

ABSTRACT

The Acheloos Painter. E.A. Moignard, St. Hugh's
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The Preface enumerates the publications in which the Acheloos Painter is discussed by Beazley, from which it is clear that he thought of the painter as a member of the Leagros Group, but nonetheless distinct from them in having a humorous approach to his work which they lack. It is also suggested that from the point of view of the attribution of some of the vases more vaguely associated with the painter, it would be fruitful to pay attention to some of his own second-rate work.

Chapter 1 describes the Acheloos Painter's graphic style, figure work, subsidiary patterns, and interest in foreshortening, and discusses his methods of composition. His use of two distinct head types is related to the contexts in which they appear. Some of the more loosely associated vases are attributed to five separate hands who relate closely to the Acheloos Painter, as does the Painter of Louvre F 314. Some new attributions are made to the Acheloos Painter himself, and his immediate stylistic background within the Leagros Group is discussed. A chronology based on his style is offered.

Chapter 2 establishes a chronology based on the changes in pot shapes over the period of the Acheloos Painter's activity, and relates him to the painters with whom he shared a potter, which shows a clear pattern for his career.

Chapter 3 offers a chronology conflating the charts based on style and potting.

Chapter 4 compares the Acheloos Painter's choice of subjects and pairing of them on vases with more than one picture with the practice of the Leagros Group, the Pioneers, and the Antimenes Painter. The iconography of the Acheloos Painter's vases is discussed

in detail subject by subject, and compared with other versions of the same subject by the Leagros Group and in earlier black figure.

Chapter 5, the Conclusion, describes the Acheloos Painter's career and ethos on the basis of the evidence offered in the preceding chapters, and suggests that his interests were in the content of his pictures, and the two head types discussed in Chapter 1 were used for a specific purpose, whether political in intention or not. In any case, used in conjunction with an idiosyncratic iconography, they represent a deliberate dissociation from the practice of his workshop colleagues.

ABSTRACT

The Preface gives an account of those of Beazley's successive publications which discuss the Acheloos Painter, and of Beazley's treatment of his work in relation to that of the Leagros Group, especially in ABV; Beazley thought of his work as being in some sense separable from the rest of the Leagros Group. The preface ends by pointing out that all the published discussions deal with the Acheloos Painter's oeuvre in terms of ethos rather than of graphic style, which suggests that a study of some of his less accomplished vases would contribute to the attribution of some others, more vaguely connected with the painter by Beazley.

Chapter I A discusses the painter's graphic idiosyncrasies in detail, by describing the figures, men, women, animals, feature by feature, and also their clothing and the plant life which appears in the background of the pictures.

Chapter I B attempts to determine the extent of the painter's interest in showing anatomical detail and foreshortening, and suggests that he had some interest in the latter, but found it difficult to achieve a plausible effect.

Chapter I C shows that his interest in foreshortening affected the arrangement of his pictures; he often makes use of a twisted figure to close his compositions. There follows a discussion of the kind of composition he preferred, and of his use of gestures, and also of colour, overlap and outline

incision.

Chapter I D discusses his subsidiary pattern work, and concludes that this was not one of the painter's major interests; he follows the practice of the Leagros Group almost entirely.

Chapter I E describes the two head types which appear regularly on the painter's figures, in particular on his men, and observes the contexts in which they appear - the horizontal type in comic or satirical scenes, and the vertical type in more serious ones, or in scenes over which the painter took less trouble. The vases with serious scenes are then discussed in detail. It is noticed that the bodies of the figures on these vases do not differ from those on the comic ones, and that it is only the heads which change. It is suggested that a head type which is not particularly exaggerated in either direction, the Acheloos Painter's basic head type, is one which was occasionally copied by his imitators, and this led to some of Beazley's admitted difficulties in attributing some of the vases in the Acheloos Painter's manner.

Chapter I F discusses the vases in the painter's manner, and attributes some of them to five Hands, A, B, C, D, and E, adding some others, which Beazley either did not attribute or did not know. The section concludes by suggesting that the stage of the Acheloos Painter's career at which each hand began to imitate him can be determined from the graphic style

of the vases. There follows a discussion of the work of the Painter of Louvre F 314. He appears to have been a close associate, or pupil of the Acheloos Painter, and it seems that such an associate could derive much of his technique from that of the Acheloos Painter while remaining wholly different from him in style and content.

Chapter I G attributes some of the vases in the 'Manner' list and some others to the Acheloos Painter himself.

Chapter I H investigates the work of the Antiope Group I and of the Group of Würzburg 210, to discover what the Acheloos Painter gained from his association with either, and concludes that he acquired some of his compositional technique from them, and adopted many of their figure types, which are stock ones.

Chapter I I discusses the relative chronology of the painter's vases, from the point of view of their changing style; it can be shown that the opposite ends of the chronological scale produce visibly different work. At the end of the section there is a chart plotted on the basis of these stylistic changes.

Chapter II A shows that the changing shapes of the vases, over the years between 530 and 500, can have a similar chronological significance to that of the changing graphic style; a second chart, plotted on this basis, appears at the end of this section.

Chapter II B discusses the potters for whom the Acheloos

Painter worked, and the painters with whom he shared them, both within the Leagros Group and outside it. This shows that he had a closer affiliation with the Leagros Group at the beginning of his career than at the end of it.

Chapter III links the chronologies based on style and potting, and offers a third chart which conflates them and includes the new attributions made in I G.

Chapter IV A investigates the Acheloos Painter's choice of subjects; these are divided into a number of large categories, and a set of histograms shows how many in each category of pictures survive. The histograms compare the work of the Acheloos Painter with that of the Leagros Group, the red figure Pioneers, and the Antimenes Painter, the central figure in a rival and more traditional workshop. These show that Heracles plays a prominent part in the work of the Acheloos Painter and of the Leagros Group, and that his adventures are more popular than most other subjects by a very large margin, in the Acheloos Painter's oeuvre. A second set of diagrams shows in detail the subjects which appear in the work of all four painters or Groups. This suggests that the Acheloos Painter's choice of subjects within many of the categories varies much more than in the work of the other painters compared, and that he differs markedly from the Leagros Group in that, although his favourite mythological subject is Heracles, he paints

some adventures which they do not, and the proportion of vases in each subject category is totally different from the corresponding one in the work of the Leagros Group. The Acheloos Painter's choice of subject appears to have been conditioned by his wish to concentrate on comic scenes; this led him to paint scenes of mortal life, and to avoid concentration on myth except for Heracles. The Antimenes Painter, by contrast, had a taste for more formal, serious scenes, and his subjects were chosen accordingly. The Pioneers differ radically in their choice from that of the Antimenes Painter and the Leagros Group, but they are not unlike the Acheloos Painter in their informality and interest in some of the less serious scenes in the repertoire.

Chapter IV B discusses the pairings of scenes on vases with more than one picture, in the work of the same painters and Groups, and by a series of charts shows that the Acheloos Painter is once again more akin to the Pioneers than to the Leagros Group in his sense of similarity and contrast, although there are Leagros vases on which there is a strong feeling for continuity or dissimilarity of subject. The Antimenes Painter seems much more conservative in his choice of subjects to pair. It appears that the Pioneers had more influence on the Acheloos Painter than they had on the rest of the Group.

Chapter IV C discusses each of the scenes which appear on the Acheloos Painter's vases, in terms of their iconography,

subject by subject, the Heracles scenes first, followed by other mythological subjects and then the scenes of everyday life. Each subject-section discusses the work of earlier black figure painters first, in order to establish the nature of any iconographic tradition there may be, and then some or all of the Leagran treatments of the subject. Where relevant some contemporary red figure treatments are mentioned also. Finally the Acheloos Painter's own version or versions are dealt with in detail. In most sections it becomes apparent that the Acheloos Painter's ideas are radically different from those of the Leagros Group, though sometimes they may resemble those of earlier painters, at least superficially. His most significant innovation is in the consistent presentation of Heracles as an anti-hero.

Chapter V, the Conclusion, suggests that the chronological charts show a career sequence in which the Acheloos Painter begins as a fully participating member of the Leagran workshop painting for their principal potters, and collecting admirers and imitators in his maturity. At the end of his working life he appears to have been less closely connected with the Leagran workshop, and was painting for potters of small vases. He learnt much of his graphic technique and acquired some of his figures from the sub-groups of Würzburg 210 and the Antiope Group I, and passed much of his acquired technique on to his associates and pupils, though not his iconographic preoccupations.

He is not a stylistic innovator, apart from his use of the two distinctive head types, which are used intentionally. Since his interest does not lie in the niceties of graphic technique, anatomical detail or pattern-work it must lie elsewhere, in the content of his pictures and particularly in the behavioural characteristics of his figures, both animal and human. Many of his vases have wry or comic overtones, in particular those which show Heracles, who has the horizontal head type. The choice of Heraclean adventure differs from that of the Leagros Group, in whose work the hero is treated seriously, and clearly the Acheloos Painter's intention is to show him in a different light from that cast on him by the Group. The use of the horizontal head type, like that of a cartoon figure, should indicate that he is being treated satirically, and if there is a political significance to these vases it is in the treatment of Heracles as an anti-hero, rather than as the conventionally dramatic figure. He is certainly drawn in this way to elicit a specific response. The consistent choice of a different treatment of him and of other subjects seems to indicate a wish to advertise dissociation from the versions of the Leagros Group, and may in some sense be a comment on them. This dissociation, it is suggested, is plainly a deliberate policy, and an expression of a differing attitude to life, more like that of the Pioneers, and not shared by the Acheloos Painter's close associates or by the other black figure painters in the workshops in which he was active.

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Symbols in the text.

Numbers without prefix are used throughout the thesis to denote the work of the Acheloos Painter. Numbers preceded by an asterisk are given to the work of the Acheloos Painter's immediate circle, Hands A-E and the Painter of Louvre F 314. Numbers preceded by L belong to the main Leagros Group, and the numbers are those assigned by Beazley in ABV and Paralipomena.

PREFACE

The Acheloos Painter was first discussed by Beazley in a lecture to the British Academy in June 1928, and his first list of attributions to the painter appears as an appendix to the printed version of that lecture (1). The list consists of some twenty-one vases; a few additional ones are mentioned at the end as standing close to the painter. All of these additional vases were later to be attributed to the manner of the painter in Attic Black Figure Vase Painters, published in 1956. Some of the vases originally attributed to the Acheloos Painter himself in the 1928 list were to be demoted later; the most notable of these was a neck-amphora in Naples (2) which Beazley put into his list of the main Leagros Group in ABV, and said that it recalled both the Group of Würzburg 210 and the Acheloos Painter.

Beazley, when discussing the Leagros Group at any length, always made it quite plain that the Acheloos Painter was a distinguishable artistic personality, and in ABV he is given a list to himself (3), an honour not accorded there to any other major member of the Group, possibly partly because not enough of their work survives. In the introduction to the Leagros Group chapter in ABV (4) Beazley explains how he would split the enormous Group up, at any rate tentatively, into sub-

groups and coteries. Painter S and Painter A are at the heart of the Group. The Antiope Group contributes another stylistic wing; this includes the work of the Antiope Painter, the Acheloos Painter, a large number of vases said to be like his in style, and the Group of Würzburg 210. The Acheloos Painter, then, according to Beazley, belongs in one of the two main subdivisions at the heart of the Leagros Group, with some close colleagues of uncertain number. In the second paragraph of the introduction Beazley reinforces his statement of his conviction about the relationship of the Acheloos Painter to the rest of the Leagros Group: 'The vases of the Acheloos Painter and those in his manner might have been included in the long 'Leagros list' as they are central examples of the Leagran style: I have placed them in a list of their own ... but would insist that they are no less Leagran than the others.' The separate list consists of thirty-two vases, and nineteen are attributed to the manner of the painter. Paralipomena of 1971⁷ was to add five more certain attributions (5) and two to those in the painter's manner. Beazley remained uncertain about the status of the vases in the latter list, and those said to recall him or to be near him in the various lists: 'I often find it hard to say whether a vase is by the Acheloos Painter himself, or only in his manner, and some of the works in the following list may be by the painter himself.' (6); and the same problem

besets anyone else who tries to pin these floating vases down. Some of those included in the main Leagros Group complicate the issue further by being reminiscent of the Group of Würzburg 210 as well as of the Acheloos Painter. These, however, might reasonably be assumed to be the work of another painter who was a colleague of both.

When Beazley discussed the Leagros Group at any length, in ABS and in The Development of Attic Black Figure (7), he left the Acheloos Painter till last, and then discussed his work in some detail, which suggests that he thought of the painter as being in some sense separable from the rest of the Group, in spite of his insistence that he is central to the Leagran style. This is not the apparent contradiction it seems; Beazley made it quite clear that he thought that there was a difference of spirit visible in the Acheloos Painter's work which separated him from the Group as his style did not. In both the publications cited Beazley states that the Acheloos Painter is a humourist, and in Development he says explicitly (8), 'this painter has a comic vein and never shows the deep seriousness that characterises the Leagros Group as a whole.' His discussion of the Group supports this view, and particularly the descriptions he gives of some specific vases, which he chose as typifying the Leagran mood and style. These show scenes from the Trojan cycle or adventures of Heracles, and though

often novel in their treatment of the chosen subjects, they are serious, frequently gloomy, and occasionally even brutal. The Acheloos Painter, by contrast, is discussed in terms of vases which show his satirical or comic characteristics.

Dietrich von Bothmer is the only other scholar who has discussed the Acheloos Painter at any length, and he did so because he was publishing the pelike 26 (9), decorated by the Acheloos Painter in his best comic vein with the capture of Silenos on one side and boxers on the other, both drawn with a sharp eye for the ridiculous. Von Bothmer describes our artist as 'the great humourist among the black figured painters of the Leagros period.'

These discussions all speak of the Acheloos Painter's work in terms of its mood and content, rather than the graphic style which makes him central to the Leagros Group, and relates him to his closer associates within it. None of them, for reasons of space and relevance, discusses his second-rate vases or his occasional serious ones. In these his connection with the Leagros mood is likely to be more immediately apparent, and so too his relationship with his more immediate colleagues, the Antiope Group and the Group of Würzburg 210. These second-rate and serious vases contribute to another problem: the attribution of some of the vases more vaguely connected with the painter by Beazley; these I propose to discuss in some detail.

CHAPTER I: STYLE

Beazley said that it was difficult to assign the work of the Leagros Group to its separate artists, but implied (10) that the Acheloos Painter was one of its more easily distinguished members, he illustrated this by describing one of the numerous vases in the painter's work which shows Heracles, 6 (plate 8), a second with komasts, 15 (plate 21), and 1 (plates 1 and 2), which mixes the themes by showing Heracles, Hermes, and Iolaos as komasts. He enumerates their physical characteristics, 'sinewy, middle-aged, rather sophisticated figures, with mobile necks, hog-eyes, trunk-like noses, and receding foreheads.' These, then, are the features which Beazley thought were particularly notable in the Acheloos Painter's work, and which recur throughout his surviving oeuvre.

The Handwriting - A: Figure work; Men.

The men have a particularly long profile to their large heads, so that they seem to tend towards a point at front and back. They have long jaws, which are usually accentuated by a bristling, jutting beard; Hermes on 1 (plate 1) has a good example. The nose and beard jut forward, and are clearly distinguished from the mouth, which is pushed forward in a pout; its inner corner often turns down. The lips are given an incised outline so that they are plainly separated and appear rather thick and blubbery. Occasionally a figure has its mouth open,

as on 1 (plate 1) and 15 (plate 21, side A), and the upper lip is well-differentiated here too. It projects nearly as far as the nose. Often the figure has a slightly wrong bite, so that the lower lip is a little underhung. The pipes player on the reverse of 12 (plate 17) displays this feature, and his chin, though pointed, is set too far back; if his head were down it would be barely evident. As it is, it contributes to the tendency of the face towards a point at the tip of the nose.

The nose is certainly trunk-like - something of a proboscis even - long, fleshy, and inquisitive. It is usually drawn with considerable delicacy, though more so in the right profile than the left. Often in the right profile it has a faint indication of the convexity of the nasal bridge; the contour of the nose has a slight outward bulge above the characteristic fleshy end, which seems to result from the painter's having started at the bridge of the nose with his brush, and worked towards the point, so that the paint collected in a blob at the tip. This tendency is well-illustrated by 1 (plate 1), on which all the figures have the trunk nose with the blobby end, projecting well out from the face. In the painter's left profiles the nose is more often a single curve from brow-bone to tip; it is still long, but less often equipped with a thick end. This nose appears on the komast on the right on 15, side A (plate 22). In both cases the flaring nostril is indicated by a deeply-curved arc.

The forward thrust of the nose is accentuated by the moustache which most of the figures possess. It may be indicated by a series of incised strokes forming a toothbrush moustache, or it may be the full-sized handlebar type most often worn by Heracles. Again 1 (plate 1) illustrates both types. Both kinds of moustache, on either profile, usually grow above, or level with, the nostril line, so that the lower part of the face is very hairy. The beard always conceals the lower jaw entirely and only tails off to a narrow isthmus in front of the ear; it is invariably continuous with the head hair. This comes back from the forehead in a series of lumpy waves to join the beard rather low down and far back on the head, and the beard then comes forward to a slight peak at the corner of the mouth and dips to reveal the lower lip. This can be seen on the face of Sisyphos on 16 (plate 24). The lower edge is usually shown by a series of tiny incised lines, as on the komasts of 19 (plate 28, side B), or occasionally short brush strokes, as on the trainer on 12 (plate 17, side A). Sometimes, as in the case of Iolaos' on 1 (plate 1), it can be a series of arcs, but usually only if the head hair has this kind of edge too.

Most of the Acheloos Painter's komasts have short hair, with either curly or bristly ends, usually bristly, and occasionally they even have a big fringe which sticks out at right-angles to the forehead in spikes, rather than lying flat to it.

All these varieties appear on 15 (plate 21). Some figures, particularly Hermes, have long hair caught up in a krobylos, in such a way that the ends, instead of being tucked in tidily, stick out like a coarse paint-brush behind the head, frequently from beneath the brim of a petasos, so that they balance the nose and beard, and produce an effect like a tatting-shuttle. Hermes usually has this kind of profile, which can be seen on 5 (plate 7) and again on 9 (plate 13, side A). The petasos is often low in the crown, and pushed rather far back on the head, so that the horizontal tendency of the head, noticed by Miss Haspels (11), is very marked in figures wearing the hat.

The hair of the old men who sometimes appear in the Ache-
loos Painter's work has more than one conventional appearance too. It is, naturally enough, white, and if still all there or only receding slightly, it flows down the back and shoulders in three separate locks, or sometimes two, as on 34 (plate 43). This rendering is like that used by the Leagros Group generally, but occasionally the painter uses a much less common convention; he gives his man a bald patch in the middle of the top of the head, so that there is a small detached strip of white hair at the front. If this is done the hair is almost always shorter, as it appears on 7 (plate 10, side B).

The eye is, of course, shown full-face in a profile head. It usually has a round central area, with the pupil shown by

a smaller incised circle inside the larger one. The outer limits of the eye are an almond shape, so that there is a small incised triangle on either side of the iris - in effect a white to the eye, and often quite a pronounced one. Sisyphos on 16 (plate 24), the two komasts on 18 (plate 26, side B), and the figures in the symposion on 24 (plate 35, side A) all have eyes like this. The satyrs on the other side of 24 display another kind of eye, which consists simply of an incised circle with a short stroke at either side of it. An impression of faint surprise conveyed by both types of eye is reinforced by the height of the eyebrow, a single shallow incised arc, coming well down towards the bridge of the nose, as if it met the other one, positioned some way above the upper eyelid, and at a definite slant. The eyes are set rather close to the nose, so that there is a large area of face, bounded by the mouth, eye and hairline, which is entirely blank. This can be seen on all the painter's male faces to a greater or lesser degree, but is well illustrated by the hunters on 26 (plate 37, side A). Once again, it emphasises the tendency of the heads towards the horizontal.

There are two distinct types of ear, one of which appears more often than the other. The more common one is simply a pattern of circles, to indicate the main shell of the ear, but not the lobe. Iolaos on 1 (plate 1), the pipes player on 12 (plate 17, side A) and the symposiast on 22 (plate 32) all

have this ear. It is set rather low and far back on the side of the head, so that the hair-line comes far back too, and the skull appears small for the size of the face, though its overall size is large for the size of the body. Hermes, on the reverse of 1 (plate 2) and on 5 (plate 7), has the other kind, which shows the lobe by a deep pendant loop, though there is still a tendency towards the circular patterns; all the figures on the reverse of 12 (plate 17) have this secondary ear-type. Both kinds may appear on either profile, and there appear to be no connections between the types and their owners, though Hermes is more often shown with a lobed ear than a circular one.

Apart from the head, the Acheloos Painter's hands and feet are the most immediately distinctive single features. He shows people making hand-gestures so often that there is a wide range of hands to choose from. On 1 (plate 2) we can see both of Heracles' hands as he plays the double pipes. They have broad U-shaped palms and abnormally long fingers, which curve back at the ends. In these particular examples there is definite success in the indication of some of the joints. Here there is a single incised knuckle at the base of the index finger. This single knuckle recurs on the hand of one of the komasts on 15 (plate 22), in the same position. Very often, as here, the hand is held out in front of the body in such a way that we can see how long the splayed fingers are. Frequently the ring

finger is longer than the others. They appear to have been drawn from palm to finger-tip so that the spatulate end is formed by the blob of accumulated glaze. Sometimes we can see the inside of the hand, as in the case of the woman being lifted on 15 (plate 21, side A) or of Acheloos on 39 (plate 48); both of them hold their hands out to another figure, so that we see the single crease across the palm, an S-shaped curve, and the woman has a little hook at the wrist to show the bulge of the palm. The painter is fond of showing the hand in profile, as he does with the woman's other hand on 15; the fingers are a series of expressive curves, though the painter did not develop a technique for, or more probably was not interested in, showing the angle made by the flexing of the hand at the knuckle. The thumb, usually markedly opposed in these profile representations, has the same S-shape tendency, and is often blunt and powerful-looking, relatively short compared with the fingers. Often the length of the hand and the curvature of the fingers have been deliberately exaggerated to make a gesture or movement more marked, particularly in pictures of komasts in which the length of the hand makes plain the slapping of a bottom or the arch of an arm over the head, as on 19 (plate 28), where the very length of the fingers makes the hand carry on the curve of the arm. Occasionally the painter is less successful, or more careless, in his drawing, and the hand has degenerated into a single

undifferentiated silhouette with a few incised strokes for the fingers - the representation conveys the idea, but it no longer looks like a properly articulated hand. The Hermes of the name vase 5 (plate 7, side A) has a hand like this.

When the painter shows a clenched fist the result is perhaps less convincing than his outstretched ones. On 19 (plate 28, side A) the man on the kline has one extended hand and one clenched fist; the extended hand is elegantly displayed across his stomach, but the clenched one is lumpy, although, as he usually does, the painter has shown the first joint of the fingers, so that it can clearly be seen that they exist. He is most successful in showing a fist clenched round something, from the inside, so that what is visible is the ends of the fingers and the thumb, shown by incision against the object clutched. On 12 (plate 17, side B) the jumper is shown holding his weights, and the difference in quality of draughtsmanship between the two hands is quite marked. The right hand is seen from inside, with the ends of the fingers tensed against the weight, with the thumb coming to meet them, and all four fingers are differentiated. The left hand apparently only has three fingers, and is drawn with a stolid, lumpy contour. Often the painter does not attempt to show the knuckles on the back of a clenched fist, and their absence contributes to the shapeless appearance of the member. This boneless look is accentuated

rather than diminished by the contrast with the wrist, narrow and elegant. At its coarsest the back of the bent hand is a flabby triangle with four bumps along its longest side. Heracles on 6 (plate 9, side B) has a good example of this hand.

Like the profile hands, the Acheloos Painter's feet are long and elegant, and rather narrow across the instep; they have high arches and long prehensile toes, as on 3 (plate 4), 6 (plate 8), and 7 (plate 10). Often there are too many toes; it is quite common for a figure to have six, as Apollo does on 18 (plate 26, side A), and it is not usually possible to argue that the sixth toe is meant to be the ball of the foot seen from the side. The toes are incised against the outline of the foot, and diminish carefully from the big toe to the little one, which is often S-shaped, as if to indicate an upturned toenail. On a few pots, such as 15 (plate 21, side A) and on the Sisyphos of 16 (plate 24, side A), toes appear on both feet, though they should not be visible on the farther foot. Hence the lifting komast of 15, and Sisyphos on 16, and, indeed, Heracles on 6 (plate 8), have two left feet. The painter started at the ankle and worked towards the toes, so that the collected glaze formed the big toe for him. The back of the ankle is slightly squared, as if too tight a shoe had rubbed a corn there, although all the foot-gear these figures ever wear is a pair of boots, as does the komast on the back of 16, and

then only infrequently. The ankle bone is shown in two ways: either an incised line down the shin which joins a shallow hook at the ankle, as on 6 (plate 8), 12 (plate 17), 15 (plate 21), or 18 (plate 26), so that the whole incision looks like a hockey stick with an open curve, or a single tiny incision, a broken circle, as on the ankle of the pipes player on 12 (plate 17), separated from the shin-line, if there is one. The painter's normal practice is to put the circle on the outside of the leg and the hockey stick on the inside, but this is not invariable, and sometimes, as on the discus throwers on 12 (plate 17), figures have a single kind, which appears both inside and outside the ankle.

The Acheloo Painter's people are always very long-legged, sometimes disproportionately so. The leg has a very large, muscular thigh, tapering to a narrow knee, and bulging out again into the sort of calf one might achieve by exaggerated padding. Figures on 1 (plate 1), 2 (plate 3), 6 (plate 8), for example, have legs like this. Often the two broad curves at the back of the leg follow those of the back, which also has a big curve at the top, along the spine to a narrow waist, and another smaller curve from the waist over the buttocks, which are large and well-cushioned. The running Heracles on 6 is a good example of all these characteristics, and he shows most of the usual anatomical markings. On the inside of the leg is an incised

line along the front edge of the thigh, and another longer one along the rear edge, coming out towards the knee-cap, shown by a single, or occasionally double, S-curve; a pothook shows the bulging calf muscle. On the outside of Heracles' leg there is a single line along the rear edge of the thigh, the knee is indicated by a pair of arcs forming a triangular shape, and the outside of the calf muscle is shown by a pair of short lines well to the front of the leg. Occasionally the upper knee marking is continuous with the line along the back of the thigh. Heracles is the only figure who regularly has differentiated knees; in other cases the S-curve is normally used for both knees, though the legs are often otherwise distinguished. Sometimes, when a figure is running, the bent following leg is much longer than the leading leg - Heracles on 6 (plate 9) has a huge stride as a result, and fills the picture with his long lope. When a figure runs, the leading leg is always the upstage leg, and the size of the thigh makes it look wrongly articulated. The figures always look as if the whole of the side of the body and the downstage leg had been cut in one piece, and the other leg were another piece, joined on with an invisible pin behind the buttock.

The arms are often articulated in much the same way - the right arm moves with the right leg, as is usually the case at this period, and the further arm appears from behind the chest

in much the same way as the further leg. With Heracles the lion skin covers this neatly, but with athletes the awkwardness of the joint is very evident. Sometimes, as on 23 (plate 34, side B), the problem is solved by presenting the chest frontally, so that the arm is simply continuous with the body. As with the legs, the arms have a set of conventions for the muscles and bones; the elbow is a pair of strokes arranged to form two sides of a triangle, as on 12 (plate 17), sometimes with a third stroke between them, as on 1 (plate 1) and 7 (plate 10), or it may be an S-curve and a single stroke, as on 6 (plate 9). These are used for both the inside and the outside of the elbow. Sometimes there are no other marks on the arm at all, but if there are, they are a single line on the outside of the forearm, as on 1 (plates 1 and 2), and a single, or just occasionally double line on the inside, well up near the elbow; sometimes the twist of the radius and ulna is represented by a single stroke down by the wrist, as on the discus thrower on the front of 12 (plate 17). Acheloos' right arm on 5 (plate 7, side A) is another good example. In general the arms are not as well-developed as the legs; they tend to be comparatively thin, and not particularly muscular, except in the case of Heracles, who has bulging muscles everywhere. Many figures reach forward, and if they do this the line of the shoulder is continuous with that of the arm, and starts from the back, so that the

figure appears to be round-shouldered. The shoulder line shows a little dip, as it does in life, before it curves out again for the biceps. The upper arm occasionally has one or two stroke along it, as on 6 (plate 12, side B).

The Acheloos Painter is fond of drawing endomorphic men - even his young men tend to be pear-shaped, and on 15 (plate 21) there is a young komast displaying just this kind of physique. His narrowest points are his neck and his knees, and between them is a series of contentedly-swelling curves, as his back swells out, narrows to the waist, and swells out again to form his typically plump, dimpled bottom. At the front the chest curves out almost as far as the elbow of his outstretched arm, and in again very slightly to the waist, where there is a shallow curved line to show the lower limit of the pectoral. The stomach is plump, and has a number of short horizontal creases across the front, where they would appear in life if the man sat down. Another horizontal line shows the crease across the pelvis, and the line of the near leg is continued to form the crease of the crotch. Sometimes the ribs are shown perfunctorily at the side of the chest, but this is rare. The second sprinter on 23 (plate 34) has ribs. If the torso is presented frontally as it often is, the pectorals are indicated simply by a pair of shallow arcs, with a tiny incised circle for the nipple. The collar-bone is always indicated if the posture does not obscure in the centre of side A

its position, and is always a short curving line with a hook at the inner end, or two if the chest is frontal. They do not meet, and the sternum is rarely shown. It appears on one of the komasts on 21 (plate 31, side B). Quite often there is an attempt to twist the body away from us a little, and the lines of the arm and shoulder do not join the line of the back. The edge of the nearer buttock is marked by a line continuous with the leg, inside the silhouette of the further buttock, as on 12 (plate 17).

Sometimes the Acheloos Painter's figures are clothed, or have a garment tied round their waists like a towel. Hermes and the komasts often wear what appears to be a himation wrapped in a bulging roll, shown by its corrugated outline, and a number of horizontal lines; one corner hangs to the thigh in uneven folds. A few figures about to go on a journey wear this pseudo-loin-cloth and a petasos, which is often white, and boots with big tongues. Occasionally they wear a chlamys, also falling into pleats. Sometimes a komast has a himation thrown round him or over one shoulder, or worn like a stole over both elbows, as Eurystheus also wears it on 46 (plate 55), falling into points at both ends. The komasts wear enormous wreaths which stick out in branches at the back and front, as on 19 (plate 28, side B) or 21 (plate 31, side B), or garlands of ivy leaves. The only really distinctive male garment is that worn by the pipes player on 12 (plate 17) and 49 (plate 58), which is half black and half

white, with a crenellated seam between them, and a white hem to the black half. It has a white collar and falls unbelted to the feet, like the charioteer's white chiton, which appears on 29 (plate 40).

Old men are occasionally shown; like the one on 7 (plate 10, side B), they wear a long chiton with a himation over the top, which falls into sketchily-indicated folds. The himation falls into pleats at the hem, indicated by a zig-zag edge, and a corner appears behind and before. There are a few curved lines radiating from the arm over which the ends are slung, and some horizontal ones round the shoulders. All these clothes are usually decorated with a spattering of red dots or incised crosses. A patterned border appears very rarely.

Women.

The Acheloos Painter's women, apart from Athena, appear comparatively rarely, and then only in specific contexts, such as departure scenes, parties, or at the fountain. They are as tall as his men, with the same long feet and hands. Usually their clothes are short enough to reveal the ankle, for which there is very rarely any indication of the bone incised in the white paint. The ankle, like those of the men, is narrow and elegant, and has the same corn-like bulge at the back. Usually the women are barefoot. On 24 (plate 35, side B) a maenad rides a donkey, with her skirts up round her waist to reveal her whole

leg. It is very much the same shape as those of the men, with the bulging calf, but is not so exaggeratedly curved. The knee-cap is prominent.

The arms are long and the hands large, with the long fingers and well-developed thumb we noticed on the male figures; one of the Muses on 18 (plate 26, side A) demonstrates this. There is the same tendency to slight round-shoulderedness, but where the clothing reveals it the back is not so curved, and neither is the bottom. If we can see the line of the upper chest and the breasts, they are generous and set rather high, as on 18 (plate 26, side A) and 35 (plate 45, body).

The women have a different facial profile from that of the men; they are quite short from front to back of the skull, and long from forehead to chin. The female figures on 35 (plate 45) demonstrate this well. Like the men, they are long in the neck, but their heads are smaller by comparison with the rest of the body. If they wear their hair down, the edge is indicated by a wavy line, as on one of the Muses on 18 (plate 26, side A); they do not have spiky hair. It either hangs down the back from a point behind the ear, or has a few curly locks down the front of the shoulder as well. As with the men, there is a fringe which may stick out in front. If the hair is up, and is visible - some of the figures have a himation over the head - it is caught up in a krobylos, with the ends sticking out like that

of the men, but without the spiky effect, as on the woman on 22 (plate 32). The fringe is still curly. This hairstyle is worn by the women at the fountain on 35 (plate 45). They have small neat ears, like the shell-ear of the men, set, as theirs are, low on the side of the head, but because the head is not long horizontally, the effect is merely of a low-set ear, and not a contribution to the shape of the face. The eye is the usual almond shape, normally with a black pupil set slightly towards the nose, as on 35 (plate 45), and has a short, raised eyebrow, incised at a faint slant. The nose is usually straight, and not at all prominent, but the chin is rounded and large. The mouth is a single incised line, quite short, and slanted upwards at the inner end, as on 37 (plate 47); the painter's women seem to have a sense of humour lacking in the men, who usually look worried.

The Acheloos Painter seems to have had no special preference for any single style of dress for his women; they wear a peplos or chiton or both, quite indiscriminately. Athena's aegis is usually so large that it is difficult, if not impossible, to tell whether she is wearing a peplos or a chiton; in some cases, such as 3 (plate 4, side B), the skirt is such that she seems to be wearing a chiton. However, the painter was clearly not interested in trying to show the weight and texture of the material from which the garments are made, and so on the rare

occasions on which we can tell what sort of garment is worn, we can see that the peplos may have a full skirt which falls into deeply-fluted folds, rather as we would expect a chiton to do, as on 3 (plate 4). When a woman wears both garments, the peplos appears incised on top of the chiton, ending a short distance above the chiton-hem, as on the female komast on 18 (plate 26, side B). The painter succeeds, better than he usually does in his male figures, in showing material falling into soft pleats, by using a thick incision for the vertical edge of the pleat, and a thin one which thickens where it changes direction, for the hem, as on 3 (4, side B). He uses the common splaying lines curving from waist to edge to show the horizontal pull exerted on the garment by knee-movement.

Occasionally, as on 7 (plate 10, side B), the woman has a himation draped over her head, and the Acheloos Painter's treatment of this is rather less realistic. It falls, as do those worn by the men, into points fore and aft, and a sketchy zig-zag runs down the point to show that it is folded material; the pointed, angular quality of the garment makes a nice contrast with the curved shapes of the body, which is often revealed because the dress is pulled tightly against it, especially down the back, as on 36 (plate 46, body). The painter was not particularly interested in surface decoration, and his women rarely have more than the odd incised cross, groups of dots,

or, as almost always with the men's clothing, red dots all over the garment. The closely dotted clothing of Peleus and Thetis on 36 (plate 46) is rare.

The Acheloos Painter's typical woman appears to be younger than most of his men. She usually appears bareheaded, and engaged in lively activity. She is seen dancing, making advances to symposiasts, in conversation with some men in a fountain-house, and on one occasion preparing to deal with a man trying to molest her as she draws water. She is never, apparently, at a loss, even when being carried off by a powerful satyr; she seems big, confident, and self-possessed.

Animals.

There is a fair amount of animal life in the Acheloos Painter's work. His fondness for Heracles makes bulls, boars, deer and lions quite frequent, and we also see horses, dogs and a few birds.

His large quadrupeds have a standard body, which is equipped with a different set of legs and head as occasion demands. It is solid, long, with plump hindquarters, and the anatomical markings are standard, as on 3, 20, and 24, (plates 4, 30, and 35, side B). Three or four rib marks appear along the flank a short line along the along the haunch of the hind leg, and the shoulder of the front leg is marked off by a deep curve from shoulder to breastbone. The legs are slim and elegant,

and the painter paid a good deal of attention to the bone structure. The contour of the leg is often more realistic than that of his human legs. The joints are indicated by incised lines; a pothook or a broken circle forms the knees and hocks, aa on 36 (plate 46), short lines the hollow between the bone and the muscle, a straight line the root of the hoof, and if the hoof is cloven, a vertical line crossing it for the cleft. The fetlock is shown by a short incised tuft.

The boar is shorter in the leg than the other animals, as we see on 6, 20, and 46 (plates 8, 30 and 55), but the legs are still thin compared with the mass of the body. It has a forked tail with two tufts or a bristly one. A ridge crest runs down the back, with incised bristles along its length. The face comes to a sharp point in the snout, which turns up at the end. Its eyes are exactly like those of the men, as Beazley's description would lead us to suppose. The face is marked off from the rest of the head by a bracket-shaped curve, which is interrupted by a leaf-shaped ear. Sometimes there are a couple of creases in the throat below the face. The tusks are not very pronounced, and the mouth is well-outlined with a double incision. The chest and throat, but not the belly, are dappled with red spots.

Bulls are constructed in much the same manner. We find some on 1, 36, and 44 (plates 1, 45, and 53). The head is

small for the size of the body, and the face has the same tendency towards a point. The same bracket mark appears at the edge of the face, and the ear is leaf-shaped. The eye is larger, and set high up in the head under a bulge in the contour of the face indicating the socket. A line runs from the inner corner to the muzzle. The horn, and this is true of Acheloos too, is short and curved in a double S-shape. The ear is set slightly behind it, and is perhaps a little more realistic than the boar's. The bull's muzzle is round and blunt. The throat and forequarters are stippled with red dots, and the tail is divided into two crinkly locks. Occasionally the bull has a white stripe on the back of the leg, and white splotches on the belly.

Horses appear on the Acheloos Painter's pots infrequently as compared with their habitual appearance on the vases of the main Leagros Group. We find them on 21, 36, 29, 30 (plates 31, 46, 40, and 41) and the Acheloos Painter seems to have preferred to show his people on foot, and in situations in which horses are not essential. He did paint them successfully when necessary, and 47 (plate 56) shows three Amazons with their horses, two riding and the central one leading hers, which bridles realistically. It lifts its forehooves off the ground, and neighs with an open mouth. The mouth is drawn with great delicacy, so that small as the figure is, we can see the curvature of the

lower jaw and the flare of the nostrils above the wrinkling of the upper lip. All this is shown simply by the contour of the head. The eye is large and set high in the head, and a line (12) runs from it to end in a slight curve about two-thirds of the way down the nose. Sometimes this line is straight. The nostril is an incised broken circle. The ears are set high on the top of the head, and are quite small and pricked. The mane is a short stiff brush, incised at the edge like the boar's ridge-crest, and if the horse is in motion the mane is blown back. Often it has a red stripe along the neck-edge. The horse's cheek is a deep curve, and a number of short incised lines show the creases of the neck.

There is the same sturdiness of build about the horses as about the other animals, but these horses are nonetheless long-legged, as in life, and they are elegant animals. They are sometimes shallow in the breastbone and narrow in the hind-quarters, as on the Palermo lekythos 47 (plate 56). The body markings are as before, with the addition of a single line incised along the body at a slight angle to the belly, beginning near the forelegs and extending about half way along the body. Apart from their length the legs are shown in the same way as those of the other animals, with the tiny broken circles at knee and ankle and the incised fetlock. The hooves are particularly small and delicate. Sometimes there is a white streak

on one or more of the legs, and on the body, particularly under the belly. A few of them have a white blaze on the forehead and nose. If the horse is in violent motion, then it is shown in the usual rocking-horse posture, and the length of the head and of the outstretched legs contribute to the streamlined effect. The bridling horse on the lekythos is not at all typical. Sometimes the horses rear, and the painter observes carefully the way in which the head goes back as far as the horse can stretch, and the forelegs paw the air, but the hind-legs are straighter than they should be, and there is no attempt to show the tendency most horses have to sit back onto their haunches.

