

GREEK VASES AS MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION:
THE EPELEIOS PAINTER AND HIS COMPANIONS

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THE PAINTER

The Epeleios Painter, active between around 520 and 480 and “a contemporary of Oltos who in some ways resembles him”¹ is among Beazley’s early cup painters of the ‘Coarser Wing’. M. Swindler was the first to define the artist, whom she named after the love name he used on several of his cups.² She noted the characteristics of the painter: “The drapery is very formal, the folds presenting a starched effect and the ends done in swallow-tail fashion. ... Circular folds are done in two divisions. The outline of the hair is almost always incised, except for the lock over the forehead, which has a reserved line around it. ... The eye is almost always closed at the ends with the pupil in the middle; this is rendered by a dot except in two cases where we have the round circle with a dot in the centre. The collar bones do not have the curved line, but form part of the breast. ... Nipples are done by circles with dots within wash. ... The feet are long and narrow. The hands for the most part are poorly done, the ends often being cut off sharply by the black varnish. They are stiff, except when they grasp objects. ... The arms are overlong”.³

Many of Swindler’s stylistic attributions of further cups to the painter did not pass Beazley’s judgement. His criteria can be gleaned from his sketches: eyes with a curved upper and flat s-shaped lower lid or two s-shape lids, protruding, pointed chins, mouths turned down at the corners, ears consisting of a spiral hook within an oval, the muscles of the chest denoted by a flat curve meeting the right, u-shaped pectoral, and nipples drawn with dots or concentric circles (fig. 1). Large figures with expansive gestures are also typical of the painter.

Swindler concluded that the Epeleios Painter was an artist in the workshop of Kachrylion imitating Euphronios.⁴ Beazley noted similarities with Oltos⁵ and also identified a group of cups with Epeleian and Euergidean traits.⁶ Sir John Boardman summarizes the painter thus “The Epeleios Painter apes Epiktetos ..., indeed some of his works look like rough copies of the master. The style is generally far weaker than the Euergides Painter’s and he may be an older man since he paints some eye cups with fan palmettes”.⁷ A kantharos excavated in Vulci and now in Boston provides a link with the workshop of Nikosthenes since the outside of the foot is signed for the potter (fig. 2). Beazley noted that “the general style is akin to Epeleian ... although one or two particulars smack of the Nikosthenes Painter”.⁸ Cup painters had not yet

formed consistent partnerships. A cup in Melbourne, signed by Pamphaios as maker, may have been decorated by the Epeleios Painter,⁹ Pamphaios also employed the Euphiletos¹⁰ and Nikosthenes painters,¹¹ Epiktetos,¹² and Oltos.¹³

Stylistic analysis therefore suggests that the Epeleios Painter and colleagues working around him moved freely between workshops picking up elements of their contemporaries.

SHAPES

The Epeleios Painter and his colleagues specialized in decorating sympotic shapes: cups, a kantharos, and a few mugs. Beazley considered the large cup in Munich¹⁴ the painter's best work, introducing the list of seven cups he attributed to the Epeleios Painter with the words: "die große Schale Nr. 1 (fig. 3) und die kleine Nr. 7 sind tüchtige Arbeiten, alles übrige Schmiererei".¹⁵ By 1942, his catalogue had grown to 32 cups¹⁶ headed by the brief observation "The love-name is no doubt 'Επιλέως, but I keep the artist's writing".¹⁷ Chapter 12, "The Coarser Wing, iii" of ARV² begins with a list of 37 cups assigned to the Epeleios Painter, 62 decorated in the Manner of, eight cups and one oinochoe related to, and two oinochoai connected with the Epeleios Painter.¹⁸ Two further cups compared to the painter and in his manner conclude the list. All in all Beazley attributed 138 vases to the painter and artisans working around him, 132 of these are cups. The workshop also decorated five mugs¹⁹ and a kantharos.²⁰ With the attributions of others, not all of them as reliable as Beazley's, the number of vases assigned to the Epeleios Painter and his environs have increased to 206.²¹

