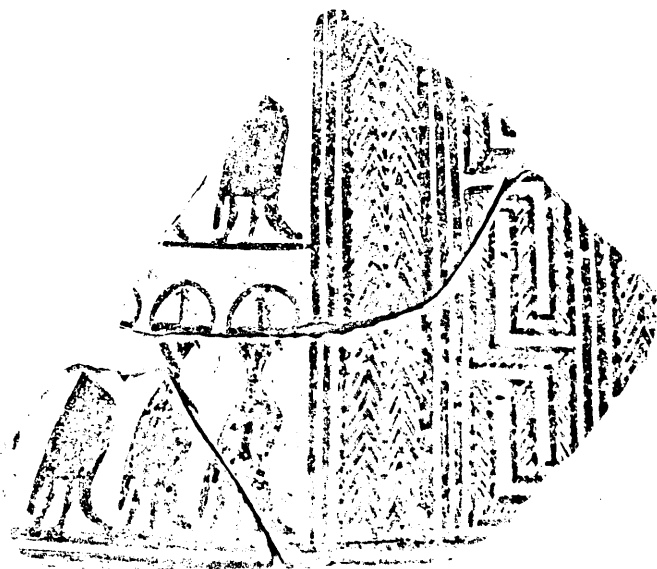
a. Athens NM 18154 (cat. no 290)



b. Athens NM 18154 (cat. no 290)



a. Brauron Museum (cat. no 315)



b. Brauron Museum (cat. no 315)



a. Brauron Museum 148 (cat. no 231)



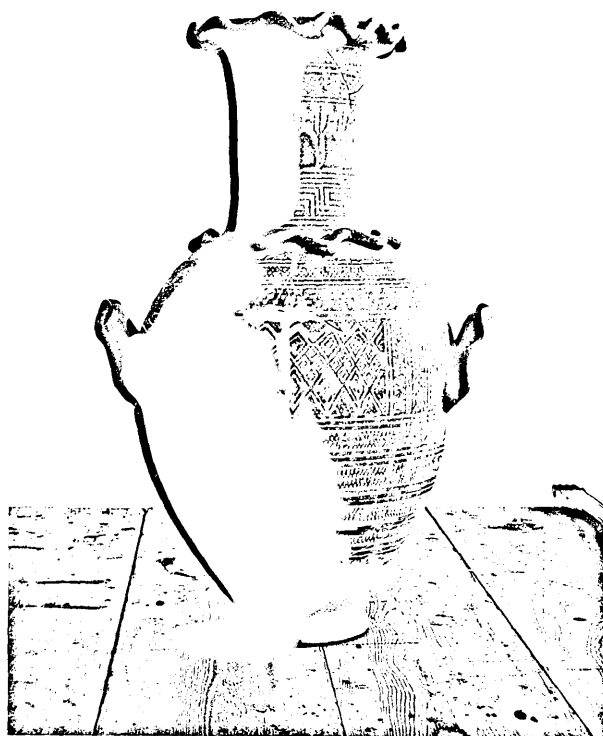
b. Brauron Museum 148 (cat. no 231)



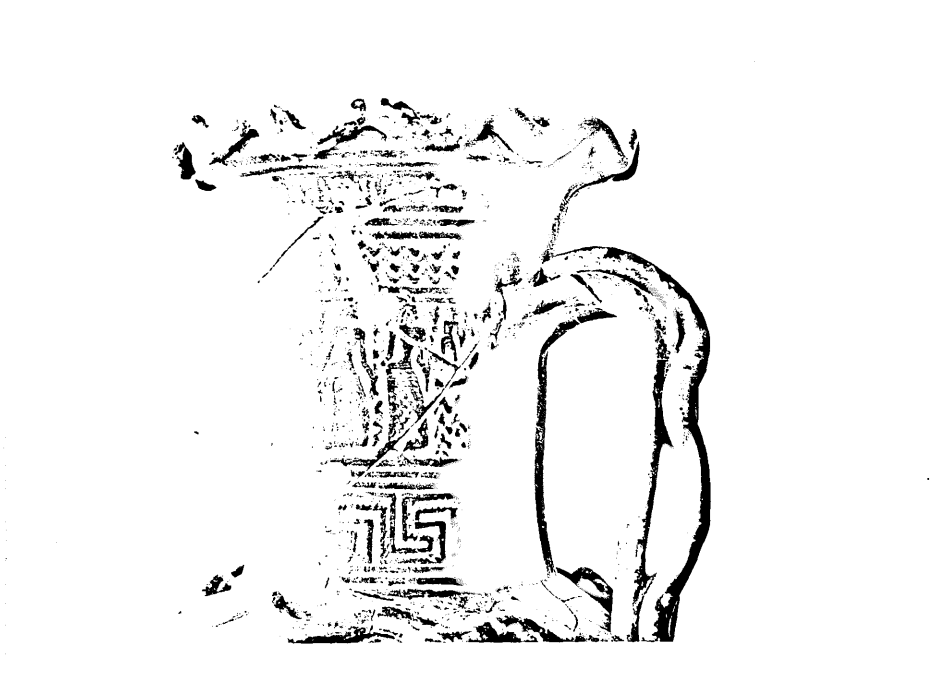
a. Louvre CA 1779 (cat. no 205)