The donkey appears both as a detached head carved in stone* as a spout - on 35, body (plate 45) - and as the living animal, as on 24, ridden by a maenad (plate 35). In many ways the head is among the painter's most successful. It has long ears, the little fringe between them on the forehead, a big eye, and a white muzzle with the nostril incised in the paint. It has a short rough mane, and the odd white patch on the body. The tail is the characteristic stringy stalk with the long hairs at the end. In other respects it does not differ from the horse.

The dog is an animal which appears often in the Acheloos Painter's work, both in the shape of Kerberos and as a domestic animal in scenes of everyday life. Kerberos appears on 34 (plate * or cast in bronze,

43) as on many other pots of this period, as a two-headed dog with one head facing forwards and the other backwards. They are shown overlapping at the neck, so that we can see clearly that they are two heads side by side on the same neck, and their owner has turned one head to growl. He has no snake-like additions as he sometimes has on contemporary pots. He is drawn with a long head, so that there is room for his mouth to open in an intimidating snarl, with white teeth and a long red tongue. The shape of the head, with its very shallow lower jaw, and its lumpy upper jaw ending in a snout-like nose, is very like that of the painter's boar. There are three short incised strokes at the side of the nose, to show the wrinkles caused by the lifting of the upper lip, and the mouth is outlined round its inner end with several long incised strokes, which convey well the tension imposed on the face when a dog snarls and bares its teeth. There is a small arc on the side of the face to show the cheek. The eye is big and staring, with a small circle inside the large one for the iris, set below a bulge for the socket. The ear is big and set well back, with a line along it branched at the end to show that the ear is pricked and swivelled forwards. The head is surrounded by a ruff of short spiky hair where it joins the neck, and the incised lines continue along the contour of the jaw as far as the corner of the mouth. The neck is thick and muscular, with a white

streak down the front of it, and is encircled by a wide red collar, which disappears under the hair running down the length of the back in spiky locks, each alternate one embellished with a red streak. The body is square and solid, although, as with the painter's other dogs, it tapers off towards the hind legs. The markings are the usual ones, and the stroke along the belly appears here too. Kerberos has rounded lumpy lion-paws with little humped incisions for the toes and white claws. Since he is a monster he is larger in proportion to the humans and gods around him than the ordinary dogs are. He and the ordinary dogs are built like a collie. On 22 (plate 32) the dog crouches under the table by the kline. She is constructed exactly like Kerberos except for the second head and the spine-crest, and she has white teats under her belly. She is a solid dependable animal with a small ruff behind the head, thickset forequarters, thin legs and lumpy paws, and she has a big feathery tail. This standard dog, with or without the teats, appears in all the usual domestic circumstances, and occasionally as a working dog, hunting or bull-catching, as on 36 (plate 46).

The lion, despite the popularity of Heracles as a subject, appears rather rarely. Like the donkey, it appears as a detached head in use as a spout on 35 (plate 45). Like all the other animals it has a small head for the size of the body. Logically enough it is like that on the skin which Heracles wears as a

result of his fight with it. It has a large staring eye, closed on the dead skin, a long nose, leaf shaped ears, and a shaggy little ruff next to its face; the mouth is wide open with a red tongue and white teeth. A long wavy line outlines the edge of the mouth, and turns back on itself to join the wavy line indicating the hair-line of the neck ruff. A few short lines feather the muzzle between the nose and the mouth. The lion has a powerful chest, largely covered by the mane, which may extend a long way down the back and tail off into a series of spiky locks to the tail, as on 35 (plate 45, shoulder). The mane may be dotted with red, and is edged by a series of short incisions. The legs are long and muscular, with knobbly paws, with incised toes. There is a tuft of hair behind the elbow of the foreleg. The tail is long and stringy, with a tassel at the end, and arches well away from the hind-quarters at the root. It is a more convincing menace than either the bull or the boar.

A few deer appear on these vases. A tiny fawn hangs upside down on 2 (plate 3), the object of the struggle between Heracles and Apollo, who grasp it by the legs and let it hang between them. It is more elegantly proportioned than is usual with this painter; its body is less thick and its legs very thin. The head itself is small and pointed, and the ears enormous, as on 10 (plate 15, side A), where the animal is bigger, and it

was possible to show the ear opening. There is white on the belly, and under the chin, which is small and rounded with a small incised arc for the mouth and a broken circle for the nostril.

Heracles and the Hind appear on 3 (plate 4), where the creature is fully grown and equipped with vast antlers, set high on the head, apparently between the ears, which are large and point in opposite directions. The face is small, and comes forward to a point, with an arc to show the outer curve of the jaw, rather like that of the horse. The eye is not very large. The nostril is a broken circle, but there is only the slightest indication of the mouth. The neck is long and elegant, with a line of short incised strokes down it, beginning behind the ear and curving down towards the chest. The body markings are as before; as with the lion there is a tuft of hair behind the elbow of the foreleg, and the fetlock is shown as short incisions on a lump in the contour of the pastern.

A few goats appear, with a face so like a human one that it is sometimes not clear whether it is intended to be human or not. It has a short nose and a full beard incised all over. Its eye is like that of the men. The ear is unequivocally goatish and set high on the head behind a formidable pair of spiral horns, shown with a wavy contour and slanted incisions. The rest of the body is equally unmistakably goat. It has a slight

mane-like effect along the back of its rather thick neck, and a short scut of a tail. On 43 (plate 52) the beard is longer, but the face less human; it has a hairy tuft on the forehead, and the spiral horn is shown by a serrated line along its length instead of the slanted incisions.

Birds sometimes sit at the side of the picture; there is one on 5 (plate 7). They are usually big and raven-like. This one is a ruffish bird, perching on one leg and gesturing in front of it with the other. The head is small with an enormous beak, and the body is long, ending in three points for the wings and tail. There is only the very slightest attempt to indicate the feathers.

Where the painter shows hybrids they are straightforward - Acheloos divides into an animal body exactly like an ordinary bull, and a man part exactly like an ordinary man, with the addition of the horns and shaggy hair. Satyrs do not appear often, but they are very like the middle-aged komasts, with horse-tails striped in red, and sketchily-drawn ears whose precise shape and articulation is not clear. The nose is snub, but the face is otherwise like the human face.

Plants.

Plants are not treated with great interest. Like many of his contemporaries, the Acheloos Painter often fills the background of a picture with a tree. It is always the same tree,

whether rooted or held in the hand of one of the figures. It has a spindly trunk and long trailing branches, decorated with small black dots along its length. Only the fruit indicates the type of tree, bunches of grapes as on 19 (plate 26) or big white apples as on 7 (plate 10, side A), dotted along the branches. No attempt is made to differentiate the structure of the two sorts of tree, and their only real role is as background fillers or as a clothes horse for Heracles.

B: Foreshortening.

In ARVS, Miss Richter pointed out (13) that the red figure artists who were the contemporaries, and in some cases the colleagues, of the Acheloos Painter had developed a system of renderings to cope with the problem of the effects of a twisted pose on the human body. This involved such devices as the shortening of the further collar-bone, the shifting of the rectus abdominis to the further side of the torso, and the displacement of other parts of the anatomy in an attempt to show the foreshortening in which they were increasingly interested. On the whole, this is not what the Acheloos Painter does. He was interested in twisted poses, but appears to have had little concern for developing a system for showing the more refined aspects of their effect on the body. It may be that he felt that this kind of refinement was less effective than a boldly-presented silhouette with a frontal torso, profile head and profile legs. Just

occasionally we see an attempt to show the three-quarter view of the back by the indication of both the buttocks and not one, as on 12 (plate 17), but it is not a particularly striking attempt, and by no means as advanced as those of the painter's red figure contemporaries. Sometimes the effect is achieved, but is positively grotesque, as on the back of 26 (plate 37) on which the subject is, admittedly, a burlesque. Two boxers indulge in a shadow fight to the accompaniment of pipes; both of them are shown in a twisted posture in which the join between torso and pelvis is particularly clumsy, though there is a shortening of the further collar-bone, and it may be that the painter was deliberately exploiting and exaggerating the clumsy join for comic effect, as the twist in the body of Silenos on the other side is very much better, or at least more conventionally done. In this picture we see a view of the body which is definitely more than profile and less than frontal; there is no attempt to show the rectus abdominis - the painter never seriously tries to show this particular muscle-complex - but we see the whole of the nearer collar-bone, and a curve continuous with the contour of the neck shows the inner end of the further one. The outlines of the two hunters, as opposed to the anatomical detail, are also convincing. They are kneeling on one knee with the torso turned towards us. The near arm of the one at the extreme left is given a shoulder-joint in front of the

contour of the back, which we can see under the armpit, but the joint is awkward, and the positioning of the collar-bone makes it appear more so. On a pot by Phintias in the British Museum (14) a figure is shown with its arm in the same position, drawn in much the same way. The very fact that it is a red figure pot makes the appearance of the joint marginally less awkward.

On 25, side A (plate 36), one of the komasts turns round to look at the komast to the right of him in the picture. Instead of looking over his right shoulder, a position which would have been easier for our painter, given his limitations, to show, he looks over his left shoulder, which involves his twisting right round to present us with his frontal torso. The twist, however, is not drawn as occurring at the waist, but at the base of the pectorals, so that the rib-cage stays in profile, but the pectorals are frontal. This appears a little forced, but succeeds in being less unrealistic than a twist at the waist as drawn by this painter. He managed better on the other side of the same vase, where the curvature of the nearer pectoral is shallower than that of the further one, and the line runs over onto the upper part of the arm, in a manner reminiscent of Oltos or Euthymides. Occasionally a woman is shown in a twisted pose, and the clothing makes the inadequacies of the drawing much less apparent, but the problem is still obvious, and the figure still has a profile head, frontal torso

and profile legs. 16 (plate 24, side B) shows a good example of the painter's difficulties. He does not appear to have had any trouble, oddly enough, in articulating the arm properly; arms are usually convincing in the paintings, whether they have a profile hand or a frontal one.

In general it seems that the painter was interested, as were most of his contemporaries, in the possibilities of showing postures other than simple profiles, but found considerable difficulty in doing so. The frequency with which he painted a scene with at least one figure in a twisted pose, often a complicated one, is witness enough to the interest, or at any rate to the need the painter felt to pay some attention to the interests of his contemporaries. On the other hand, the twisted figure is often the only one in the composition, and is used for its effect on the whole picture. The painter was fond of the komos as a subject, which usually involved, as far as he was concerned, spreading a procession of figures, or a well-spaced group, across the panel on the side of the pot, or across the open area between the palmettes under the handles. It is noticeable that almost all of these processions are headed by a figure who twists or turns back to close the composition.

C: Composition.

When the painter decorated a standard neck-amphora, with handle-palmettes, he almost always closed the composition of

the picture by placing a framing figure at each side next to the palmette, usually facing inwards in simple profile, but occasionally walking out of the picture and looking back over its shoulder. The name vase 5 (plate 6, side A) is interesting because Acheloos is the figure at the extreme right of the picture, and he is rushing off to the right, but he gestures back towards the horn on his head, and Heracles' club leans against a tree in a position where it leads the eye back into the picture. The scene on 6 (plate 8), in which the Boar is determinedly rushing off to the right, is unusual, as is that on the other side of the vase, which is filled by the massive figure of Heracles, running to the right with the Apples of the Hesperides, but looking back over his shoulder, so that the spectator's eye is concentrated firmly on the centre of the picture. The reverse of 7 (plate 10) is, however, much more typical; it is, in effect, a three-figure composition, an arrangement of which the Acheloos Painter made some considerable though not always conventional use, in which a hoplite and an archer overlap in the middle, with their heads facing in opposite directions, so that we see both their faces, framed by a man and a woman facing towards them at each side. These figures round off the picture neatly, and the fact that the archer is facing behind him gives the picture a symmetry it would have had without the use of this device, but which is

strongly emphasised because of it. The obverse of the vase demonstrates the same wish for symmetry. Heracles is struggling to restrain the Boar, which gallops towards the right; its progress is impeded by Hermes, who stands in a dangerous position at its head, facing Heracles in exactly the right place to be gored. The figures overlap neatly: Heracles' and Hermes' hands cross above the Boar's head, and Heracles overlaps with the Boar, so that the picture is successfully balanced. The eye travels from Heracles to the Boar to Hermes, and back again to Heracles, who is, after all, the most important figure, and worth a second look.

On 10 Athena is used to achieve the same effect (plate 15, side A); her body faces out of the picture to the right, but she looks back at Heracles and the fawn, which itself moves towards Heracles but turns its head to look back at Athena, thus establishing links between the three figures which would not otherwise be there. The athletes on 12 (plate 17) form a frame round the pipes player, as do the komasts on 15 (plate 21) round the central lifting figure, though one of the framing figures on the back is looking towards the palmettes as if to lead the spectator to look at the other side of the pot, on which there is a procession in which the leading figure is moving off to the right but looking back. On 16 (plate 24, side B) two figures face right, but move to the left, towards the

third figure, which both faces and moves right. The painter was fond of stringing a procession across the panel of a type B amphora, and bringing it up short by putting a twisting figure at the front of the party. This is the case with the procession of satyrs and a maenad on a donkey on 24 (plate 35, side B) on which the satyr in front is looking behind him at the maenad. The twisting figure was evidently part of the Acheloos Painter's stock in trade, and it appears often, but almost always as a piece of compositional machinery. He was not, it seems, confident or interested enough to use such a figure as an impressive study in its own right - the Heracles on 6 (plate 9) is a magnificent exception - and was happier to use such figures to direct the spectator's eye to what is important in the picture, in which he succeeded, and to confine the content of the picture to the space it occupies.

The Acheloos Painter was fond of compositions with comparatively few figures or objects, and scenes with many are the exception not the rule. They are rarely among his better work, and they are subject to much the same rules as those with few. These pictures are almost always severely limited to the space in which they are drawn, and they are frequently claustrophobic. Very few of the pictures, whether they have many figures or few, have any indication of setting, except for the odd tree, or some essential furniture; 9 (plate 13, side A)

shows the portico of Hades, and 14 and 35 (plates 20 and 45) show fountain houses. Otherwise the figures usually occupy an empty space, enlivened by the occasional oddly insubstantial tree, or a rock. There is always a ground-line to the picture, but that is usually all.

In his more crowded compositions, his figures overlap each other, but in general figures stay widely spaced. This may be a habit the Acheloos Painter acquired as much from his knowledge of red figure work as from black figure, as the lack of overlap is an obvious trait in early red figure, necessitated by painters' temporary inability to differentiate figures by other means. The Pioneers very soon learnt that if necessary they could show overlapping figures without much loss of clarity as on Euphronios' Heracles and Antaios krater (15). Occasionally parts of figures overlap onto others in the Acheloos Painter's work, as Hermes' hand and foot do Heracles on 2 (plate 3, side A), Heracles and Acheloos on 5 (plate 7) and the pipes player and kneeling athlete on 12 (plate 17), all of which are open compositions in which the figures could have been spread out, admittedly with less interesting silhouette-effects. It is the shape these figures make against their background which seems to have exercised the painter. However, these overlaps are rare, and he seems to have been content to exploit the effect on a few vases only.

The pictures are full of movement, and particularly of gesture; a great deal of use is made of the hands of figures. The komast on 18 (plate 26, side B) and the satyr at the left on 4 (plate 5, side B) hold a hand up in front of them, with the palm turned outwards; this gesture seems to occur in contexts where there is conversation. The same gesture, but with the palm towards the figure, appears to indicate consternation, as in the case of Acheloos on 5 (plate 7). The arm held up in front of the face with the hand displayed palm towards the spectator, fingers splayed, seems to be an encouraging gesture; Athena waves such a hand at Heracles, and so, sometimes, does Hermes, as on 4 (plate 5, side A). Often figures reach out to one another in a way that could indicate affection or a desire to help, as Hermes does to Heracles on 2 (plate 3, side A). Often, however, the gestures and postures are those which people make in life, or into which the body naturally falls in the course of the activity in which the figures are engaged. Heracles brandishes his club, komasts wave their arms about and slap their bottoms, runners' arms move as they run, and none of these gestures is indicative of anything beyond a particular sort of movement. Few of the painter's figures are static, and even on the rare occasions when most of them are lying about, at least one figure in the picture is active. On 19 (plate 28, side A), a single figure is dancing

oblivious of the fact that everyone else is engaged in quiet conversation. This has disturbed the dog, who is looking round her at what is going on.

There is plenty of colour in the Acheloos Painter's work, though none of it is used in an unexpected way, or in a manner peculiar to him. He uses red for men's beards unless they are old, white for female flesh and dappled animal hides, both for armour straps and some parts of chariot-harnesses, and both for ivy trails and patterns on garments. Some of the animals encountered by Heracles have red spots on their throats. Heracles always wears a red belt, if he is belted at all, and charioteers' chitons are always white. All these are either standard conventions or can be paralleled in the work of contemporary painters. The use of colour for surface decoration is confined to commonplaces such as white mounts on furniture, as on 19 (plate 28, side A) or on clothing. Colour is used to vary the monotony of the black silhouette, but only in very obvious ways, and we must conclude that the painter was not concerned to experiment, but only to emphasise, or to avoid visual boredom.

The incised detail of the figures was apparently more important to the Acheloos Painter than the colour, since the folds of a garment frequently ignore the white of flesh, or of a loaf, or the red dots on a garment, and the incised line

runs so boldly through the patch of colour that it shows up even on a photograph. The painter was apparently interested to some extent in the effects produced by thicker or thinner incised lines; he did make use of them occasionally to show the folds of a garment as on 3 (plate 4), and some of his anatomical details are more prominent than others. The collar-bone, the edge of the beard, the contour of an arm held in front of the body, the fingers of an unsplayed hand, are all drawn with a more insistent line than the mark on the shin or forearm. This corresponds to the red figure usage of relief lines and thinned glaze. Euthymides, for example, used relief line for the important anatomical details, and thinned glaze for the smaller details of the complicated musculature he gave his figures. The Acheloos Painter had no apparent system, and this use of differing thicknesses of line is not a feature of all his work, but it was something he evidently bore in mind, perhaps as a result of seeing some of his contemporaries at work.

When figures overlap, incision is used, as of course any black figure painter must use it, to outline the hand or foot or whatever it may be, and differentiate it from the figure overlapped. This appears to be the only use of outline incision made by the painter, except by mistake, or where it was obviously easier to carry on the incised stroke than to keep breaking it

off, as in the case of Heracles' fingers against the pipes, and the pipes themselves on 1 (plates 1 and 2). He did not use it for figures already well-silhouetted against their background. In the same way, he relied on simple relief line for such details as spears and staves, without outlining them as other painters did; the Acheloos Painter, at his best, had a steady hand and an enviable control of contour, which he exploited fully.

D: Subsidiary patterns.

The Acheloos Painter appears to have been very much a child of his time as regards his subsidiary vase patterns. There are no patterns on his surviving vases, with the possible exception of the psykter 41 which are not paralleled by other examples on contemporary pots, and usually those within the Leagros Group at that. All of them except the psykter 41 have patterns which are standard for the shapes they decorate, and appear in the conventional places. The painter was not, it seems, interested in them for their own sake as a general rule, and except for the patterns on the back of the lekythos 48 (plate 57), he did not go out of his way to make them more elaborate than he need.

There are four pointed amphorae, all of which follow the same scheme of decoration: a lotus and palmette chain on the neck, tongues above the picture, but only to the width of the picture panel, and a lotus bud interlace under the picture.

On 2, 3, and 4 (plates 3, 4, and 5), which are very similarly potted and differ from 1, there is a palmette at the base of each handle. All the neck-friezes consist of lotuses and five-leaved palmettes; the intervals between the lotuses are not very wide, and the effect is tall and narrow, echoing the shape of the neck itself. The lotus stalks, as is usually the case with this painter, are not treated as two separate elements, above and below the chain, but are joined, and the chain links on these three pots are painted so as not to cross them. The links are not always of even size, and on 2 and 3 there are sometimes four links between lotuses and sometimes five. Some attempt is made to give the lotuses a faint indication of three petals, but it is usually no more than a slight indentation of the outline at the top, and what would have been the outer petals are elongated to form the arcs above and below the palmettes. The lotuses do not taper very much from stalk to petals, and form a narrow frame for the palmettes.

On all the pots the palmettes are deliberately given hearts consisting of a single blob, carefully arranged so as not to obscure the chain link, from which sprout five leaves, painted by putting a central line to form the stalk, and then widening part of it to form the characteristic tear-drop. The central leaf is always a little longer than the others, which tend to spread out to the sides of the space, and occasionally touch

the lotuses. The separate leaves of the palmettes are not always evenly painted; some of them have one virtually straight edge and one bulging one, and the whole palmette is sometimes slightly asymmetrical, because the placing of the leaves is not even. The straighter edges of the leaves are usually on the right as the spectator looks at them. All these unevennesses of detail are slight and not immediately obvious. They are far more neat and tidy, for example, than the corresponding patterns on the painter's neck-amphorae, and appear a little wooden by comparison.

The tongues at the top of the picture are merely a thick straight line, not a tapered one, with a rounded end, and each one is separated from the next by a thin relief line. A thick, slightly scalloped line separates them from the picture.

Under the picture on all these vases is a lotus bud interlace with dots in the interstices. The buds are fat, with straight sides and a curved lower edge; their points touch the line drawn above the reserved strip on which they appear, and they are connected top and bottom by a row of interlaced arcs. No attempt is made on any of these pots to thicken the arc near the bud to form an opening petal. They are strictly arcs and nothing more. The buds are placed rather close together so that the lower interlace is tall and narrow. Sometimes the part of the interlace which forms the stalk does not come to the centre of the bud, because the buds were painted first, occasionally too

close together to allow the interlace to be even and correctly aligned with the bud.

The palmettes at the roots of the handles of 2 and 3 have five plump leaves, and are topped by volutes which extend tendrils to make a surrounding line to the whole pattern, which is in a reserved patch the shape of the palmette and its volutes. On 2 and 4 the palmette is well up on the handle; on 3 it is on the body of the pot with its volutes on the handle.

All these patterns are painted in simple silhouette, without the incised detail which sometimes appears on contemporary pots, and there is no added colour either. The neck patterns and tongues can be found on real Panathenaic vases, but they usually have rays at the base of the vase, which these do not; they are black all over except for the reserved panels. The picture comes further down the pot than on real Panathenaics, which tend not to have a pattern band under the picture.

The neck-amphorae form a large group of twenty-one of standard size and one small one, 22. As with the pointed ones there is a standard scheme, a neck pattern, tongues on the shoulder, a band of pattern under the picture, rays at the base of the body, and an arrangement of palmettes under the handle, just as on most neck amphorae of this date.

Most of these amphorae have a lotus and palmette chain on the neck. Only two, 5 and 17 (plates 6 and 25), have an irregular

number of links across the gap between the lotuses; usually they are drawn with care to space them evenly, and it may be that the links were drawn first, and the lotuses were put in afterwards. On 7 (plate 10) this was clearly the case, as the links adjacent to the lotus stalks are obscured in several places. Although the links are evenly spaced as regards width, they are drawn rather haphazardly, and some of them slip upwards or downwards out of the horizontal line. They are not drawn with even thickness, but tend to be thin at the top and thick at the bottom.

The lotuses, as before, are very unlike a flower on a stalk, and more like black celery, but there is more attempt on the neck-amphorae to separate the ends of the stick-like formation into three petals. Like the links of the chain, they are not tidy; they are usually lumpy, and were formed by painting the stalks first and then splaying the ends in three short strokes with a full brush, with the result that some of them are not successfully run into the stalk, but join on with a wider bulge than was intended, thus diminishing the space for the palmette, which is cramped. The lotus elements are joined on at top and bottom from outer petal to outer petal by an arc as usual, and these arcs are thick at one end and thin at the other, as if the painter had exerted pressure on his brush while making the arc.

The palmettes normally have five leaves - the name vase 5 has seven-leaved ones - so that the space between the lotuses is narrow. As on the pointed amphorae the palmettes are tall and narrow, with the central leaf rather longer than the others. As before, they were drawn by putting a long stroke to form the stalk and to position it correctly, and then widening the end. As in the case of the lotus petals, the ends of the palmettes tend to be blobby, and they are uneven in outline. They often have a wobbly contour, and have one straight edge and one curved one, as do the ones on the pointed amphorae. Often the outer leaves tend to curve towards the chain. As before, the palmettes are not always quite symmetrical, although they have an evenly balanced number of leaves. The leaves are well-spaced, with plenty of red ground showing between them; they are often exaggeratedly wide at the end and narrow near the heart. Once again, all the hearts are drawn deliberately, and were not just allowed to form from the accumulated glaze running out of the leaves. The heart sometimes obscures part of the adjacent chain links, and as with the lotuses, it is evident that the links were not drawn to accommodate the palmettes. The general impression we gain from these patterns is that the Acheloos Painter was not concerned with the minutiae of their construction, so long as the total effect was reasonably convincing. They never have any incised detail, nor any added colour, and the scheme itself

is so common as to be banal. A glance at any volume of CVA with vases of this shape and date will show that more neck-amphorae have exactly this pattern in a more or less elaborate form than any other single pattern. Many are slightly more ornate, both within the Leagros Group and outside it; the Chiusi Painter (16) liked incised joining-links and lotus petals, and a little added colour.

One smaller amphora, belonging to the Dot Band Class (17), 22 (plate 32), has a totally different neck-decoration, consisting of three seven-leaved palmettes, one inverted and two upright, connected by tendrils extending from their volutes. The shape of the petals is the same as those in the lotus and palmette chain, and the heart of the palmette is deliberate and sits precisely in the fork of the volutes. The scheme appears on both sides of the pot. Another member of the Dot Band Class, by the Edinburgh Painter, in Boston (18), has precisely the same scheme of subsidiary decoration; this neck pattern tends to appear when the eponymous dot band under the picture does, but the reverse is not necessarily true. *59, by one of the Acheloos Painter's immediate circle, has the three-palmette scheme on one side of the neck and the lotus and palmette chain on the other. This is less common, but a vase in the manner of the Red Line Painter (19) has the same combination; this vase is among that painter's definitely Leagran work.

Apart from 22, with the dot band, all the amphorae have the same fat triangular lotus buds underneath the picture as the pointed amphorae. They are linked with interlaced arcs, and have no side-petals, as before; on about half the pots the second row of arcs at the top is omitted, but never at the bottom. On 7 the painter started the second row and thought better of it (plate 11). On two pots there are no dots in the interstices, 5 and 16.

All the neck-amphorae have alternating red and black tongues above the picture, drawn as a straight line with a rounded end, and separated from the next one by a relief line. Often they are not carefully drawn, and overlap onto the fillet at the base of the neck. The usual rays appear at the base of the body in a single row of fat members, positioned with a straight line drawn first and then widened. The rays always reach to the line under the lotus buds.

The details of the decoration under the handle are more complicated and more varied. The overall scheme is the same, four palmettes connected by their volutes, which form a lozenge shape under the handle, which usually has a pendant bud and axillary buds at the sides; all the separate floral elements take varying shapes. The palmettes have five or seven leaves, and the painter was careful to see that all the palmettes on one pot have the same number. He was not so careful about the

relation of the palmettes to their volutes, and on the front of the name vase 5 (plate 7) one pair of palmettes have stalks connecting them to the volute fork, and the other pair have ring-hearts across the volute fork itself. Probably the painter thought of the pot as having four sides and not two, and hence of the handle pattern as a separate unit. However, on all the other pots the palmette hearts do match. 12, 18 and 19 (plates 18, 27 and 29) all have the palmette heart unattached to the volutes, floating free, with a heart which comes to a peak opposite the volute fork. On 10, 15, 16, 17 and 22 (plates 15, 21, 24, 25 and 32) the heart of the palmette is in the volute fork, and fills the space rather than appearing as a dot. On the other neck-amphorae there is a short stalk, then a deliberate dot-shaped heart. The palmettes are like those on the necks with well-spread bulging leaves, a long central leaf and progressively smaller side ones; the general outline is oval not round, and the volutes are small. The volute nearest to the tendril is always the one drawn continuously with it; the outer one was drawn afterwards. The palmettes are always well up by the handle root, and well down by the base line of the picture.

The pendant buds are not always the same shape, though they essentially have three petals with a reserved heart; they may be formed of three strokes as on 7 (plate 11), or they may

have one divided splayed drop with a second inserted into the fork, undivided, as on 19 (plate 29). These buds are very big and reach almost to the base line. They are attached to the lozenge by a short stroke crossed by a mark shaped like a cotton reel, except on 12 (plate 18), where there is a large dot.

The axillary bud may be in one of two forms, either in three distinct strokes, like the pendant bud, or rather smaller with no space in the middle, as on 7 (plate 11), and one side only of 5. This type of bud, except on 5 has no stalk attaching it to the axil. The three-stroke form does, and on 22 and 20 (plates 32 and 30), there is a cross bar before the bud. On one side of 5 there is a blob. On this pot and on 6 (plate 8) the tendrils do not form an axil, and the bud is attached to the tendrils by a pair of forked lines.

The whole arrangement is always pendant from the handle, and does not float, as on some contemporary pots; on 7, 18, and 19 (plates 11, 27 and 29) there is a cross bar at the top of the central lozenge. The lozenge usually has a single dot in the centre, as on 7, or a cross, as on 12, 18 and 19.

A glance at the latest volume of the Munich CVA, volume 8, alone, will produce parallels for all these schemes; such a glance will also demonstrate that none of them is the most complicated possible (20). There are many pots with more invol-

ved systems of cotton reel marks or cross bars. Some have cotton reels at both the side points of the lozenge (21) and before the axillary bud, and there may be dots outside the central lozenge as well as the one in the centre. Some of the buds may be very ornate, with five petals and a cross bar (22).

There are three one-piece amphorae of type B, 23, 24, and 25 (plates 34, 35, and 36), and they follow the same scheme: a lotus bud interlace inverted above the panel, and rays at the base. The rays are the same as they are on any other pot which has them in the painter's repertoire. The buds have single arcs below their points. One of the amphorae, 24, in New York, has no dots in the interstices between the buds. The buds are the same shape as before, almost triangular, and once again were painted before the arcs, so that the stalks are not always aligned correctly.

The column kraters 32 and 33 (plates 42 and 43) have, like the hydriai, ivy trails at the sides of the picture, with straight stems and regularly-spaced heart-shaped leaves. The three hydriai have palmette chains under the body picture. 34 and 35 (plates 45 and 46) have seven-leaved palmettes, detached from one another and entirely surrounded by their tendrils; on 34 the palmettes point downwards and on 35 upwards. The palmettes are very round in general outline, but are otherwise like those we have seen elsewhere. There are dots

in the spandrels formed by the tendrils. 36 (plate 46) has parallel slanting connections between the palmettes, with dots in the spandrels; the palmettes are again round in outline. Many hydriai of the Leagros Group have a palmette chain of one of these two kinds, though they more often have alternately slanted palmettes, or alternately upright and horizontal ones. The disconnected palmettes are more often found on the type A amphorae of the Group, below the picture (23). All three hydriai have the more usual tongues, alternately red and black, on the shoulder.

There are three pelikai. 26 (plate 37) has a palmette chain above the panel on both sides, the palmettes are aligned horizontally, with the connections slanted alternately up and down. They have seven leaves on both sides.

They have five leaves on side A and seven on side B; there are dots in all the spandrels. The palmette hearts are a dot on both sides, placed in the forks of the volutes, which are small. The leaves are bulgy, and have plenty of space between them. 27 (plate 38) has a row of inverted lotus buds with a double interlace above and a single row of arcs below, at the top of the picture. The buds conform to the usual pattern, and there are dots in the interstices. Down the sides of the panel on the front is

a chain of palmettes alternately tilted and horizontal, and facing in opposite directions. They are connected and surrounded by their volutes and tendrils; there are dots in the spandrels. These palmette chains down the sides of the picture may be unique, although there are at least five other black figure pelikai with palmettes above the panel, one of which, in Dunedin, *65 (plate 75), is in the Acheloos Painter's immediate circle. There are ten more with lotuses above the panel, two of them in the Leagros Group. The Cambridge pelike 28 (plate 39) has a simple inverted lotus bud interlace as on 27, above both pictures. There are no dots in the interstices.

The two psykters are rather different in size and shape, and so, logically, should differ in decoration also. 41, (plate 50) has string hole handles and a lid; the lid has a series of large black dots running round its vertical edge. On the neck is a reserved chevron pattern. Above the picture there are enclosed black tongues, and beneath the picture a lotus bud interlace, with single arcs above the buds on one side and double on the other. On the base, just above the foot, is a border of inverted black rays against a reserved background strip. The effect of the whole vase is pretty and frivolous. The second psykter 42 (plate 51), is considerably smaller, and has no handles or lid. The only decorations are a row of black tongues above a pair of parallel lines at the join of neck to body, and a reserved

stripe on the belly, a little below the picture.

The two kalpides with the picture on the body have their patterns in the same place, above the picture. 37 (plate 47) has a row of untidy addorsed hearts with a black stripe between them. Since the picture is tall, the pattern appears on the vertical part of the neck. 38 (plate 48) has a row of upright palmettes linked by their tendrils, with dots in the spandrels. The palmettes are very lightly and sketchily drawn, and appear at the point where the neck of the vase merges into the shoulder.

The kalpis 39 (plate 48), with the picture on the shoulder, has a simple black maeander between parallel lines across the widest part of the vase, between the handles. There is no other pattern work on the pot. 40 (plate 49) has a picture which reaches to the shoulder, and dispenses with the pattern between the handles; instead, the same simple maeander pattern as on 39 appears below the picture, an inverted lotus bud interlace with single arcs below the bud points above it, and a string of void lozenges at either side.

The oenochoe 43 (plate 52) has tongues above the picture and ivy trails at the sides. It has not proved possible to discover what patterns appear on 44, but it is probable that there are none.

There are five lekythoi by the Acheloos Painter, four of compromise shape (24) and one broad cylinder, 49, in Munich.

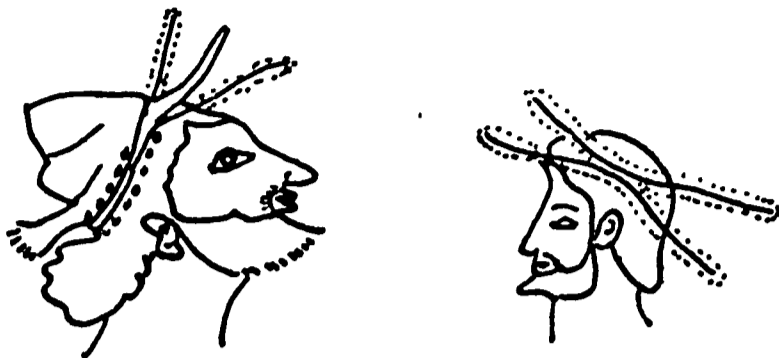
The compromise lekythoi all have seven nine-leaved palmettes disposed in groupings of two, three and two, connected by tendrils extending from their volutes; on 45 and 47 (plates 54 and 56) there are dots in the spandrels. The palmette hearts are placed directly in the volute-forks, and the leaves are fat and well-spaced. On the necks of all four compromise lekythoi are unenclosed tongues. On 45, 46 and 47 (plates 53, 55 and 56) there is a double row of dots where the shoulder meets the body. Between the lower edge of the picture and the foot is a reserved stripe. On the Munich cylinder 49 (plate 58), there are the same seven palmettes disposed in the same way, without dots, and the same tongues on the neck, but there are two thin black stripes between shoulder and body instead of the rows of dots. There is no reserved stripe between picture and foot. These schemes are standard Leagran lekythos decoration (25).

The Funcke lekythos, 48 (plate 57) shares the shoulder palmettes and tongues with the others, but has a simple maeander pattern enclosed between parallel lines on the join of neck and shoulder, rather than dots. Under the handle of the vase are four pairs of linked palmettes, symmetrically arranged, with thin tear-drop buds in the spandrels. The palmettes have ring-and-dot hearts which are independent of the volute fork. The effect is considerably more elaborate than that of the

pattern work on the other lekythoi, as is that of the picture (26).

Almost all of these patterns appear in less complicated forms than they often do on contemporary pots, and they are not painted with the attention to detail shown by other artists of the Leagros Group, particularly the Chiusi Painter, who was finicky and fond of detail, added colour, and incised patterns. The Acheloos Painter almost invariably uses the simplest version of the standard pattern for any given pot; he does not, for example, give palmettes more than nine leaves, although many of his contemporaries give them thirteen or even sixteen leaves. The separate elements of the patterns are big and generous, like his human figures, and show the same concern for overall contour and disregard for the niceties of detail, although the contours of some of the florals are careless, which is not so in the case of the figure work. Florals were a subsidiary, though necessary part of the decoration for this painter; the pot would be ill designed without them, but he probably had little interest in spending time on achieving the fussy exactitude displayed by some of his colleagues, or on great originality in his treatment of his pattern work.

E: The distinctive head types and their significance.



An immediately obvious characteristic of the Acheloos Painter's male figures is the exaggeration of certain features in a manner reminiscent of the modern caricaturist. The highly individual profile, like a tating-shuttle, formed by the nose and beard, is entirely typical, and appears on the four vases described by Beazley in Development as well as on many others in the painter's surviving oeuvre. However, it is not the only kind of facial profile which appears in his work, and the occurrences of a second kind are worth investigating. This is far less exuberantly eccentric in form, and more like that of the Acheloos Painter's women. Here the head has a much less noticeable horizontal tendency, and has a shorter, straight nose and a comparatively attenuated beard. This appears on 12 (plate 17, side B) - the athlete on the right has it, by contrast with the other two - Hades on 17 (plate 25, side ^{and B} A), Apollo on 18 (plate 26, side A), the right hand komast on 19 (plate 28), the men in the fountain house on 35 (plate 44), both the bull catcher and Peleus' charioteer on 36 (plate 46) and on all three trainers and the jumper with his halteres on 23 (plate 33). This second profile is not entirely confined to figures who

face left, which the painter does less well, but is more commonly shown this way. It is, however, confined to serious or elderly figures, and rarely appears in scenes of myth. Heracles, the painter's favourite mythological personality, almost always appears with the caricature-like face. The Acheloos Painter concentrated much of his talent for humour on his pictures of Heracles, and so here, at least, there seems to be a deliberate connection between the use of this particular facial type and the mood of the picture. Most of the other figures in the Heracles pictures have the same profile, one notable exception being Iolaos in one version of the struggle with the Nemean Lion on 11 (plate 16), who has the secondary, vertical type, perhaps because he is intended to be an entirely serious figure. It is not possible to argue that the vertical profile-type is confined to the painter's serious pictures, and the horizontal one to his humorous ones, because, for example, on 19 (plate 28, side B) the komast at the right has the vertical type in a scene otherwise populated by figures with the horizontal one, and the scene is not, in any case, specifically serious or funny. The exaggerated horizontal type does appear more often, however, where, on other evidence, the painter appears to be poking fun at his subject matter, and the vertical type in more serious or neutral scenes. It should also be noted that the four vases described as typical by Beazley are all among

the painter's more careful work. There are a few less carefully drawn examples, 25 (plate 36) particularly, which is a scratchy, unattractive work, and 18 (plate 26) on which the subject is commonplace - Apollo and three Muses - the upper register of the volute krater 29 (plate 40), 32 (plate 42) and the shoulder picture of 35 (plate 45). The vertical profile type appears particularly on these vases; the caricature type, at any rate in its most extreme form, appears on those vases on which the painter expended more trouble.

There are several vases including the three already mentioned, 18, 29, and 32, which have pictures which could be said to be entirely serious in intention; few show a quality of draughtsmanship of the standard reached by most of the Heracles scenes. The rest are very much in the second rank.