DISTRIBUTION

The pattern of distribution of the Epeleios Painter's vases is unremarkable (fig. 4). Of the 206 vases listed in the Beazley Archive Pottery Database, only 70 have a recorded provenance. 5 vases were found in the Athenian Agora and two on the Acropolis. One cup was found in Olbia at the Black Sea, and one each in Thasos and Pyrgi. Most were found in Etruria, 21 of these in Vulci, five in Chiusi, three in Cervetri, and three in Tarquinia. Two cup fragments were excavated in Adria. The excavators of Gravisca uncovered thirteen vases by the workshop. Four vases were uncovered in Selinus and one in Capua.²² The distribution of vases attributed to the Epeleios Painter's contemporaries Oltos (103), Epiktetos (115), and the Euergides Painter (134) is strikingly similar; minor differences are probably due to the difference in the quantity of preserved vases.

IMAGES

The images chosen by the Epeleios Painter and his co-workers are impeccably aristocratic: symposia, komoi, warriors, and athletes dominate his output. Images of symposia and komoi reiterate the message sent by the shape: the living user or the deceased recipient are members of the sympotic class, the aristocracy.

Symposia

The Epeleios Painter appears to have drawn relatively few symposia, only twelve have survived. This is in keeping with other cup painters: only five symposia can be attributed to Oltos, and Epiktetos appears to have painted fewer symposia (27) than komoi (37) too. The Epeleios Painter depicted abbreviated symposia with a single drinker on the inside²³ and extensive scenes on the outside of cups,²⁴ and on a mug from the Athenian Agora.²⁵ A fragmentary cup is unusual:²⁶ the inside is decorated with a youth reclining to the left holding a pipes-case, while below his kline stands an outsize cup.

A handful of vases is adorned with erotic scene ranging from bestial activity, a satyr demonstrating his affection for a mule,²⁷ over-exuberant sex on a kantharos (fig. 2),²⁸ to a tender scene on a cup once on the market showing a youth and a young woman making love covered by his himation.²⁹

The inside of a cup in Cuxhaven is decorated with an even more abbreviated symposium: a single naked youth drawing wine from a column-krater (fig. 5).³⁰ A similar subject occurs on cups decorated by many painters in that period including a painter or painters mingling Epilean with Euergidean elements,³¹ Epiktetos³² the Antiphon Painter,³³ and the Painter of the Louvre Komos.³⁴ The Chaire Painter varied the scene, showing the youth from behind and turning to the right.³⁵ The Epeleios Painter replaced the youth with a satyr and the column-krater with a volute-krater.³⁶ This is not an ambitious subject and may therefore have occurred to several artists simultaneously, but there are other shared scenes.

The Epeleios Painter adorned the inside of a cup in the Vatican with a youth about to climb into a large bell-krater³⁷ and with a youth happily standing or sitting in a bell-krater in the manner of Herakles crossing the sea.³⁸ The Euergides Painter,³⁹ an anonymous artist,⁴⁰ and the later Tarquinia Painter⁴¹ chose the same subjects. The Actorione Painter humorously placed a bending satyr inside the krater.⁴²

Komoi

42 of the Epeleios Painter's preserved vases represent komoi with large, cheerful figures; several are unconventional and attest to the painter's originality. On the obverse of a cup in Basel, a young komast is filling a column-krater from a pointed amphora, while another draws wine from it. Four youths are dancing. The scene on the reverse is unique: three youths are jumping above another who is prostrate and vomiting, three further youths are pulling a companion balancing on a wineskin on a toy cart, and he too is throwing up (fig. 6).⁴³ The Epeleios Painter probably also invented another theme, a multi-figured komos with one participant placing his arm inside an amphora, perhaps to test the quantity of remaining supplies (fig. 7).⁴⁴ The New York cup is also one of the very few vases to show a belly-amphora rather than the usual pointed version in a sympotic context.