b. Athens NM 874 (cat. no 304)



a. Brauron Museum (cat. no 193)



b. Brauron Museum (cat. no 193)



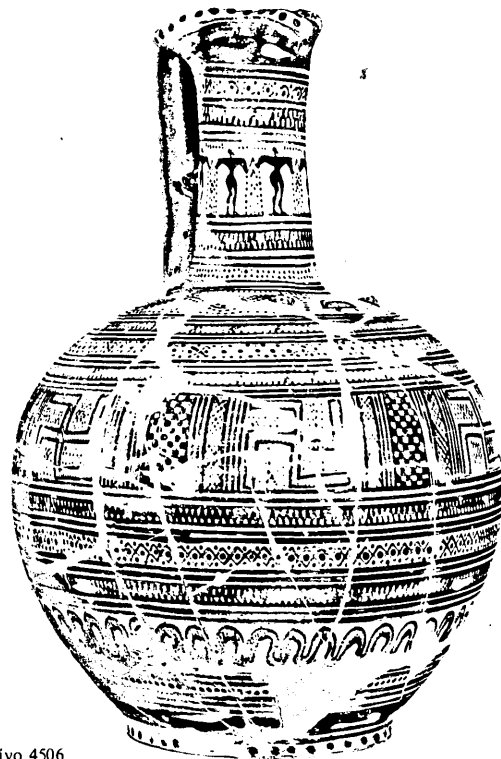
a. Louvre CA 1333 (cat. no 192)



b. München 6228 (cat. no 190)



a. Tübingen 2657 (cat. no 298)

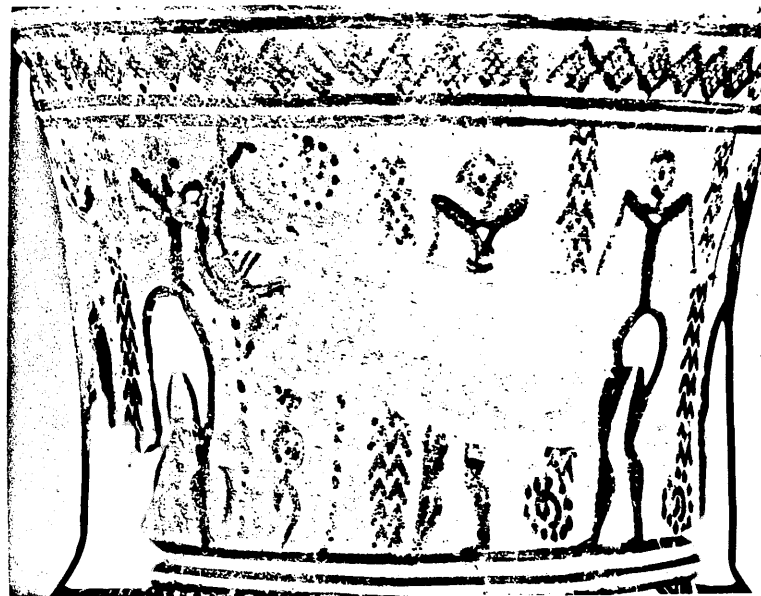


Βερολίνο 4506

b. Berlin 4506 (cat. no 299)



a. Bochum Ruhr Universität (cat. no 56)



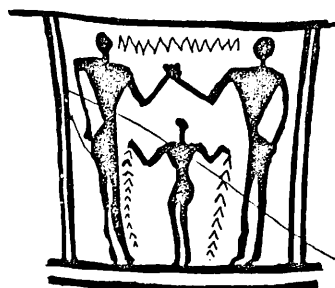
b. Bochum Ruhr Universität (cat.no 56)



a. Munich 6029 (cat. no 419)



b. Louvre CA 1823 (cat. no 243)



a.Kerameikos 812 (cat.no 95)



b.Boston 25.43 (cat.no 291)