7, in Harvard (plates 10 and 11), is one of the better-drawn ones, but the painter was plainly paying more attention to the side which shows Heracles and the Boar. The second side has a departure scene of a kind frequent at this period. At the left is an old man, and at the right a woman holding a hand wrapped in her dress up to her face. In the centre is a hoplite wearing a Corinthian helmet and greaves, and carrying a shield with the device of a single leg and its buttock. Beyond the hoplite is an archer wearing Scythian head-gear, who is concealed except for his legs and face and the end of his quiver. He looks

behind him at the woman. The archer may actually be a Scythian, and, like a few others on vases of this period, is shown with a physiognomy intended to convey this. He has a bulging forehead and a comparatively snub nose. The hoplite has a long pointed nose, not unlike that of Heracles on the other side of the vase; this is no doubt partly because he is wearing a helmet, from which the painter wanted to differentiate the face. The old man is the painter's standard type, and he has the straight, blunt profile, as does the woman, who is also standard. There is no sense of the comic, or of caricature about any of the figures, and the scene itself is typical of the Leagros Group, which has a number of scenes like this. The hoplite's head can be paralleled by several heads on L 106 (27), a member of Antiope Group I, which shows Ajax and Hector; both Hector and his second, who are facing left like our hoplite, have a long nose of the same type, which effectively distinguishes the face from the helmet. A departure scene on the other side shows hoplites and archers, and the archers all have snub noses. A departure scene on L 181⁵ (plate 96) in the Group of Würzburg 210, has a scene like ours, except that the woman is replaced by a second old man. Here again, the hoplite has a long pointed nose, projecting well out from the front of the helmet.

9 (plate 13) is a neck-amphora in the Louvre, which has a

puzzling version of Heracles' abduction of Kerberos on one side, and a commonplace three-figure Dionysiac scene on the other. The front plainly received all the painter's care, as his Heracles scenes so often do. On the back, Dionysos stands in the middle with a maenad on either side of him. For this painter, the scene is unusually sedate, and hence dull. Dionysos has a huge wreath, like the painter's komasts, but displays none of their facial character. His profile is like those of the maenads, with its long axis vertical; the head is short from front to back. The drawing is as dull as the composition, though not particularly scratchy or perfunctory. This is also true of 10 (plate 15, side B), which has an uninspired secondary scene, this time a fight between two standing hoplites over the head of a third who kneels between them.

12, a neck amphora in Würzburg (plate 17), shows athletes practising on both sides of the vase. Here everyone has the familiar trunk-like snout except for the jumper with the halteres on the right hand side of the picture on the front. All the figures, however, have short hair and beards, and the faces do not give the impression of any kind of caricature, with the possible exception of the pipes player on side B, whose shaven chin protrudes almost as far as his nose. The profiles of these figures are not quite as exaggerated as the one given to Heracles. This vase is not one of the painter's more

inspired works; the subject is one used often by him and by the Leagros Group as a whole, and the vases are all very much alike. The drawing is not especially careful, the contours of the figures on side B are lumpier and less well controlled than in the painter's best work, and the incised lines tend to be scratchy.

17 (plate 25) shows Sisyphos twice; this is one of the few mythological scenes outside the Heracles cycle which the painter chose to show. Sisyphos himself has a long nose and beard, and a long, thick-lipped mouth, very much like Heracles, so that it may be that we should expect to find this profile type on the painter's more prominent mythological figures. Persephone and Hades provide Sisyphos with an audience in these two scenes, appearing very much like the parent figures in the departure scene on 7, but seated. Both have the vertical profile type.

18 (plate 26) is another dull vase, which has, in effect, two three figure scenes. On the front Apollo tunes his kithara, watched by three Muses, two of whom are drawn standing together in such a way that it is easy to mistake them for one figure. The Muses are the painter's standard female type, very much like Persephone on 17. Apollo, an essentially serious god, is here treated fairly seriously, so that his profile is less eccentric than any we have seen yet, and his nose comparatively

short. His head is still rather long from front to back, and his nose faintly retroussé, but he is the nearest the painter ever comes to showing a beautiful young man. He has no beard, as we would expect, and his chin is of normal size; his jawbone, unlike those of other beardless figures in the Achelooos Painter's work, is level instead of running into the throat at a slope. His hair is worn flowing down his back, with long ringlets in front of the ear, shown as separate thick strands of hair.

23 (plates 33 and 34), in Basle, is a second athlete vase, and here again there is a mixture of facial types, none of them very exaggerated. A jumper with his halteres on side A and the sprinters on side B have the forward-thrusting face, to a small extent, but none of these figures is comic. All the other figures have round bullet-heads and short beards.

29 (plate 40) is a volute krater with two registers of figures on the neck. The lower half is a symposion, and here, as we might expect, the male figures are the familiar paunchy middle aged men, with trunk noses and bristly beards, though none is particularly exaggerated. However, the two registers present an interesting contrast, as the upper one shows a line of chariots, with the charioteers mounting. In front of each sits a young man on a block stool. He is clean-shaven, and he has a rounded, baby-faced, bullet head, like some of the pain-

ter's athletes; his profile is not unlike Apollo's on 18. The charioteers display essentially the same profile, but with a beard. 30 (plate 41) is an almost identical krater with the same subjects and the same contrast between registers.

32 (plate 42) is a column krater, with the picture on the body; both sides show a very sober komos, singing, but not dancing. All except one of the figures have the vertical profile type; the single exception has the bristly beard, and a jutting but not over-long nose. The four women in the party are again typical.

The shoulder of 34 (plate 43) has a chariot race, with two chariots moving at a furious rate. The charioteers thrust their faces well forward as they push their bodies back for balance, and they have pointed, but not long, noses and beards.

One of the men on 35 (plate 44), a heavily ironic picture, has the same moderately pointed beard and nose and unexaggerated mouth. The other man is like the painter's Heracles, with heavy emphasis on all these features. The women are big and strapping, with big jaws and straight noses.

36 (plate 46) is a hydria with a mythological scene on the body and one from everyday life on the shoulder. The body has Peleus and Thetis visiting Chiron; Peleus and Chiron have the horizontal profile, and Thetis is another big, impressive female figure. The vertical type appears on their

charioteer, standing quietly at the side of the picture. The two men catching bulls on the shoulder display it too. The two men directing the operation have pointed noses and beards, one more emphatically than the other.

47 (plate 56) is a lekythos on which the entire population consists of Amazons, so their profiles, not surprisingly, are of the vertical kind. 49 (plate 58) another lekythos, shows athletes again, all with short noses and beards.

On all these vases the bodies of the figures are of the same type, that described above as the Acheloos Painter's standard male or female body. Only the heads differ, and this is just as true of Heracles and his helpers and partners as it is of ordinary humans. In effect, it is only young and middle-aged men whose heads are subject to these variations. The more extreme examples of the two types appear in well-defined contexts - the horizontal on Heracles and other important mythological figures, and the vertical type on serious figures in everyday contexts, women, and old men of whatever status. In between the two types is a profile which is perhaps best thought of as a middle state, on which the nose and beard come forward to points, but not as markedly as those of Heracles, and which could probably be regarded as the Acheloos Painter's working basis for his male heads. It is something approximating to this neutral head which reappears on some of the vases attributed

to the painter's manner, and this may be one reason why Beazley found it so difficult to come to a decision about their authorship. The head-type is not so distinctive as to be his work unmistakably, and it is not possible to argue for it as the usage of any one part of his career.

F: The Acheloos Painter's Manner; Hands A - E and the Painter of Louvre F 314.

The vases attributed to the painter's manner were given a list to themselves in ABV (28), according to Beazley's usual practice. They are an oddly heterogeneous group, and their styles, as Beazley implied in the heading to the list, are only linked by the painter whose work they imitate, many of them not very closely. The pots which appear here are those which are closest to the painter himself, but there are others in the main Leagros list which owe something to the painter's style. He had a coterie of imitators of some size.

Hand A.

*50 (plate 59) bears a departure scene of which the central figure is a man wearing a petasos and chlamys and carrying two spears, standing by his horse. On either side of the picture there is an archer wearing the pointed leather cap. Beside the horse's hind-quarters there is an old man making a valedictory gesture, and by its fore-feet there is a dog. The dog is like many dogs in the Acheloos Painter's work, complete to the little

ruff of incised lines at the neck. The horse is very like his work, but some of its anatomical details appear to differ from his usage, in particular the absence of the incisions on the fetlock, and the presence of them behind the elbow. These are absent on the horses of 36 (plate 46). The horse which appears full length on 29 (plate 40) is flatter at the back; this one has a decidedly raised rump. The archers both wear short chitons and the stiff cap with the point and long tail at the back, looped up behind like that of the archer on 7 (plate 10). One of them has a spiky nose and beard, neither very long, and the other is rather smoother featured. Either of them could be the painter's own work, though neither has the features of the archer on 7, snub-nosed and squashy-featured. The old man is dressed like the old men in the Acheloos Painter's own work, in long chiton and himation. The point behind has an incised zig-zag hem down it, and there are three incised lines splaying slightly from the shoulder, round the neck-edge; both these features appear in the painter's certainly attributed work. The point of the himation at the front is broader than his usually are, and has vertical lines incised down it, with just a few curved ones at the bottom to indicate the hem. The hair is long, and falls in front of the shoulder in three locks and a fourth behind, rather than with two in front and a third behind, as the painter normally has it. The facial profile is

long, delicate, and very bland. The old man on 7 (plate 10) and Hades on 17 (plate 25) both have lumpy, aggressive profiles. The departing warrior is the real problem figure on this vase. He has the long head with a pointed beard and long mouth with thick outlined lips. His hair is short, ending in a bristly edge on the neck. The muscular detail on his legs can be paralleled elsewhere - the line ending in a hook at the ankle bone, the line which shows the bulge of the calf muscle, the S-curve at the knee and the line along the thigh above it. The torso is concealed behind the body of the horse as far as the shoulder, which has a himation draped over it. The himation point falls below the horse's belly, and like the old man's, it is blunter than usual, and has a scratchy zig-zag down it for the hem. On the back of the vase are four hoplites facing left. They are very like the hoplites on 7 (plate 10) and also on S. 181^E (plate 96); these figures are as much like the hoplites on the latter vase as like those on the former; they are not such that they could only be the work of the Acheloos Painter. The most obvious reason for attributing this vase to the Acheloos Painter's manner is the departing man on the front, because of his head, but this is precisely the head-type that an imitator would choose to copy and to exaggerate a little because of its very distinctiveness. In view of the old man, who is like the Acheloos Painter's old men only in the most general way, this

vase should be by an imitator, and not by the painter himself.

Connected with *50, and no doubt by the same hand - Beazley suggested the connection - is a hydria in the Rothschild collection at Pregny, *51 (plate 60), showing two horsemen and a pedestrian, with their dogs milling about at the horses' feet. All the men wear a large but ill-fitting petasos tilted well forward, a white chitoniskos, and a spotted cloak. The rear horseman carries a shield as well as two spears. The man on foot wears boots. All the men have the unexaggerated form of horizontal profile, like the departing man on *50, perhaps a little less emphatic, even, and they all have red beards. The horses are much the same rather mean-faced creatures with few detailed markings, as are those pulling the chariot on the shoulder, a scene otherwise indistinguishable from the Acheloos Painter's own chariot scenes. The pattern at the sides and edge of the body-picture is more elaborate than is usual in the Acheloos Painter's own work, palmette chains, with nine-leaved palmettes tilted alternately left and right or up and down, with dots in the interstices. Like the previous vase, this seems to be the work of an enthusiastic imitator, who emphasised the wrong things, and so succeeded in producing a result which is like the Acheloos Painter's work, but gives itself away as an imitation.

In the Niggli collection at Basle is a hydria *52, showing

horsemen setting out with their dogs, on the body, and a symposion on the shoulder. In shape and decoration it is very like the Rothschild hydria *51. It has the same string of alternately tilted palmettes with dots in the interstices under the picture (plate 61), and the same short lumpy rays above the foot. It has ivy rather than palmettes at the sides of the picture. This hydria has two dogs and four horsemen who are distinguished by the alternation of black and white horses. The horsemen all wear chlamydes and white petasoi. The horseman at the rear has a shield on his back, and all of them carry two spears. The dogs mill about between the horses' feet. The man at the rear, the only one not obscured to some extent by the others, might have strayed off the Rothschild hydria. The tilt of his petasos is exactly the same, and so is his profile with the ski-jump nose and short hair. He has the same bent arm as the last horseman on the Rothschild hydria, with one short line to show the crease at the elbow, and the same sharp bend at the knee. Two tiny incisions appear above some knees on both hydriai, and this mark is not one used by the Acheloos Painter. The chlamys of the last horseman on the Niggli hydria is arranged in the same way across the upper part of the body and pinned on the left shoulder, with the end falling over the left arm and the right leg. All the horsemen ride in the same posture as on *51, slumped a little, with the head bent. The

horses, too, are the same animal, long in the body with a high round rump. They are rather mean-faced, with few anatomical markings, as before. They have the same stiff, brush-like mane, with a red line at the roots and short incisions at the outer edge. The harness is shown in the same way, with thin single incisions for the headstall, and a double line for the reins. The fetlocks on both hydriai are incised, and the leg-joints shown with little incised circles. The chest and shoulder are shown similarly, deep, with a long shallow curve for the shoulder. The dogs are the same collie-like animal with a pointed face, a thick powerful tail and a neck ruff.

The figures on the shoulder are more carefully drawn, and again bear a general resemblance to the Acheloos Painter's work, as if they had been painted by a careful copyist or imitator. Here there are three symposiasts, all lying on mattresses laid out on the shoulder-line, wearing the familiar big wreaths, standing well out from the head fore and aft. The heads are very like those on the belly. The men are accompanied by three rather nondescript women, sitting beside their feet, one playing the double pipes, the others gesturing towards their partners, who look away from them. There is a spindly vine with bunches of grapes on it in the background. This vase then, with the two other hydriai, appear to come from the same hand as *50.

It is probable that a third hydria *53, in Paris, (plate 62) also came from the same hand. This has the same scheme of decoration as *52, but it is unusual in that it has a white neck decorated with palmettes and birds, which reappear inside the mouth. Again we see horsemen setting out on the body, and on the shoulder there are chariots. Here we have three horsemen and one pedestrian, and two dogs. Again, the horsemen have the dished profile, and all of them wear the tilted white petasos. Their clothes are arranged as before, and the rear rider has a shield. The horses are yet again long in the body, higher in the rump than are the Acheloos Painter's horses, and mean-faced, with bushy manes. The harness is shown as before. The central horse, like the second one on the Niggli hydria, has a white blaze on his face, another adorning his chest, and white socks on all four feet. The dogs are the same big collie-like creatures.

The chariots on the shoulder are stationary vehicles, their charioteers standing ready, one with a shield, one without. There is another of the ubiquitous dogs by each set of horses, and a man sitting on a stool by each charioteer. The figures are like those on the body, drawn a little more carefully than those on the shoulder of the Niggli hydria.

Hand B.

The Acheloos Painter decorated a number of vases with

pictures of athletes, and there is a similar group of vases attributed to his manner. None of them appears to be by his hand, or by the same hand as any of the others, and although they relate to him stylistically, none of them is strikingly like his work. The least like his is *54 (plate 63) on which style and composition are at best based on his, but the drawing is even more dependant on red figure. These figures have not only collar-bones but in one case a sternum and pectorals, and on two figures a calf-muscle is drawn as a curve right across the leg, as if the painter were trying to show a back view. The heads vary considerably in style. The pipes player on side A and the trainer on side B have heads very like the painter's horizontal head type, and the others are closer to the vertical type on side A; so are those of the discus thrower and the standing boxer on side B. All these have a fairly short pointed nose, and an equally short pointed beard, and the ear is set well back on the head. The jumper with his halteres and the kneeling boxer on side B have a very different kind of head, with a round high crown. They both have their hair in a roll all round the head like the Kritian Boy, and the kneeling boxer has short straight hair uncurled at the ends. Neither boxer has a beard. The face is comparatively small on both heads, with a delicate concave nose line and a fairly prominent pointed chin. The eye is set

well forward towards the nose. The tree behind the pipes player has a wavy trunk, unlike the Acheloos Painter's trees, which are straight and spindly. The piper's clothing is like that worn by others in the Acheloos Painter's work, but is a little more elaborate. It seems to consist of four panels rather than two, white at back and front and black at the sides, with a white battlement maeander down the black side panel from shoulder to hem. The neck and hem are white too. The Acheloos Painter's version simply has a battlemented hem between the white half and the black half.

This vase is probably related to a fragment of a volute krater in Reggio, *55 (plate 64), which is decorated in two registers, with chariots at the top and a syposion at the bottom, like its counterparts in the Acheloos Painter's work. The chariots are stationary, with a young man seated by the horses' heads. The heads of the charioteers and the young man are very like those of the boxers on *54, in particular the standing one with the roll of hair round his head. The horses are too long in the body to be the Acheloos Painter's own work, and the anatomical markings he uses are absent, especially in the rib cage and shoulder. The symposiasts are more like his work, and some of the differences might almost be due to the exigencies of miniaturist work as to the hand of a different painter; however, the painter of *54 was capable of achieving

figures like the Acheloos Painter's most distinctive ones, as he did with the pipes player, and the symposiasts are perhaps among the easiest to imitate. Some of their thigh marks are longer than the Acheloos Painter usually makes them, and the torso marks are quite differently placed. The faces all approximate to the unexaggerated horizontal type. The control of the contours of the figures is good, especially of those of the extremely expressive hands.

Yet another vase probably related to these two is the kalpis *56 (plate 64) in Würzburg, with its picture on the shoulder. It has patterns of a very red figure kind, a maeander along the top, tongues along the bottom of the picture, and a net pattern at the sides. There is a palmette chain with the palmettes tilted alternately up and down, with hearts in the interstices, across the pot between the handles. The scene shows two horsemen riding one behind the other, the front one turning to look back at the one behind. He carries two spears horizontally, and his friend carries them vertically, but the painter forgot to put in their top halves. Both men wear a short white chiton, and a chlamys with the end draped over one arm. The drawing of the torsos of both figures, especially the front one, is so hopelessly confused that it is difficult to see what the painter intended. The result, on the front man, looks as if the head has merely been drawn on a frontal torso,

facing backwards, but the clothes of the other one show this to be unlikely. The heads are very like those on *55 and *54, with rolled hair at the forehead and nape on the man behind, and a tiny babyish face with a retroussé nose and a receding chin. The other man has short hair with a tiny incised fringe at the front and ends which stick out at the back of the neck. His face has lost its original clarity of outline, but looks as though it was like a blunt version of the Acheloos Painter's vertical profile type. The horses are very like those on the upper register of the krater neck *55, long in the body, thin in the leg, and with few body-markings.

Langlotz connected this vase with *57 (plate 65), another kalpis decorated in the same way, but with a battlement maeander round the sides and top of the picture, and tongues below. Across the handle zone are very similar palmettes, but with nine leaves not seven, and an extra volute in each alternate spandrel until the third palmette from either end, where a second volute takes the place of the heart in the other set of alternate spandrels. The scene shows a charioteer mounting his chariot, with his bitch standing by the horses' forelegs; she looks at something behind her out of the picture to the right. The horses are exceptionally long and thin in the body and legs, as on the other kalpis. Their tails and manes are exceptionally thick and bushy, incised along the outer edge

and emphasised in red along the inner. There are not many body-markings, and they correspond to those on the related vases and not to the Acheloos Painter's practice. The offside trace horse has a parting in his mane behind the ears, as if it were parted by the upper extension of the headstall, which in fact passes over the mane lower down without parting it. There is no browband; this corresponds to the Acheloos Painter's treatment of harness, as does the absence of girth strap. The breastband is too high up. The horses have short blunt faces and wide surprised eyes, and open mouths as if they really were surprised. The shoulder marking is straight, without a recurve; there are no rib marks, and almost no leg marks except at the joints. The charioteer has the unexaggerated form of the horizontal profile type, with a very retroussé nose and a red beard. His hair is short and sticks out at the back as though he had slept on it awkwardly. The eye is small and set back in the head, and his mouth is small and pouts. He wears a Robin Hood hat and a white chiton, and could well be a more careful product of the hand which produced *54, *55 and the other kalpis *56.

In the Bareiss collection in Munich there is a kalpis, *58 (plate 67), with a picture on the shoulder, like *56 and *57. Beazley did not attribute this vase, but knew of it, and his annotations on the mount of his photograph of it

suggest a comparison. The Bareiss kalpis has nine-leaved palmettes with hearts in the spandrels formed by their tendrils, in a chain across the handle zone, tongues below the picture, and the net pattern at the sides of the scene that we saw on the Würzburg pot #56. The picture shows a warrior mounting his chariot, watched by an archer in a Scythian hat, standing by the horses' tails, and an old man sitting on a block stool by their heads. The figures have small bodies and large heads, like the horsemen on the Würzburg vase, with a large eye for the size of the head. The charioteer and the archer, like the horsemen on the Würzburg vase, appear to be grinning, because the mouth is shown by a line which tilts upwards. The charioteer's profile is like that of the rear horseman on the Würzburg vase, with a small nose and an indeterminate chin. His hair is arranged in the same way, with the rolls above the forehead and on the neck; unlike the horsemen, he wears a white petasos and carries a shield. The horses are very like those on #57, improbably long in the body, with a long smooth shape to the head and few body markings. Like those on #56 they have large round eyes and seem restive. The harness is shown in the same way on all three pots, the headstall with single incisions, and the breastband, where it occurs, by double incisions with red paint between them. The tails and manes are red too, and the tails have a wavy contour along the

upper edge. The style of drawing resembles that on *56 and *57, and is likely to be by the same hand.

In the Kerameikos Museum there is a late black figure plate *59 (plate 67), which comes from the Mourners Workshop (29). It has an animal border, of boars and lions facing one another in pairs. The ground line of the picture cuts off a section of the tondo which has a pair of lions growling at one another; otherwise the scene fills the tondo. This shows three men returning from the hunt, one riding a nervous horse and the others on foot. The rider has a dog who stands beyond the horse. The man at the rear of the party carries the quarry, and his dog jumps up at it. The plate has been extensively broken, and some fragments of it are missing, including those which showed two of the heads. However, the man at the front of the contingent, at the right of the picture, has retained his head. His facial profile is a bland one, with a smooth, slightly concave nose. His eye is shown by an incised circle with a tiny stroke at either side; the eyebrow is set well above it. The mouth is a single incised stroke, slanting upwards. The hair is worn in a roll over the forehead and at the nape of the neck. He has few anatomical details - a single collar bone on his bared chest, a line down his forearm, a tiny crescent for the elbow, a large one for the calf muscle. The legs of the hunter carrying the quarry are marked in the same

way. The horseman has two incised lines on his calf. His horse is long-bodied, with a long, narrow face. Its forelock projects in a bristly fringe. Its eye is an incised circle with a long stroke running from it down the face. It has few body markings and no leg markings at all. There is a long slanting line on the belly, and a squared one for the shoulder. The harness is shown as a system of single incised lines. The dog beside the horse is the familiar large collie-like creature, with a head which comes to a sharp point at the muzzle, and a powerful tail.

The horse and the dog are very like the animals we have seen on a number of vases in the Acheloos Painter's circle. The kalpis *56, a roughly-drawn pot, has a horse which, if enlarged and given more detail, would be very like the one on our plate. The man at the rear on the kalpis has a head which bears a strong resemblance to that of the man at the front of the party on the plate; the eye and mouth are drawn in the same way, though more carelessly. On the face of it, the plate relates to this vase, and the two pots could well be by the same painter at different stages of his career.

Hand C.

*60 (plate 68) shows Heracles in two stages of his encounter with the Bull; he chases it on one side and brings it to its knees to bind it on the other. The Bull itself has something

very like the Acheloos Painter's standard quadruped body, with the appropriate bovine head and legs. Heracles is naked on one side and clothed in a loin cloth and equipped with a sword on the other, having apparently donned them in mid-fight. He faces to the right on both sides of the vase. He wears a lion skin on neither, which is contrary to the Acheloos Painter's practice and we can see that he has a body like that of the painter's less gross komasts, reasonably fit, but fleshy, especially in the thigh. The head is round with curly hair shown with even curves from front to back of the head. The nose and beard are pointed and jut forward, but not so much as they do in the Acheloos Painter's work. By comparison with his, the treatment of Heracles on these vases is rather mild and unemphatic, far more serious and less like parody, but even allowing for other differences in the painter's practice as regards Heracles, this vase is one of the closest to his style in the work of his immediate circle, perhaps because of its very lack of emphasis on anything. The more some of the painter's imitators chose to exaggerate certain features of their figures, the less like their original the results seem to be.

*61 (plate 69), a fragmentary hydria in Florence, shows a war chariot being harnessed, and the second trace horse is being led up beyond the ones already yoked. The charioteer survives only as a head and shoulders and part of the arms,

but was standing in the chariot holding the reins of the yoked horses. A youth wearing a himation slung over one shoulder stands by the horses' heads. Beyond the horses stands a figure with short curly hair wearing a long chiton decorated with a plaid pattern. The fourth horse is being led up by a groom wearing a petasos. This figure, the one in the plaid chiton, and the unharnessed horse are the figures on which any attribution can be based. The figure in the chiton, almost certainly male, has no parallel in the Acheloos Painter's work; the incised crisscross on the garment worn by this figure is not found on his vases, on which clothing is decorated with red and white dots and tiny incised crosses. Those of the Acheloos Painter's men who have short hair generally have a smooth outline to the top of the head, and ragged incised lines at the ends at the back of the neck; they have straight hair. This figure has the outline of its hair indicated by a series of regular bumps, like round-edged serrations, as does Iolaos on the shoulder of this vase and Heracles on *60, as if the hair were very curly. The most the Acheloos Painter allows his figures is the odd irregularity in the contours of his heads, just to suggest that the hair is not straight.

The damage to this vase has disposed of this figure's face, but one ear is left, and this is shown by the shell pattern often used by the Acheloos Painter, but far more tidily execu-

ted. The man wearing a petasos, like the departing man on *50 (plate 59) by Hand A, looks very like the Acheloos Painter's work at a superficial glance. He has a long trunk-like nose and a jutting pointed beard; his mouth is thick and well-defined. However, the long axis of the head is vertical rather than horizontal; indeed the figure has a curiously flat back to the head, not characteristic of the Acheloos Painter, who normally rounds the backs of his short-haired heads. The petasos on this figure is too small, like a carnival hat, and is perched precariously on the front of the head. It shows no sign of having been white. On the pelike in New York with the capture of Silenos 26 (plate 37), which is typical of the Acheloos Painter in this respect, the petasos is the right size, worn firmly square on the head, and it is white. The facial profile here, like that on *50, one which might well have been produced by someone trying to copy the painter's idiosyncrasies closely. The approximation to the face shape is good, but it is not accompanied by the skull-profile to which it belongs.

The horse being led up to be yoked is a big animal with a long mean face, more like the Acheloos Painter's men than his horses. The forelock of this horse is bristly, and projects forward aggressively from the poll, the pricked ears incised against it. The hairs stand clear of the horse's forehead as if on end. One of the horses on 36 (plate 46) has a staring

forelock, but it is only a rudimentary fringe standing up from between the ears; here it is a great bush. The mane is incised down the entire outside edge with short strokes to show the hairs, as the Acheloos Painter does elsewhere. The inner edge is shown with a wavy line, which is not his practice, and the fetlocks are not incised. The horse is wearing a muzzle; Xenophon (30) recommended the use of one for a trace horse, and pictures of horses wearing them in chariot scenes are quite common in black and red figure, particularly in black figure (31), but none of the Acheloos Painter's horses wears one. This one appears to be an extension of the headstall, made of leather straps. The headstall here is made of the same straps, held together by round metal rivets, and has the usual cheek-strap, nose-band, throat-lash and brow-band. Here it differs from the Acheloos Painter's usual method of drawing a headstall as on 36 (plate 46), where the harness is shown by single lines without any indication of the rivets; the elements of the headstall meet at acute angles not at right angles, and there is no brow-band. The markings on the hindquarters of the offside pole horse differ from the Acheloos Painter's usual ones: there are usually two straight lines, sometimes parallel. Here the marks are curves, as is usual in the Leagros Group. The horses' tails are here painted red, uncharacteristically of the painter's usual animal, which may have a thin red streak but no more.

The youth standing by the horses' heads is only partially visible because of the break in the fabric, but enough of his head is left for us to be able to see that like the charioteer, he had the vertical profile type. The nose is slightly aquiline and the chin long and rounded, unlike those of the Acheloos Painter's men who are clean-shaven, with the exception of the Apollo of 18 (plate 26). The hair is not unlike his at the front, but not at the back. Here it is of medium length, rolled up at the back of the neck, but not in the usual krobylos, and also rolled above the forehead. Some hair seems to lie flat across the forehead below the roll, indicated by incised wavy lines which continue down in front of the ear to form ringlets not unlike those worn by Apollo. Very few of the body markings are visible; those on the chest are like those used by the Acheloos Painter, but the line along the thigh merely runs parallel to the rear edge, instead of slanting across the thigh towards the knee.

On the shoulder of this vase there is a version of Heracles and the Lion, who grapple on the ground, the Lion clawing Heracles' head. They are watched by Athena, seated at the right on a block stool, with her feet pointing away from the fight, turning back to gesture encouragement with her hand and spear. She has extraordinarily long ends to the overfold of her peplos, or perhaps a short himation, arranged over her elbows to hang

down in points, striped in red; her helmet has a crest so big that it overlaps the tongues at the top of the picture. Iolaos has a himation, also striped in red, draped over the arm with which he makes a similar encouraging gesture. He also sits on a block stool, unusually for him as he is normally standing ready to help. Behind Iolaos is a third, female, watcher, also seated, and holding a long sceptre. In this picture Heracles' clothes and equipment hang above the combatants in a single group; the Acheloos Painter usually hangs them in two, though the composition here would have had to be entirely different to allow this. Iolaos has his own club, as he sometimes does, instead of holding Heracles'. Both he and his principal have a head like that of the figure with the plaid chiton in the body picture. Heracles has some interesting curved marks for ribs at the edges of the rectus abdominis, and these are not a feature of the Acheloos Painter's work, or of other work in his immediate circle. The short curly hair of Iolaos and of the figure in the plaid chiton is so like that of the Heracles of *60, as is their build, that they should be the work of the same artist.

*62, an extremely fragmentary hydria in the Louvre (plate 70) has a lyre player with a head like that of the youth by the hoses' heads on the Florence hydria fragment *61, with long sideburns shown by wavy incisions, and a spiky profile. His

hair is in a krobylos, not rolled loosely, but the facial type is the same.

Hand D.

*63 (plates 71 and 72) is a puzzling vase. Its two sides, according to Beazley, are by the same painter, but one of them is much more like the Acheloos Painter than the other. The pictures are of Achilles and Ajax playing, and a komos, the komos being the picture more like the work of the Acheloos Painter. It is very sketchily drawn, with scratchy incisions, and plainly has its roots in 15 (plate 21), which shows precisely the same kind of komos, even to the woman being lifted in the centre. 15 has two other komasts beside the one lifting the woman, this vase has three. The lifting man is slightly obscured by the break in the middle of the picture, but we can see that he has the woman perched on his left shoulder, as on 15, and is holding on to her with the left hand, the fingers of which appear over her thigh, and grasps a trailing spindly branch with the other. He dances forward, and looks behind him over his right shoulder. The woman has one hand behind her back, and waves krotala in front of her with the other. The lifting komasts on 15 are in the same posture, except that they hold the woman with both hands, and the ivy trails have no obvious starting point. The physique of the lifting man on *63 is superficially like that of those on 15, but a second look re-

veals a number of differences, notably in the contour of the chest. The lifting komasts of 15 have pot bellies and fat, but not gross, chests. On *63 the lifting komast has a comparatively flat, thin belly, and a gross out-thrust chest, like those seen in modern advertisements for chest expanders. The belly lacks the parallel creases which appear on 15, and the mark indicating the dimple in the buttock is very large. The head is not very like those of his counterparts on 15, and particularly not the one on side B, who has a wreath like his fellows. All the komasts on 15 have short hair, the ends of which are shown with short incisions; the lifting man on side A has no wreath, and his hair stands up in spikes. We cannot say how long the hair of the lifting man on *63 was, because of the break, but as no hair appears beyond the break, the assumption is that it was short. It is flat to the head, as if combed down hard, and secured by a red fillet, in itself not a mode of hairdressing practised by the Acheloos Painter's men. The face has a large saucer eye, a short snub nose, and a sketchy moustache which has a break between its roots and the two lines showing the ends overlapping the beard. Although it relates to the faces of the other figures on the vase, this face is not really like any of the Acheloos Painter's faces, and is in itself a good reason for attributing the vase to another hand. The komast in front of the lifting figure exhibits a feature not

found in the Acheloos Painter's work; his chest, belly and pectorals are incised along the outer edge with tiny feathery lines to indicate that they are hairy. His face is prognathous enough to be ape-like - the mouth area protrudes almost as far as the nose. Once again, the drawing of the mouth is careless, as is that of the moustache, and the nose, although pointed, is retroussé. The eye is round and saucer-like.

The other two male komasts are less unlikely as products of the Acheloos Painter's hand, in that the nose and jaw protrude, and the mouth between them is concave, but the drawing is still scratchy and careless. The komast on the left has his himation draped round him so tightly that his left arm is severely impeded. The body of the one on the extreme right has very few anatomical markings, and they are not those used by the Acheloos Painter; two vertical lines above the pectorals near the shoulder, and a pair of very straight collar bones are the sole marks on the torso. The Acheloos Painter's collar bones are firmly drawn and have a sharp recurve. The komast's twisted posture is managed much as the Acheloos Painter would, with the legs and the lower part of the torso in profile, but the pectorals frontal and the head in profile. Awkward twists are usually concealed by a convenient garment.

The woman is not easily distinguished from the Acheloos Painter's female komasts, particularly since her white paint

has rubbed. He normally shows the folds of the garment splaying from a woman's knee by a series of incisions fanning out from it; here the skirt is a flat black area. On 15 the woman is wearing a panther skin with the head showing behind her shoulder, and her dress is decorated with red dots and dot rosettes. Here there is the odd incised cross, scattered unevenly over the ground. The nearer foot was originally designed to be lower than it now is, and the black silhouette with the incision for the ankle line appears on the front of the lifting komast's knee.

The other side of this vase shows Ajax and Achilles playing, a popular subject for the Leagros Group, but one which does not appear in the Acheloos Painter's work. The figures in the painting, as Beazley said, are less like his work than the komasts, and the general impression given by the picture is very unlike the painter's work. The composition is the usual one for the subject; the heroes sit on either side of a block table, each holding two spears. The one on the right leans forward to move a piece on the board. Athena stands in the centre holding her spear across her horizontally with her left hand, and with her right she holds up her helmet as if she were arming, probably to encourage the heroes to do just that. Their helmets and shields stand behind them. Athena herself is not unlike the Acheloos Painter's Athena - the one on 10 (plate 15, side A) is a good example of one of the sketchier ones - wearing

a peplos and chiton with the aegis on top, and apparently a himation on top of that, flung over her shoulders like a stole. The aegis itself is perfunctorily indicated, with the odd bearded snake appearing behind the shoulders and at the waistline incised against the peplos, and decorated with stippling to indicate the surface of the skin. The peplos and chiton have the occasional red dot and incised cross.

The two heroes are shown with long hair down their backs, and long beards reaching well down their chests. Only Apollo on 18 (plate 26, side A) has long hair down the back in the Acheloos Painter's work, and his flows loose, divided into locks at the ends. On *63 the hair of the hero on the right is bunched as if tied in a queue, and that of the man on the left hangs in a solid unbroken mass as if freshly combed; it is edged by a wavy line. The faces of the heroes are very like those of the komasts; they have large saucer-eyes, and long pointed moustaches which overlap the beard. Their noses are pointed at the end but not very long, and the facial profile is straight. If they were not related to the other side of the vase there would be no evident connection with the Acheloos Painter at all, and there is no doubt whatever that it is the work of a follower and not of the painter himself.

*64 (plates 73 and 74) in the Villa Giulia, is probably by the same hand as the previous pot. The painter was aware of

the Acheloos Painter's methods with athlete heads, and copied them fairly closely. He has successfully observed the short close fitted hair, the line of incisions across the top of the head, and the lozenge shaped facial profile with its long axis from nose tip to ear. All the figures have this type of head. The painter has also been careful to copy such details as knee-caps accurately. In spite of this the figures themselves are curiously unlike the prototype. Their body-markings differ from the Acheloos Painter's; if he shows the rib cage on a profile figure it occurs at the end of the underarm line. Here it is further back, and is a shallow S rather than a shallow double S. In the prototype the line almost meets the upper of two lines indicating the ribs themselves at a right angle. Here it does not meet the line, which slants downwards instead of upwards to meet it. The kneeling akontist on this vase turns back to look at the action behind him, holding his javelins out towards the jumper; both sides of the rib cage are indicated, which is not usual in the Acheloos Painter's work, and here the collar bones are wide apart, unlike their original, and each is a different shape, which may be a result of observation of contemporary red figure practice, which is to foreshorten the collar bones by making them of unequal length and shape. The heads of the figures on this vase are interesting. The long axis of the head is from top to bottom, but the nose still

protrudes like a ski-jump. The forehead-to-nose line is quite markedly concave, with a wide eye beside it. The beard is short and bristly, and the hair is also short, with the strange line of incisions across the top of it. The moustache is indicated by a pair of short converging lines at the corner of the nostril, and the mouth by a single short line curving downwards at the inner end. The face of the akontist on side A, in particular, appears to have been modelled closely on a face like that of the jumper on 12 (plate 17, side B) the difference being that on *64 the drawing is far more crude. It appears to be good, accurate copy work. This is also true of the two pipes players. Here the originals are often crudely drawn too. Their dress here differs from their original - one has an entirely black garment, with a white battlement pattern between red dots down the side, and the other the battlement pattern between a black and a white half, but with less pronounced battlements than on the Acheloos Painter's version, and without contrasting hems on the black half. The heads are the horizontal type; the Acheloos Painter's pipers have this too, probably because he wanted to make the nose and chin distinguishable from the pouting embouchure needed to play the pipes. In any case, the angle at which the pipes are played means that the long axis of the head is almost bound to be horizontal, even though the head itself is not particularly long from front to back. This

is true of both the pipes players here, and on 12, although the former are not like the latter except in the most general way. Both these wear beards, the one on 12 does not. Like the athletes they have the line of incisions across the top of the head; the player on 12 has them across the hair-line.

*65, which appears to connect with *64, is a pelike in Dunedin (plate 75). It belongs quite early in the series, before the pictures on pelikai were framed on all sides, and it has palmettes across the top. One side shows a gigantomachy and the other a rhapsode standing on a platform, between a standing man accompanied by a bitch with a bone, and a seated man with a staff. This side is more scratchily drawn than the other, and than the athletes of *64, but there is still a marked resemblance between the figures on the two vases. The heads of the rhapsode and the pipes player with the white battlement pattern on his chiton are very similar, and the akontist next to the pipes player also resembles the rhapsode. They have thin spiky noses and beards with small pouting lips. The concave forehead-to-nose line and the saucer eye correspond. The head of the seated man to the right of the rhapsode could be a carelessly drawn version of the head of the akontist on *64. The profile is much less delicately drawn from forehead to nose tip, but the overall head shape is the same, with its round crown and high roll of hair above the forehead. Both

have saucer-eyes, a short, blunt beard covering most of the jaw, and a faint indication of a moustache. The seated man appears to have no mouth line.

The giants on side B have a strong likeness to the heroes of *63. The standing giant on the left wears a breastplate and a himation tied round the waist like the hero on the right of *63, and the giant on the right appears to have a short chiton under his breastplate, like the hero on the left. Athena wears her aegis, with its complicated snaky edge, over her peplos. She does not wear a chiton as she does on *63, and she is active, not stationary. The way the snakes are drawn on her aegis is very like that on *63, hissing and bearded. Athena and the giant on the left wear helmets with very tall, stilted long tailed crests, like those on *63, with incised lines a little inside the edge of the crest and outlining the eyehole on the giant's Corinthian helmet. Both the standing giants wear plain greaves like the heroes; all the figures on both vases have rather short feet. These likenesses, and the thin scratchy line with which they are drawn, suggest common authorship for the vases, as does the similarity of the contour.

*66 (plate 76) is a cylinder lekythos showing Heracles mounting a bema to play the kithara. To his left is a woman seated on a camp stool holding a flower, and behind her is a portico shown by a column and a section of architrave.