Single komasts are walking to right, carrying a wineskin and often another container on the inside of cups. Similar figures were produced by the Euergides Painter⁴⁵ and a member of the Group of Acropolis 96.⁴⁶ Epiktetos preferred a different scheme: his komasts tend to carry the wineskin in the extended left hand.⁴⁷

Athletes

Images of athletes connect the owner with the leisured life-style of the aristocracy. Among the athletic scenes are youths using a pick to left;⁴⁸ a comparable figure was chosen by a painter working in the manner of Epiktetos⁴⁹ and the Hischylos Painter⁵⁰ in reverse. Stooping jumpers with both arms hanging down and holding halteres occur on cups by the Epeleios Painter and his companions⁵¹ and the Euergides Painter.⁵²

Warriors

Being able to afford a full set of armour required wealth, and pictures of warriors therefore allude to status and imply courage and physical fitness. The Epeleios Painter's depictions of warriors deserve Beazley's judgement that most of his output is "Schmiererei". Many of them are lumbering rather than running.⁵³ Occasionally, the fighters are equipped with Boeotian shields, transposing the scene into the mythical sphere and perhaps inviting viewers to name the combatants.⁵⁴ Warriors and youths are shown leading horses, evoking the class of the *hippeis*.⁵⁵ The warrior pictures are of the Epeleios Painter's own making, whereas his images of youths or warriors with horses are shared with other artists such as Epiktetos⁵⁶ and the Euergides Painter.⁵⁷

Myth

Relatively few mythological scenes by the workshop have survived, among them Peleus, unusually shown with a beard on the outside of the cup Munich 2619a,⁵⁸ Peleus wrestling Thetis, Herakles and the Lion,⁵⁹ and Theseus and the Bull of Marathon,⁶⁰ the only deed of Theseus to be chosen by the painters. Theseus is twice combined with Herakles and the Lion and is similar to a picture by the Euergides Painter.⁶¹ Herakles and Theseus served as exemplary heroes in daily life and both were suitable subjects for funerary gifts, because Herakles visited the underworld several times and was made a god at the end of his life, and Theseus escaped Hades with the help of Herakles.

INSCRIPTIONS

Kalos Names

The Epeleios Painter's favourites were Epeleios,⁶² Israchos,⁶³ both known only from this cup, Theodoros,⁶⁴ Dorotheos,⁶⁵ and Hippon.⁶⁶ Theodoros did not appeal to any other vase-painters. The name was exceedingly common in ancient Greece. An inscription on a marble capital dedicated on the Athenian acropolis around 500/480 preserves two inscriptions, Θεό[δο]ρος : ἀν[έθεκεν] : Ὀν[έσι]μο : ἡ[υιός] and Ὀνέσιμος μ' ἀνέθεκεν ἀπαρχὴν τὰθENAIAI : ὁ Σμικύθο ἡυιός, by the same family.⁶⁷ While it is highly problematic to identify any of these by the mere coincidence of names, it is at least noteworthy that all three men are known from Athenian vases made around the same time. Smikythos was deemed kalos by Euphronios⁶⁸ and his name was used on vases by Euthymides and Phintias.⁶⁹ Onesimos signed a cup in Paris as painter.⁷⁰ Dorotheos was also deemed attractive or good by the Scheurleer Painter and Paseas named two athletes Dorotheos and Xenophon on a plate in Boston.⁷¹ The anonymous painter of a black-figure white ground oinochoe wrote Nikola, Dorotheos, Kamodokeinai, Chateros, Memnon, Kamoi, and Philos on the shoulder of the vase,⁷² and another nameless painter inscribed a black-figure hydria from Vulci 'Dorotheos' and 'Hipparchos kalos'.⁷³ A painter of the Proto-Panaitian Group named Dorotheos, Kephisophon, and Olympiodoros kalos and used a number of names for a young warriors arming and athletes: Ambrosios, Antias, Antimachos, Asopokles, Batrachos, Epichares, Eratosthenes, Euagoras, Euenor, Kleiboulos, Kleisophos, Kleon, Timon, Phoinix, and Phormos,⁷⁴ Batrachos,⁷⁵ Euenor, Eratosthenes, and Kleiboulos⁷⁶ are only named on this vase. A Kleiboulos commissioned a grave monument in the Kerameikos for his son Xenophantos from Aristion of Paros around 530/520.⁷⁷ Asopokles is a youth amongst other named figures on the reverse of a cup attributed to Makron.⁷⁸ Antias and Antimachos are known *kaloi*. Antimachos⁷⁹ is named kalos on eight cups by the Ambrosios Painter and painters

working in the vicinity of the Scheurleer Painter, Antias was deemed ‘kalos’ by Euphronios, Smikros, and the Colmar Painter, and both Pioneers also used the name for figures in aristocratic scenes.⁸⁰ Antias is also one of the Athenian youths witnessing the death of the Minotaur on a band cup in Munich.⁸¹ Olympiodoros is named kalos on a hydria assigned to the Leagros Group.⁸²

Hippon, Beazley’s Hippon I, appealed to Myson,⁸³ an artist working near the Pan Painter,⁸⁴ and the Providence Painter.⁸⁵ An earlier Hippon was deemed kalos by the painter of a black-figure neck-amphora around 530.⁸⁶

A painter working in the manner of the Epeleios Painter praised the beautiful Rhodopis,⁸⁷ whose name was also used by the painters of two black-figure hydriai.⁸⁸ She may have been of lasting beauty, because Makron was impressed by a Rhodopis; Beazley, however, believes that Makron’s lady is a different woman.⁸⁹ A Rhodopis was a famous Greek *hetaira* in Egypt in the reign of Amasis (570–526), but may not have been known in Athens until Herodotus told her story a century later.⁹⁰

The names on the Epeleios Painter’s vases indicate that he was part of a lively community of painters who shared the same acquaintances and perhaps patrons. They must have appealed to buyers in Athens, but also to overseas buyers. The Etruscans and Greeks in the west were probably wholly unfamiliar with these men, but the writing would signal erudition.

Other Inscriptions

On a few vases, the Epeleios Painter and his co-workers covered almost every available space with inscriptions, among them the cup Munich 2619a and the kantharos in Boston (fig. 2). Many other vessels bear numerous scribbled inscriptions. In addition to the three kalos-names, the Munich cup bears name-labels for the figures, ΓΛΑΥΚΟ, ΧΟΡΟ, ΘΕΤΙΣ, ΠΕΛΕΥΣ, ΕΡΑΤΟ, ΙΡΙΣΙΑ, and ΚΥΜΑΤΟΘΑΙ, and a complex inscription on the inside: ΣΙΛΑΝΟΣ ΤΕΡΠΙΟΝ ΗΕΔΥΣ ΗΟΙΝΟΣ, “the satyr Terpon” or “the satyr has fun” and “wine is sweet”.⁹¹ Terpon is a name used for satyrs by Oltos⁹² and the Brygos⁹³ and Chelis painters.⁹⁴ Such complex inscriptions were applied by the painter or – less likely – a specialist inscription writer to add a second sophisticated layer of decoration which conveyed status on the owner, often Etruscan. The artist, akin to the Epeleios Painter, of the kantharos in Boston covered the space between the figures with nonsense inscriptions, ΕΟ. ΓΡΕΟΣ. ΝΟΣΕ. ΣΕ. ΝΟΕΣΕΟ. Ν[.]Ο. ΕΣΟ. ΕΣΟ, ΝΟΣΕ(Ε). ΣΕΟ. ΟΣ(Ε)ΟΕΟ. ΣΕΟΠΠΕΟ. ΝΑΑΡΕ(Λ)Ο(ΠΙ). ΝΣΕΣΕ[.]ΙΕΕΣΕ. (Α)ΣΕΟΠΠΕΟ and signed ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣ ΕΠΟΙΕ[Σ]ΕΝ on the outside of the foot.⁹⁵ The combination of meaningful and meaningless inscriptions is fairly common and not indicative of illiteracy.⁹⁶

There are only a few nonsense inscriptions from the Epeleios workshop, all of which have been assigned to painters working in the manner of the Epeleios Painter; a large number of cups bear the formulae $\eta\omicron$ or $\eta \Pi\alpha\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, which often took the place of nonsense inscriptions.⁹⁷ The painter appears to have taken clues from the signature when he painted the nonsense inscriptions.