To the right of Heracles is Athena, sitting on another camp stool, and gesturing encouragement to him. Heracles is fully dressed in his lion skin and a short chiton, and is armed with his sword and his bow and quiver strapped to his back. In the background there is a spindly tree with white fruit. Heracles is large and bulging, like the Acheloos Painter's Heracles, with fat thighs and round shoulders. The head is not well drawn, but tends towards the horizontal profile type, with a long mouth and a short beard. The lion skin arranged round his head is not very like that shown by the Acheloos Painter - the eye is too large and the muzzle too like that of a dog. The ears are round, rather than the familiar leaf shape. The lion does not appear to be as dead as the Acheloos Painter's skin. Heracles has few body markings; there is the familiar curved line on the thigh, and the hook for the ankle. The lion skin has a stippling of pairs of tiny incised strokes, and the mane behind the head, as does the Acheloos Painter's version. The woman has a very large face in proportion to her head, and a pointed cranium, neither of which is a feature of the Acheloos Painter's women. She does not look like his familiar confident female type, and neither does Athena. Heracles has a wizened-looking face, like that of the rhapsode of *65. The quality of the incised line is very like that on *64 and *65, thick but scratchy. This picture is not very suited to a

lekythos, and its artist was perhaps more used to painting larger pots, as the Acheloos Painter was when he painted the Funcke lekythos 48.

Hand E.

*67 (plate 77) is, or rather was, a kalpis, damaged during World War II. Most of the picture survives, and appears to be by a hand we have not previously encountered. It shows Heracles fighting three Amazons, who are equipped like hoplites with Corinthian helmets, two with low crests, and the third, who is receiving Heracles' full attention, with a high stilted crest. Heracles is very like the Acheloos Painter's Heracles, a tough bulky figure with large thighs, long in the nose and beard. His lion skin is knotted on his chest by the front legs, and the rest falls free behind him. His body markings are like those employed by the Acheloos Painter, except that the calf mark is too tight a curve, and the line along the thigh ends too near the knee. The Amazons are very much the standard female type, with a straight profile. This vase is by a very accurate copyist of the painter's style. The pattern work is too careful and elaborate to be his, and also too fussy - there is a simple maeander above the picture, but below the picture is an ivy-trail with heart shaped leaves on S-shaped stems attached to the main stem, with dots between them, a pattern which does not appear in the Acheloos Painter's work.

Yet another kalpis, in Nîmes, *68 (plate 77) with the picture on the shoulder, is very like the damaged kalpis *67 in Sydney. The subsidiary decoration is exactly the same, with a band of ivy with heart shaped leaves and dots in the interstices across the handle zone, and a maeander above the picture. The subject is a chariot driven a full speed by a charioteer with a shield on his back, accompanied by a helmeted warrior who runs along beyond the horses' tails, and a dog who runs beside their forefeet. The dog is in the same position as the horses, with his forefeet in the air, and has a shorter head than we have seen before. Not much of the bodies of the figures can be seen, but the charioteer's head is like that of Heracles on the Sydney hydria, a rather blunt featured face with a short nose and beard. The charioteer's build is more willowy than that of Heracles, but this is to be expected - Heracles is, after all, primarily a hero of great muscularity. The warrior wears a Corinthian helmet with a low crest and a flat back to the head, like those worn by the Amazons on the Sydney lekkythos. The two vases are likely products of the same hand.

Beazley's 'Manner' list appears to fall convincingly into five hands, which I have called A, B, C, D, and E, to which some stray vases outside Beazley's list can be attributed as

well. All of them have characteristics of their own, although they are obviously quite closely related to the Acheloos Painter in style.

Hand A, the author of the Rothschild hydria *51 and its relatives, was plainly overwhelmingly interested in pictures of horsemen. He seems to have specialised in hydriai, apart from the amphora *50, and found the square panel on the belly of the vase a good shape to fill with his riders and their tall horses. His style is often very close to that of the Acheloos Painter; as we saw, the face of the departing warrior on *50 is a good example of the kind of work an enthusiastic imitator might produce. The hydriai are less close to their original, but the heads are still very like the unexaggerated form of the Acheloos Painter's horizontal head type. A wish to arrive at the same effect has led to a curiously dished profile, as if the figures had been punched on the bridge of the nose. The horses are distinctive, with their long mean faces, but the dogs are virtually indistinguishable from the Acheloos Painter's canine population. The choice of subject and the composition owe very little to the Acheloos Painter; he was not particularly interested in horsemen, and his compositions are not normally crowded. They are more often closed by a twisting figure at the side of the picture, or at any rate a figure facing inwards. Hand A's pattern work is slightly

more carefully executed than that of the Acheloos Painter; the Rothschild hydria has alternately tilted palmettes all round the picture and not just beneath it. The Paris hydria *53 has the white neck with the birds among the florals, possibly painted by a different hand from the figures (32), but also has the alternately tilted palmettes below the picture.

Hand B was responsible for *54, the amphora with athletes, the volute krater in Reggio *55, two kalpides *56 and *57, and the Kerameikos plate *58 with horsemen. This painter had one very distinctive head type, which reappears on all these vases on one or more of the figures. It is a small round head, baby-faced, with a retroussé nose, a small mouth and a determined chin. The drawing of this face in particular is simple but a little tense, as if the graver had been held in a tight fist, close to the point. The interest in anatomy is more marked than in the Acheloos Painter's work, and the painter is bolder in his attempts to use poses which will give him an opportunity to display his abilities, which are limited. His interest occasionally leads him to make some gross mistakes, such as the front horseman on *56 (plate 64), whose anatomy is hopelessly confused. He is far less good a draughtsman than the Acheloos Painter or Hand A, but we can see some differences of quality within his work. The Kerameikos plate shows something which must approximate to his best work, and the kalpis in

Würzburg *56 must represent the lower end of the scale. In this painter's work the subjects and compositions owe more to the Acheloos Painter than those of Hand A; the figures are obviously related, and the baby-faced head has its counterparts - ancestors - in the Acheloos Painter's own work, the Apollo on 18 (plate 36) for example. Occasionally Hand B achieves a head with a resemblance to the Acheloos Painter's horizontal head type, as in the case of the piper and trainer on *54. His choice of subjects is less limited than that of Hand A, and the subjects he does choose are much the same as those of the Acheloos Painter, the horsemen on the Kerameikos plate being the exception.

Hand C painted the harnessing hydria *61, the amphora with Heracles and the Bull *60, and the hydria fragments *62. The latter had a chariot scene, possibly Heracles' introduction to Olympus. This painter seems to have been an enthusiastic imitator of the Acheloos Painter's style, like Hand A, in that he tried to achieve a face like the Acheloos Painter's horizontal type, and sometimes succeeded in producing something very like it, at least superficially, particularly the man wearing the petasos on *61. The horse, like those of Hand A, is mean-faced, if anything more so than those of Hand A, and certainly more so than those of the Acheloos Painter, whose horses are less like caricatures than some of his human figures.

This hand departs from the Acheloos Painter's usual practice of delineating harness straps by single incisions, and shows straps with parallel lines held together by circular rivets at the intersections. A head type which is distinctively the work of Hand C appears on the harnessing hydria and again on the fragments *62. Both have a vertically emphatic face, with long hair which has a lock in front of the ear and a roll above the forehead of the beardless face. A second distinctive head is that given to Heracles on *60 and to the figure in the plaid chiton on *61. The hair is conceived as a series of bubble curls over the top of the head; the effect is unlike the Acheloos Painter's short haired men, who normally have straight hair, often rather shaggy. The one figure with short curly hair, one of the athletes on the Basle amphora 23 (plate 33), has very shy retiring curls across the top of the head for a short distance, not these bold regular ones. None of these vases shows much talent for irony or parody, the Acheloos Painter's own special talent. *60 is rather feeble in general effect, because of its lack of emphasis on anything, and succeeds in imitating the Acheloos Painter's style of drawing extremely closely, where some of the other hands fail by trying too hard and stressing the wrong things. The figure in the petasos on the harnessing hydria is a good example of this failure; obvious features such as the nose and chin are stressed, at the expense of the

overall silhouettes of the head, and the result is surprisingly unlike the Acheloos Painter's work, in the end. This hand seems to have worked close to Hand B, who also produced baby faces with rolls of hair above the forehead, but was capable of much greater elaboration in his figure drawing, as is clear from the Dionysos on the hydria fragments and the patterned effect of the precise incisions of *61.

Hand D painted the odd vase with Ajax and Achilles *63 the athlete vase *64, the gigantomachy pelike *65, and the lekythos *66. These vases display a taste for mythology and action painting, though not very violent action. The gigantomachy and Ajax and Achilles are not subjects illustrated by the Acheloos Painter. The athlete vase plainly had its origins in the Acheloos Painter's own athlete vases, and the head types are copied from those of his athletes. On the other vases the head types are not very like those used by the Acheloos Painter, and the resemblance is more of size and contour, not of any given detail. The komos on *63 is the obvious point of contact, apart from the athletes on *64, and the fat dancing komasts are arranged in a composition so like those of 21 that their inspiration must have been that vase or something very like it. The rhapsode and his audience on *65 have heads like some of the figures on *64 and *66, drawn with scratchy detail, which is plainly based on some of the Acheloos Painter's

less exaggerated horizontal head type. The incision used by this hand is not very selective, and frequently complicates rather than elucidates the figures; it has much of the scratchy indecisive quality of some of the Acheloos Painter's own late work. It makes some of the figures, particularly the rhapsode and his audience on *65 look wizened and a little ape-like.

Hand E was the painter of the two kalpides, *67 with Heracles and the Amazons, and *68 with the chariot. Both these vases show speedy action. The chariot's movement on *68 is beautifully complemented by the running dog, and Heracles sets about his opponents purposefully. The latter vase presumably represents the painter's more careful and complicated style, whereas the chariot kalpis is simpler and less tidily executed. The Sydney kalpis has its figures deployed to get the maximum effect from the contrast of black and white areas. The work of this hand is not unlike that of the Acheloos Painter from the point of view of its figure work, but the interest in violent action is not his; the drawing is rougher than most of his also.

All five hands are interesting, in that their work can be so like that of the Acheloos Painter at a superficial glance and so unlike him on a closer acquaintance. They appear to have been aiming at different effects when copying his style; some, like Hand A departed from his subject matter, but achieved

figures very like his; others, like Hand D, although they occasionally made closer copies of his work, generally used the overall type, and achieved figures which owe something but ceased to bear a very strong resemblance to his. Hands D and E presumably came into the circle later in the Acheloos Painter's career than some of the others; the prototype they appear to be following is later than that used by hands A and C. Hand B seems to belong to the painter's late maturity, when some of his figures bear the blunt profiles which relate to those on Hand B's vases. All of these painters have some vases which are more like the Acheloos Painter's work than others, and this is presumably because they became less eager simply to copy as time went on. The vases least like the Acheloos Painter are no doubt later than the others. Occasionally some of the hands kept a close eye on the others; Hands B and C seem to have relied on each other, and it is probable that they all did to some extent. Oddly, none of them seems to relate, except in the most general way, to the other group of vases which appear to be the work of a pupil or colleague of the Acheloos Painter, the Group of Louvre F 314.

The Painter of Louvre F 314.

The Acheloos Painter's work relates very closely to a group of nine vases known originally as the Group of Louvre F 314, and later attributed by Beazley (33) to one hand. He

said in ABV that the vases were 'near the Acheloos Painter. The people look quite like his, but as if they had been knocked on the head.' The group consists of seven stamnoi, a neck amphora and a lekythos. All the stamnoi belong to the late Leagran period, that is to say the last decade of the sixth century, and this suggests that the painter was a pupil, or at least a rather younger colleague, of the Acheloos Painter.

The potting of the stamnoi differs within the group, as Miss Philippaki pointed out (34). *74 (plate 80) in the Metropolitan Museum, belongs to a class which includes two others very like it in shape, but Antimenean in decoration. *69, a bigger, equally heavily proportioned vase (plate 78) belongs to the class of Louvre F 314, which also includes an Antimenean stamnos. *75 (plate 80) is yet another large vase which displays many of the characteristics of both classes. All these pots are heavily proportioned, and the diameter is almost equalled by the height. They have a wide mouth, a wide neck, and a thick low foot. The shoulder is wide, allowing room for the shoulder scene which appears on some of these vases. Three smaller stamnoi belong to Philippaki's Miniature Class C, to which also belongs one decorated by the Michigan Painter. *76 (plate 81), the single neck amphora, has a flatter shoulder than usual, which is decorated with a separate picture, and the lekythos *77 (plate 82) is a fat, conventionally decorated

compromise lekythos.

The schemes of decoration on these stamnoi differ as much as the potting - some are given zones, like *69 (plate 78), others, like *74 (plate 80), have their decoration treated as two large panels on either side of the vase between palmettes. Sometimes the zones continue all round the vase, rather than being interrupted by the palmettes. The pictures are well-organised and thought out, and hang together well even when they form a long strip which can only be fully understood by turning the vase.

The subjects occupy a rather limited range: athletes, symposia, komos, chariot races, and a Dionysos with satyrs and maenads, all subjects treated by the Acheloos Painter as well, komos more frequently than most. The figures themselves can be seen to become progressively less like his, presumably as the Painter of Louvre F 314 became more experienced. Beazley's description of their appearance is quite right as applied to the male figures - they are very like those of the Acheloos Painter, but with a slightly more rounded head than he draws, as on *74 (plate 80). The painter has absorbed from the Acheloos Painter the less exaggerated horizontal head type, and in the case of Dionysos, the way in which the big wreath emphasises the length of the head from front to back. The size of the figures and their generous curves are a legacy of the Acheloos

Painter, as are the precision with which the contours are executed and the economy of inner detail. The figures might almost be from his own hand, but for their oddly restrained behaviour, and some of the minor anatomical detail. 70 shows much the same characteristics: it has a komos which owes a good deal to the Acheloos Painter, and a pair of racing chariots which owe perhaps rather less. All the figures are notable for their clear and simple use of incision. The komasts are not unlike the plump figures of which the Acheloos Painter was so fond, especially in the long profile of the head, but the action is once more noticeable for its odd sense of restraint. The goats on the shoulder are more goatlike and less humanoid than his. The racing chariots are more overlapped than the Acheloos Painter ever draws them, and the painter has used a white horse to differentiate the team of the front chariot a little. The charioteers show yet another facial type which is a derivative of the Acheloos Painter's style; it is very like some of the athletes' heads, with a roll of hair above the forehead with an incised line behind it. The nose is long and pointed, and the eye is piggy and small.

*75 (plate 80) begins to show signs of an increasing difference. The figures are still very like those of the Acheloos Painter in their contours, bulging, with overstuffed bottoms, but their heads are now noticeably rounder, and there

is more anatomical detail than before, some of it wrongly drawn. One of the boxers has collarbones on an otherwise good back view. One of the trainers, however, has his feet facing left and looks back at the runners over his right shoulder, showing a correctly-suggested three-quarter back view - a step towards realism by a generally more than adequate pupil.

The boxers on *69 (plate 78) are shown in violent action, and are much less restrained than the figures we have yet seen, and are much less like the Acheloos Painter's work. They seem to be more influenced by red figure - there is a greater use of anatomical detail, and more attempt to show the figures in twisted postures. The bodies are also much fitter, and less curved than before, with smaller heads in proportion to the body, with a bullet shape. The symposiasts on the body are less carefully drawn, but the big wreaths and noses are more like the Acheloos Painter's prototype, and relate closely to the Dionysos of *74 (plate 80). The charioteers in the lowest zone are nearly simple silhouettes; they have the big roll above the forehead, snub noses and pointed heads, frequent features in the Acheloos Painter's circle.

The single neck-amphora of the group, *76 (plate 81), has a shoulder scene with a chariot race, and a symposion on the body, which runs continuously, unbroken under the handles. Here the stamnoi appear to have exerted influence on the way

the decoration is organised on the amphora, and not vice versa. The figures are not much like the Acheloos Painter, and the dogs are not at all like his - more like lap dogs than the large collies we have seen hitherto. One of the women wears a mitra, which the Acheloos Painter's women never do, though one of his male komasts wears one on 15 (plate 22) (35). The drawing is much neater than his, and the figures less monumental. The anatomical detail is very like his, but the contours are not. Noses are needle-sharp, and eyes are huge. The lotus and palmette chain on the neck has horizontal incisions on the lotuses, not a feature of the Acheloos Painter's work, though found elsewhere in the Leagros Group.

The organisation of the composition on the compromise lekythos *77 (plate 82) and the impressive size of the figures, for the size of the pot, suggest that this painter was more successful in painting small vases, although he chose to decorate stamnoi, and this may partly explain his tendency to split the available field into zones. He was more interested in anatomical detail than the Acheloos Painter, which may be a result of his being at work later, and his insistent and finicky use of incised line is not very like the Acheloos Painter, whose use of line is far more perfunctory and less emphatic, resulting in bigger looser figures. The Painter of Louvre F 314 has lost the Acheloos Painter's sense of grandeur; though

he paints the same kind of figure, and his choice of subjects falls within the same range, the life and the sense of fun have gone out of them.

G: New attributions to the Acheloos Painter.

37 (plate 47) is a kalpis with the picture on the body; it shows a man trying to molest a woman who is drawing water at a fountain. The drawing is sketchy, and the subsidiary pattern frankly scruffy. Both the figures have the vertical type of profile; the man's beard is short and his moustache virtually non-existent. He has almost no body-markings - the thigh mark the knee squiggle, one shin-to-ankle marking, one rib line, an elbow. He is fairly slim with a deep chest, and wears a himation tied round his waist like a loin cloth. His hair is short with a deep roll above the forehead line and bristly ends at the back of the neck. The ear pattern is the lobeless shell-like type used by the Acheloos Painter for some figures. He has a small piggy eye. The woman steps towards the fountain-house and reaches out her hand to the hydria handle, and the pupil of her eye is so placed that she seems to be intended to be read as reaching for the hydria to retaliate, while appearing to look at her attacker. She wears a chiton and a himation on top of it, dotted with red. The himation falls into sharp points with zig-zags fore and aft, and her skirt into a few pleats at the front. These are shown by the quick

sketchy incisions used by the Acheloos Painter in his less careful work. This is the only vase in the 'Manner' list which shows a real gleam of humour, as the komos scenes, some of which seem to be his too, are good representations of that kind of party, but nonetheless serious, and for that reason alone it is tempting to suggest that the painter himself was responsible for this vase, perhaps rather late in his career, when we find other figures with these blunt features, and the looser style of drawing evident on this pot.

20 (plate 30) shows Heracles and the Boar. Heracles is naked except for his lion skin, which is knotted on his chest but otherwise hangs free; the Boar takes up the rest of the picture, and Heracles is pushed to one side. The Boar is closer to the Acheloos Painter's type than Heracles; it has the rib marks along the flank, the two lines on the stifle and the short parallel lines behind the elbow. It also has a spotted throat. It is without the curved mark for the shoulder; the legs and trotters are treated in the usual way. Heracles is not the hulking figure we expect to see, but comparatively svelte with a narrow body and a flat stomach; he has huge thighs with a muscle mark close to the edge at the rear, and the knee is shown with two U-shaped incisions instead of the usual squiggle. Above the right wrist is a tiny incision which is rare in the Acheloos Painter's work. The face is long

with a smooth faintly dished profile, and the nose is not prominent. Facially and bodily he corresponds to the Acheloos Painter's serious figures. The hero's possessions hang in the background tree, a quiver and a sword, and his clothes. The scabbard of the sword is striped with diagonal incisions in groups of three, and has a white chape and straps. The sword has a white hilt and quillons. The quiver has a white end and strap, a red stripe down the centre, a dotted border to the lid, and a zig-zag across the top. The clothing is folded and dotted with red. Heracles is usually naked only when fighting the Lion, in the Acheloos Painter's work. Elsewhere he wears its skin or the skin on top of a chiton. He is not invariably equipped with all the possible weapons, as here, but when they appear they are like these. The subsidiary patterns on this vase are indistinguishable from those on the certainly attributed ones. In short, there are a few features on this vase which differ from the Acheloos Painter's normal practice, but not so severely that this could not be his work. It is likely that it is his, though a more sober treatment of the subject than usual.

21 (plate 31) in Honolulu, is a neck-amphora originally attributed by Beazley to the manner of the Acheloos Painter. On one side there is a fight, and on the other a komos extremely reminiscent, as Beazley himself said (36) of Würzburg 207, 19. The komos consists of four men, three of them naked except for

big wreaths, and the fourth with a himation slung round his elbows. One of the komasts kneels in the centre, clutching the ivy branch which trails across the picture. The other two naked komasts dance round him, one hand on hip and the other arm arched beside the head. The komast with the himation moves out of the picture to the left. The quality of the incision is firm, clear, and rather thick. The figures have collar-bones and pectorals, creases on their plump stomachs, the long line along the edge of the thigh and the outside of the forearm, and the Acheloos Painter's standard knees and elbows. The komast on the right has the horizontal profile type, though not in an exaggerated form, and the others have the vertical type. Body contours are broad, generous and confident. The style of drawing is relaxed and firm, and shows signs of interest in foreshortening as on 19 (plate 28) and appears to be contemporary with that vase.

The fight on the other side seems to be a rare excursion by the Acheloos Painter into military affairs, and shows considerable originality in its composition. A four-horse chariot is driven at speed between two hoplites who were fighting, and the horses rear over one of them, who has fallen under their hooves. Beyond the horses is the second hoplite, who has leapt back out of the way. The quality of the drawing is like that of the other side, with firm incision, sparsely used,

and again the figures are big, confidently drawn, and arranged for maximum clarity. The vase itself has a high flat shoulder, and a thick disk foot; the body tapers gently but firmly towards the foot. Both shape and drawing suggest that the vase belongs to the painter's maturity, contemporary with 18 and 19.

28 (plate 39) is a pelike in Cambridge, with a tall, narrow neck, a rolled lip, and a simple echinus foot, very like the one with the satyr and maenad 27. It shows two komos scenes. On the front two men are carrying a third on their shoulders. The carrying men are arranged like the two halves of a pantomime horse, the front one standing nearly upright, and the back one bent nearly double, holding onto the body of his burden with one hand, and his stick with the other. The man being carried lies back, supported at the shoulders by the man at the back, and with his knees hooked over the shoulders of the one at the front; he plays the double pipes as the party moves forward. Some trailing branches fill in the background space. On the other side the pipes player walks behind the others; at the right of the picture a komast bent even more exaggeratedly double than before carries, seated on his shoulders, a third man who sits serenely, one knee cocked, gesturing to the pipes player. His porter holds the other, bent leg, with one hand, and a drinking horn with the other. The background is filled

with spindly branches as before.

All the figures except the man at the rear of the 'pantomime horse' have big wreaths, either of the kind with huge branches fore and aft, or that made with big ivy leaves. The figures are either naked or have a himation tied round them, and the front man on side A has boots. Bodies are tall, muscular, and slightly paunchy, very much the physique we expect of the Acheloos Painter's komasts. Body markings are extremely selective, but those present are very much his - the line along the edge of the thigh at the back, curving across to the kneecap, the squiggle for the kneecap, the hockey stick hook for the ankle. The faces all have the vertical type of profile except for the reclining pipes player, whose nose is longer and lumpier than those of the other figures. Beards are long and bristly, and eyes beady. The drawing is careless compared with much of the Acheloos Painter's work, and the control of the contours of the figures is not, perhaps, up to his usual standard. The originality of the composition of the scenes, and the postures of the figures are well up to the painter's best level, however, and the drawing is very like that which appears on the later large vases such as 25 and 27 (plates 36 and 38), relaxed, selective in the use of detail, with big, loosely constructed figures. The pelike is, as we saw, potted like the courtship pelike 27, and should fit into the series

slightly later than 27, roughly contemporary with 25, shortly before the painter took to decorating small vases. The subsidiary decoration consists simply of a row of inverted interlaced buds above the picture, as on the type B amphorae, all of which belong in this part of his career.

A kalpis in the Noble collection 40 (plate 49), with the picture on the shoulder, shows two chariots moving forward at a gallop, and a dog running alongside the horses of the front one, barking as it goes. The charioteers lean back out of their chariots for balance. The standard of drawing on this vase is like that on the Berlin kalpis 37, rather crude in detail as is the subsidiary decoration, but conveys very strongly a sense of movement and speed. The heads of the two charioteers are very like that of the man on the Berlin kalpis, if anything slightly rougher; they have lumpy facial profile with a blunt snub nose and a short stubby beard. Both of them have a roll of hair above the forehead and squarish ends of hair sticking out slightly at the back of the neck. The eye is round, the moustache sketchy, and the ear set well back on the head. The head, as on the Berlin vase, is not particularly long on either axis. The horses and the dog, like the human figures on both vases, seem to be from the Acheloos Painter's hand, perhaps late in his career. The horses have the long stocky body and delicate legs, and the long head with its red mane;

the dog has a very similar body, with a well marked shoulder and a thick tail. Its head is pointed like those of the Acheloos Painter's dogs on other vases. Neither animal has much internal detail on the body, but the body contours are very like those on the certainly attributed vases.

38 is a fat kalpis with the picture occupying the whole body space. It shows (plate 48) three fat komasts going home after a party. The one leading the contingent wears a big wreath and a himation draped round his body, and he plays his lyre as he moves to the right. Behind him are two men also moving to the right, the front one dancing, and the other trying to climb on to his back at the risk of throttling him. They are both naked, and wear big wreaths. The vase has become rather rubbed, and the quality of the incision impaired, but it was evidently thick and confident, like that of the Acheloos Painter's late maturity; it is very like the incision on 22 (plate 32). The heads of the two right hand komasts are very like others at this stage in the Acheloos Painter's work, not markedly horizontal in tendency, but with big noses and beards. The third komast has a more pointed face, the nose showing the needle-sharp quality which appears on 25, so that this vase must belong to the same stage as 22 and 25 (plates 32 and 36) in the painter's career. The figures are all the familiar plump middle-aged men, the centre one distinctly fat.

All of them have fat thighs, the middle one with the line down the rear edge, knobbly knees, large angular calves, long flat feet and long flat hands to match. The palmettes across the top of the picture are uneven and appear almost as inebricated as the komasts - they are the familiar lumpy florals, drawn competently but without much finesse. This would appear to be the Acheloos Painter's own work, a rough drawing of his later maturity, when he was beginning to pay attention to smaller vases.

39 is a kalpis with the picture on the shoulder. It was originally listed by Beazley as L 83, and discussed by H.P. Isler in his book on Acheloos (37); ^{quoted by Isler} C. 14 made the suggestion that this was the work of the Acheloos Painter. It shows Heracles advancing on Acheloos, who gallops towards the left of the picture, but turns his torso to face us and waves his left arm wildly towards the picture frame at the right. His head is large, with a bristly beard and a bushy fringe. His hair hangs in two locks, one down his back and one across his chest. He has an eye as round and staring as Heracles' own, drawn with a circle and two short strokes. The nose is long and lumpy, and the mouth large and slightly pouting, outlined by incised lines. The bull body has ribs shown by five short strokes on the flank, and the shoulder is shown by a long curve nearly doubled back on itself. There is a long incised line on

the haunch. The leg joints are shown with incised crescents, or, on the front legs, a mark like a hockey stick. The hooves are pointed, and two of them have a short stroke down them from the hock. The tail divides into two locks at the end.

Heracles has a less wild version of the same head - a lumpy nose, a rather neater lumpy beard, and a round ear; his hair is short with a wavy edge. He is drawn with a twist at the waist, like Acheloos, so that he has a frontal torso and profile legs; he has collar bones. His knees are marked with two lines forming a triangle, and one ankle by the same hockey stick mark as Acheloos has. His torso is roughly triangular, like those of the sprinters on 23 (plate 34) and his buttocks are very plump; his calves bulge and then taper to slim ankles and long flat feet. His club, long and lumpy, is propped against the picture frame at the right, and from either side grows a pair of long trailing branches; one pair has white cherries, and the other a white apple.

Both figures are drawn rather crudely; the incisions are sketchy and the faces clumsy. The contours of the bodies look like the work of the Acheloos Painter towards the end of his intensive concentration on large pots, about the time at which he painted 37 (plate 47) with the man molesting a woman at a fountain. Heracles' head bears a strong resemblance to the head of the man on the latter vase. This is a small picture on a

relatively small pot, and the drawing is vigorous. The composition and the subject matter are typical of the Acheloos Painter, and the vase seems to be his own fairly late work.

41 (plate 50) is a very damaged psykter in Brussels. It has a lid and tiny string hole handles. Both sides show very similar groups of komasts, but one is so damaged that it is only possible to see two of the figures and a dog with any clarity. The style is closer to the Acheloos Painter's than any of the vases we have yet discussed in this section, and the komasts plainly connect with those of 25 (plate 36). With one exception they are the plump middle aged figures we expect and their body markings are the usual ones, particularly the creases across the stomach, the finely drawn collar bones and the long line down the rear edge of the thigh, the two long strokes along the calf. The heads are like the Acheloos Painter's own horizontal type in its less exaggerated form. All but two of the visible komasts have the characteristic big wreaths. The dog handlers and one other have himatia draped over one arm, falling into sharp points. Two figures have hair rolled at the nape of the neck; neither of these has a wreath. The one with the dog is slimmer than the other figures. Beazley said that he often found it difficult to say whether some vases in his 'Manner' list were in fact by the Acheloos Painter, and this psykter must have been one of them. It is not easy to see

why he had any real doubts, and it is certainly a likelier candidate for promotion to the status of certain attribution than many of the other vases discussed in this section.

The psykter 42 (plate 51) in the British Museum was said by Beazley to be near the Acheloos Painter (38) but he did not include it in ABV or Paralipomena. It belongs to the type without handles, a very simple shape with a single torus foot and lip. Most psykters of this type have a double torus mouth.

The picture is continuous round the vase, and shows a komos. The figures are actively dancing or moving along, unlike those on 41, many of whom are dawdling or attending to their dogs. Here only one man has a dog, whose lead is attached to one of the struts of the barbiton he carries as he walks to the right, playing as he goes. In front of him is a dancing man, one of his legs kicked up behind him, also carrying a barbiton. Behind him is a man dancing, waving a kylix as people usually wave krotala. He has a partner who dances towards him waving a drinking horn. Behind him there is a second man with a barbiton, and another man dancing and waving ivy trails round his head. Between him and the man with the dog is a piper.

All the figures are once again the tall plump komasts we have seen so often. Their body markings are perfunctory; they have the curve across the thigh to the kneecap, the two short curves for the knee, and some of them have two strokes down

the side of the shin. They all have slightly round shoulders. The two dancing komasts are in a twisted posture, the second one with his torso turned towards us to show plump pectorals. The first one, next to the man with the dog, seems confused; the arm with the barbiton is flung out as if attached to a frontal torso, but the arm with the ivy leaves is arranged as if joined to a torso with its back to us. The painter appears to have been in difficulties with the anatomical detail of this figure. The heads are the horizontal type with a less exaggerated profile; the rather blunt noses and beards seem to be trying to meet. They have piggy eyes, and all wear big wreaths and himatia tied round the waist or draped over their elbows like a stole. Their clothing is decorated with red dots, and some have white dots as well; the dog has white dots on his collar. He is an elegant animal, more like a greyhound than usual, with very long legs and a long pointed head. He has three strokes for his ribs on his flank, and two strokes, not quite parallel, on his haunch. He looks like one of the Acheloos Painter's animals, but a different kind of dog from the familiar collie. This psykter appears to belong quite late in the Acheloos Painter's career, of about the same vintage as the komos amphora 25 in New York, and perhaps a little later than the Brussels psykter, which shows a sharper style of drawing. Both vases show one figure with the himation displayed along

the arm, its gently undulating edge paralleled by several folds in the material, a treatment which also appears on the himation of the central komast of Euthymides party on the famous amphora in Munich (39).

In the Funcke collection of the Ruhr University, Bochum, there is a fat compromise lekythos 48 (plate 57), probably by the same potter as the Acheloos Painter's Amazon lekythos 47 (plate 56). It was tentatively attributed to the Acheloos Painter by Kunisch (40), and indeed appears to be by his hand. Against a background of grape-hung vines is Dionysos, lying on a kline, wrapped in a himation dotted with incised crosses. A satyr hands him his kantharos. At each side is a seated woman, one of them holding a child, which puts its arms round her neck. All of them wear big wreaths, except the satyr and the child. Underneath the kline there is a panther with a bone in her mouth, jumping up like the dogs on the symposion amphora 22. The face is like that of the panther skin worn by the woman on the komos oenochoe 43 (plate 52) with a long nose and beady eyes. Dionysos too has a long nose and beady eyes, and a long bristly beard; he has the Acheloos Painter's horizontal head type. The satyr has the vertical head type, and a high roll of hair above the forehead with a line of incisions on its crest, as some of the painter's athletes wear their hair. The satyr's hair is long at the back, complementing the beard.

He has the two long lines on the shin and the dimple on the bottom used by the painter to show the muscles, and the hockey stick hook for the ankle bone. Both he and Dionysos have a long well-defined mouth beneath the moustache. Dionysos is the big, slightly flabby figure we have seen before in the painter's work; the satyr is slim and muscular, with the long flat feet which so often figure on these vases. Both the women are the large confident figures the painter usually shows, wearing dresses bordered with incised circles, and himatia dotted with incised crosses. The child wears its hair in a roll at the nape of the neck, and has a long nose and a beady eye - it will obviously grow up to be one of the Acheloos Painter's men with hog eyes and trunk-like noses. The vine behind the figures is the familiar spindly tree, hung with fat bunches of grapes. The picture is perhaps not up to the Acheloos Painter's highest standards; it has too many figures, and is crowded and visually a little confusing. Dionysos' head and the handle of the kantharos overlap the border. The scene looks as if it may be a reduced version of a larger one on an amphora no longer extant; the athlete lekythos 49 (plate 58) is plainly a reduced version of the athlete vase 12 (plate 17). The lekythos seems to be earlier than those certainly attributed by Beazley, and is very similar in graphic style to 19 and 24 (plates 28 and 35), both of which show komos scenes. They both belong to the Acheloos

Painter's middle period, before he took to painting small vases, and it is likely that this lekythos belongs here, as a forerunner of the other three.

In the Nicholson Museum, Sydney, there is a fat compromise lekythos 46 (plate 55), showing Heracles delivering the Boar to Eurystheus. The shape and the subsidiary decoration are almost exactly as on the Palermo lekythos 45 (plate 53) with Heracles and the Bull. It was suggested by Trendall (41) that the Sydney lekythos was by the Acheloos Painter, and if we compare it with the Palermo vase, the two are so alike that they may well have been made as a pair. The Palermo vase shows its central group of Heracles with the Bull flanked by Athena and a second female, both seated. The Sydney lekythos shows its central group of Heracles and the Boar held head down over the pithos, flanked by Eurystheus about to climb into the vessel and Athena encouraging her protégé. Heracles' club leans against the pithos, and his bow and quiver hang in the inevitable tree. Heracles himself is very like the Heracles of the Palermo lekythos, a bulky figure with a large head and bulging thighs. The right leg on both figures is the following leg, and on both calves appear the same pair of converging lines. On both the corresponding thighs the line along the back of the leg nearly meets the knobbly kneecap. Both Heracles figures are wearing a short chiton under their belted lion skins. Both have

the Acheloos Painter's usual Heraclean face, with its glaring eye, long nose, well-defined mouth and thick short beard.

The Athena on both vases is tall and slim, wearing a very high-crested helmet which overlaps the band of dots at the top of the picture. Eurystheus looks like one of the painter's less overweight middle-aged men - possibly he keeps his weight down by running away from the results of Heracles' labours - and plainly has been caught unawares, as his clothing consists of a himation draped round the upper part of him. He has a spiky nose and a long beard. He too has the thigh incision, the calf marks, and the Acheloos Painter's usual rather piggy eye. He holds out one hand towards Heracles, and it is the hand we see so often in the Acheloos Painter's work, with the widely splayed long fingers. It seems, then, that Trendall was right in thinking that this vase is by the Acheloos Painter, and it seems to date from about the same point in his career as the Palermo lekythos, in his maturity.

H: The Acheloos Painter's immediate stylistic background.

The Antiope Group I was said by Beazley to form the immediate context in which the Acheloos Painter's work belongs.

This is a group of some twenty vases, including the work of the Antiope Painter and some others. They are all large vases, as are most of the Acheloos Painter's own, with large dark compositions. Most of them show mythological scenes, many from

the Trojan war. They are all rather serious in mood, and often rather violent.

A hydria in Munich, L 27 (plate 83) with the death of Troilos, is a typical member of the group. Here Achilles grasps Troilos by the ankle, about to dash him on the steps of Apollo's altar, with Athena standing by as if to fend off the Trojan rescue party from him. Priam kneels at his feet holding out a supplicating hand. The shoulder picture of the walls of Troy, occupied by mourning women and carousing warriors, should probably be thought of as part of the same picture. All the figures are very large; Athena's helmet protrudes into the shoulder picture, and the kneeling Priam is half the height of the panel. All the figures make grand, spreading silhouettes. Priam himself is very like the old men seen in the Acheloos Painter's work - the white-haired balding figure with three locks of hair hanging down over his shoulders. As in the Acheloos Painter's work not much is made of the clothes the figures are wearing; they are indicated by a few scratchy folds, decorated with the odd red spot. What is important is the action, and the most is made of the drama of the episode, by the use of big obvious gestures and the clarity of the drawing. Where the figures overlap their actions are still clear. The interest in anatomical detail and complicated posture is not great, and little musculature is shown. The physical types which appear

on these vases are very much like the Acheloos Painter's more serious work, with long heads and big powerful bodies.

L 31 (plate 84) by the Antiope Painter, in Leningrad, shows Achilles attaching the body of Hector to his chariot, and is another good example of the style. Here, interest is concentrated in the figure of Achilles, helmet pushed back, who fills, with the corpse, a good half of the picture space. He is a big muscular figure with a large head and big thighs, wearing a corselet and greaves and a himation tied round his waist, decorated with dot rosettes and red stripes, which is given a few perfunctory folds. Certain small details are common to this painter and to the Acheloos Painter: red on the beard, the incised edge of the beard, the straight hair ending in short incisions on the neck, the big flat feet, the well defined mouth. The charioteer has the line of incisions across the top of the head and the red fringe which appears sometimes on the Acheloos Painter's athlete figures. The composition is not unlike the Acheloos Painter's - the same care is taken to close the picture in spite of the fact that the horses are disappearing out of it, by including a woman standing beyond them facing inwards - Thetis, perhaps - gesturing towards Achilles who is facing towards her. The eye is led back to the centre of the composition by this method, and the Acheloos Painter uses the same technique. The drawing is again more careful and precise

than in the Acheloos Painter's work, as it is on L 27, and this enhances the gloomy monumentality of the scene as on L 27 it emphasised the violence of the action by its clarity. The picture is intense, and there is no sense of the presence of unnecessary figures or elements in the design, there are no figures who are mere passengers, and this too is a feature of the Acheloos Painter's work, although his intentions are usually far less serious. Every figure and gesture is intended to contribute to the overall effect.

L 93 (plate 85), also by the Antiope Painter, shows much the same characteristics as L 31, and bears some comparison with L 105 (plate 88) also. Here we see Theseus carrying off Antiope with the help of another warrior, possibly Peirithoos, and the encouragement of Poseidon. Here, as on L 31, the composition is well spaced-out into three vertical elements: Poseidon, Theseus with the chariot, Antiope and the warrior carrying her struggling in his arms. In spite of its added colour, the picture is striking for its deployment of large dark shapes. The figures are big and drawn with controlled contours. The incision is thick and confident, and not elaborate, like that of the Acheloos Painter in the middle of his career. Many of the details are rather like his: the concentric circles for the ear, and the carefully-defined mouth most notably. Many of these details are the ones he uses, especially the long line

at the back edge of the thigh, and the single stroke along the forearm; others, such as the hook mark on the upper arm, are not his at all. The large confident build of the figures is more like his than any single detail, and the faces, although shown with a sharp contour, have none of the characteristics which make the Acheloos Painter's faces so distinctive. All the action of the picture, as so often in the Antiope Group, is directed towards one part of the picture; in this case everyone looks towards the figure carrying Antiope. He himself, and Antiope, look behind them at their pursuers. The sense that she has been removed violently is very strong because of the composition of the scene; this tendency to use composition to convey atmosphere as a narrative device is very like that of many of the Acheloos Painter's Heracles scenes. The Antiope Painter seems to have been interested in composition as a narrative device, and more concerned with the contours of his figures than with the detail, unlike some of the other painters of the Antiope Group, and it may be that he passed his interests on to the Acheloos Painter.

L 34 (plate 85), which Beazley placed, like L 27, close to the Antiope Group if not within it, is a hydria with a scene of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. This, as occasionally happens in the Antiope Group, is a vase so crowded with figures that the immediate impression is of confusion and

and darkness, no doubt, in this case, intentional. Ajax and Achilles are at the centre of the picture; Ajax kneels to take the corpse on his shoulders. Achilles' head is bare, with his hair hanging. Ajax is helmeted, providing an effective contrast. Above the head of Achilles is his tiny ghost, fully armed; it appears again on the hydria L 37 with the sacrifice of Polyxena at Achilles' tomb. To the left of the central group are two warriors, and to the right are another warrior and the front parts of the horses of a chariot team. Figures are large and bold, the incisions fine and controlled. Many of the details can be paralleled in the Acheloos Painter's work - the horse harness shown by single strokes, the human thigh marks, a forearm muscle, the careful incision of toes. The artist of this vase was more interested in detail than either the Antiope Painter or the Acheloos Painter himself, so that fine shield devices appear in the picture, a panther head between snakes, a gorgoneion, an ivy wreath, the body of a chariot, and Achilles wears an elaborately spotted chitoniskos, as do the others. Added colour is used sparingly to emphasise the most important parts of the picture. This vase is less like the Acheloos Painter than much of the rest of the Antiope Group, both in detail and mood. The figures have general resemblance to his in size and build, but are less elaborately curved in contour, and more carefully drawn.

L 47 (plate 86), a hydria in the Cabinet des Médailles, has, oddly both for the shape and for the Antiope Group, a Dionysiac scene on it. It is extremely elaborate both in its drawing and in its subsidiary patterns - there are palmettes and ivy round the edge of the lip as well as palmettes round the picture. Dionysos and Ariadne are seated in the centre on square stools with white palmette mounts. Dionysos holds a branch of ivy which confuses the picture with trails which intrude everywhere; the horses of their chariot come forward to meet them, and beside the horses at the left of the picture dances a maenad. At the right of the picture a satyr attacks another maenad. The figures are all very close together, and some of them, Dionysos and Ariadne and the dancing maenad, have a good deal of incised detail on their clothes and wreaths. The dancing maenad has a spotted animal skin as well as a patterned dress. The horses' heads and harness are drawn with heavy incision, so that the actual area of black on each horse head is comparatively small. The ivy behind their heads helps to create a knot of crossing lines at the centre of the picture. Like L 108, the scene is crowded by a series of strong verticals, without a strong horizontal, and this seems quite characteristic of the Antiope Group's more crowded compositions where it is not true of the Acheloos Painter's most fully populated scenes. His symposion on 24 (plate 35) has a man attacking

a woman as if he were a satyr, like the satyr here; his satyrs usually dance rather than trying their hand with maenads. By and large, this vase is not very like one of his, though it plainly belongs to the same artistic circle, as do all the Antiope Group vases.

L 68 (plate 87) shows horsemen on the body and Heracles and the Lion on the shoulder, and has many features in common with the Acheloos Painter. Here are the large stocky horses with their long heads and legs, bristly manes and thin harness. The picture itself is unlike one of his in that it is filled with figures; the space between the horses' legs is filled with dogs, drawn with much the same lack of differentiation shown by the Acheloos Painter between their bodies and those of the horses, but with good observation of their postures. Heracles and the Lion are treated seriously, and the interest is concentrated on Heracles and not on the spectators, but the figure of Hermes resembles the Acheloos Painter's Hermes type, a type which he plainly exaggerated for his own purposes. He has an ordinary facial profile, but he also has a large krobylos bristling from under his petasos. The Athena is the large calm figure we see in the Acheloos Painter's work - she seems to have interested this painter as little as she interested him.

L 105 (plate 88) shows mounted Amazons on one side and Heracles fighting Kyknos on the other. Beazley specifically

says in his ABV entry that this vase recalls the Acheloos Painter. The Amazons are more interestingly shown than his though the picture is not unlike others in late black figure. They ride forward in their mounts towards the right, and the front horse shies at something out of the picture. Both the bitches which accompany the Amazons bark at this invisible source of disturbance. The Amazons are dressed as cavalrymen in helmets and breastplates, unlike those of the Acheloos Painter, who wear caps, short chitons and cloaks. Both the horses are perhaps a little more naturally proportioned than his, and are rather shorter bodied. The bitches have the collie shape and white belly which appear in his work; both of them have the neck ruff and the pointed face.

The picture itself is more striking than some others in the Antiope Group, because its composition is clearer. In effect there are two figures, well spaced in a big area, and although they are large and grand there is plenty of room; they are far better spaced out than those on L 68, for example. They make interesting shapes against this background, and therefore stand out against it in rather the same way as Heracles on the Acheloos Painter's Apple vase 6; the impact of the picture is intensified as much by the clarity of the composition as by the draughtsmanship. The fight between Heracles and Kyknos is more crowded; Heracles and his opponent fight in a central

group, framed by Athena and Ares. The Athena is very like the Acheloos Painter's own, tall, with a helmet crest which reaches through the lotus and palmette frieze above the picture. She wears a peplos with crinkly folds in the skirt; the Acheloos Painter usually shows straight ones. Her aegis has the same big snakes round it. Heracles is a figure very like his, big and muscular, with large powerful legs and arms, and long flat feet. Here plainly is the physical type used by the painter for his hero, although he usually gives him his very distinctive head type.

L 108 (plate 89) shows a wedded couple in a chariot, accompanied by women and two male figures who look very like Hermes, wearing a petasos and boots, and Dionysos, wearing a large wreath. The picture is cramped because the figures are large and dark. The quality of the drawing is like some of the Acheloos Painter's more careless later vases, especially the volute krater in Gotha, 32 (plate 42) on which there are a great many vertical incisions, as here. Heads are large, with big noses and pointed beards. The horses are very like the Acheloos Painter's own, with the long body, big face and thin legs with incised fetlocks that we see on 36 (plate 46); they have the hook marks for the leg joints usual in the Leagros Group. This is not a striking or accomplished painting - it has rather the air of something run up on a wet afternoon; it does

however, relate to some of the Acheloos Painter's less careful later work, in which the incision has a scratchy quality, as here. The composition is arranged in a series of strong verticals; the Acheloos Painter's crowded scenes, as on the symposion amphora 24 (plate 35) usually have one strong horizontal, which makes the scene more immediately intelligible.

L 109 (plate 90) shows Apollo seated between two Muses playing his kithara. Hermes sits at the right and Dionysos at the left. The central group bears a strong resemblance to the Apollo and Muses who appear on the Acheloos Painter's 18 (plate 26), almost to the expression on Apollo's face. The head type used for Apollo is very similar, a round head with long hair flowing in heavy locks over the shoulders and a roll of hair above the forehead. He sits hunched over his kithara, the plectrum held in front of it on its string. He wears a red striped himation tied round his waist and boots. The two Muses gesture towards him, both with their feet facing to the right and looking back over their shoulders at Dionysos, who looks down into his kantharos. A spindly vine acts as the filling tree. The scene is composed as if it were a three-figure scene with a couple of extra figures as padding. Like the Acheloos Painter's own scene on 18 it is rather dull, and the figures are, if anything more stiffly drawn than his. The Dionysos, maenads and satyrs on the other side are not quite so stiff, but the figures are

well spaced across the picture in poses we have observed in other Leagran pictures, especially Dionysos, holding his kantharos out in front of him with one hand, and a vine with the other. The satyrs have exaggeratedly lined, carelessly incised profile hands, and these we have seen in the work of the Acheloos Painter too. The picture is unusual for the Antiope Group in that it shows a Dionysiac scene rather than something more serious and violent.

The Group of Würzburg 210 consists of neck-amphorae and pointed amphorae, and stands close to the Acheloos Painter and the Antiope Group I. Their subjects are almost all Dionysiac, and like the Antiope Group present an obvious background to the Acheloos Painter's style. Here we see a large calm Dionysos, the goat with the almost-human face, the large overdressed maenads, and the same lack of emphasis on the details of the drawing.

L 178 (plate 91) the name vase of the group, illustrates its characteristics well. On one side there are Heracles and Iolaos in a chariot urged on by Athena, and on the other side Dionysos and satyrs. The Heracles scene is very like the work of the Acheloos Painter, with its large horses, drawn as he does his, and Athena standing by the horses, calm and capable. She is the tall woman we have often seen in his work, her clothes

indicated with a few lines, her aegis big with its writhing snakes, and a tall crest to her helmet. Beyond the horses' heads is a fawn with a small head and large pricked ears like the one on 10 (plate 15). The Dionysos on the other side is less fully dressed than the Acheloos Painter's god - he has a large himation but no chiton. He and the satyrs are big and muscular. They are drawn with a little unemphatic detail, with lines which vary in thickness. The satyrs have muscular thighs and fat bottoms. Beyond Dionysos is a goat with a humanoid face and thick spiralled horns. Dionysos holds the roots of the ivy trails which act as filler, with the familiar long thin branches bordered with black dots.

L 136 (plate 92) is by the same painter. It shows Dionysos and satyrs and maenads apparently engaged in a square dance round him. The other side of the vase is more interesting, and shows Heracles mounting a bema to play the kithara. Hermes and Athena watch him. Beside Athena is the little fawn which also appears on L 178, with large ears and a tiny pointed face. The Hermes is like that of the Acheloos Painter, with his large krobylos, though the face is not so horizontal. Heracles, fully equipped and wearing his lion skin is plainly another impression from the Leagran mould, large, muscular, with big calves and knobbly knees. He has a prominent nose and beard. Athena has a very scaly aegis with big snakes and a very crinkly

dress, more fussily drawn than the Acheloos Painter's. This vase is, however, very like the Acheloos Painter's work, and especially like the Kithara picture on 4 (plate 5) which Beazley said was a vase almost indistinguishable from this one in style. The figures on this side of L 136 might, it is true, almost be his, but the Dionysos on the other side, undoubtedly by the same hand, is not very like his; he is too stately and gracious. Much of the detailed drawing is rather different from the Acheloos Painter too - the beard has a neat red edge, rather than a thick red patch occupying most of the outline, and the ankle bones are a tiny crescent rather than a hook, which, however, appears on the accompanying satyrs.

L 174 (plate 93) attributed by Miss Pease to the same hand as the above two vases, has a Dionysos with two satyrs and a goat on one side, and a rather more interesting scene on the other. Beazley suggested that it might show Perseus and maenads, as the young man in the middle has a kibisis on his arm. The maenads are tall women wearing himatia over their dresses like stoles and their hair in long locks over their shoulders. The picture is much more animated than many in this group; the second maenad stretches out a hand to try to stop the young man as he advances on her companion, drawn sword in his hand (42) There is nothing especially distinctive about the drawing - the figures really come from the Leagran stock of figure types

as does the Dionysos on the other side. The goat is very like one of the Acheloos Painter's goats, with a vaguely human face; possibly both artists were simply bad at drawing goats. This one has white horns which the Acheloos Painter's goats do not. Dionysos is tall, stately and quiet, and the satyrs nearly as tall, one rather paunchy.

L 120 (plate 94) shows Dionysos and Ariadne seated in the middle of the scene, with a dancing maenad with krotala and a satyr with a kithara to either side of them. The other side shows Dionysos in a chariot with maenads and satyrs about him. The musical satyrs are the most striking figures, with their long horse ears, big red beards and tails and exaggeratedly open mouths. Dionysos and the maenads are very like their counterparts on other vases in the group. The god is a tall quiet figure with a big wreath and an impressive head. His facial type is obviously related to that of the Acheloos Painter, with its long nose and carefully incised mouth; it is a face which has a cousin in the Acheloos Painter's caricature faces. The maenads and Ariadne come from the large stock of tall Leagran women. Dionysos' horses are from the same stable as those of the Acheloos Painter and the Antiope Group, long bodied, long headed, and with a few simple body-markings; the nearest horse has a couple of crescent markings on his shoulder which are not duplicated in the Acheloos Painter's work.

L 192 bis has, besides the Dionysos, satyrs and maenad, a wheeling chariot, in itself a favourite Leagran motif, which the Acheloos Painter appears to have avoided (plate 95). It is accompanied by a running archer who looks back at it. He wears a soft cap, but a chitoniskos rather than knitted tights. He is extremely like the other archers who appear regularly on Leagran pots. The horses are the best thing in the picture, wheeling on their hind hooves, with their heads fanning out in different directions. The composition conveys the sense of furious movement very well. The drawing is simple and less detailed than the other side; most of the picture's effect is achieved simply by the shapes made by the horses against the background, and the rush with which the archer makes himself scarce.

181⁵ (plate 96) pairs yet another Dionysiac scene with a departure scene involving a hoplite, and an archer and two old men. Here again the interest is concentrated in the narrative element of the picture and the painter has been selective of detail. The figures are large and drawn with generous contours, with few lines for muscles or folds of clothing. Those incisions there are are drawn with considerable precision and neatness. The Dionysiac scene is lively, with a dancing satyr and a more soberly behaved one either side of the god, who holds a more vigorous vine than we have seen before in one hand, and his kantharos in the other. His vine wreath is neat, and so is his

clothing. The satyrs break up the picture space in an interestingly lopsided manner, but the composition is still essentially the three figure type used by the Acheloos Painter often in his more serious work. This is true of the other side of the vase too, with its departing warriors. The figures are arranged to fall into three clearly defined shapes against the red background. Once again the figures are big with very little internal elaboration, and the content of the picture, helped by the use of added colour in a neat and judicious way, is immediately clear.

The vases in the Group of Würzburg 210, then, are all very similar, almost all with the regulation picture of Dionysos and his entourage. It is difficult to pin down any particular feature that was passed on to the Acheloos Painter; his legacy from them is more easily described vaguely as 'influence'. As we see, some figures, Dionysos, the goat and some satyrs are almost duplicated figures, but it might be more accurate to say that they really belong to the Leagran stock of figures who appear often, and have taken on a typical appearance within the Leagros Group as a whole. Beazley remarked on the strong family resemblance between the Leagran vases in Development, and much of what the Acheloos Painter and the Group of Würzburg 210 have in common is accounted for by that general likeness. The vases of the Group of Würzburg 210 are extremely repetitive,

and only have a few less characteristic myth scenes. This is certainly not true of the Acheloos Painter. The pictorial composition on these vases is not very inventive and they are monotonously similar, which is not true of the Acheloos Painter either. What he seems to have absorbed from this group are some of the physical types, on which he improved in his own inimitable manner. A few of the subjects are the same as his, and the Heracles and the Kithara scenes are drawn much as he drew them, but his interest in Dionysos was small; he was not much influenced by these vases in his choice of subject.

The Antiope Group perhaps handed more down to him than figure types. In this group there are plainly two kinds of vase. One is represented by the work of the Antiope Painter, and these have very simple compositions with few figures spread out in a large space. The other kind tends to be crowded whether it is an action picture or not. The action pictures such as the battle with Ajax and Achilles on L34, or the death of Troilos on L27 gain in violence and gloom from the intensity with which many figures are crowded into a small space. At worst these pictures are overcrowded and rather sterile, as on L108. The Acheloos Painter absorbed both kinds of composition from the Antiope Group, and his compositional sense is not really an advance on theirs. He like the Antiope Painter, could use a very simple device such as making his figures look behind

them at sights out of the picture, to make a narrative point; he does it for Heracles on the Apple vase 6. Like the Group of Würzburg 210, the Antiope Group shows some prototypes for some of the Acheloos Painter's figures, even to some of the anatomical details. He used the same stock Leagros figures, hoplites, old men, women, horses, dogs, satyrs, Athena, Hermes, and even Heracles, and transformed those which were important into his own product, often by not much more than the addition of his own head type. In short, his compositional sense, and many of his figure types, are not very different from those of his immediate colleagues in the Leagros Group; he seems to have been content to work within the stylistic conventions of the workshop. This is also true of his subsidiary pattern work, which is exactly like theirs, and of his choice of shapes to decorate. He was a large-pot-painter as they were. Where he differs from them is in his concentration on Heracles, including his choice of some of the less frequently-illustrated adventures such as the encounter with the Kerkopes, and on scenes of komos, which involve figures very unlike those of his workshop colleagues, who paint slim muscular figures, not these plump middle-aged flabby men. Even his Heracles, too has a slight pot-belly, and seems comparatively elderly. Stylistically the Acheloos Painter is very much a member of the Leagros Group, as Beazley said, and his very real originality, lies in his

iconographic peculiarities, especially in his use of Heracles as a basis for caricature and visual parody.

I: The chronology of the Acheloos Painter's style.

'We speak of early, middle and late work of a painter, and it is often possible to arrange his vases, on internal evidence, in a chronological sequence The general tendency is to pass from a tighter style to a freer.' (43) The Acheloos Painter could be said to follow the tendency, though the changes are at no stage very dramatic. The early and late vases are quite distinct visually, and can be told apart without difficulty. However, few of the anatomical or other details change radically, exceptions being the eye and the ear, and even these changes are not consistent; they do, however, tend to appear in the late stage of his career. The most obvious difference between the two ends of the chronological scale is apparent in a very general way, rather than in specific details, and it is difficult to attribute it to any particular features, rather than to a general change in the character of the drawing. The vases Beazley discussed in ABV and Development - the pelike 27, the name vase 5, the amphora with Heracles and the Apples 6, the komast vase 15, the Taranto volute krater 29, the New York symposium amphora 24, and the pointed procession amphora 1 - are a body of mature work, a stylistic core from which it is possible to attribute, and on the basis of which it is possible

to discuss other vases.

6 (plates 8 and 9), with its delightful pictures of Heracles running with the Apples and dealing with the Boar, was discussed by Beazley in Development (44) with 5 (plates 6 and 7) the name vase, at some length; they show a Heracles who can be taken as the essence of the others who appear throughout the painter's work.

On 6 (plates 8 and 9) our hero runs hot-foot after the Boar, which trundles bellowing in front of him, just out of reach. On the other side he runs with the Apples in an outstretched hand in front of him, away from possible pursuers, and looks back to see whether there are any. The picture is joyful, and Heracles is successful. Both pictures have the sense of fun we associate, more than anything else, with this painter. Heracles is a big, loosely knit, slightly clumsy figure, as is the Boar. Both of them are drawn with strong attention to the undulations of the outer contour, and rather less to the details of their anatomies, apart from their faces, both of which are very expressive. More detail is lavished on Heracles' equipment and the lion skin he wears and on the bristly ridge down the Boar's back. As in so many Leagran pictures the effect is very bold, very black, and extremely confident. The incised lines are put in with a certain and generous hand, and there is no sense of niggling, or scratching with a tensely-held graver.

This is also true of 5, with Heracles and Acheloos, where once again the figures are large and confidently drawn, with a bold contour and enough incision and added colour to clarify and enliven the pictures. The facial types have set, as they had on 6, with their long noses, piggy eyes, and general tendency towards the horizontal, and so have the figures themselves, large, with burgeoning uninhibited contours, big feet, big hands, and powerful muscular thighs. This then is the painter's mature style; it has all the marks of maturity, both graphically and in the humour which is so much a part of his work.

1, the pointed amphora in the British Museum, shows a more carefully drawn pair of scenes (plates 1 and 2). The figures are still big, and are not drawn with any lack of confidence, but there is more attention to detail, and the effect is fussier. The facial types are the same as on 5 (plates 6 and 7), long nosed and piggy eyed. The incisions are no less thick and generous, but there are more of them, on the bodies of the animals and on the clothing of the figures. All the figures wear fussy wreaths, as well as their normal headgear in the case of Heracles and Hermes. The pictures lack the immediate clarity and impact of those on 6 (plates 8 and 9), not only because there are more figures, but because of the attention to detail, down to such tiny features as the

crossed strings on the kolopes of Hermes' barbiton. In effect, the figures are in the painter's mature style, but they are weakened by the finicky detail with which they are drawn. This vase, then is perhaps just a little earlier than 5 and 6.

3 (plate 4), another pointed amphora in Toledo, Ohio, appears to represent an earlier stage. Heracles confronts Athena over the antlers of the Kerynitian Hind. Although the figures are just as big as before in relation to the vase, they seem smaller and more attenuated. Athena is drawn in considerable detail, her aegis round, edged with many snakes, scaly on one side of the vase and stippled with many incisions on the other. Her peplos falls into neatly drawn pleats. She has small tidy features, and so has the Hind. Heracles is big and muscular, and has the usual head type, but his contours are not so massive as on 5, nor so freely drawn. Instead of setting about the Hind in his usual rather bumbling fashion he stands, feet firmly planted on the ground, while Athena encourages him. The whole picture seems less mature and more posed than those we have already discussed, and is more tidily drawn and less lively. Even the trees have not the same sense of messy life as they have on the name vase - they are less droopy than usual, and are firmly rooted, which is not often so.

2, another pointed amphora (plate 5), which is so similar to 3 as to be virtually a twin, displays the same characteristics, particularly on the side which shows Apollo and Heracles struggling for the Fawn. Heracles, moving away from Apollo and looking back at him, brandishing a club, is so posed as to be mannered, and the Fawn is a tiny, elegant creature, with vast ears. The Kerkopes on the other side are also tiny creatures, slung on the shoulder of the immense Heracles. Once again the details are carefully drawn, and contribute to the slight stiffness of the figures. The subsidiary florals on both these vases are neater than they usually are in the Acheloos Painter's work, the lotus buds beautifully even, and the palmettes clearly drawn. None of the other vases in Beazley's list displays this neatness of style; this is the tighter drawing he mentioned, and is presumably earlier than the Acheloos Painter's mature pots, with their big, loose-limbed figures and confident drawing.

11 (plate 16), the fragmentary amphora in Altenburg with Heracles and the Lion, appears to belong to the same stage, perhaps a little later. It has the same neatly drawn, even lotus buds. The figures begin to look a little more monumental though they are rather slim for the Acheloos Painter, especially Heracles. The side patterns are not absolutely evenly drawn, and this perhaps shows the painter's looser style beginning to creep in. This vase must be roughly contemporary with 1, for

the same reasons as 7 (plate 10) and 10 (plate 15).

12 (plate 17), one of the athlete vases, not discussed by Beazley, shows most of the virtues of the Acheloos Painter's mature style; here are the large muscular figures with big overstuffed contours and thick well controlled incisions. The figures are more spread out with less overlap than on 5 and 6, and the nature of the action is immediately clear. Oddly enough the figures are shown in stricter profile than on the early vases 2 and 3. The lotus buds are fatter and less even, in the chain under the picture.

15 (plate 21), the komast vase discussed by Beazley, introduces us to the fleshy middle-aged revellers we meet so often in the Acheloos Painter's work and in that of his circle. They have the monumental quality of his Heracles, and seem bigger and more crudely lively than the figures on the earlier pots. The branches of trailing ivy have taken over, as they do in the mature work, and they trail droopily over the background. There are enough folds in everyone's clothes to show how they hang, and they are liberally spattered with unevenly spaced red dots. Heads are big, noses long, and eyes piggy, still drawn with a round pupil and triangular incisions at the corners to show the whites. The interest in leg markings is maintained, and almost no marks appear on the torso apart from the collar bone. The lotus buds below the picture are fat, and the palmettes

on the neck are not as even as they have been.

16 (plate 24) is one of the Acheloos Painter's more commonplace komos vases, with much the same general characteristics as 15, and so is 18 (plate 26). 18, however has a few incisions which demonstrate a tendency to scratchiness which will appear elsewhere. The side palmettes are drawn here with very thick tendrils and some redrawing, as on one of the rays below where some of the paint has smudged into a blob.

19 (plate 28) has a beautifully drawn komos, with four of the plump komasts dancing across the picture space; they are shown completely naked, and the success of the picture depends on their beautifully controlled silhouettes. They dance with big gestures and great panache, and their arms and legs are in positions which make good shapes against the background. The inevitable tree pulls the little group together. We can, however, see some new tendencies appearing. There is greater interest in exaggeratedly twisted positions; three of the four figures are given profile legs and a frontal torso, not very well connected at the waist. The anatomical detail on the bodies is more obvious and at the same time less powerful - it is scratchy, as if done with a mapping pen. The eyes of three of the komasts are shown as a circle with a tiny stroke at the corner; one corner, not both. The tree-branches have no obvious point of origin - no-one holds them and they are not rooted as a

tree. The standard of drawing, in fact, is beginning to pass its peak. All these small features indicate that it is loosening, and may become careless. This is just as true of the rather crowded symposion on the other side of the same vase, which is, if anything, less carefully drawn.

The two one piece amphorae 23 and 24 (plates 33 and 35) belong to much the same stage of the painter's career. 23, in Basle, is another athlete vase, with the big well-spaced figures we have seen before, and a piper in his battlemented chiton. This would not have been an important work at any stage of the painter's career, and at the latter end of his mature period it is dull. The figures are perhaps more carefully drawn than the komasts on 19, the tree is rooted, the scene is composed with great clarity. The figures are given, as usual, the few body-markings which break up the silhouette and show the muscles at work, but one athlete at least has a meaningless line on the forward edge of the thigh, and the clothing of the trainers has lost the solidity it once had. The runners on the other side have more élan; the painter has not lost his touch. They are shown with frontal chests, nipples and pectorals. 24 shows a symposion, with a piper and some vigorous seduction in the corner; it displays another tendency which begins to appear at this point: features are becoming thinner and sharper. Beards and noses taper to an extremely narrow point, and the corners

of himatia begin to do so too. Incision varies in thickness on this vase, which has the effect of making clothing look more realistic. The filling branches are held in the reclining symposiast's hand. He too has a meaningless anatomical marking, a little curved line above his right nipple. Both this and the komos on the other side, with satyrs and a maenad riding an ithyphallic mule, have the liveliness of the painter's best work, a liveliness he never altogether loses in his scruffiest work.

22 and 25 (plates 32 and 36) can be taken to represent the next stage in the Acheloos Painter's development. 22, a small neck-amphora in the Dot Band Class, is late in the Acheloos Painter's career because it belongs to this Class. It shows two stages of the same symposion, concentrating on the events on one kline. Here the drawing is distinctly slipshod. All the incised lines are the same thickness, and because the pictures are small, there seem to be more incisions than there really are, crowded very close together. The male symposiast's hair and beard are so pointed that the head is almost a self parody on the painter's part. The eye has become an incised circle with a short stroke on either side. The kline is less decorative than the one on 24, with volutes at the top of the leg at the head end instead of palmettes lower down on both. Clothing is liberally spotted with red dots or incised crosses,

and the folds have a red streak beside them. The lack of finesse in the drawing does not detract from the liveliness of the content of the picture, which is as ironic as ever.

25 (plate 36), a type B amphora in New York, shows signs of tiredness. Fat komasts appear on both sides, wearing big wreaths and himatia; the folds which are wrapped round the body are more obviously drawn on the body silhouette than has been the case hitherto. Noses and beards are needle-sharp, feet longer and flatter, and fingers more aggressively curved. Many of the figures are shown in twisted postures, one of them so twisted that he has a frontal torso on a pair of markedly profile legs. Each side of the vase has five komasts in a line, none of them engaged in any very energetic activity. The poses are rather undifferentiated. Both pictures are, for this painter, frankly dull and uninventive, because all the figures are firmly on the ground and equally firmly vertical, and the shapes made by their gestures are not interesting enough to break up the space they occupy into eye-catching and varied areas; all the figures are too similar for any one of them to stand out. The effect would be quite different if one of them were actually dancing.

The oenochoe 43 (plate 52) in Cambridge, and the lekythos 49 (plate 58) in Munich seem to represent the latest surviving phase of the painter's activity, the oenochoe particularly.

Here all the figures are shown in twisted poses, turning the whole body to look behind them at their companions. Body and clothing details seem to have been incised more or less in the right place, but without much sense of finish. The figures are animated but badly proportioned, as if the painter had started with the heads, but not allowed for the size of the pot, so that he had to make the bodies smaller in proportion to fit the size of a picture to which he was unused. The picture is very full and slightly confused by the gestures of the dancers and the branches of the ever-present tree. The impression of drunkenness is fine; the spirit of the scene is no less alive than in the mature period, but the drawing is much less carefully thought out. The gift for contour so conspicuous elsewhere is here so taken for granted that it is not controlled, curves burgeon even more than usual in buttocks and thighs, and taper to nothing at the ankle.

The broad cylinder lekythos 49 (plate 58) shows some of the same traits, though this seems to have been a shape to which the painter had been used for longer, and the composition is better thought out, perhaps because it is a conflated and reduced version of the two sides of the neck amphora 12 (plate 17). The athletes on this amphora are extremely simply drawn; these, if anything, are more so. Heads are very economically shown, with a minimum of detail - an eye, a beard, an ear.

The body has the by-now-obligatory collar bones, some ribs, a knee, and some ankles. A clenched fist simply has the thumb differentiated. It is not easy to see where clothing begins and the body ends. Feet are even longer and flatter, and the whole figure more broadly conceived.

In the Acheloos Painter's work, then, there is a progression from more complicated to simpler drawing, which is plainly a gradual and steady progression. This seems to be paralleled by a movement from larger to smaller vases. The early pictures on the pointed amphorae show a careful attention to detail and a tightness of contour which gradually loosens; the treatment of contour never becomes unrecognisably scruffy, but the painter's control over the generous curves of his figures loses its finesse towards the end. The rendering of specific details, such as the eye, changes, though not absolutely; the circle and two triangles appear on his tidier pots at the end of the series. The ear becomes progressively less like an arrangement of concentric circles and more like an ear. In general detail is eased out gradually, in favour of broader gesture and more important outlines. The painter seems to have followed the red figure trend towards a greater interest in twisted postures, without a corresponding interest in the selection of just those details which would make the poses convincing. None of these developments is at all startling,

and it is only when we compare the vases at the extreme ends of the chronological sequence that we see how much the work has in fact changed.

On the basis of these stylistic changes, then, we can plot a chronological chart:

	Early	Middle	Late
Pointed amphorae	2,3 1		
Neck amphorae	11 7	5,6,15, 12 16,18,19	22
Type B		23,24	18
Pelikai		27	
Oenochai			43
Lekythoi			49

CHAPTER II: POTTING

A: Chronology.

After about 530 B. C. there was a tendency for artists to specialise in the vase shapes they decorated, and there is a clearer distinction between pot painters and cup painters. The Leagros Group consists almost entirely of pot painters, and the Acheloos Painter was not one of the few members of the Group who did paint cups; indeed he concentrated on closed pot shapes, as far as it is possible to tell from his surviving work, in which there are only two volute kraters, three column kraters, and the rest are amphorae of various shapes, hydriai, pelikai, benochoai and lekythoi, and some psykters and kalpides. Painter A and the Chiusi Painter, also central to the Group, painted the same selection of vases, but the Acheloos Painter differs from both of them in that his work shows a marked preference for the neck-amphora, and, uncharacteristically of the Leagros Group as a whole, he painted few hydriai.

At the beginning of his list of attributions to the Acheloos Painter Beazley placed three pointed amphorae. Two of them, 2 (plate 3) and 3 (plate 4), are obvious twins, with a rolled lip, a narrow neck and a slight fillet between the body and the small, sturdy foot. The neck is quite markedly concave, and the single-element handles tight, arched in a tense curve which almost becomes angular where it changes

direction. The handles stand well away from the lip at the top. The lower root of the handle is neatly half way between the join of neck to body and the widest point of the pot, which is one third of the way down the body. The body then tapers sharply to the foot, with only the shallowest curve. These vases are the same height. The third pot of precisely this shape, 4 (plate 5) originally appeared in the Leagros Group list as L 121, because of its stylistic likeness to L 136 (plate 92), in spite of Beazley's conviction that it must be by the Acheloos Painter. Its potting is exactly as that of the other two, and it is the same height.

1 (plates 1 and 2) is the odd one out, and it is like the normal panathenaics of the Leagros Group; it has a broader body, which curves more gently to the foot, which it joins with a fillet. Its mouth and handles are alien; its neck is thicker than on the other three pointed amphorae. It is altogether a more compact and less tense shape. It looks like an intermediate stage between the three described above and a panathenaic in Leiden by the Kleophrades Painter (45) which presents the same balanced relaxed appearance, but has smaller handles, a narrower neck, and a longer body with a less pronounced taper to the foot, which is a little wider.

Bloesch showed (46) that at about 510, a date which falls within the Acheloos Painter's active period, 'new impetus

revealed itself, not only in the invention of new shapes but in the modification of long-established forms.' It is noticeable that the three identical pointed amphorae bear a strong resemblance to the name vase of the Euphiletos Painter (47) which belongs to the decade before 520, and has the same slightly unbalanced contour, sharp taper from widest point to foot, and handles which stand away from the neck like ears, with the same slightly angular shape. This suggests that these three pointed amphorae belong a little earlier in the Acheloos Painter's career than the odd one, 1, which is more like the prize panathenais of the Leagros Group.

Bloesch demonstrated that ordinary neck-amphorae undergo a change in shape, in the same way as pointed ones, and that the change involves much the same alteration in proportions. Before 530 neck-amphorae generally have egg-shaped bodies with sloping shoulders, and the lower part of the body is slightly rounded. The superstructure of the vase is usually large, with a big mouth, a cylindrical neck, and cylindrical handles which stand well out from it. This shape gives way after 530 to a slender, tense pot, the equivalent of the three pointed amphorae 2, 3, and 4, with a body considerably longer than its width. The modification of about 510 echoes the single later pointed amphora - the handles fit closely to the neck and the body sometimes becomes shorter and stouter, though many are tapered

at the shoulder, and the lower part of the body curves more than it does on the slender shape, so that the whole pot looks smaller than it did before. The Lea Class, to which many of the neck-amphorae of the Leagros Group belong, and to which our 12 also belongs, demonstrates precisely this development. This particular vase (plate 17) belongs at the end of its series, so that it has a puffy body shape, which is not confined to this particular Class, as it occurs also in the work of the Club Foot Potter, who was responsible for 17 in the Acheloos Painter list (plate 25). These two pots, 12 and 17 are roughly contemporary, and belong late in the decade 510 - 500. 15 (plate 23) is very like 12, with the puffy body, short in proportion to the neck, with its widest point nearly half way down the body, a very flattened echinus mouth, and triple handles standing close to the neck, with the lower root well out on the shoulder. The disk foot splays slightly from top to bottom. The body is roughly as wide as it is tall. These characteristics reappear on 18 and 19 (plates 27 and 28), both so like 12 that they must belong in this Class too. 7 (plate 10) has the puffy body shape, but has looser, flabbier-looking handles and a straight profile to the foot, as if the potter had not quite established the right proportions for the shape, but was near to achieving them. Nearly all the other amphorae correspond more nearly to the earlier shape, with a more slender body,

taller than it is broad, with a sharp taper to the foot, which is thin and flat, with handles which have a wider and more open shape.

17 (plate 25) is the work of the Club Foot Potter, and is unique in the Acheloos Painter's work. This potter was producing vases with heavy feet and big handles which revert rather to those of the decade 520 - 510, without the slender body shape which should go with them. Instead, the bodies of his pots have sloping shoulders and a puffy outline. 17 is a good example of the shape.

The other isolated amphora in the list is 22 (plate 32) which belongs to the Dot Band Class, and is therefore rather late in the Acheloos Painter's work, as one might conclude also from the quality of the painting, which is not his best work, and looks tired compared with some of the painting on the more usual shapes of amphora in the Acheloos Painter's work. The amphorae of the Dot Band Class have ugly proportions; the neck is too big for the body, and the handles splay too much. The body tapers in an ogee curve to the fillet at the foot, like some lekythoi. The foot is flat and wide, with a curved profile. The shoulder of the vase is more distinct than is at all usual in amphorae of this date. Another amphora of this Class was decorated by the Edinburgh Painter, whose active period coincides roughly with the latter half of that of the

Acheloos Painter.

All the Acheloos Painter's type B amphorae appear to be of about the same date, with one exception. If the same principles apply to type B amphorae as to the other kinds, then two of these belong in the middle of the development of the shape in the last two decades of the sixth century. The neck and handles are high, and the body slender and elongated. The mouth flares. The shape from which this developed is illustrated by an example by the Antimenes Painter (48), which has a broader, stouter body, a fatter neck, a less pronounced flare to the lip, and handles which stand out like ears. The single exception in the Acheloos Painter list, 25 (plate 36), must represent a later development from the slender shape, and seems to have been potted with a glance backwards at the Antimenean shape. The body has settled into a thicker shape, with a less pronounced taper to the foot, and a neck which flares to echo the flare of the lip. The handles are thick, and show a tendency to stand out like the handles of the Antimenean type, though less obviously. The foot has a flatter area on its upper surface as if it had been deflated like a tyre. The paintings on this vase are scratchy and careless, and repetitious of earlier and better work.

Bloesch demonstrated that hydriai go through the same series of alterations in proportion, and a look at the plates

with which he illustrates his argument shows that the changes are much more obvious than they are in the case of amphorae. They become taller and narrower in the body, and the side handles tilt upwards to match the greater streamlining of the body. The arch of the back handle rises above the level of the mouth of the vase; earlier it remained below it, and it was not possible to see the back handle from the front of the vase. There are three hydriai certainly attributed to the Acheloos Painter, of which one, 34 (plate 43) appears to be slightly earlier than the others. Its size is much the same as the standard Leagran hydriai. The body is sturdy, and tapers very gently to a disk foot, the handles tilt upwards a little, and the arch of the back handle only just appears above the lip of the vase. A woman's head and neck, modelled in high relief, is applied to the flat handle where it joins the lip. 35 (plate 44) and 36 (plate 46), are slender in the body, with a flatter shoulder, and the side handles are bent up much further. The arch of the back handle stands much higher above the level of the lip, and is ridged. The neck is narrower, and nearer to the cylindrical. However, the differences between these two hydriai and 34 are really quite slight, and they are likely to belong quite close together in the painter's work. 35 and 36 (plates 44 and 46) are very like a hydria in the Lea class decorated by Painter A (49), which would suggest that they are

roughly contemporary with the neck amphora 12, and so belong to the middle of the painter's career. Here again, the quality of the painting on the hydriai would suggest this.

There are two pelikai among Beazley's certain attributions, and the potting of them differs, though they are much the same size. 26 (plate 37) with the capture of Silenos, has a torus mouth, a spreading disk foot, and rather angular handles, positioned far down on a tall neck. The body is rounded, with no sharp taper. The other, 27 (plate 38), more unusual in having an echinus foot, has a shorter neck with bigger handles which reach higher in a tight curve. The body shape is very similar. It is difficult to say which is earlier, though the slightly angular handles of 26 might suggest an earlier date. This is not, however, necessarily a safe deduction, since the shape was only introduced very shortly before these two were made, and so the shape has not yet had much time to settle into a standard form, let alone undergo any modification.

The only other vase shape in the list of which there are enough examples to allow comparison within the painter's work is the lekythos, of which there are three in Beazley's attributive catalogue. Miss Haspels showed in ABL that the outburst of new shapes had its effect on the lekythos as on everything else. The new shape which comes in is the cylindrical lekythos, with a big area of flat surface for the picture, and a full

curve to a torus foot, starting under the picture. It is a shape which developed from this, the so-called 'compromise' lekythos, which is peculiar to the Leagros period, and which the Acheloos Painter decorated. The shape has a sharp slope below the picture to the foot instead of the gentle curve, and the foot itself is the pre-red-figure echinus shape. The third lekythos the painter decorated, 49 (plate 58), represents the further development of the decade 510 - 500, a broad cylinder lekythos, with a thick body and a thick plain foot. There are many examples of this shape at the end of the decade.

Miss Haspels also showed that painters who decorated lekythoi also tended to paint oenochoai; the Acheloos Painter decorated two, one of which, 43 (plate 52), belongs to the Class of Cambridge 162, a Class which also includes work by the Rycroft Painter, who also painted compromise lekythoi, and three of the Leagros oenochoai, and also one by the Theseus Painter, which suggests that the Acheloos Painter's oenochoe is late.