Nonsense inscriptions appeared around 580/570 and frequently adorned Siana cups and Tyrrhenian amphorae; the latter appear to have been made with the Etruscan market in mind.⁹⁸

DELIBERATE QUALITY

Beazley noted the difference in quality between the Epeleios Painter's cups in Munich and the rest of his output,⁹⁹ a fragmentary cup by an artist working in the manner of the Epeleios Painter, who indicated the iris of a warrior's eye can be added (fig. 8).¹⁰⁰ Similar qualitative differences can be observed between vases by even the best painters such as Exekias, who produced a masterful painting of Achilles and Penthesilea and a somewhat inferior one.¹⁰¹ While this could represent a learning curve, it is more likely that the Epeleios Painter intended these vases to be special. The large Munich cup in particular conveys its high quality through the careful drawing and shading, the use of added red and complex inscriptions. The painter must have invested more time in the hope of attracting traders sailing to the lucrative markets in the west. Both the cups in Munich singled out by Beazley for praise and the kantharos were exported to Vulci, but so were 18 lesser cups.

REPAIRS

Several of the Epeleios Painter's cups were mended in antiquity, among them the cup Munich 2619a and a kylix in East Lansing.¹⁰² The latter is repaired around the right handle; numerous holes have been drilled opposite each other across breaks and through the base and the root of the handle. The Munich cup had been broken at the left handle and required 18 holes, some of which are linked by grooves.¹⁰³ Repairs with clamps are still somewhat enigmatic since the same method was also used in modern times and it is not always possible to determine when and where a vase was broken and repaired.¹⁰⁴ Such repairs must have been time-consuming and expensive and therefore signalled wealth and appreciation of Athenian pottery and demonstrate the value placed on the vases and their limited availability. Beazley's last attributions were published in *Paralipomena* in 1971. Among these is a fragmentary cup once on the Roman art market dated around 490/480, which Beazley assigned to the manner of the Epeleios Painter

(fig. 9). The fragment is only documented on two black and white photographs in the Beazley Archive in Oxford. The outside shows two young komasts or athletes, one running to left, his left arm extended, the other bending to the right with both arms outstretched; both are crowned with ivy wreaths painted in matt purple clay paint. On the far right of the preserved scene grows a tree with purple leaves and reserved fruits. The artist has made ample use of relief lines for the contours of his figures and anatomical detail. The figures and their exaggerated movements have counterparts in the komasts on a cup attributed to the Epeleios Painter in Brussels¹⁰⁵ and the young athletes on cups assigned to the painter and his manner in New York¹⁰⁶ and the Vatican.¹⁰⁷ The surface of the cup has suffered and is matt in places with an odd raised, rounded section on the left.

The Beazley Archive holds photographs of one fragment only, but a very small fragment with part of a thigh, a medium sized piece with part of a leg, and one of the handles have also been preserved. All four found their way into the Blatter collection in Bolligen, were then sold to Jean David Cahn who, in turn, found a private taker in Great Britain. There are two drilled holes at the lower edge on the buttocks of the left hand youth and the arms of the right hand youth consistent with an ancient repair, but also cleanly drilled holes on the shoulder, sternum, and extended left hand of the youth on the left. The medium sized, non-joining fragment has three holes along the upper edge, the outer two are connected with grooves. The handle was once reattached too. One hole on the right and two on the left, the lower joined to two grooves forming an open triangle, were drilled obliquely into the underside of the handle terminating in the flat attachment surface. No trace of the clamps or wires remains. The drill holes along the figures are puzzling since they are not placed along a break. It is possible that they held metal attachments which were designed to embellish large scale repairs similar to cups from Celtic graves from Klein Aspergle.¹⁰⁸

SUMMARY

Athenian figure-decorated vases carry numerous intentional and subconscious messages. Their painters, entirely unaware of later interests in personal styles, reveal their hands in countless little details. Shapes suggest use and status: use at home in aristocratic symposia, and the status of a symposiast when offered in sanctuaries or graves and may have alluded to the *Totenmahl* in funeral contexts. Images of symposiasts, komasts, athletes, and warriors invited the viewer to identify himself or the departed with the depicted, as do mythical heroes, who also imply erudition on the part of the buyer and may have been the centre of learned conversations. Pictures of Herakles and Theseus implied familiarity with Greek myths at home and abroad,

invited comparisons with the greatest of Greek heroes, and offered hope, since both escaped the Underworld and Herakles vanquished death altogether. The painted scenes are evidence for lively exchange between the cup painters of the Late Archaic period. They appear to have shared their inventions freely by showing each other their works or at least by not guarding them jealously. This suggests that there was little serious economic competition and that Athenian workshops could sell all the vases they made.

Writing, names, kalos-names, and numerous scribbles indicated learning too. Marked differences in quality within the production of a workshop imply a deliberate message enticing merchants to sell the products to wealthier or more distant buyers.

PHOTO CREDITS

Fig. 1. 5. 8: Photograph courtesy of the Beazley Archive

Fig. 2: Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Fig. 3: After Reichhold drawing

Fig. 4: © Beazley Archive Pottery Database

Fig. 6: Photograph courtesy of the Antikensammlung Basel

Fig. 7: #####

Fig. 9: Photograph courtesy of the owner

ABBREVIATIONS

Beazley 1918

J. D. Beazley, *Attic red-figured vases in American museums* (Cambridge 1918)

Beazley, 1925

J. D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* (Tübingen 1925)

Bentz – Kästner 2007

M. Bentz – U. Kästner (eds.), *Konservieren oder Restaurieren: Die Restaurierung griechischer Vasen von der Antike bis heute*, Beihefte zum *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* Deutschland, Band 3 (Munich 2007)

Brenne 2000

S. Brenne, *Indices zu Kalos-Namen*, *Tyche* 15, 2000, 31–53

CVAI

Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions @BAPD

Huber 1999

K. Huber, *Gravisca, Scavi nel santuario Greco*, *La ceramiche Attiche a figure rosse* (Bari 1999)

Immerwahr 2007

H. Immerwahr, *Nonsense Inscriptions and Literacy*, *Kadmos* 45, 2007, 136–172

Klein 1898

W. Klein, *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften* ²(Leipzig 1898)

LGPN II

M. J. Osborne – S. G. Byrne, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Volume II, Attica* (Oxford 1994)

Raubitschek 1949

A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis. A Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth centuries B.C.* (Cambridge, MA 1949)

Robinson – Fluck 1937

D. M. Robinson – E. J. Fluck, *A Study of the Greek Love-Names, Including a Discussion of Paederasty and a Prosopographia* (Baltimore 1937)

Swindler 1916

M. Swindler, *Greek Vases at Bryn Mawr*, *AJA* 20, 1916, 322–331

Wernicke 1890

K. Wernicke, *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsnamen. Eine archäologische Studie* (Leipzig 1890)

NOTES

- ¹ Beazley 1918, 12.
- ² Swindler 1916, 322–331. Bryn Mawr College P 96: ARV² 147.18; 1610; New York, Metropolitan Museum 09.221.48; Munich, Antikensammlungen 2595: ARV² 148.37; Munich, Antikensammlungen 2619a: ARV² 146.2; 1610; 1575.2; 1576.1; 1587.1; 1628; Swindler 1916; CVA Munich 18 pls. 63, 1–4; 64, 1–7; 68, 1–11; 83, 18.
- ³ Swindler 1916, 325 f.
- ⁴ Swindler 1916, 325–327.
- ⁵ Beazley 1918, 12.
- ⁶ ARV² 104.
- ⁷ J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: the Archaic Period* (London 1975) 61.
- ⁸ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.61: Para 335; CAVI 2649.
- ⁹ Melbourne, University 1971.0131: Para 336; P. Connor – H. Jackson, *Greek Vases at The University of Melbourne* (Melbourne 2000) 132 f. no. 45.
- ¹⁰ Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 254: ABV 324.38.
- ¹¹ Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 27250: ARV² 124.8.
- ¹² Paris, Louvre G 5: ARV² 49.175. Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2262: ARV² 72.15; 1623.
- ¹³ Paris, Louvre S 1409: ARV² 53.2; 1622.
- ¹⁴ Munich, Antikensammlungen 2619; Beazley 1918, 12.
- ¹⁵ Beazley, AV, 47 f.
- ¹⁶ ARV 107–109.
- ¹⁷ ARV 107.
- ¹⁸ ARV² 146–152.
- ¹⁹ ARV² 152; 152.1 (white ground); 152.2; 152.9; 1676.
- ²⁰ ARV² 123; 132.
- ²¹ <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk>.
- ²² Huber 1999.
- ²³ London, market, Christie's, Christie, Manson and Woods, sale catalogue, 13.7.1983, 46, no. 252. Gravisca, excavation, 72.21134, Huber 1999, 48, 149. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 151589: CVA Firenze, Regio Museo Archeologico 1 pls. 4, 30, 58; 5, 2, 6–8; 12, 35; 15, 29.
- ²⁴ Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig LU 35: Para 335.
- ²⁵ Cup, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2616: CVA Munich 18, 124 f. Beilage 12, 2 pls. 66, 1–10; 67, 1–6; 84, 8. Mug, Athens, Agora Museum P 15918: Agora 30, 252 fig. 37.
- ²⁶ Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 151589: CVA Firenze, Regio Museo Archeologico 1 pls. 4, 30, 58; 5, 2, 6–8; 12, 35; 15, 29; Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität 12: W. Kraiker, *Katalog der Sammlung antiker Kleinkunst des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg*, Die rotfigurigen attischen Vasen (Berlin 1931) pls. 3, 5; Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 249: BAPD 201290.
- ²⁷ Cup, Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria 786: A. Heinemann, *Der Gott des Gelages. Dionysos, Satyrn und Mänaden auf attischem Trinkgeschirr des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Berlin 2016) 206 fig. 131.
- ²⁸ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.61.
- ²⁹ Durham (NC), Ruestow: Para 336.
- ³⁰ Cuxhaven, Museum: ARV² 148.35; BAPD 201323.
- ³¹ Munich, Antikensammlungen 2607: ARV² 104.4.
- ³² Once Munich, Preyss: ARV² 74.37.
- ³³ London, market, Sotheby's: L. Marangou, *Ancient Greek Art, the N.P. Goulandris Collection* (Athens 1985) 101–103 no. 143.
- ³⁴ Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 11.B.11: ARV² 104.4.
- ³⁵ Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität 61 and Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 22961: ARV² 144.1.
- ³⁶ Göttingen, Georg-August-Universität K 689: CVA Göttingen 4 pls. 35, 1–4; 62, 12.
- ³⁷ Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Ast. 768: ARV² 1700; BAPD 275642.