Any conclusion which it is possible to draw on the basis of this exposition depends on the conformity of any given potter to the general trends of the last fifteen years of the sixth century. Some potters may have begun to modify shapes earlier than others, and unless it is possible to attribute a pot certainly to a given potter, we cannot be certain about relative

chronology of pots showing the same modification in shape. However, bearing this in mind, in view of the fact that on the whole the modification of shape occurs at about the same time in the work of most potters, we can attempt a chronology for the Acheloos Painter's work on the basis of the obvious alterations in shape displayed by his vases, which appears below.

	Early	Middle	Late
	510		500
Pointed amphorae	2, 3 4	1	
Neck amphorae	7	12, 15, 17 18, 19	22
Type B amphorae		23, 24	25
Hydriai	34	35, 36	
Pelikai	26	27	
Lekythoi		45, 47	49
Oenochoai			43
	510		500

B: Shared potters.

The Acheloos Painter worked for a number of potters, rather than specialising in decorating the work of one or two. In this he falls in with the practice of the Leagros Group, whose work can be found decorating the products of a very varied

selection of potters. Some of the potters he worked for can be identified as the authors of vases decorated by other people; others, such as the potter of the triplet pointed amphorae 2,3, and 4, cannot readily be linked with other painters. Because of the difficulty of assigning different shapes to one hand, and of tracing a single hand at the different stages of its career, it is not possible to assign more than a tiny fraction of the vases of the Leagros Group to their potters, but as it so happens that the work of those who can be identified is decorated both by the Acheloos Painter and by members of the Leagros Group, it is worth examining these links a little further.

A large group of hydriai is mostly decorated by the Leagros Group, and were called the Lea hydriai for that reason. Nearly all of them belong to the sturdier shape of the decade 510 - 500, and represent an advanced stage of development from their Andokidean predecessors. L 42 (50), decorated by Painter A, is a good example of the Class; it is a tall hydria with the arch of the back handle rising high above the rim, so that it is visible from the front of the vase, and the side handles are turned well up. The neck of the vase is very slim, the back handle ridged, and the foot is a thick disk with a slightly concave upper surface. It is possible that the Acheloos Painter's hydria 35 is another member of the Class, but neither Bloesch

nor Beazley have suggested this. The neck amphorae of the same Class provide a more fruitful field for further discussion. These show a progression from a triangular body shape, through a slender shape with a narrower shoulder, and at the end a few with puffy bodies. They were decorated by a number of identifiable painters within the Leagros Group: the Painter of Oxford 569, a member of the Leagros Group who stands close to the Antiope Group - his name vase L 200, belongs in the Lea Class - Würzburg 214, L 179, painted by a member of the Group of Würzburg 210, and the Acheloos Painter's own 12 (plate 17). Others in the main mass of the Leagros Group include L 144 and L 147, both in the British Museum, and apparently by different hands. The Acheloos Painter's own vase belongs at the end of the series; he decorated the puffy shape, in itself a fairly common phenomenon among late black figure amphorae.

The Club Foot Potter represents an intermediate stage between the heavier hydriai of the Andokidean workshop and the slender ones of the Lea Class. He imitated the kind of lip which appears on the heavy hydriai (51) but the foot which gives him his name is his own. It is slightly conical, and ends in a vertical zone which hangs like bent toes. A number of Leagran vases are his work, including L 27 (plate 83) which belongs on the fringe of the Antiope Group, L 42 with Medea and the Ram, and L 68 in the Antiope Group. The earliest of

his amphorae are contemporary with the slender Lea amphorae, and the latest with the full-bodied late black figure ones. The Acheloos Painter decorated one of his neck-amphorae, which fits into the middle of the series. Others, early in the series, are L 163, said to recall the Acheloos Painter, Würzburg 210, the name vase of the homonymous group, a vase by the Rycroft Painter (52) and a member of the Group of Copenhagen 114 (53) which belongs in the circle of the Nikoxenos Painter.

The Acheloos Painter also decorated one small amphora 22 (plate 32), stylistically late in his career. This belongs in the Dot Band Class (54), which also includes vases by the Edinburgh Painter, who was perhaps trained in a Leagran workshop, and also vases in the Perizoma Group. Our painter also decorated an oenochoe in the Class of Cambridge 162, which also includes work by the Leagros Group and the Theseus Painter, who has Leagran origins, but whose workshop is one of several large ones producing oenochoai and lekythoi at the end of the sixth century.

The psykter 41 was decorated for a potter who also produced one painted by Euthymides (55). Since the red figure Pioneers were so closely related to the Leagros Group, we might expect to find that more potters are common to both workshops than appears to have been the case. Only one, the so-called Eukleo C, can definitely be said to have been connected with both.

the Pioneers and the main Leagros Group. Otherwise each group of painters appears to have adhered to its own circle of potters, only a few of whom were common to both. The other psykter, 42 (plate 51) was made by a potter who produced the Leagran psykter Munich SL 461 (56).

The Acheloos Painter, then, decorated large pots for two workshops of potters who overlap chronologically, the Lea Class being slightly earlier and the Club Foot Potter a little later. His Lea Class amphora belongs at the end of the series, and the Club Foot vase in the middle so that they are roughly contemporary. This has already been shown to be so from the shape - they both belong in the middle of his career, and stylistically they seem to belong to his mature style. He shares the Lea Class potters with at least one member of the Group of Würzburg 210 and with a fringe member of the Antiope Group, both groups with which he has a strong stylistic connection. The Club Foot Potter's oeuvre also includes members of both these groups and a few fringe painters with strong red figure connections which are not Pioneer. The Acheloos Painter has no apparent connection in terms of potting with the other Leagran wing of painters of large vases, Vatican 424, before the appearance of their pupil the Edinburgh Painter, or with the Red Line Painter or Painter S, and only tenuously with Painter A, and this is to be expected from the lack of stylistic

connection.

The groups with which he does connect stylistically are also, then, connected by the potters they worked for; here at the core of the Leagros Group there were two potters or workshops who provided the vases for two of the main sub-groups. The Lea Class are normally decorated by the Leagros Group, and these potters seem to have been firmly entrenched in the workshop. The Club Foot Potter, in view of his other clients, the Nikoxenos Painter, the Rycroft Painter, and the Euphiletos Painter, only one of whom is even a fringe Leagran, may have been a less integral part of the Leagran circle. The Acheloos Painter too may have been less closely allied to the Leagros Group in the latter part of his career, which is contemporary with the later part of that of the Club Foot Potter, when he was also sharing a potter with the Theseus and Edinburgh Painters and was tending to paint small vases. He seems to have begun his career as a painter of large vases, strongly in the Leagran tradition, and ended it as a more loosely-connected member of the Group, painting small ones, perhaps as the Leagran one came to an end. The slight discrepancies of size within any one shape of vase in his work can only demonstrate what we have already seen, that he worked for a large number of potters, most of whom were producing standard sizes of vase in most shapes, with the very occasional marked exception, such as the

Dot Band Class, and he painted, within his range of shapes, virtually everything he was asked to paint. It would require a far more detailed study of the minutiae of potting and of non-Leagran vases of the late sixth century than is appropriate here to trace any other workshop affiliations, of which, in any case, there may not have been very many. It is probably enough to show that the Acheloos Painter's stylistic connections are borne out by the potting, which suggests a close workshop connection with the rest of the Leagros Group, at least for the first part of his career.

CHAPTER III: COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY FROM STYLE AND POTTING.

By considering the Acheloos Painter's career both in terms of stylistic development and of changing pot shapes we have arrived at two separate chronological charts. If we compare them we can see that those vases which appear in both charts do in fact coincide chronologically. The pointed amphorae 2 and 3 the earliest stylistically, the most minutely drawn, the most detailed, and in many ways among the least exciting, are the earliest of the shape in the painter's oeuvre as well. These are followed a little later by 1 and 7, which begin to show the style loosening up, and a corresponding development in the case of 1, in the shape of the vase. The vases discussed by Beazley belong in the middle of the series, at the core of the painter's work, and the shapes place them in the corresponding place in the potting series. 22, the Dot Band Class amphora, belongs in the painter's late maturity, both because of its style and because the Class is a late phenomenon. 25 is roughly contemporary. The lekythos 49 and the oenochoe 43 form the tail. All these vases appear in both charts; they are the most representative of the particular stages for which they stand. Some vases only appear in one chart, because the painting or the shape give a clue to date, but not both; relatively little is known about the development of some shapes or their potters, the pelike being one of those shapes. Some of the

Acheloos Painter's later work is difficult to place precisely because he expended more time and effort on some of the vases than on others; some of them may be genuinely late, while others may simply be careless. Most of the vases not attributed by Beazley, added to the painter's oeuvre here, seem to fall into one or both of these categories, late or careless. These are the marvellous komast pelike in Cambridge 28, potted like 27 and painted like 25, and so somewhere near 25 in date; the Funcke lekythos 48, which seems to be a small scale work of the painter's middle period, and so belongs a little before the two others of this stage 45 and 47; the Sydney lekythos 46 which belongs with 45; 37, which shows all the vigour and originality of the painter's own work, and is stylistically at the freer end of the scale; perhaps a little later than 25; Munich 1725, our 38, a kalpis with the picture on the body; 20, which probably belongs between the very earliest vases and the stage represented by 1 and 7, before the painter's style had gelled; 21, which belongs to the painter's late maturity; 41, the psykter with its slightly scratchy drawing which belongs near 25; the kalpides 39 and 40 which belong with 37 at the freer end of the scale, and the psykter 42 which is also late. A chronological chart which combines the two at which we have already arrived, and includes these new attributions and those in Beazley's list not discussed in detail, clarifies the pattern of the Acheloos

Painter's career, which has begun to fall gradually into place as we discussed the vases from either point of view.

	Early	510	Middle	Late	500
Pointed amphorae	2, 3,4	1			
Neck amphorae		7,10 11	8	5,6,9,12 15,16,17 18,19	9 22
Type B amphorae				23,24	25
Hydriai		34		35,36	
Pelikai		26		27	28
Oenochoai					43
Lekythoi			48	45,46 47	49
Psykters					41,42
Kalpides				37 38	39 40
Volute kraters			29,30		
Column kraters		31,32			
		510			500

CHAPTER IV: ICONOGRAPHY

A: Choice of Subjects.

Most of the Acheloos Painter's surviving work appears on pots which provide opportunities for more than one scene: amphorae, hydriai, pelikai and kraters, and since in this respect he resembles the rest of the Leagros Group, they can quite legitimately be used as comparative material in an investigation of the Acheloos Painter's choice of subjects, and the way in which he pairs them on the vases which survive. There are two other painters or groups who also serve very well as comparative material, one of these being the Antimenes Painter, who could be said to stand for main-line black figure, and who overlaps chronologically with the Leagros Group, and the Pioneers, here represented by Euphronios, Euthymides, Phintias, Smikros, and the Sosias Painter, who are agreed to have been close to the Leagros Group, and probably at work in the same workshop, though of course painting in red figure.

The scenes which appear on late black figure pots can be divided into quite a small number of categories, which can be found to hold good for any painter or group if an attempt is made to divide up their work in this way. Thus all the pictures on the Acheloos Painter's pots fall into one of the following categories: Heracles, Theseus, Dionysiac, Komos, Troy, Other Myth, Gods, Gigantomachy, Horsemen, Chariots, Warriors, Fight,

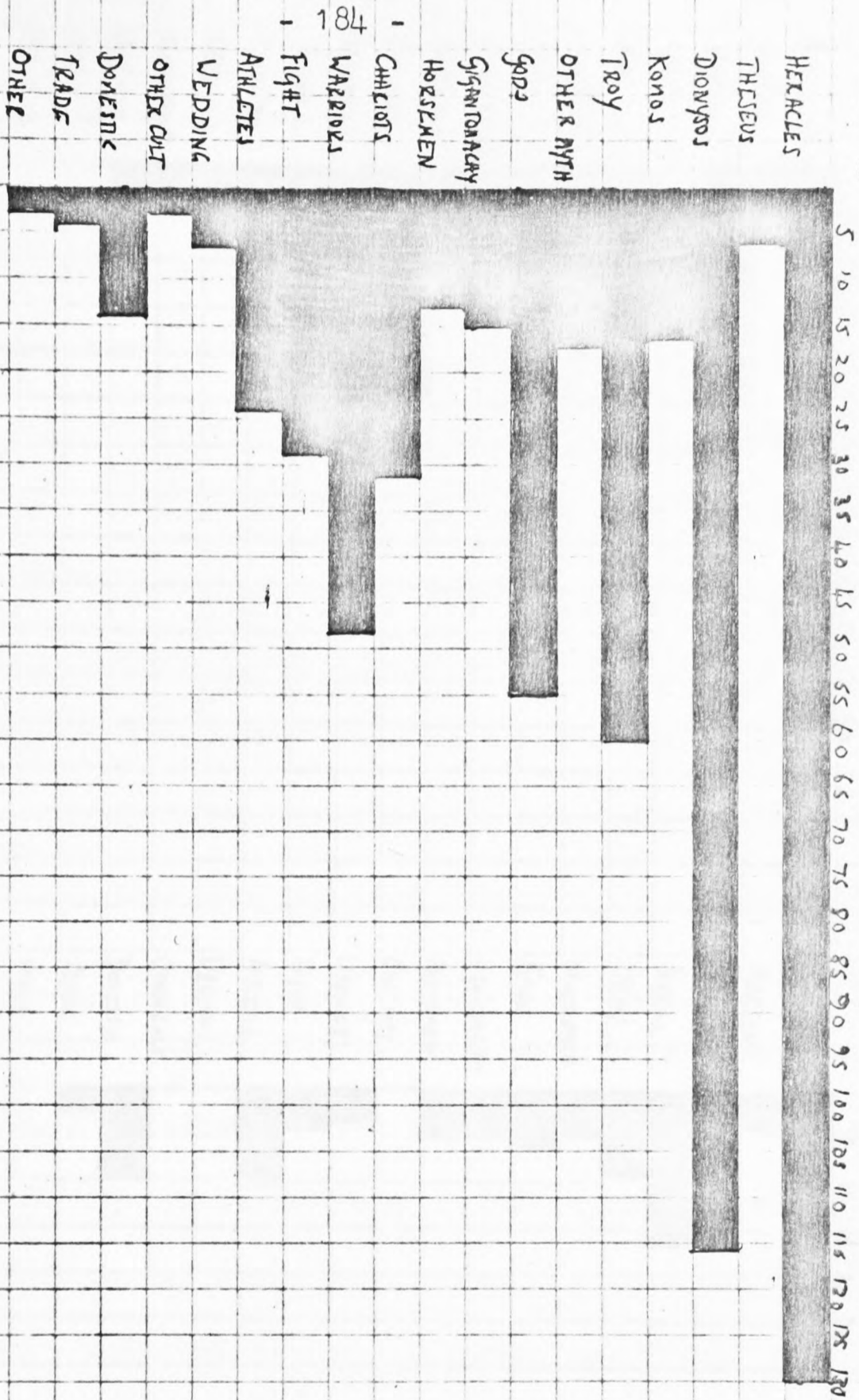
Athletes, Wedding, Other Cult, Domestic, Trade, and the ever-useful Other. Some of these raise questions, in cases where there is an obvious overlap; Heracles may appear in a Gigantomachy, and it is necessary to decide in which category such a scene should be placed. Beazley usually avoided the issue by calling this sort of scene Heracles in Battle; here those in which Heracles figures prominently, especially if there are no gods in evidence, are in the Heracles category, and all other Gigantomachies under that heading. Troy has been used here, not without a certain amount of doubt, to cover events in the cycle which occur before the birth of Achilles, so that Peleus and Thetis will be found under this head and not under Other Myth. Warriors is a useful blanket heading for departure scenes, arming, harnessing a chariot, in fact anything in which warriors are involved other than a Fight. The Chariot heading means chariots in a peace-time context such as racing. Other Cult is designed to cover scenes such as sacrifice and the odd extispicy. Weddings have a heading to themselves, because there is an established tradition of pictures of the wedded couple in their chariot with the procession. Domestic covers visits to the fountain house, amorous exchanges, and Trade both such things as activity in a shop or the manufacture of goods, and olive picking. Komos covers symposion as well, since symposion might be seen as a later stage of komos, when the participants

have become tired of dancing, and have climbed up on their klinai to concentrate on serious drinking.

The first set of diagrams, comparative histograms on the basis of these groupings, shows simply the number of scenes in each category which survives, in the work of the Acheloos Painter, the Leagros Group, the Antimenes Painter and the Pioneers, as they appear in ABV, ARV, and Paralipomena, irrespective, for the moment, of the shapes on which they appear, or whether the shapes have one or more scenes. Each square represents five pictures. One obvious drawback, which should constantly be kept in mind, is that the non-appearance of any given scene does not necessarily mean that the artist in question never painted the subject, only that it does not survive if he did; however, we might reasonably assume that total non-appearance does mean that he painted proportionally fewer versions of the subject than those painters whose versions do survive. The diagrams appear on pages 184 and 185.

A few things become immediately apparent from these comparative histograms. In the work of both the Acheloos Painter and the Leagros Group Heracles plays a prominent part. Beazley noticed that this was so. Out of 489 scenes known to Beazley in the Leagros Group, Heracles appears on 130, a little over a quarter. The Acheloos Painter's Heracles scenes occupy 22 out of 85, a very similar proportion of the total. Beazley

LEAGOS GROUP



ACHETOS PAINTER

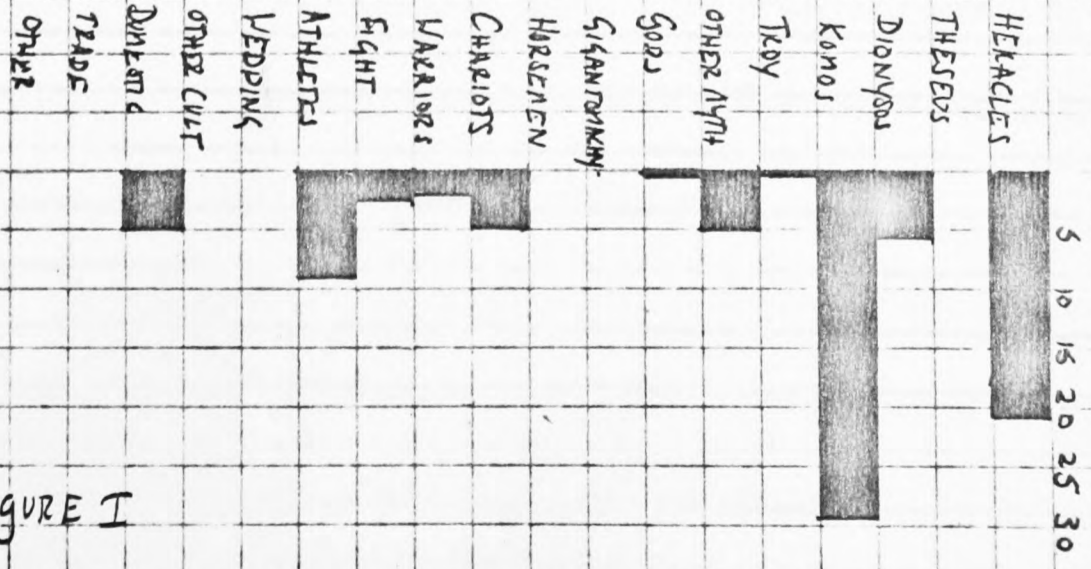
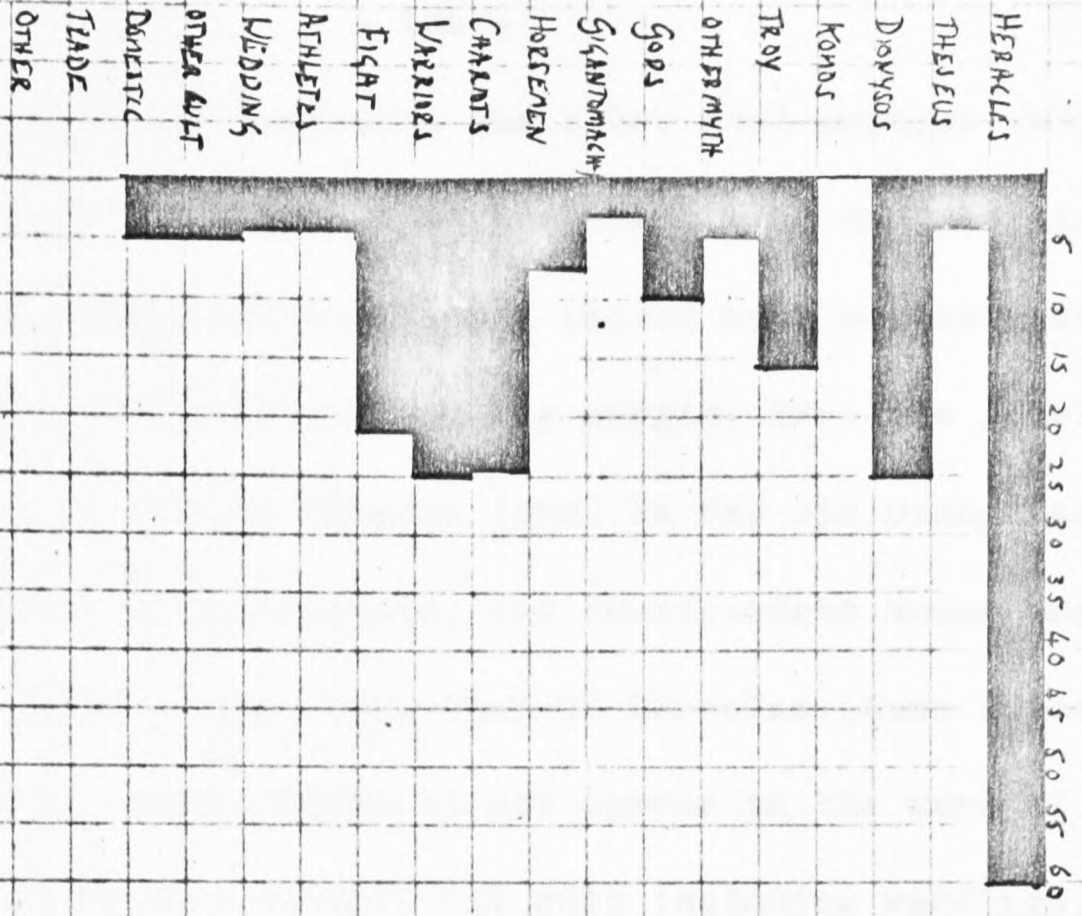


FIGURE I

ANTIMENES PANTER



THE PIONEERS

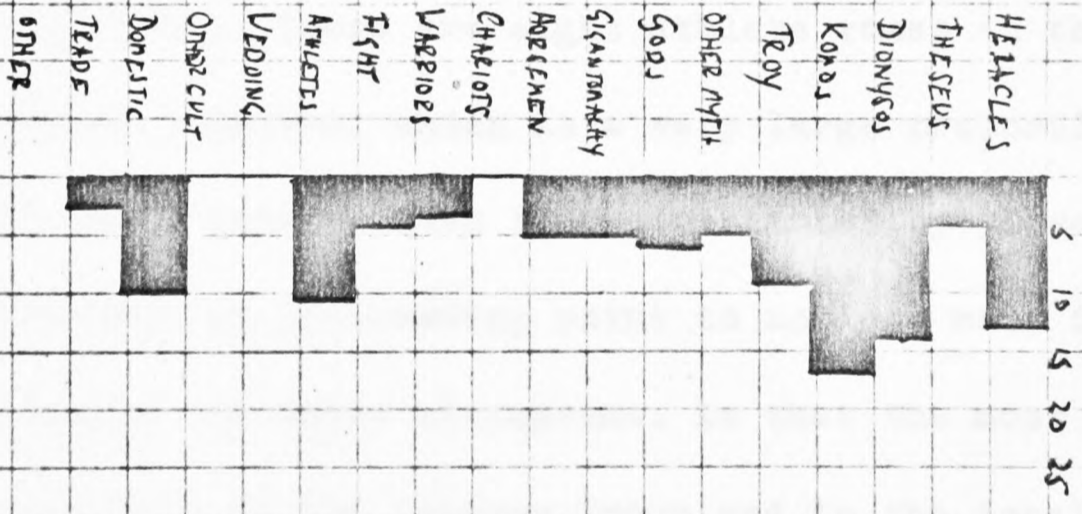


FIGURE I

said that scenes of Troy were the other most popular subject for the Group, but a glance at our chart will demonstrate that the Dionysiac scenes are the second most popular, and those of Troy third by quite a big margin. Here the Acheloos Painter is not true to Leagros form. He has six Dionysiac scenes and one Trojan episode, but twenty-eight komos and symposion scenes - even more than of Heracles. Some scenes which appear in the Leagros Group do not appear in the work of the Acheloos Painter at all; all cult including weddings, trade, and the adventures of Theseus, but this may be non-survival, since they are not very numerous in the work of the Leagros Group either. There are eight athlete vases in the Acheloos Painter's oeuvre, which is a very large proportion of the whole, much more so than that constituted by those in the Leagros Group. An interesting point to notice, made immediately obvious by these histograms, is that the most popular scenes both in the Leagros Group and in the Acheloos Painter's work, are more popular than the others by a huge margin. Heracles, Dionysos, and the komos are subjects, evidently, to which the whole Group returned again and again.

Some of the larger categories need subdivision for some purposes: Heracles is an obvious example, since any group of vases is almost bound to contain a selection of scenes of his various adventures, and some of the more popular ones, such

as the encounter with the Nemean Lion, are likely to be repeated often; if we are to discover anything informative about choice of subject matter we need to know which Heracles scenes appear. The second set of diagrams, on pages 188 to 194, is intended to show exactly which episodes appear within each category or cycle, how often, and on which shapes. Heracles, as we have seen, is the most popular subject, and a great variety of his adventures appear in the work of the Leagros Group - not only the obvious ones such as the Lion, which are to be expected and are naturally popular, but some very unusual ones as well, such as the meeting with Helios, of which there are only five representations in black figure (57), crossing Ocean in Helios' bowl, and the adventure with the Kerkopes. The Lion appears on hydriai, amphorae of type A but not type B, neck amphorae, two column kraters and a lekythos, an even distribution among the available shapes. This proves to be true of all the most popular scenes: Antaios, who even appears on a cup, a rare shape for the Leagros Group, as well as the hydriai and amphorae; Kerberos, who is to be found on a pelike and a type B amphora; Kyknos, who appears on amphorae of all three types, hydriai and lekythoi; the introduction to Olympus, on hydriai and amphorae; the Amazons on hydriai, a pelike and a couple of amphorae. Given that apart from the lekythoi the Leagros Group is largely composed of the big vases, none of this is

		NECK AMPHORAE POINTED AMPHORAE	TYPE B	PELIKAI	KLATEROS	HYDRIAI	KALPIDES	PSYKTEAI	OENOCHOAI	LEKYTHOI	
<u>HERAKLES</u>	ACHELOOS	1					1				
	APPLES	1									
	BOAR		4							1	
	BULL								1	1	
	FAWN	1									
	KERBEROS		1				1				
	KERKOPES	1									
	KITHAKA	1									
	LION		1				1				
	PROCESSION	2									
	STAG WITH	2									
	<u>DIOMEDOS</u>	ENTOURAGE SATYRS AND MAENIADS	1	1		1					1
		KOMOS		9	2	2	3		1	4	
SYMPOSION PELEUS THEUS AND CHIRON		3	1		2						
<u>TROY</u>						1					
	<u>MYTH</u>										
	AMAZONS									1	
	SILENOS			1							
	SISYPHOS	3									
<u>GODS</u>	APOLLO	1									
	CHARIOTS				2	1	1				
<u>WARRIORS</u>	DEPARTURE	2									
	FIGHT	3									
	ATHLETES	4	2	1						1	
<u>DOMESTIC</u>	BULL CATCHING						1				
	EMBRACE			1							
	FOUNTAIN	1					1				
	WOLFSTATION							1			

THE ACHELOOS PANTER

FIGURE II

		TYPE A NEK AND- HOVAE	TYPE B	DELIKAI	KATELIS	HYDRIKI	KALPIDES	DENOCHAI	LEKYTHOI	KANTHAKOI	CUPS
<u>HERACLES</u>	ACHELOOS	3	1			1					
	ALKYONEUS					1					
	AMAZONS	1	1	1		5					
	ANTHOS		2			6					
	APOLLO	1				4					
	ATHENA	1				2					
	BOAR	2	1			1		1	1		
	BULL	1				1	2	2			
	GEYON GEYON'S CATTLE					2			2		
	GIGANTOMACHY					1					
	HELIOS HELIOS' JOWL							1			
	IN BATTLE					1					
	SOLARS					1					
	KEKBEROS	3	1	2		4			1		
	KEKROPOS	1									
	KITHAKA	5									
	KYKLOS	3	1	1		7			2		
	LION	4	2			2	6				
	NELEOS	1				1					
	IN OLYMPOS								1	1	
	TO OLYMPOS	2	2			7					
	RESTING			2		1		1			
	SACRIFICE	1									
	TRIFON	1									
	UNIDENTIFIED ADVENTURE						1				
<u>THESEUS</u>	MINDTRICK						2				
	HELEN						2				
	ANTIPOE WITH		2								
<u>DIONYSOS</u>	ENTOURAGE SATYRS AND MAENADS	40	4	1	2	9	9	1	2	1	
	ALONE OR SINGLE	12				1			1		
	WITH CONSORT IN CHARIOT	1	11	1			4	1	1		
	IN CHARIOT	1	3	1			2				
	KOMOS	10	1		3			1	1		
	SYMPOSION						1				

LEAGROS GROUP
FIGURE II

	ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ	TYPE A NECK AMPHORAS	TYPE B	PELIKAI	KRATERA	HYDRIAI	KALPIDES	ΔΕΥΟΧΗΜΑΙ	ΛΕΚΥΘΟΙ	ΚΑΥΤΗΚΟΙ	CUPS	
<u>TRAY</u>	HECTOR'S BODY	2				4			4			
	ACHILLES AND TROILLOS					8			2			
	PELEUS AND THETIS	4				1			1			
	ACHILLES TO CHIRON					2						
	ACHILLES AND AJAX PLAYING		2	1		4						
	ACHILLES AND AMAZONS					2						
	AJAX AND ACHILLES' BODY					2				3		
	DEATH OF PRIAM	1				1						
	AGAMEMNON AND ACHILLES	7				1						
	NEOPTOLEMOS AND POLYXENA					1						
	QUARRELLING HEROES					1						
	AJAX AND HECTOR		1	1								
	MEMNON	2										
	JUDGMENT OF PARIS	1					1					
	MEDEA AND RAM						1					
	<u>MYTH</u>	AMAZONS	2	1			3				2	
		ADAMANTOS		1								
		SISYPHOS	2									
		PERSEUS	3									
		TILIPTOLEMOS	1									
EUROPA										1		
<u>Gods</u>		APOLLO	23				2		1	1		
	GROUP SEATED GODS		1	1		1		1	1			
	POSEIDON					5					1	
	ATHENA	6	3			1	1		1			
	ARTEMIS			1								
	GIGANTOMACHY	5			2	1	6		1			
	HORSEMEN	1	1	2			9					
	CHARIOTS	2	4	1		1	25			1		
	<u>WAR</u>	DEPARTURE	9	1	2		2	13				
		ARMING	2				1					
WARRIORS		8		1		3				3		
CHARIOT		1				1	1					
FIGHT		11	1			2	10			3		
ATHLETES	3	13			1	5			1			

LEAGROS GROUP
FIGURE II

		PANPHRAEAS	NECK AMPHORA	TYPE A	TYPE B	DELIKAI	KRATERS	AYDRAI	KALPIDES	OENODHORI	LEKITHOI	KANTHAROI	CUPS
	<u>WEDDING</u>			1	1			1					
<u>CULT</u>	KITHARODE		1			1							
	SACRIFICE	1	1										
	SUPPLIANT							1					
<u>DOMESTIC</u>	COOKS									1	1		
	GOAT CATCHING							1					
	MEN					1							
	WOMEN						2	1					
	FOUNTAIN							7					
<u>TRADE</u>	VINEYARD							1			1		
	POTTERY							1					
	SMITHY											1	

LEAGROS GROUP.

FIGURE II

ΠΑΡΑΘΕΜΑ
 ΔΙΝΟΙ
 ΗΥΔΡΙΑ
 ΤΥΠΟΣ Β
 ΤΥΠΟΣ Α
 ΝΕΚΡ
 ΑΡΧΑΙΑΣ

	ΠΑΡΑΘΕΜΑ	ΤΥΠΟΣ Β	ΤΥΠΟΣ Α
<u>ATHLETES</u>	5		
<u>WEDDING</u>		1	1
<u>CULT</u>		3	
<u>DOMESTIC</u>			2
			1
			2
			1
<u>TRADE</u>		2	
		2	
<u>OTHER</u>			

ANTIMENES PAINTER

FIGURE II

particularly surprising, but we might notice which shapes were chosen for the more unusual scenes. In the Heracles column we find a few oddments, such as the episode with Geryon's cattle, the meeting with Helios, and the occasional scene of Heracles in Olympus rather than on the way there. Heracles and the Boar may show the Delivery rather than actual capture. These scenes appear on a wide range of shapes but it is interesting to notice that the single kantharos has one of the scenes of Heracles as a symposiast in Olympus, a rare scene on a rare shape. One of the scenes with Geryon's cattle and the journey in Helios' bowl appear on oenochoai, and the meeting with Helios and the other scene of Heracles in Olympus on lekythoi. The other scenes of which there are only one or two appear on bigger shapes - Alkyoneus on a hydria Nereus on a neck-amphora and a hydria, the Gigantomachy on hydriai; Triton, the Kerkopes, and Heracles driving a bull to sacrifice all appear on neck-amphorae. The Nereus episode and the Gigantomachy are not uncommon in late black figure, and may simply have been less popular with the Group. The Kerkopes episode is genuinely unusual. There are no grounds for arguing that all the rare scenes are confined to the vases which tend to obey conventions of their own, as it is apparent from ABL that oenochoai and lekythoi do, and the painters who decorate them often concentrate on these shapes, but it is perhaps

reasonable to notice that the real innovators as to choice of subject in the Leagros Group tend to be the painters of the smaller vases. The scenes involving Heracles, apart from those which include Athena, which presumably owe their popularity to the fact that she was the city goddess, are generally those which allow for big active scenes, with heroic figures and plenty of movement - precisely those which are most characteristic of the Leagros Group, and which need their favourite large vases to display them effectively. Scenes which do not appear are the Hydra, the Stag, the Stymphalian Birds, the Horses of Diomede - both these last admittedly rare - a Centauromachy, or Busiris. These all figure in contemporary vase-painting outside the Group.

If we look at the corresponding chart for the Acheloos Painter, on page 188, the most obvious fact is that the Heracles scenes are a rather strange selection, and that he appears to have had no particular and repeated favourite. One of the scenes is unique, a charming picture of Heracles running with the Apples in his outstretched hand. There are two scenes of the Stag, two of the Lion, two with Kerberos, two with Acheloos, the Kerkopes once, and two with the Kithara. There is another unique scene in which Heracles, Hermes and Iolaos are walking in a noisy happy procession, very unlike the scenes in the main Group, but very like the Acheloos Painter's own komos

vases. The general impression given by the choice of scenes in this painter's surviving work, even in the Heracles category alone, is that his particular interests differed from those of the Group. Almost all his Heracles scenes appear on large vases, amphorae and hydriai, and this in itself is not true of the Group.

A large number of scenes from the Trojan cycle appear in the work of the Leagros Group. Most of them are popular ones, repeated often. The less common ones are Achilles brought to Chiron, Achilles and the Amazons, the Death of Priam, Neoptolemos and Polyxena, Ajax and Hector, Memnon, the Judgement of Paris, and one problematic scene involving quarrelling heroes. The most popular scenes, apart from those of Aeneas and Anchises, most of which were found at Vulci and were presumably painted for the Etruscan market, and a number of Peleus and Thetis, are those which involve Ajax or Achilles or both. The scenes are on the whole such that they involve filling the field with violent action. There are ten lekythoi with Trojan subjects, but otherwise the scenes are all on hydriai or amphorae, so that the painters were in no way hindered by the size of the available field. Scenes which do not appear are the Games for Patroclos, Achilles receiving his armour, the Ransoming of Hector, Menelaos recovering Helen, and scenes from the Odyssey. All these appear in contemporary black figure, though they are

not very common. The Leagros Group appears to have been interested chiefly in the two great heroes Achilles and Ajax, and not to have been concerned with innovation in subject matter. The scenes are treated with great seriousness, and the figures are big and heroic.

The Acheloos Painter hardly concerned himself with Troy at all; there is a delightful scene showing Peleus and Thetis visiting Chiron. This no doubt refers to the time when their son Achilles will be sent to Chiron to be educated, but as the picture stands it has very little to do with Achilles, and this appears to be another instance of the Acheloos Painter's departure from the ethos and preoccupations of the Leagros Group.

Theseus only appears six times in the work of the Leagros Group - only twice with the Minotaur, in spite of its popularity in earlier black figure, perhaps because the Group as a whole was not interested in the truly monstrous; none of the Heracles adventures except those with Acheloos and Nereus involves anything which is not wholly animal or wholly human in shape. The other Theseus scenes show the rape of Helen or Antiope. All these are on amphorae or hydriai. The Acheloos Painter did not, apparently, paint Theseus at all.

Dionysos, of course, is a favourite subject in late black figure, no doubt because of the nature of the contents and use of the vases. The vast majority of the Dionysiac scenes are

on amphorae and kraters, rather than other shapes, but there are a few on lekythoi, pelikai, oenochoai and the odd hydria as well. Most of the scenes are of the very common sort in which the god and a number of satyrs and maenads process across the picture, but there is a more sedate scene, in which Dionysos is in a chariot with Ariadne or Semele, which appears on hydriai, perhaps because it needs a big field, and since it is less bibulous, it is slightly more suited to a water jar. There are a few scenes with satyrs and maenads alone, but not as many as those which show the god, who is a greater source of interest for the Group. When the entourage appears alone it is on amphorae, one column krater and a lekythos.

The Acheloos Painter was apparently hardly interested in Dionysiac scenes; there are seven, on a pointed amphora, a neck-amphora, one type B amphora, one column krater, one lekythos and one pelike. The pelike has a satyr lifting a maenad contrasted with the rather chilly mortal embrace on the other side, and so is rather out of the main stream of Dionysiac pictures. The pictures of satyrs and maenads are very like the Acheloos Painter's komos scenes; this was a subject in which he was very much more interested and they are among the best and most characteristic scenes in his work. The sophisticated middle-aged figures dancing and drinking are just those which display most of the stylistic traits which make

the Acheloos Painter's work distinctive, and in some ways they are more visually satisfying even than the Heracles ones, which they outnumber. There are as many komos, as opposed to symposion scenes in the Acheloos Painter's work as there are in the whole Leagros Group. Those in the main Group appear on amphorae and kraters, except for an oenochoe, a lekythos, and a single hydria. The Acheloos Painter decorated an assortment of shapes.

There is a number of athlete vases, not all of which are Panathenais, and Beazley noted this in a list of them at the end of the main Leagros list. Most of them appear on neck amphorae, but there is one lekythos, to which the picture is not well adapted, and four hydriai. The Acheloos Painter followed the trend of the Group in this category; he too painted a large number of athlete vases, but used a greater variety of shapes. Neck amphorae again occupy most of the list, but there is another pelike, an amphora of type B and a lekythos. This last vase has a scene which is a direct repetition of one of the amphorae and is not really suited to the vase. It is not perhaps coincidental that this vase belongs to the end of the painter's career - it is not his best work, and is far less well suited than usual to the shape and size of the vase.

A subject of which the Group as a whole was fond, and of which they painted fine examples, is chariots and horsemen. Horsemen are not as popular as chariots, but when they appear

they are well done. Most of them are on hydriai, perhaps because of the size of field required, and the rest on amphorae. There is one volute krater, one lekythos and four neck-amphorae. The rest appear on hydriai, for a reason which will become apparent later. The Acheloos Painter followed the choice of pot shapes for chariots - he painted no horsemen - and painted about the same proportion of scenes.

The Acheloos Painter was not very interested in scenes connected with active fighting, and he painted few pictures which have anything to do with war at all. Departure scenes, particularly with a chariot, are very common in the Leagros Group, almost always on hydriai and kraters, and never on an amphora; those on amphorae are always pedestrian, and have an iconography of their own. The two departures in our painter's work are both on amphorae, and both conform to the Group's iconography for this scene - an old man saying good-bye to an archer and a hoplite who are painted overlapping, and a second figure stands behind them, male or female. There are three fights in the Acheloos Painter's work, all on neck amphorae, one of them with a chariot; in the Leagros Group fights never have a chariot on amphorae, but sometimes on hydriai, and kraters. There are three arming scenes in the main Group, none in the Acheloos Painter's work, and three scenes of the harnessing of a war chariot on three different shapes,

a hydria, a neck amphora and a kalpis. The Acheloos Painter never shows warriors resting, a favourite subject of the Group, which appears on hydriai, amphorae and lekythoi.

A striking divergence from the practice of the Leagros Group shown by the Acheloos Painter is the almost total absence of scenes showing the gods involved in any other activity than supporting Heracles. The Acheloos Painter seems to have been content for the most part to keep his figures' feet planted on the ground; his Heracles is an earthy personality, and does not get to Olympus in the surviving work. There is one scene of Apollo and two Muses, not one of our painter's best works, and no Gigantomachy. In the rest of the Group the gods are quite popular, particularly the scenes involving Apollo, perhaps because Apollo is always treated seriously, and the Group are nothing if not serious. Gigantomachy scenes appear on large vases, no doubt because of the room needed for them, and seated gods are rare, and all on hydria shoulders. Athena is more often associated with Heracles than shown by herself; more than half the vases on which she does appear alone are prize Panathenais. She appears as one of a group of gods which may also include Hermes, Apollo and Dionysos, who may have some connection with the introduction of Heracles to Olympus, although the scene does not show him. There are some stray scenes of Poseidon, and one of Artemis mounting her

chariot.

Neither the Leagros Group nor the Acheloos Painter show a great interest in stray myth outside the two big cycles, and most of those in the work of the Group are attributable to one of the identifiable sub-groups or painters. Both the Group and the Acheloos Painter show Sisyphos on neck amphorae. Silenos appears on a famous pelike by the Acheloos Painter; his only other vase with a stray myth is a lekythos with Amazons quite a common subject on this shape - three appear in the Group, and there are three hydriai and three amphorae. Otherwise the Group figures Triptolemos once, Perseus three times, all on neck amphorae, the departure of Adrastos, the only scene in the Theban cycle, a strange scene of Medea and the Ram, and one of Europa and the Bull, on a lekythos. The most noticeable thing about this category for both the painter and the Group, is the variety; apart from the Amazons there are only one or two vases showing each subject - none of them is one to which the painters returned. The same is true of scenes of daily life, except for scenes at the fountain house, which are extremely popular, and the scenes of men standing about in conversation. In the Leagros Group the fountain house scenes are all on hydriai, logically enough, but the Acheloos Painter, with characteristic perversity, shows one on a neck-amphora, and includes men in all his representations. The scene of a

man molesting a woman at a fountain is unique. The painter shows one scene of bull-catching, but domestic activity is not one of his interests. The Leagros Group is not overwhelmingly interested in daily life either, or cult; apart from the wedding scene they show only the occasional extispicy, a sacrifice, and three scenes involving a kitharode, which may or may not have to do with cult. Otherwise the everyday scenes are very heterogeneous, and show a pottery, a man catching a goat, two scenes of cooks, two of women in a vineyard, another two of activities about the house, and a smithy.

In most respects, then, the Acheloos Painter's choice of subjects is not so eclectic as to cut him off from the rest of the Group, but is different enough to make him stand out. His scenes are the ones which allow for comedy and burlesque, rather than for dignified heroic figures, which are rare in his work, since even his Heracles is not wholly serious; much of his work is highly original, which, while true of the Group too, is generally true of their iconography and not of the choice of scene in itself. The Acheloos Painter's strong sense of the ridiculous led to a predominance of scenes of mortal life, komos, satyrs and maenads, and away from Troy, Theseus, gods, war, and any serious interest in myth.

Heracles is the subject which interests the Antimenes Painter most; the Lion is the adventure to which he returns

again and again, and also to the Boar, particularly to its delivery to Eurystheus. Like the Leagros Group, he likes the struggle for the Tripod, but shows it proportionally more often. He is interested in scenes showing Athena and Heracles together, engaged in no particular activity, which is not a subject which appears much in the Leagros Group, and not at all in the work of the Acheloos Painter. The Antimenes Painter liked centauro-machy as well, and this is not Leagros. Otherwise the subjects are much the same. The Antimenes Painter was more interested than the Leagros Group in Theseus, and he shows four pictures of Theseus and the Minotaur. He likes Troy just as much as the Leagros Group, but differs considerably in the episodes he chooses. He has six scenes of the Judgement of Paris, no fewer than ten of the Recovery of Helen, and one of Ajax and Cassandra, as well as ones which correspond more nearly to those chosen by the Leagros Group. There is something the same interest in those scenes involving Ajax and Achilles. Almost all the Dionysiac scenes show Dionysos, and this is different from the Leagros, who like scenes without him. The Antimenes Painter differs from the Acheloos Painter in two important respects: he shows no komos or symposion scenes whatever, and has a strong liking for war, chariots and horsemen. He painted no athlete vases other than Panathenais; he figures two Gigantomachies. His scenes showing the gods are the same as those of the Leagros

Group, except for one stray Demeter, and three of the birth of Athena. His myths are three representations of Perseus and two centauromachies. The daily life scenes are few: men or women at the fountain house, a hunt, and two olive harvests. There are four weddings, and the other five cult scenes show extispicy and mourners. We might fairly say, it seems, that the subjects chosen by the Antimenes Painter show a liking for the serious and an even greater liking for the formal, which is not altogether a Leagran trait, and is something which is lost in the break with the black figure tradition which they represent. This difference makes even more clear the way the Acheloos Painter differs in spirit though not in style from the Group, which could be said to occupy a position somewhere in the middle of the development between the Antimenes Painter and the Acheloos Painter.

A glance at the diagram for the Pioneers shows immediately that although the categories originally designed for black figure can still be made to fit their choice of subjects, their interests and preoccupations are changing very much. Heracles is still popular, but less so than Dionysos and komos scenes; athletes appear often, weddings - apart from that of Peleus and Thetis - and cult do not appear at all, and trade and domestic scenes are few. There is a very large proportion of cups, since these are a preoccupation of early red figure, and this is not

the case with the Leagros Group, and certainly not with the Antimenes Painter, who concentrated on large containers and mixing bowls. If it is right to think of the Leagrans as observing the Pioneers and reacting to them, these divergences could be used to support this view. The preoccupations of the Pioneers could hardly be more different from those of the Antimenes Painter within the categories we chose, and the Leagros Group shows a definite swing towards the Pioneers' thinking. The Acheloos Painter is very like the Pioneers in his informality, and interest in the less serious subjects in the repertoire.

B: Pairings of scenes.

There is one other aspect of the choice of subjects made by the Acheloos Painter and the Leagros Group, and that is the way in which they are paired on pots with more than one scene. Figure III, on pages 208 and 209 shows how the scenes are associated; the diagrams can be read in either direction, but a reading across the chart gives the primary pictures and down the subsidiary ones. Amphorae, of course, can hardly be said to have primary and subsidiary scenes, and here Beazley's decision has been accepted. The heavily marked squares show vases on which the same scene appears twice.

Heracles appears on the Leagran pots paired with almost everything, with a significant gap at the end of the column,

	HERACLES	THESEUS	DIOMYDOS	Konos	TRoy	MYTH	Gods	GIGANTOMACHY	HORSEMEN	CHARIOTS	WARRIORS	FIGHT	ATHLETES	WEDDING	CULT	DOMESTIC	TRADE	OTHER
HERACLES	4		2	2							1	2	2					1
THESEUS																		
DIOMYDOS	2			2														1
Konos	2		2	7		1	1			2		1						1
TRoy																		1
MYTH				1		1							1					
Gods				1														
GIGANTOMACHY																		
HORSEMEN																		
CHARIOTS	1			2														
WARRIORS	2																	
FIGHT	2			1														
ATHLETES						1							3					
WEDDING																		
CULT																		
DOMESTIC	1		1	1	1													
TRADE																		
OTHER																		

FISCHER III

THE ACHELOOS PAINTER

	HERACLES	THESEUS	DIOMYDOS	Konos	TRoy	MYTH	Gods	GIGANTOMACHY	HORSEMEN	CHARIOTS	WARRIORS	FIGHT	ATHLETES	WEDDING	CULT	DOMESTIC	TRADE	OTHER
HERACLES	7	2	25	4	13	5	5	1	3	10	14	3	3	2				1
THESEUS	2		2										1					
DIOMYDOS	25	2	16	7	8	2	11	1	1	4	4	3	1	1			2	1
Konos	4		7	2			1		1									
TRoy	13		8		2	2	6	1	1	3	7	3	1				1	1
MYTH	5		2		2	2	1	2										1
Gods	5		11	1	6	1	6	1	1	4	3	3	3	1				1
GIGANTOMACHY	1		1		1		1	2	1			2		1				1
HORSEMEN	3		1	1	1		1	1	1	1	2		1					
CHARIOTS	10		4		3		4		1		1		1					4
WARRIORS	14		4		7		3		2	1	3	1		1				1
FIGHT	3	1	3		3		3	2			1	3						1
ATHLETES	3		1		1		3		1	1			5					
WEDDING	2		1				1	1			1							
CULT													1					
DOMESTIC			2		1	1	1	1		4	1							
TRADE					1													
OTHER	1		1				1											

THE LEAGOS GROUP

OTHER
TRADE
DOMESTIC
CULT
WEDDING
ATHLETES
FIGHT
WARRIORS
CHAKNOTS
HORSEMEN
GIGANTOMACHY
GODS
MYTH
TROY
KONOS
DIOMYKOS
THESEUS
HERAKLES

HERAKLES	4	1	12	7	1	10	1	1	5	12	3	1	2	3	1
THESEUS	1								2			1			
DIOMYKOS	12		3	3		2		1	5	4	1	1			
KONOS															
TROY	7		3	3	1	3			2	1	7			1	
MYTH	1			1	1			1	1						
GODS	10		2	3						1	2	4			
GIGANTOMACHY	1									1	1				
HORSEMEN	1		1		1				2		1			1	
CHAKNOTS	5	2	5	2	1			2	1	11	1		1		
WARRIORS	12					1	1		11	1	2				1
FIGHT	3		1	7		2	1	1	1	2			1		1
ATHLETES						4									
WEDDING	1	1	1								1				
CULT	2														
DOMESTIC	3			1					1	1					
TRADE									1	1					
OTHER	1														

FISB 111

THE ANTIENES PAINTER.

OTHER
TRADE
DOMESTIC
CULT
WEDDING
ATHLETES
FIGHT
WARRIORS
CHAKNOTS
HORSEMEN
GIGANTOMACHY
GODS
MYTH
TROY
KONOS
DIOMYKOS
THESEUS
HERAKLES

HERAKLES	3		1	2	1	1									1
THESEUS		1				1									
DIOMYKOS	1		3				1								
KONOS	2			2	2	1						1			
TROY	1			2	1										
MYTH	1	1		1							1	1			
GODS			1				1								
GIGANTOMACHY								1					1		
HORSEMEN															1
CHAKNOTS															
WARRIORS													1		1
FIGHT															
ATHLETES			1		1		1			1			4		
WEDDING															
CULT															
DOMESTIC	1								1		1				2
TRADE															
OTHER															

THE PIONEERS

where he does not coincide with cult, domesticity or trade, reasonably enough, since he is not a domesticated character. In the work of the main Group he does not often appear twice on the same pot, or with Theseus; where he does, the honours are even as to precedence. The Leagros Group appears at a point when Theseus enjoys a great increase in popularity, and in this respect, oddly enough, the Acheloos Painter is backward in not painting Theseus at all. Heracles is most often paired with Dionysos; the significance of this is simply that both became popular in Athenian cult, and hence on vases, in the second half of the sixth century; therefore Heracles appears as often on an amphora as on anything else, and these are more likely to show Dionysos than anything else. Hence the dense concentration in the square which represents this pairing. The pots involved are almost all amphorae, with Dionysos on side B. The other big groups of pairings are with Troy, and with Komos, Warriors and Chariots. As far as Troy is concerned, the Group evidently felt that either Heracles or Troy could take precedence, and, as with Theseus, the honours are about even. Troy is a big favourite of the Group, and is treated with as much attention to detail as Heracles. Otherwise Heracles is almost always the principal subject. Where he is not, at any rate on hydriai, where there is no doubt as to which is the principal scene, the episode chosen is usually

the Lion; at this stage the combatants are shown locked on the canvas, a posture which spreads itself out lengthways, and is well adapted to the long narrow shoulder of a hydria. This also accounts for the number of chariot scenes in the Group; a race is well suited to a hydria shoulder too. The Acheloos Painter shows chariots in this position also, and on the equally suitable neck of a volute krater. His second Heracles and the Lion is on the shoulder of a hydria, and this and the neck of a volute krater are the only occasions on which Heracles appears in the subordinate position on one of his vases. He is otherwise paired with chariots, warriors and a fight, again logically enough, and also, perhaps because of their sheer frequency, with a komos.

Scenes with Dionysos appear most often paired with another Dionysiac scene, or a komos, in the work both of the Acheloos Painter and of the Leagros Group. This is entirely to be expected, and it would be surprising if the Acheloos Painter here diverged very strongly. The only other pairing is that of the contrasted embraces on the pelike. When Dionysos appears in the principal position on the vases of the main Group it is almost always on amphorae; otherwise he is subordinate to myth, gods, horsemen, chariots and a fight, like Heracles but with less obvious logic; the Acheloos Painter never pairs these scenes with anything except similar scenes or komos other than

on the pelike mentioned.

The vast majority of Trojan scenes are the principal ones, and they are all on large vases; like the Heracles scenes they are paired with most things, but conspicuously not with Theseus, Komos - Dionysos is serious enough, but a party will not do - wedding or cult. The single scene from the cycle which appears on a hydria shoulder shows Achilles and Ajax playing, subordinate to a fountain house on the body of the pot. The Acheloos Painter, with his usual perversity, shows Peleus and Thetis visiting Chiron on the body of a hydria, paired with a scene of bull-catching on the shoulder.

The main Group tends to pair the gods with everything, and with Dionysos most. They are subordinate once in this pairing; they are never combined with Cult or Trade, and only on Panathenais with Athletes. The Athletes are paired with other Athletes, or with Heracles, Dionysos, Troy, Horsemen, or Chariots. The Acheloos Painter pairs his gods with a Komos, and Athletes invariably with Athletes. None of his Athletes appear on a Panathenaic - he seems never to have painted a prize vase.

He pairs Horsemen with Chariots, and his Warriors with themselves and Heracles. His Domestic scenes are with Dionysiac, Komos and Trojan ones. Beyond this point the diagram tails off, and there is no longer the material for a fair comparison.

The Group is interested in warfare generally, which the Acheloos

Painter is not, and they pair these scenes with virtually any of their favourites.

The main differences between the pairings used by the Acheloos Painter and those of the Group are very much conditioned by their choice of subject matter, but it is perhaps true to say that he has a nicer sense of similarity and contrast than the Group, and this is more like the Pioneers, who sometimes show scenes continuous on either side of a vase, such as Euthymides' amphora of the rape of Helen (58). Obviously there are some vases in the main Group which show this sense of the right pairings, and there is a hydria, L 27 (plate 83) on which scenes in front of and on the walls of Troy are to be read as continuous. The artists of the Leagros Group were too competent to ignore such niceties completely, but the pelike with the contrasted embraces and the amphora with two stages of the same symposion are characteristic of the Acheloos Painter, and not of the Leagros Group. They play safe, and put the same scenes together fairly often, and so does the Antimenes Painter. We might expect to find, by this time, that the Antimenes Painter's practice is more like that of the Group than that of the Acheloos Painter, and so it is. Heracles is paired with virtually everything, Troy and the gods only with things which can be treated seriously; Dionysiac scenes are also serious, and paired with serious subjects, and so are Horsemen, Chariots

and Fights; they are paired with Heracles, Theseus, Dionysos, Troy, Myth, the gods and themselves. Domestic scenes appear with Chariots and Warriors, as they do in the Leagros Group but not in the work of the Acheloos Painter.

The Pioneers' pairings are more difficult to compare, since they painted so many more vases with scenes which are continuous from one side to the other; there are a good many cups and stamnoi, so that the squares showing the incidence of the same scene on both sides of the same pot appear to be fuller than they are for any of the other painters we have considered. However, if we look outside that line of squares, we shall see that Heracles is paired with Dionysos, Komos, Troy and Domestic scenes, which cover most of the Pioneers' vases. Theseus is paired with himself and another Myth, Dionysos with other gods and with Athletes. The Pioneers did not object to pairing a Komos with Troy, a thing which the Leagros Group would not have done. On the whole, there are few clusters of pairings which appear repeatedly, and this is only to be expected, since each of the Pioneers is a strongly individual painter, and we would be wrong in expecting them to follow a group trend in the way that the Leagrans do.

The Acheloos Painter, as a member of the Leagros Group, shares a great deal with them in this aspect of his work, as in others, but it is no accident that his work is distinguishable

from theirs by style - it is extremely individual where most of the rest of the Group are very difficult to differentiate - and in the same way his choice of subjects shows a disinclination to follow the trend, which again is more akin to the Pioneers than it is to the Leagros Group. Perhaps it is not altogether forcing the evidence to suggest that the influence of the Pioneers is to be seen more in the work of the Acheloos Painter than it is in the work of the rest of the Group.

C: The Acheloos Painter's vases scene by scene.

The Acheloos Painter, as we have seen, is stylistically very much a member of the Leagros Group. Our investigation of his choice of subjects vis á vis that of some of his contemporaries within the Leagros Group and outside it shows that he had leanings away from the Group in terms of his choice of subjects to illustrate. In view of this the following discussion of his work scene by scene is designed to explore the Acheloos Painter's relationship to the iconographic practice of the Leagros Group.

Each short section outlines the iconography of the scene under discussion as it appears in Athenian black figure, and the standard ways of showing the subject, if any, are described. Then follows an account of the Leagran treatment of the subject, in which any peculiarities are noted, and also the workshop's standard practice, if it appears to have one. Finally the Acheloos

Painter's own contribution to the subject is discussed in detail.

1: Heracles.

Acheloos.

The appearance of Heracles' encounter with Acheloos are few compared with the frequency with which we see such episodes as the Boar, or the Bull. Brommer (59) lists only sixteen in black figure, exactly half of which belong to the Leagros Group. Luce (60) showed that there is no standardised scheme for the fight, as there is for the more popular adventures, and also that it is not necessarily right to assume that scenes showing Heracles attacking Acheloos with weapons are late, and the wrestling scheme early, in the black figure series. Luce was publishing a Siana cup in Boston, the name-vase of the Painter of Boston C.A. (61) which has one of the earliest representations of the adventure in Attic black figure. Here Heracles does attack Acheloos with a sword. However, there is one earlier representation of the struggle on an amphora near the Ptoon Painter (62) on which the more common wrestling scheme is used. Both these versions belong to the first half of the sixth century, and there is then a long gap until the Leagros Group and the Long Nose Painter (63) take it up as a subject.

Luce tried, as he did with other Heracleian adventures, to

classify the pictures of the fight by the spectators who appear, who are in part conditioned by the story: none, Hermes, Deianeira, two onlookers, more than two, who may include Iolaos and a putative Oeneus, or the six unidentified watchers who appear on the Boston cup. The Ptoon Painter included three onlookers, one of them a woman who is probably Deianeira, and the other two a draped woman and a bearded man identified by H.P. Isler as Oeneus and Deianeira's mother (64). The Long Nose Painter showed Athena standing at the left, holding her spear and making the traditional encouraging gesture with her other hand. The putative Oeneus stands at the other side, grasping a staff. The Leagran vases vary very considerably in the number of spectators, from the crowded picture by Painter S on a hydria in London (65), which has everyone who could possibly be included - Athena, Iolaos, Hermes, Deianeira and Oeneus - to the version on a vase in Toledo, Ohio (66) which has none. A member of the Leagros Group appears in each of Luce's categories, and we cannot say that the Group had any standard practice with regard to the number and identity of spectators, or indeed that there was an established iconographic pattern for the Group to follow or from which it differed. The spectators do not normally appear to have any particular function, apart from that of varying the composition. If Athena is present she merely encourages. Iolaos does not even fill the minimal role he some-

times has in other episodes as a clothes rack. Athena, Oeneus, and on one occasion Hermes, may sit down.

Acheloos himself may appear as a bull with a man's face, as a centaur-like creature with the animal part bovine, or as a bull with a man's face and a pair of human arms attached in a rather unlikely fashion to the forequarters near the shoulder. These schemes fall neatly into chronological groupings. The first, used by the Painter of Boston C.A. and the Ptoon Painter belongs to the first half of the sixth century, the second one to the last quarter, when it is almost entirely represented by the work of the Leagros Group, and the third is confined to the black figure of the period between 500 and 470. The centaur form is the one which appears most often, and there are only two vases showing it which are not Leagran. One of them is that by the Long Nose Painter; his Acheloos appears with the body of a white spotted bull. His human part is standard: a wild, bearded being with long shaggy locks, bovine ears and horns. The Sappho Painter's Acheloos (67) is much the same, with a rather more realistic body than that of the Leagran Acheloos, which is rather like that of the Leagran horse, but is otherwise the same creature. He is standardised for the Group: he has a slim, long-legged bull-body, once with a white belly, and in another version with white patches on the legs. The human part is a fit, middle-aged body with a

red beard, long hair hanging in separate locks, bull ears and horns.

Heracles is not so standardised. He appears variously dressed and equipped, although he does not attempt to use weapons on the god. Painter S treated him differently on each of the two vases on which he showed the episode. On L 1 (68) he wears his lion skin, belted over a chiton, with a sword, and his club, bow and quiver slung in a bundle on his back. He himself is a mature man with a sizeable beard, rather tidier than that of Acheloos. On L 104 (69) his club leans in the background; his bow and quiver are slung on his back, and the sword on a baldric over one shoulder. He is naked under the lion skin, which is knotted on his chest with the head over his head; the body of it is draped over his arm as a padded glove, in the same way as hunters use their cloaks in Attic painting. There are two Leagran vases which depart completely from this scheme for Heracles. He appears without his lion skin on 39 (plate 48) and he is rather younger. On L 124 (70) he is also rather younger, and wears a loin cloth. His bow and quiver hang down his back, and he has a sword; his club leans in the background. On 39 he has leant his outsize club against the picture frame, and is naked except for the sword slung on a baldric over his shoulder.

Luce also tried to classify the forms of fight by separating

- rightly - the ones in which Heracles attacks Acheloos with weapons, and then differentiating the wrestling ones by their likeness to the scenes involving Heracles and other animals, so that the Acheloos Painter's name vase is said to have a scheme like that used for the Bull, and others to resemble the Lion. This may well be true, but it is confusing. On the Boston cup, on which Heracles attacks Acheloos with a sword, Acheloos is a bull except for his face, and is not able to wrestle; this is also true of the Ptoon Painter's Acheloos, though Heracles tackles him bare-handed. The Long Nose Painter's Acheloos is centaur-shaped, and he attempts to retaliate by grasping Heracles' leg. In other words, as soon as he is given arms and is able to wrestle, he stops behaving like a bull. The Leagran versions divide themselves neatly into two categories - either Acheloos fights, or he runs away. In all their versions Heracles advances on Acheloos and grasps the horn with one hand and some other part of Acheloos' body with the other. On all the vases apart from the Acheloos Painter's name vase he gets some purchase against a leg with his own foot. On L 104 Painter S makes Acheloos act as the Long Nose Painter does, and grasp Heracles by the raised leg. On L 122 (71) and L 123 (72) and the Acheloos Painter's name vase the god simply waves his arms about helplessly. L 1, L 124, and probably L 104 exhibit a feature which Isler noticed (73) but did not explain.

On these vases Acheloos wields a large rock in one hand or both. L 104 has a break which obscures what he was doing with the operative hand, but a large black blob behind Acheloos' head was almost certainly a boulder. We noticed that as soon as Acheloos ceases to be essentially bull he stops behaving like one, and here the process has surely been continued logically, and he has been given the weapon of an Attic centaur, because he is centaur shaped. In fact he only attempts to wrestle once, on L 124, where he grasps Heracles' leg. There is no uniformity about the relative directions of movement of the antagonists; on two of the vases on which Acheloos uses stones he and Heracles face one another, L 104 and L 124, on L 1 they move in the same direction and Heracles gets some purchase against the elbow of the nearest foreleg. Heracles may be downstage of Acheloos or beyond him; on the Acheloos Painter's kalpis 39 Acheloos runs towards Heracles, but turns his head away and throws out his arms in terror. All the Leagran fights differ in one or more details, except that they are all save one, closed compositions.

The exception, with a perversity we may recognise as characteristic, is the Acheloos Painter's name vase 5 (plates 6 and 7). The struggle itself is not very different from the others: Acheloos runs away from a Heracles who grasps his horn, too terrified to offer fight, waving both arms in front of him;

he does not do this elsewhere. The right hand curves back towards the horn, not unnaturally, but the gesture is echoed by a rather elderly Hermes, sitting, as he does not otherwise do in these scenes, on a block stool to the left, facing to the right. He holds his hand up to his mouth in a gesture usually interpreted as dismay, but which may merely indicate boredom or disapproval. Heracles' club, pointing to the right at an acute angle, leans in the fork of a miserably spindly tree to the right of the picture. The horrified god rushes to the right, pulling Heracles, who is not wholly in control of the situation, at a smart trot to the right. This strong push to that side of the picture must be deliberate, and at that side, perching on the lower palmette, making a gesture with the free foot very like Hermes', is a big crow-like bird. It is not in the least like the Siren which may be a good omen on one of the Boar vases, noted by Beazley (74), but is gloomy,* and its expression, if it could be said to have one, is sarcastic, like that of Hermes. All the Leagran vases, except the crowded L 1 by Painter S, ignore the long-term consequences of this adventure, and that vase shows Deianeira, the cause of them; the immediate effect of the Acheloos Painter's picture is comic, but it is not beyond him to refer, by means of the bird of ill-omen, to the effects of the adventure on Heracles' later life.

The bird is like the one which appears in scenes of the ambush of Troilos, which is generally thought to be an omen.

The Apples of the Hesperides.

The visit of Heracles to the Hesperides to collect the Apples is not often represented in Attic black figure. Brommer (75) lists five vases with the subject, four of them lekythoi. All of them are late, and apart from the vase by the Acheloos Painter, of a rather low standard of execution.

The first lekythos, in Brommer's own collection (76), has a very badly painted picture, which shows Heracles advancing towards the tree. He carries a large quiver on his back, and brandishes his club above his head. The tree is shown rather as if it were a hydra, with a short squat trunk and snaky branches, with a series of blobs for the leaves; the Apples are a series of white dots at the top of the trunk. The snake is simply a head, with wide open jaws.

A second lekythos, by the Edinburgh Painter, in Gela (77), shows Heracles again approaching the tree, encouraged by Hermes, who walks off to the left, but looks back at the hero, who bends down in front of the tree. He has his bow and quiver on his back, and has put his club down on the ground. He holds out a basket in his left hand. The serpent, coiled round the tree, looks at Heracles, but does not seem very fierce. Behind the tree, facing Heracles and encouraging him, is a figure wearing a short chiton, greaves and a breastplate, and carrying two spears. A break has unfortunately deprived us of the head,

so that the identification of this figure is not possible.

The Cactus Painter (78) shows Heracles engulfed in a plethora of the spiky foliage from which the artist got his name. Heracles walks away from the tree, looking back at the serpent, who has two heads, and hisses at him from the tree. There are no Apples to be seen, and Heracles does not carry them, though if he is walking away he has presumably succeeded in his errand. Perhaps they are in his clothing, or possibly he is circling the tree sizing up the situation.

The fourth lekythos (79), by the Athena Painter, shows the variant version of the story, in which the Apples are fetched by Atlas, while Heracles holds up the sky. Heracles' club and his bow and quiver hang or lean in the background, and Heracles himself bends down under the weight of the sky, which is a sort of architrave with the moon and stars painted on it. Atlas runs towards him, holding out an Apple in each hand.

There are no pictures of the story in the main Leagros Group, but the Acheloo Painter has provided us with a charming picture on an amphora in Rome, 6 (plate 9). Heracles has won the Apples and at last has them safely in his possession. He fills the whole picture with an exultant loping stride; as if he cannot quite believe his luck, he looks over his shoulder for possible pursuers, but does not look as if he really feels

that there will be any. He holds the Apples in front of him in his left hand, with his loose lion skin draped over the upper arm, and he lets his club trail behind in the right hand as he runs over the rocky terrain (80) past some of our painter's favourite trees. It is a happy picture, with, for once, a completely successful Heracles, and it is also a unique picture, as there are no others which show Heracles after he has collected the Apples from the Hesperides or Atlas, escaping scot-free with them in his hand.

The Erymanthian Boar.

Heracles and the Boar appear as a popular subject for vase painters in the middle of the sixth century, in the generation of Exekias, and like the encounter with the Bull, there is soon a spate of vases with the subject. Towards the end of the century it gains ground with the painters of small vases, as does the Bull, and though it is not well-suited to lekythoi, it appears on them with very great frequency.

The story is one with several distinct episodes, all of which are shown separately; some are more popular than others. The capture of the Boar, and its delivery to Eurystheus are most often seen, but we also see Heracles shouldering the animal, or driving it in front of him. Although, like the Bull, it had to be brought back alive, there are vases which show Heracles attacking the animal with weapons - his usual club or sword,

not the more suitable spear. He attacks with weapons on a small neck-amphora by the Red Line Painter (81), and on an un-attributed vase in Naples (82), on which the scene appears under the handle, balanced by one of Heracles and the Lion on the other side. However, the most usual method is to show Heracles wrestling with the Boar, somewhat dangerously in view of the animal's tusks, leaning over its body as he does with the Lion, and grasping its bulk with both hands. The Boar sinks on to one front knee, with the foot curled under its belly, as the Bull does. There are a few vases which show a mixture of both methods: Heracles grasps the Boar with one hand, and threatens it with a weapon clutched in the other. This version is rare, and appears on some badly painted lekythoi of the Haimon Group, and a few others. They are all late (83). The picture is, as with some of the other popular Labours, varied by the inclusion of some spectators.

Usually the spectators are Heracles' normal companions and friends - Athena, Hermes and Iolaos. There are two vases in the main Leagros Group which show the capture and on both of them Heracles is wrestling with the Boar. L 29 (84) is a hydria shoulder, which also shows him with the Bull, separated from each other by Hermes and Athena seated in the centre of the picture facing inwards, not outwards looking at the two fights. Heracles has forced the Boar down onto one front knee.

He himself wears a loin cloth, and his club and quiver are slung on his back. The other vase L 244 (85) shows Heracles, again wearing a loin cloth, grasping the Boar from behind. Beyond them is a tree with Heracles' quiver hanging in it. Athena sits in front of them, facing away from them, on a block stool, against which leans Heracles' club. Hero and Boar move away at speed towards the right, in a manner very reminiscent of the Bull pictures, which show the same variations on the wrestling theme.

Vases showing Heracles delivering the Boar are by far the largest single group among those showing parts of the story, and the group can be subdivided, since some of the vases show Heracles bringing the Boar towards the pithos, and others show him lifting the animal and threatening to dump it on top of Eurystheus, already cowering inside the jar. Sometimes the pithos is empty, and there is no sign of Eurystheus; occasionally he is about to climb into the pithos as he sees Heracles bringing the Boar towards him. Once again there may be spectators: Athena, Iolaos, Hermes, and some figures tentatively identified by Luce (86) as Eurystheus' parents. The Leagran vases all show Heracles bringing the Boar in some way, and Eurystheus about to step into the pithos, rather than the actual delivery on top of him. L 110 (87), in the Louvre, shows Heracles, fully dressed, holding the Boar by the scruff of

the neck as they advance at a smart trot towards the pithos. Athena stands in the middle, beyond the pithos, holding her spear at the slope. Heracles' club leans against the pithos at the side away from Heracles. Eurystheus has seen the approaching danger, and moves towards the pithos from the other direction. He is a middle-aged man in a himation, worn very tightly wrapped round his body. L 266 (88), a lekythos in Syracuse, shows Heracles letting the Boar down in front of the pithos, still grasping it firmly by the hind leg. Athena watches the proceedings passively. Eurystheus has just lifted the lid off the pithos and is about to leap into it.

This is the only one of the Labours which lends itself readily to humorous treatment, and yet there is only one vase in the main Leagros Group, as we might expect from such a deeply serious set of artists, which is in the least funny, and that is a small neck-amphora in Syracuse, L 218 (89) with the pictures on the neck. On one side of the neck Heracles has stripped to his chiton, leant his club against the picture frame, hung his lion skin on the wall, with its face frontally displayed, and his sword and quiver in another place, and he trundles the Boar like a wheelbarrow, holding it by the hind legs. On the other side a woman holding a sceptre, perhaps Hera, watches as Eurystheus, holding his arms wide in horror, leaps at breakneck speed into the pithos. He has been caught unawares, and has

only had time to snatch up a himation, which is draped across his elbows like a stole, its ends swinging free to emphasise his ludicrous dismay.

The Acheloos Painter showed the subject on five surviving vases. 20 (plate 30) shows Heracles wrestling with the Boar, without any onlookers. He has hung his weapons and clothing in the inevitable tree, and leant his club in the background. He is still wearing his lion skin knotted across his chest, and a sword, although another hangs in the tree. Instead of grasping the Boar dangerously by the body he has, more sensibly, grabbed it by the snout and neck, so that it cannot get its head down to gore him. The Boar is not down on its knees, but is running towards Heracles, and he has put a foot on its foreleg to force it down. By contrast 8 (plate 12) has Heracles, no doubt by a deliberate reversion to a non-Leagran convention, lifting the Boar, head down as on two Antimenean vases (90) and in red figure, above the head of Eurystheus in the pithos. If the Boar appears held head down in black figure it is usually on a vase which dates from after the introduction of red figure, and the main Leagros Group do not use this convention at all.

7 (plate 10) shows Hermes, on the only occasion on which he assists in this adventure on a Leagran vase, making a distressed gesture, hand to mouth, and another with the other hand

which may indicate that Heracles is to stop threatening the Boar with his club - another idea not typical of the Leagros Group, which likes violence. Heracles, fully dressed with all his weapons on his back, runs in the same direction as the Boar, beyond it, clutching at the bristles on the Boar's neck, and brandishing his club in the other hand. Hermes stands just beyond the Boar's front legs, and is definitely taking part in the action, not just watching or encouraging.

46 (plate 55), a lekythos in Sydney, shows Athena holding out an encouraging hand as Heracles carries the Boar towards the pithos. His club leans against it, and his quiver hangs in a tree; Eurystheus approaches the pithos from the other side, and lifts a leg to climb into it. He wears a himation draped across him, but is otherwise naked. Heracles is shown in the position otherwise connected with his threat to dump the Boar on top of Eurystheus, holding the Boar above his head as if waiting for Eurystheus to get into the pithos, before asking politely to put it down. He holds it head down.

6 (plate 8) is the strangest of the Acheloos Painter's pictures. Heracles wears his lion skin knotted across his chest and his sword and quiver on his back. He sprints heavily to the right, after the Boar, only just level with its tail, waving his club in his right hand and his bow in his left. The Boar, head well up, runs past the tree, apparently about

to collide violently with the handle palmette. Behind the running pair, apparently without visible means of support, watching them go, is a Siren. Beazley suggested (91) that she was a good luck omen. It would be possible to interpret this scene conservatively, as Heracles driving the Boar towards Mycenae instead of carrying it, but it does not look like that, and Beazley himself listed the scene as Heracles pursuing the Boar. The Boar is getting away, and Heracles is hot-foot after it; as he so often does, the painter gives new life to an old theme by introducing novelty and humour. The picture is the only one which shows pursuit rather than attack with weapons, but the Acheloos Painter may have got the idea from vases which do show Heracles attacking the Boar with weapons, a tradition ignored by the Leagros Group entirely; if he did, then the vase is an example of the painter's willingness to look outside the Leagran tradition at other painters' work.

The Cretan Bull.

Heracles' capture of the Cretan bull was a subject which became popular in black figure after the middle of the sixth century. H. Thiry (92) noticed that black figure vases showing this particular Labour constitute about ten per cent of the total number of pictures showing the Labours, and it occupies third place in popularity after the Lion and the Amazons. Perhaps it was the very fact that it was a favourite which led to the

vast number of near-identical pictures of the adventure. As is the case with the Lion, the central group of Heracles and the Bull does not lend itself to much variation, and there are only three or four ways of representing it, not always the actual struggle, and they all tend to be rather dull. The scene can, of course, be made more interesting by the introduction of some spectators, and they are usually the standard ones - Hermes, Athena, sometimes Iolaos, occasionally others - but often there are none. The subject, although it is not particularly suitable in terms of shape and size, was one which appealed particularly to the painters of small vases, especially lekythoi, and two thirds of Brommer's vast list (93) consists of small vases. These small-vase versions do not differ from the large-vase ones, or at any rate not because of the relative size of the field. All the pre-Leagran versions of the adventure attributed by Beazley appear on large vases.

One of the earliest representations of the struggle appears on the upper register of the neck of a volute krater belonging to the Golvol Group (94), which shows Heracles, naked, with his quiver strapped to his back, hobbling the Bull by its near hind leg. The Bull, facing him, has been forced to its knees, and its face is pressed against the ground. Behind Heracles is a tree, and either side of the central group is a pair of women running away from them, looking back and waving.

The scheme showing Heracles roping the Bull is one which recurs often, and is only given minor variations of detail. A neck-amphora belonging to the circle of the Antimenes Painter (95) shows Heracles, having got the Bull into the same position as that described above, holding it down by means of a foot on its head and an elbow against its near fore-shoulder. The Bull has a rope round a front leg, and a second rope round a back leg, both on the near side of its body, and the roped front leg is curled back under its chest, a detail which appears often on other vases showing this scene. Heracles is again naked except for a weapon, but this time it is a sword, slung over his shoulder. In the background there is a fruit tree, and in it hangs the usual bundle of equipment, his weapons. There are no spectators. A second neck-amphora in the circle of the Antimenes Painter (96) shows Heracles naked again, with his sword slung on a baldric over one shoulder, and his weapons and clothes in the tree. This time he is accompanied by Iolaos, who holds his own club - Heracles' leans in the background - in his right hand, and urges Heracles on with his left. The bull is in the same position as before. A fragmentary hydria by the Priam Painter (97) adopts a compositional expedient used for other adventures, and shows Hermes and Athena seated to the left, Heracles roping the Bull and another seated figure to the right.

Heracles had to bring the Bull back alive, so his method of dealing with it, as far as the black figure vase painters were concerned, was to wrestle with it; this scheme does not go so far towards realism as it does with the Lion, and the Bull is usually in the same position as for the roping scheme, head down, forelegs bent. Heracles usually assumes much the same position as he does for the Boar, leaning over the Bull from in front, and grasping it round the belly or neck. A small neck-amphora of the Dot Band Class in the Perizoma Group (98) shows this scheme. Heracles is again naked except for his sword, and his clothes and equipment hang in a tree in two bundles, clothes and club and bow and quiver. This motif of the two bundles of equipment is almost always present in pictures of the fight with the Lion if there is a tree at all, especially if the hero and the Lion are locked in combat on the ground.

The painters of the main Leagros Group do not show Heracles roping the Bull, at least not in the way described above, but there are pictures of him wrestling with it. L 129 (99) shows the Bull trying to gore Heracles. He himself is naked, without a sword, and his weapons and clothes hang in a tree. He grasps the Bull round the neck. Athena stands to the left, and Hermes moves away to the right, looking back over his shoulder.