- ³⁸ Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.89: ARV² 151.51; BAPD 201375. For Herakles, see the cup Rhodes, Archaeological Museum: ARV 118a; BABD 42000.
- ³⁹ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1929.465: ARV² 90.29.
- ⁴⁰ Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte B 402: CVA Frankfurt 2 pls. 59, 2; 60, 2.
- ⁴¹ Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum S80.AE.282: CVA Malibu 8 pl. 447, 1.
- ⁴² Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.82: ARV² 137.2; BAPD 201143.
- ⁴³ Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS 463: ARV² 147.16; CVA Basel 2 pls. 7, 4; 8, 1–3; 33, 3. 7; 38, 9. Munich, Antikensammlungen 2616: ARV² 146.7; New York, Metropolitan Museum GR 581.
- ⁴⁴ Brussels, Musees Royaux A 3047: ARV² 146.7; CVA Brussels 3 pl. 22, 1a–d; Munich, Antikensammlungen 2616: ARV² 146.17; CVA Munich 18, Taf. 66, 1–10; 67, 1–6; 84, 8; New York, Metropolitan Museum, 96.18.71: ARV² 146.14; BAPD 201302.
- ⁴⁵ Leipzig, Universität T 3361: ARV² 97.12; CVA Leipzig 3, 34 f. fig. 14 Beilage 4, 2 pl. 13, 7–9.
- ⁴⁶ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1947.260: ARV² 105.8; BAPD 200916.
- ⁴⁷ Cf. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University B 2: ARV² 76.75; CVA Baltimore, Robinson Collection 2, 11 pl. 1.2.
- ⁴⁸ Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität & Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 12B34: ARV² 51.44.
- ⁴⁹ Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 13352: ARV² 80.11; CVA Rhodes 2 pl. 6, 2. 5.
- ⁵⁰ Munich, Antikensammlungen J 1160: ARV² 162.2; CVA Munich 18 pls. 36, 1–5; 37, 1–8; 83, 8.
- ⁵¹ E. g. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum 107: ARV² 149.20; BAPD 201345; Athens, Agora Museum P 24068: ARV² 153; BAPD 201404.
- ⁵² Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 22178: ARV² 95.130; CVA Adria 1 pl. 1, 5.
- ⁵³ E. g. Rennes, Musée des Beaux Arts D 863.1.29: ARV² 50.201; BAPD 200411.
- ⁵⁴ Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B 152: ARV² 149.19; CVA Karlsruhe 1 pl. 25, 1–3.
- ⁵⁵ Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B 152: ARV² 149.19; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.281: ARV² 1629.25bis; CVA Malibu 8 pl. 400, 3–6.
- ⁵⁶ Cup, Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2262: ARV² 72.15; CVA Berlin, Antiquarium 2 pls. 55, 1–6; 65, 4; 66, 3; Cup-skyphos, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum V 520: ARV² 76.84; CVA Oxford 1 pl. 49, 1–2.
- ⁵⁷ London, British Museum 1920.6-13.1: ARV² 88.1; S. Marchegay et al. (eds.), *Necropoles et pouvoir, Ideologies, pratiques et interpretations*, Actes du colloque Theories 1995 (Paris 1998) 124 figs. 3 f.
- ⁵⁸ Munich, Antikensammlungen 2619: ARV² 146.2; 1610; 1575.2; 1576.1; 1587.1; 1628; Swindler, 1916.
- ⁵⁹ E. g. New York, Metropolitan Museum 06.1021.168: ARV² 148.1; BAPD 201362; Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 39564: ARV² 148.2; F. Buranelli (ed.), *La raccolta Giacinto Guglielmi*, I. La Ceramica (Vatican 1997) 167–169 no. 62.
- ⁶⁰ See note 56.
- ⁶¹ Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.305.2: CVA Malibu 8 pls. 399, 1–3.
- ⁶² Immerwahr 2007, 147 f.; Brenne 2000, 36. 51; Robinson – Fluck 1937, 104; Klein 1898, 65; Wernicke 1890, 31. 64 f. 114 note 1; LGPN II, 147.
- ⁶³ Bryn Mawr College P 96: ARV² 147.18; 1610; CAVI 3126; Brenne 2000, 38. 51; Klein 1898, 24. 65; Wernicke 1890, 31. 64 f. 68. 118; Robinson – Fluck 1937, 104, 183.
- ⁶⁴ Brenne 2000, 44. 51; Robinson – Fluck 1937, 183; Wernicke 1890, 31. 68. 118; Klein 1898, 24. 65; LGPN II, 215–217.
- ⁶⁵ Munich, Antikensammlungen 2619a: ARV² 146.2; 1610; 1575.2; 1576.1; 1587.1; 1628; Swindler 1916; Brenne 2000, 36. 51; Robinson – Fluck 1937, 102 f.; Wernicke 1890, 31. 94; Klein 1898, 61. 73; LGPN II, 136–137.
- ⁶⁶ London, British Museum E 7: ARV² 149.16; CAVI 4593. Brenne 2000, 38. 51; Robinson – Fluck 1937, 121 f.; Klein 1898, 11. 35. 20–22. 138–140; Wernicke 1890, 35. 97 f. 103. 111 note 6. 115; LGPN II, 238.
- ⁶⁷ Robinson – Fluck 1937, 183; IG I³ 699; Raubitschek 1949, 246 no. 217. 391 no. 357; C. M. Keesling, *Patrons of Athenian votive monuments of the Archaic and Classical periods: Three Studies*, *Hesperia* 74, 2005, 395–426.
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- ⁷² Munich, Antikensammlungen 2447a: CVA Munich 12, 41 f. Beilage 10, 4 pls. 31, 1–3; 32, 1–4.
- ⁷³ Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum L 310: CAVI 8074.
- ⁷⁴ Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 523,
- ⁷⁵ LGPN II, 87.
- ⁷⁶ LGPN II, 263.
- ⁷⁷ IG I³ 1211.
- ⁷⁸ Paris, Louvre CP 11290: ARV² 470.180; CAVI 6488; R. Cromey, Some Names on a Cup by Makron; G. Schmeling – J. D. Mikalson, *Qui Miscuit Utile Dulci*, Festschrift Paul L. McKendrick (Mundelein 1997) 95–113; LGPN II, 77.
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- ⁸² Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 416: ABV 65.65; 695; 669.5; 671; Brenne 2000, 42. 49. 52. 67; LGPN II, 350 f.
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- ⁸⁹ New York, Metropolitan Museum 20.246: ARV² 467.118; 481; 1616.
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