The other vases of the main Leagros Group display another scheme, which Hausmann called the 'Verfolgungstypus' (100), which

Heracles moving in the same direction as the Bull, usually left to right. L 29 (101) shows Heracles, wearing loin cloth and quiver, running after the Bull, grabbing for its horn as it charges off to the right. L 250 (102), an olpe, has a naked Heracles roping the Bull from behind with a rope attached to the hind leg and another to the head. Hausmann's 'Mitlauf' scheme is post-Leagran, at any rate in the form in which he illustrates it (103).

*60 (plate 68) by Hand C shows the roping on one side and the capture on the other. The capture scene shows Heracles running in the same direction as the Bull, on the downstage side of its body, grasping its horn and an ear. He has managed to arrest the Bull's progress, and both its hind legs are planted squarely on the ground. The background is filled with a spindly tree of the sort the Acheloos Painter liked; club and clothing hang up behind the group and the bow and quiver dangle just in front of the Bull's chest. The reverse of the vase shows Heracles, who has evidently had time to put on his loin cloth and sword, roping the Bull from in front. The arrangement of the capture picture bears a very strong resemblance to Leagran Acheloos pictures, though not to our painter's name vase.

A lekythos by the Acheloos Painter 45 (plates 53 and 54) shows a seated figure encouraging Heracles with a sceptre - possibly Europa (103b) - and Heracles running after the Bull, beyond

its body, and grasping its horn, this time resembling the Acheloos vase very closely. Athena sits to the right, turned away from the action, and looks back over her shoulder. Heracles, unlike the hero of the pictures discussed above, is fully dressed, with his club slung on his back over his belted lion skin, and there is no sign of any other weapon.

An olpe, 44 (plate 53) bears a very strong resemblance to an olpe of the main Group, L 252 bis (104) which is so like it that there must be a close connection between the two vases. The Acheloos Painter's vase shows Heracles, again fully dressed with his quiver on his back, grasping the Bull's horn from behind. The Bull has its head up, and a single foreleg is raised. It is bellowing, and Heracles holds his other hand in front of its mouth to quieten it. The group is essentially at a standstill. Hermes, carrying a spindly branch, walks out of the right side of the picture, looking back. The Leagran vase has the same picture without Hermes. Szilyagi, discussing the latter vase (105), said that it was a very static picture, and this is true of both. All the figures apart from the Hermes are in strict profile, and no attempt is made to enliven either picture by the introduction of vigorous movement. In many ways both vases are rather primitive, looking back to the days of early black figure, though the scheme is late. It appears to be a deliberate choice of a scheme which is precisely not one of those employed by the

rest of the Leagros Group - anti-progressive as Szilyagi has it - and even more noticeably not like Hausmann's 'Mitlauf' scheme, which shows the Bull attacked from behind, with the head turned back along its body. The Acheloos Painter's olpe is late in his oeuvre, to judge by the style, and perhaps his evident wish to differentiate himself from the rest of the Group led him to look back in his later stages to the style of the previous generation and earlier to achieve that difference. The other olpe is not his, but looks like the work of another like-minded colleague; Painter S is quite a likely candidate both in style and mood.

Kerberos.

Heracles' visit to the Underworld to carry off Kerberos appears quite often in Attic black figure after about 540. H. Thiry (106) lists seventy-seven appearances of the subject between 540 and 500 B. C. His diagram to show relative popularity of the Labours makes it clear that it is one of the more often repeated scenes, and so we might expect there to be a standard iconographic pattern for its portrayal, as in the case of some of the other popular adventures of Heracles, and also that such a pattern might be open, as elsewhere, to variation by the number and identity of the people involved other than Heracles and the dog, and perhaps also in the treatment of the central incident itself, the removal of Kerberos.

The visit to the Underworld is mentioned in Homer, *Odyssey* xi, 623 ff., *Iliad* viii, 362 ff., and here we learn that the help of Athena and Hermes was part of the story; the *Iliad* also tells us, v, 395 ff., that the visit, if not the actual removal of Kerberos, involved Heracles' offering violence to Hades. We might, then expect to find some, if not all, of these people appearing in the action, and this is in fact the case. Brommer (107) lists vases with Hades and Persephone, Persephone alone, one with Hades alone, one with Apollo, many with Athena and Hermes, separately or together, and two with Iolaos. Some of these overlap, and a characteristic version would be likely to show Athena or Hermes or both, and probably Persephone. Hades is present very much less often, perhaps because of his more tenuous connection with the removal, although Heracles' visit involved violence offered to the god.

The behaviour of the spectators depends to some extent on on the way in which the central incident is treated, and here there are essentially two versions of the episode. They are not chronologically consecutive in the black figure series, as are the two versions of the meeting with the Lion, but are a standard version which persists throughout, and, as Boardman points out (108), a variant version which appears for the first time around 530, disappears again at the end of the century, and is peculiar to Attic vases.

The standard version has a violent mood, even if it does not explicitly show violence, as implied in the Homeric account. A cup by Xenocles (109), one of the earliest pictures of the episode in the series, shows a version of the scene which has all the basic requirements but none of the trimmings of later versions: Heracles maintains a tight grasp on Kerberos by means of a chain lead attached to the collar round the dog's neck, and is removing him with some force; Hermes runs in front, urging them on. Persephone stands watching them go; Heracles is carrying his club, but not swinging it. In most of the standard versions he does swing it, and Persephone, if she is present, usually indicates alarm. The shoulder of a hydria in Würzburg (110) by the Antimenes Painter, near the Leagrans in date, shows another version of this scene. Persephone rushes in from the left, Iolaos encourages Heracles excitedly, waving a spear, and Heracles drags the dog, brandishing his club. Hermes, Athena, and Hades watch in varying degrees of agitation. If the removal of Kerberos involves violence, then, the other figures in the scene react logically - Athena appears in her rôle of encouraging patroness, Hermes and Iolaos support and urge Heracles on, and Hades and Persephone show signs of distress. The halls of Hades are sometimes shown by the presence of a column, which may appear by itself or may support an architrave.

The variant version, perhaps most clearly illustrated by the vase in Moscow by the Lysippides Painter (111), shows Heracles approaching Kerberos peacefully - in this particular painting he is about to pat one of the dog's heads - and the dog appears quite calm. On this amphora the Andokides Painter shows Persephone behind the dog, holding out her hands in a way which must imply acceptance of the situation. No violence is offered to anyone, and Heracles' club leans against a tree in the background. Hermes bends forward behind Heracles, making a friendly gesture, and is apparently in no hurry.

The Leagros Group includes a number of versions of the scene. The work of the Group belongs squarely in the period to which the peaceful variant belongs, and so both versions appear. There are two vases which show the violent abduction; the rest are peaceful, no doubt partly because of the interest of the Group in any new or strange approach to familiar stories. L 10 (112) shows the horses of Heracles' chariot with Athena standing by their heads, facing away from the action. Hermes makes a gesture with two raised fingers which is difficult to interpret, but must mean encouragement of some kind. Heracles, brandishing his club, drags the dog by his chain lead past the column of the portico. Persephone, standing beyond Kerberos' body, indicates distress, hand to head. Heracles is fully dressed with all the usual weapons, his lion skin belted over a chiton.

L 267 is a lekythos (113) which shows Hermes, Athena and a naked Heracles dragging Kerberos and waving his club, running and looking back over his shoulder. The scene is framed by two bearded mantle-figures, who are not readily identifiable, and seem to be taking no interest in the action.

The rest of the Leagran scenes belong to the variant scheme. L 107 (114), an amphora of the Antiope Group, is perhaps the most extreme of the representations within the Leagros Group. Athena stands behind Heracles, who holds his club in one hand and approaches Kerberos, holding out the other hand to Hades, who looks back over his shoulder towards him and makes a similar gesture, which we might interpret as indicating that no-one should make a sudden move and startle the dog. Persephone sits under the portico, hand to mouth but not making any obvious objection to the removal of the dog. Painter S was responsible for two pictures of the episode, both of which are a cross between the two versions. These combine, as C. Sourvinou-Inwood noticed (115) the actual removal of the animal with the pre-removal coaxing element of the variant version. Heracles is shown doing the removing, with the chain lead on L 11 (116) or by the scruff of the neck on L 59 (117). It is Hermes who does the coaxing, kneeling in front of the hero and the dog. L 132 (118) has both Heracles and Hermes coaxing, Heracles in front of the dog, and Hermes in front of Persephone. L 220 (119) has a seated

Athena, and Persephone standing beyond Kerberos holding out an arm in a gesture which plainly indicates to both dog and hero that she is willing for them to go. Heracles stands in front of the dog with an apprehensive hand to his mouth. The apprehension may be a further complication to be observed in those vases which show Heracles, Hermes or both kneeling in front of the dog.

A feature of all these vases, which we might notice, is that Heracles is next to the dog, whether coaxing him or dragging him off, and whether or not he seems to be aware that the animal is dangerous. The Acheloos Painter was responsible for two versions of the scene, and on both he seems to have been interested in the apprehension idea. On the hydria 34 (plate 43) the painter has shown Heracles, hand to mouth, well to the left of the picture, holding his club drooping from his right hand together with the chain, and with Athena between him and the dog. Hermes stands beyond Kerberos, perhaps introducing him, possibly calming him as well. Hades makes a very rare solo appearance, not noticed by Brommer, holding his hands and staff above his head in what seems to be alarm. While it is true that some of the peaceful representations show the real work done by a coaxing Hermes, who makes it possible for Heracles to lead the dog away, and Heracles may show signs of fright, there does not usually appear to be any sign of doubt that the

venture will be successful. On this vase there may be an element of just such doubt. The mood of the scene is a little different from those in which Heracles approaches the dog directly, and the dog himself is not calm - he pushes himself back off his forepaws as if not willing to go. Hades' alarm may be for Heracles' safety.

The Acheloos Painter's other version, on the amphora 9 (plate 13), is perhaps even stranger. Only Heracles, Hermes and the dog are present, under the portico of Hades, in front of a spindly tree. Heracles is fully equipped with his bow, quiver and sword, and he holds his club in his left hand, with the body of his lion skin wrapped over his arm, as if in expectation of being attacked by the dog. He gestures towards Kerberos, at whom he is looking. A mysterious second club leans in the background. Hermes, standing beyond and behind the dog, holds out his hand in a way which seems to indicate that Heracles should stop, or at least that all is not well. Hermes, not Heracles, is exhibiting apprehension, and Heracles' gesture may be one of reassurance. There is a furtive air about the scene heightened by the theatrical quality of Hermes' gesture and the total absence from the scene of either of Kerberos' owners.

Although both these scenes belong to the variant group of pictures peculiar to Attic vases between 530 and the end of the century, which then disappears completely, the mood is rather

different from the others we have seen. Boardman argued (120.) that the variant version is a reflection of Peisistratid intervention in the affairs of Eleusis, so that Hermes may be a reference to the Kerykes, and Heracles, the Eleusinian initiate, a Peisistratid symbol. On the basis of this, the Leagran vases are showing the Peisistratid flag, whether the painters were conscious of doing so, or simply following the fashion. It is, perhaps, significant that although both versions of the story were open to the Acheloos Painter, as both were painted by the workshop, and the comic possibilities of the standard version - the painter was, after all, a humourist - are manifold, he chose deliberately to take the variant and alter it. Whether or not he was making a political point by so doing must remain a matter for speculation, but that he was making a comment of some kind, even if only at the expense of his colleagues, is plain.

The Kerkopes.

Heracles' encounter with the Kerkopes is one of the minor episodes in his life which does not appear often in Attic black figure, or very early. The Kerkopes were twin bandits who tried to steal his weapons while he was asleep, and he woke, dealt with them, and carried them off tied to a pole. They had been warned by their mother to beware of the black-rumped man, and from an inverted position had a good opportunity to observe Heracles' behind and joke about it; he laughed and let them go.

They were later turned into monkeys by Zeus, because of their persistent thieving. Heracles is shown carrying them on the pole both on a metope from temple C at Selinus and on one from the treasury by the Silaris (121). Both of these show a composition which is very like the standard one of the vases - Heracles moves from left to right, with the twins slung fore and aft from the pole across his further shoulder. He steadies the pole with his left hand, and carries his club in his right. The temple C metope shows the heads of the trio facing out at us, the twins slung back to back with a twist in the body, so that it is possible to see their hands bound in front of them. The Silaris treasury metope is more like most of the vases in that the twins are slung facing inwards towards Heracles, and their hands are bound behind them.

Brommer lists (122) only nine vases which show the story in Attic black figure, and they are all relatively late. One of the earliest appears on a vase by the Swing Painter (123) which shows Heracles moving from left to right, the pole with his quarry over his further shoulder. He wears his lion skin belted over his chiton and carries a club in front of him in his right hand. His left steadies the pole. He looks back over his right shoulder as he goes. The Kerkopes are trussed like game, with their hair hanging down as it would in life. There are no onlookers. A very damaged amphora in Florence by the Diosphos Painter

(124) showed another Heracles by himself with the pole over his shoulder. We cannot be certain how he was armed, but as usual he has a lion skin.

A white ground oenochoe in Brussels (125) shows a similar scene, with the addition of a spindly tree in the background. Heracles holds his club up against his shoulder as if it were a rifle, and looks in front of him. His bow is slung at his waist. The Kerkopes have shorter hair which does not dangle.

There are three lekythoi which show the scene, all of them late. On these we see that the adventure is not necessarily one in which Heracles is involved alone; these three vases show him accompanied by two figures. One of them, in Palermo (126) shows Heracles standing with the pole over the far shoulder, waving his club carelessly behind him, and looking back at Athena who moves away, but looks back, gesturing encouragement. In front of Heracles is Hermes, making off to the right, holding up an arm as if waving good-bye to Athena. The Kerkopes' hands are not tied. One of them has his arms folded on his chest, and the other holds out his hands behind Heracles. A second lekythos in Agrigento was attributed to the Gela Painter by Miss Haspels (127). It is a scruffy little vase with Heracles once again looking behind him, carrying the Kerkopes so that their heads rest on the base line of the picture. In front of Heracles stands a woman who seems to be trying to prevent him

from moving off, and behind him an old man. The third lekythos, which Miss Haspels wanted to connect with the lekythos #66, (128) has Heracles looking back at the woman, who seems to be trying to ease the bonds of the twin behind, who faces backwards, not forwards as he usually does. Heracles is armed with his club, and his sword hangs on his back. In front of him is an old man with a staff, who is moving off to the right looking back as if expecting Heracles to follow. The woman could be the mother of the Kerkopes, who issued the warning, but the man is not immediately identifiable.

There is a single vase in the Leagros Group with the subject, a neck-amphora in Boulogne L 137 (129). Hermes runs to the left, looking back over his shoulder at the central group. Heracles, his lion skin belted over his chiton, moves forwards, holding his club pointing to the ground in front of him. The Kerkopes, slung as usual, are very small, as if they have already made a move towards the monkey shape they are later to assume. They are slung facing Heracles, and the front one has a free hand. In front of the central group stands Athena, facing away but looking back over her shoulder at Heracles, her spear at the slope, her shield leaning against her legs. She holds out her left hand to indicate that Heracles should move off.

By far the most odd vase in the series is that by the Acheloos Painter, 2 (plate 3). Heracles, with his bow and quiver

at his belt, stands at the side of the picture, with the Kerkopes slung once again trussed like game, on the pole. Heracles holds out his club with the business end reversed, towards him. At the other side of the picture is Hermes, moving away, kerykeion in hand, looking back at Heracles, and gesturing towards him as if refusing the offer of the club. In front of him, facing Heracles, is a goat. The tone of the story told in Diodorus is one of comedy (130), and the Kerkopes are like naughty children rather than a real menace, so perhaps the intention was to show Hermes being offered the opportunity to exact retribution with the club, and refusing it as he might refuse to smack a child. The Kerkopes are small, perhaps to emphasise the point. The goat is not easy to explain. They appear in contexts in which the people are having fun throughout the Acheloos Painter's work; both Heracles and Hermes are wearing wreaths as if going to a party, once they have dealt with the Kerkopes. Perhaps the goat is going too.

Heracles with a Kithara.

Heracles' usual image is not that of a devotee of the arts and certainly not that of a practitioner, but there are a few vases which show him with a musical instrument. The instruments and the contexts in which he plays them vary, but with very few exceptions the vases on which they appear belong to the period between 530 and 500; certainly the scenes showing him as a

kithara player enjoy a very short vogue and disappear by the end of the century.

Brommer lists thirty-four vases in his 'Kithara oder Leier' list (131), and most of them involve a kithara. Marginally the more numerous group shows Heracles mounting a bema to play to an audience which consists either of Athena alone or, occasionally, other deities. The other kind shows Heracles in what is usually interpreted as an Olympian, i. e. post-apotheosis, context, where there is no bema and the number of bystanders and their identity varies considerably (132), though there are vases which show Heracles alone with Athena, and there is an oenochoe in a Swiss private collection (133) which shows Heracles by himself, with his club leaning against the picture frame in front of him.

A typical example of the type showing the bema appears on a neck amphora in Tarquinia (134), which shows Heracles mounting the bema, as always from the left, wearing a chiton and his belted lion skin, with his bow and quiver strapped to his back. Athena stands to the right of the bema, facing Heracles and encouraging him. The same scene appears on an amphora in Munich by the Andokides Painter (135). Another amphora in the Villa Giulia by the same painter (136) shows a seated Hermes encouraging Heracles to climb up, Heracles with the Kithara, his weapons strapped to his back, and Athena seated to the right,

also encouraging him.

The Leagros Group has three vases showing Heracles climbing onto the bema, and as they often do, the artists have introduced some variants into the scene. L 134 (137) shows Dionysos walking away from the action, looking back over his shoulder. In the centre is Heracles, fully equipped as if for battle, climbing onto the bema with his kithara. Athena stands facing him, and another senior god, identified by Mingazzini as Poseidon, walks away to the right, but looks back. L 136 (plate 92) shows Hermes standing at the right making a gesture which looks like introduction, as if he were announcing Heracles' contribution - in fact a compère's gesture. He supports Heracles' club, leaning against him, as if Heracles, again very fully equipped, had handed it to him as a superfluous piece of weaponry - perhaps the one thing he was carrying in his hand. Heracles climbs up to play, and in front of him is Athena, accompanied by a fawn. *66 by Hand D, a lekythos which originally appeared as L 270 (plate 76) is an odd vase which shows the bema in front of a column which presumably stands for a portico, with a fruit tree beside it and a woman seated in front of it sniffing a flower. Heracles, encouraged by a seated Athena, climbs onto the bema with his kithara. It is difficult to identify the woman, who has no attributes by which we might do so, and the portico is no help, except that it is unlikely to stand for Olympus, and so

we are presumably still in a quasi-mortal situation.

The second set of vases which show Heracles as a musician show him in a context involving gods, sometimes several, which is not usually given a topographical indication, and is usually interpreted as being on Olympus. Vatican 387 (138) is a non-Leagran example, which shows Dionysos holding a kantharos, Heracles with a kithara, and Athena with a spotty panther standing beyond her, presumably to reinforce the Dionysiac association, though the scene is not Dionysiac in the sense of being bibulous, rather in the dramatic sense. The other vases of this kind all appear to be Leagran. L 122 (139) shows Athena standing behind Heracles, who faces a seated Poseidon holding a trident. Behind him stands Ares wearing a helmet and chlamys and holding a spear. Athena makes no gesture on this vase, which seems to show Heracles in an established position on Olympus. L 135 (140) on the other hand, shows Athena making an introductory gesture rather as if she were ushering Heracles in front of her. Heracles stands holding the kithara in front of a seated Zeus, who grasps a thunderbolt in his right hand. Ares stands behind him, dressed as on the previous vase.

These, then are the two main groups of vases which show Heracles in a musical context. It has generally been supposed that they illustrate a performance on Olympus; some of the pictures without a bema have a mood strongly reminiscent of the

vases which show Heracles actually being introduced to Olympus, the Leagran ones particularly, but the ones showing the bema seem deliberately to refer to some kind of competition. It was suggested by Boardman (141) that they had a reference to epic recitals in Athens, and particularly to those probably introduced into the reformed Panathenaia under Peisistratos. There are some vases with a musical Heracles which do not fit into either of the groups discussed above, particularly an amphora in Tarquinia (142) which shows Iolaos and a woman accompanying Heracles to a burning altar with Athena standing beyond it. This, as Boardman says, should indicate a sanctuary of Athena, and so an Athenian festival with recitals, rather than 'Olympus or any god-frequented limbo', and it is difficult not to feel that the other vases with Heracles mounting the bema are a reference to such recitals, even if the audience is divine. In this context the oenochoe with Heracles playing alone, and the oenochoe in Leiden (143) showing Heracles seated with the kithara in one hand and an oenochoe in the other, faced by a seated Athena who holds her helmet out to him in a way which appears to be encouraging and admonishing, are perhaps not so strange as they appear at first - everyone needs to practice, and equally, everybody needs encouragement.

Heracles appears twice with a kithara in the work of the Acheloos Painter, once on a pointed amphora in Munich, 4 (plate

5) and once on a neck-amphora in the Louvre, 10 (plate 15). Beazley originally included the Munich amphora in the main Leagros list because of its connection with L 136 (plate 92) with a fawn in the audience. Here the Acheloos Painter shows Hermes at the left and in front of him a ram, moving forward and looking back. Heracles mounts the bema, facing Athena, who supports his club, leaning against her with the wide end resting on the bema. Her shield, with a tripod for the device, is propped against the picture-frame behind her. The ram suggests a sacrifice, so possibly here too we ought to read a festival reference into the picture; otherwise the ram is hard to explain. The Louvre neck-amphora shows Heracles with Athena and, as on L 136, there is a fawn, cocking a coy ear towards the music. There is no topographical indication, and so we should perhaps think of this as Boardman's god-frequented limbo, or Heracles trying out his newly-acquired talents on his friendly patron goddess; the fawn is Apollo's animal, as the kithara is Apollo's instrument, and the obvious inference is that Heracles has taken over some of the attributes of the musical god.

A few vases show Heracles playing other instruments than the kithara - there is a picture showing him tuning a lyre on a vase in Oxford (144) again encouraged by Athena, and one of him playing a barbiton at a party on a red figure column-krater in Paris (145). The vases showing him playing the kithara

are largely the earlier ones, and those which show him alone, practising, or playing other instruments later, if only slightly. Possibly once he was shown playing one kind of instrument, whether with any ulterior purpose in mind or not, he could be shown playing others.

On a black figure lekythos in Vienna Heracles plays the double pipes (146), dressed in a bizarre spotted costume reminiscent of but not corresponding to the Scythian costume that archers wear. His bow and quiver hang on his back. A satyr dances on either side of him. With this vase in mind we can look at another vase by the Acheloos Painter which is unique, and quite different from the lekythos, though Heracles is playing the pipes again; these two constitute the whole of Brommer's 'Flöte' list (147). This is 1 (plates 1 and 2) which shows two stages of the same procession. The party consists of Hermes Iolaos and Heracles in a procession, accompanied by a small bull and a goat, and they walk past a tree as they go. Hermes goes first playing a lyre, with the goat beside him, head well up, singing loudly, his mouth wide open. Heracles follows, with the bull, playing his pipes, and Iolaos follows jauntily in the rear. On the other side the procession is sagging just a little, the bull is noisy, and Heracles is getting tired, so that he holds the pipes at a less confident angle. The goat appears in other parties and Dionysiac scenes, but the bull is less easily accou-

nted for - there is no suggestion of a sacrifice or a religious occasion, and it does not look like a tamed environmental menace. Perhaps we should just accept it as a component of the party picked up on the way, and not attach any particular significance to its presence.

The Acheloos Painter's kithara vases are very like the others which appear within the Leagros Group, even to the fawn, which appears also on L 136. The vase with the procession is a completely original contribution to Heracles' musical career, without any exact parallels, though it is possible to think of it as a standard party-aftermath apotheosed.

The Nemean Lion.

The encounter with the Nemean Lion is by far the most popular single episode in the Heracles cycle to appear in late black figure, and the Leagros Group here follows the trend. There are fifteen versions by various hands on various shapes, most of them large, and all displaying a certain sameness of approach. There are few ways in which it is possible for a vase-painter to show the encounter - Heracles either grapples with it kneeling or standing, or he may throw it, like a wrestler. This last is rare. The kneeling scheme gains popularity in the last quarter of the sixth century, virtually to the exclusion of the standing scheme, and is not in itself open to much variation. The fight is standard, and what variety there is is usually

supplied by varying the spectators. Luce (148) listed the possible onlookers for the kneeling fight: Athena, Iolaos, Hermes, any combination of these three or all of them, two or four onlookers not included in previous categories, and the local nymph. Luce did not make it clear how he identified the local nymph, but sometimes an otherwise unexplained woman appears among the spectators, and Schauenburg makes the same identification (149). If there are onlookers at all, Athena is the most frequent; Hermes or Iolaos alone are rare, but Athena and Iolaos together appear more often than the goddess by herself.

The main Leagros Group employs the scheme showing Heracles and the Lion struggling on the ground, head to head, with their bodies in opposite directions. No variations such as that employed by the Andokides Painter, of making Heracles throw the Lion as if it were a human wrestler (150) appear, though there is a lekythos (151) on which Heracles is grasping the hind leg with which the Lion is clawing his head, a scheme also used on a psykter attributed by Schauenburg to the Andokides Painter's workshop (152), and on an amphora by Psiax (153). On one Leagros column-krater (154) the Lion is not clawing Heracles at all, but is digging its back toes in hard, while Heracles gets some purchase against the picture frame. The clawing is in itself a relic of the standing scheme, in which the Lion stands on one hind leg, and claws Heracles' knee with the other.

Heracles is never without an audience on the Leagran vases - Athena is always present. Most of the pictures are on hydria shoulders, and the kneeling fight is a useful shape for the long narrow field. On these Athena is usually seated; on some she gestures encouragement with her hand, on others she uses her spear as a pointer, holding it horizontally. On two hydriae she holds out a helmet in the encouraging hand. On one occasion (155), where the painter had a better grasp of the niceties of miniaturist painting than some of his colleagues, she stands up; the problems of the lack of height of the field are not solved here by seating all the spectators. Where the scene appears as a full-sized one on a vase body she stands anyway, often in a twisted posture with her feet in one direction and her head in another.

If Hermes and Iolaos are present at all, they are both present, in the Leagros Group. They are used to frame the composition, most notably on L 17 (156), on which they walk in one direction and look in another; if the scene is on a hydria shoulder Hermes sits down, like Athena - deities sit down, in fact. On most of the vases Hermes is a totally passive spectator, just holding his kerykeion, not using it to point. On a single occasion he has his hand to his mouth, in the gesture usually indicating perturbation or excitement, and is at least reaction to the central action (157). Iolaos is only once shown holding

Heracles' belongings - otherwise they hang up above the fight - and on one hydria (158) he stands holding a spear, but is otherwise a lay figure. The putative local nymph appears to fill the field on a very populous hydria shoulder (159); an unidentified man appears in the corresponding position on the other side of the picture.

Between them, these vases ring most of the possible changes on the struggle, and none of them, perhaps, is particularly unusual. By far the most interesting are those which appear on the hydriai L 68 and L 17. On L 17 Hermes walks to the left, looking back and gesturing towards Athena, standing slightly to the left of the fight, with his kerykeion. Iolaos, holding the hero's equipment except for his club, which is nowhere to be seen, walks to the right, and looks back over his shoulder. We ought, perhaps, to think of them as standing round the fight. On L 68 (plate 87) we see Hermes, with his hand to his mouth apparently watching what is happening with interest, and seated like Athena. Athena holds her helmet and her spear out towards the fight. Heracles is in a very unsafe-looking kneeling posture, with both arms round the forepart of the Lion, which is clawing his head. His bow and quiver hang above them. Iolaos kneels too, holding Heracles' chlamys on the arm with which he urges his principal on; he has Heracles' club in the other hand. All the spectators here are not just present, but emotionally

involved and interested, and this is rare. On *61 (plate 69) by Hand C we have the putative local nymph, armed with a spear, a seated Athena, and oddly, a seated Iolaos, gesturing encouragement, equipped with a complete set of weapons which do not belong to Heracles, whose weapons and clothing hang up above the fight.

The Acheloos Painter's volute krater 30 (plate 41), the fragment detached from a pasticcio at Beazley's request, had a recumbent fight, and a standing Athena with a horizontal spear. It is not possible for us to tell much else about the picture, except that the Lion was clawing Heracles.

The other two versions of the fight by the Acheloos Painter are more unusual and more interesting. 35 (plate 40) is a hydria shoulder. Heracles is locked in combat with the furiously clawing Lion, his equipment hanging above his head. This group is at the extreme right of the picture, not in the middle. The centre and left of the picture are occupied by Heracles' chariot, which has evidently been used as transport to the scene of battle. Mounting the chariot is Iolaos, acting in his official capacity as Heracles' charioteer, unusual in itself and unknown in the pictures of the episode in the main Leagros Group. Behind him on the ground is a helmet; Heracles never wears a helmet, so it should belong to Iolaos, who is also equipped with a shield hung on his back, and a sword. Iolaos is prepared to step into the breach if necessary, or is equipped to do so, but his weapons

are as useless against the invulnerable animal as are those of his principal. Beside the horses, apparently talking to Iolaos, is Athena, holding her spear across her at an angle. Her shield leans on a boulder between the horses and Heracles. The real emphasis of the scene lies in the spectators, not in the fight, which is standard.

This is also true of the only full-sized version of the scene by the Acheloos Painter, on a battered neck-amphora in Altenburg, 11 (plate 16). The scene is slightly obscured by the fact that the vase is fragmentary, and a gap now occupies the part of the picture which had Heracles' head and a sizeable piece of the Lion. Enough remains to show that Heracles and the Lion are once again grappling on the ground, and the Lion once again clawing our hero's head. From the position of Heracles' elbow, it appears that he was trying to throttle the beast, as he often does. The fight itself is crammed into the corner of the picture, at bottom right, and the rest of the scene is occupied by Athena and Iolaos. Athena is in a twisted posture, feet to the right, head to the left, holding her spear across herself at an angle. The break obscures what she was doing with her other hand, but the position of her shoulder, and the fact that her hand does not appear at the other side of the break suggest that she was gesturing towards Heracles with her hand held slightly away from her body, not an enthusiastic gesture. Iolaos stands to the left

of centre, facing inwards, armed with a quiver on his back, and holding a club in his right hand across his body. The chlamys draped over his left arm, as if he were a hunter needing the kind of protection afforded by a padded glove, emphasises the gesture he makes with the hand, a depressed, diffident gesture of the hand towards the fight, with the hand not far from the body like that made by Athena.

The club and equipment held by Iolaos is evidently his own, since Heracles' hangs where it will catch the eye, on the branch of the feeble filling tree in the background. The bow and quiver appear between Athena and Iolaos, and the club and clothing behind Athena and in front of Hermes, who is crammed into the side of the picture and points weakly to the fight with his kerykeion. Iolaos often holds Heracles' club when he is occupied with his bare hands, but there are a few vases on which he has a club of his own. There is also a hydria by the Priam Painter (160) on which Heracles, his equipment hanging in the tree in the usual two groups, bow and quiver, clothes and club, fights the Lion between two club men. These may, as Boardman suggested in his article about the connection between Heracles and Peisistratos (161), reflect the club-bearing bodyguard used by the latter, and so may the Iolaos on our amphora. However, the vase belongs to a period at which the uselessness of weapons against the Lion is given particular emphasis - once Heracles is shown

throwing his crumpled sword away (162) - and the point of the two scenes just described may be the wholly internal one that the second set of weapons, those of Iolaos, are just as useless as those of Heracles, hung, on the amphora, just where they will be noticed. Iolaos and Athena look at one another across the bow and quiver, and not at the fight, which is so pushed into the corner as to truncate the palmette.

The painter's interest, unlike his colleagues' appears to be in the spectators, not in the fight, which is conventional. The features which are not characteristic of the Leagros Group, particularly the chariot on the hydria shoulder and his rôle on the fragmentary amphora, suggest that the painter was particularly interested in the part played by Iolaos. It is at least true that on these vases he does not stand passively on the touchline, and he is not a piece of purely compositional furniture. He appears to occupy a position rather like that in the adventure of the Lernean Hydra, as a kind of colleague rather than as a patient dogsbody. Certainly interest is concentrated on the reaction of Iolaos and Athena, both of whom have a traditional concern for the success of Heracles' efforts, and on this amphora they seem to be unsure of the outcome of the fight. The Acheloos Painter's Heracles is not always in control of the situations in which he finds himself, and so the concern of his patron and helper is logical, if unusual.

Heracles and Apollo: the struggles for the Tripod or the Fawn.

Heracles' struggles with Apollo for the Tripod or the Fawn are connected, and so it is convenient to discuss them together. The struggle for the Tripod first appears on an Attic vase of the second quarter of the sixth century, a cup from Naucratis (163), though this is very early, and the main series of representations begins in the middle of the century, for example on an amphora by the Amasis Painter in Boston (164).

There are two distinct schemes for showing the fight, as so often happens with themes which appear frequently. The less popular version, a standing fight, has Heracles and Apollo facing one another; they threaten each other with their appropriate weapons, club, sword, or bow - or each of them grasps the Tripod by the leg in a tug-of-war, sometimes lifting it clear of the ground. This is the type which appears on the Amasis Painter's amphora, and it also appears on representations other than on vases, for example on shield-band reliefs from Olympia of roughly the same date as the Amasis Painter's vase* (165).

The second scheme was more popular. Here Heracles has gained a hold on the Tripod, and is moving off with it under one arm. He is usually waving his club at Apollo, who is trying to stop him from getting away. This scheme also appears on shield bands from Olympia of about the second quarter of the sixth century, and in the middle of the century, for the first time in stone, *though this is a late work of this painter, and Beazley suggests in ABS that 'it is influenced by the new style of Euphronios and his companions'.

on one of the metopes of the Heraion by the Silaris at Paestum. About 525 it appears again in the pediment of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi. In Attic black figure the scheme first appears, or at least gains ground about 540, and from then on is extremely common. The versions by the Lysippides Painter (166) are among the earliest to appear.

Often both schemes are watched by various spectators. Luce (167) used this as a means of breaking up the long list of representations into groups. There are occasionally unidentifiable figures who are simply to be taken as filling, and have no particular significance; Hermes sometimes appears, probably because he is often a spectator of Heracles' exploits. There is even a lekythos (168) with a figure who might reasonably be identified as Iolaos, but usually if there is a single spectator it is Athena or Hermes. However, the antagonists usually have seconds; normally the figure behind Heracles is Athena. Apollo has a female supporter, often with a bow and quiver - Artemis. Hyginus, Apollodorus and Servius all feature the intervention of Zeus in their accounts of the struggle (169) but he only appears very rarely in vase-painting.

The scenes which show the struggle for the Fawn first appear about 550, both on shield bands, and on a plate in Oxford (170). The theme is most popular with painters towards the end of the century, but never as much as the Tripod series. The opponents

are the same, and Athena and Artemis appear in support. Once again there are two schemes for the fight, and they correspond with those for the Tripod. Either the opponents stand with the Fawn in the middle, or Heracles runs off with it under an arm and Apollo tries to prevent him. The two struggles are paired on either side of a vase in the Vatican (171). The scenes are linked, as Boardman pointed out (172) and the more so because many of the Tripod scenes show the Fawn standing in the background - quite unnecessarily, since the animal is not needed to identify Apollo, and sometimes overcrowds the picture.

The Leagros Group has four pictures of the struggle for the Tripod, all running fights. L 8 (173) is a hydria in Berlin, with the picture on the body. It is one of those which show Hermes, moving forwards from the left hand picture frame and looking behind him as he goes. He overlaps with Artemis, who supports Apollo. He has caught up with Heracles, who moves off to the right, and grasps one leg of the Tripod with his right hand, raising an admonishing left hand as he does so. Heracles holds the Tripod by another leg, and brandishes his club over his head. Athena stands to the right, holding up her spear beside her head as if she intends to use it. L 127 (174) is very similar; this time the vase is a neck amphora. Apollo comes forward to grab the Tripod in the same way, and Heracles moves off, looking back to threaten Heracles with the club. Athena

simply watches, and Apollo has no supporter this time. Both these vases show the Fawn, standing precisely where it will get under the feet of the combatants, moving in the same direction as the fight, and on L 127 looking back at Apollo over its shoulder

L 102 bis is fragmentary (175). It had Apollo moving after Heracles to the right; Athena stood at the right with her shield, appropriately enough with a tripod as the device upon it. Artemis, wearing a polos, supported Apollo. There appears to be no sign of the Fawn, but it is not beyond the ingenuity of the Leagros Group to make the Fawn the object of the fray, and refer to the Tripod by putting it on Athena's shield. However, this is mere speculation, since a tripod is a common enough shield device anyway. It is safer to think of this as having been the fight for the Tripod, the version painted by the rest of the Leagros Group.

L 9 (176) is the most interesting picture. This is a hydria in Oxford, which has a piece missing where Heracles' head and the piece immediately above it were. This led less observant people than Beazley to suppose that the object of the struggle was missing altogether. In fact the scene could be said to show a cross between the two schemes for the fight. The Tripod was vertical, and Heracles was holding it over his head. He moves off to the left, which is unusual. Apollo, with bow and quiver on his back, moves forward with another bow in his left hand, and

reaches for the Tripod with his right. Artemis moves forward behind him, following his lead, and behind her stands Hermes, his hands clutched to his chest as if in excitement. Athena stands in front of Heracles, looking towards Apollo, making a gesture of support and encouragement, and behind her is Zeus, spear at the ready. This scene is much livelier than the others, busy, crowded, and full of movement. It is also unusual in showing Zeus, but many vases of the late sixth century show signs of having been influenced by the sculptures of the Siphnian Treasury, which also features Zeus in its struggle pediment (177).

Once again the Acheloos Painter chose to differ from the workshop trend, and painted the struggle for the Fawn instead, on a pointed amphora in Florence 2 (plate 3). Heracles, a hulking figure wearing an unbelted lion skin, moves off to the right, brandishing his club at a figure who ought to be Apollo, but ~~is~~ perhaps bearded and has no bow, who is trying to get hold of Heracles by the quiver on his back. Between them, as if it were the inanimate Tripod, is the Fawn; each antagonist holds it, Heracles by the front legs and Apollo by the belly, and the unfortunate animal hangs, head down, between them. To the right of the struggle and very much in Heracles' way, is Hermes, kneeling on one knee, looking back at the fight, and holding out both hands towards Apollo in a gesture which looks like pleading, or

or at least an attempt at intervention of some sort.

A problem related to the two series of scenes is that raised by the fact that the Fawn can be confused with pictures showing the capture of the Kerynitian Stag; they are sometimes mistakenly classed together. These scenes should show a deer with antlers, and Heracles is sometimes shown in the act of breaking one off. Artemis, whose animal it was, is the deity involved, in the literary record, and in the pictures concerned there is no struggle but peaceful concession. The painters themselves sometimes confuse the two stories, and occasionally the Fawn has antlers and the Stag has none. The Acheloos Painter shows the capture of the Stag on a second pointed amphora in Toledo Ohio, 3 (plate 4) which ought, in view of the identical potting as well as the scenes, to be thought of as related to the Struggle vase 2. No-one has suggested that the painter was confused, there is no struggle, and the Stag is fully grown, with a vast and magnificent set of antlers, but the goddess is Athena not Artemis. Athena does appear on vases with this subject, but Artemis is normally there too. If Boardman is right in suggesting that that the scenes of concession of the Stag connect with the introduction of Artemis' cult to the Acropolis (178), this vase may simply be shortcutting the symbolism by leaving out Artemis - the picture stands, as it were, for the established cult as a fait accompli; however, we are still left wondering

whether the painter thought of these two episodes as somehow related.

2: Other Myth.

Amazons.

Amazons who appear by themselves in late black figure are shown engaged in the same set of activities as male warriors: they arm, set out for battle, lead and ride horses, and harness and drive chariots. Their iconography is much the same as that of their male counterparts.

The earliest mounted Amazons occur on a merrythought cup in Rhodes (179), as the reverse of a more conventional Amazonomachy involving Heracles, always a more popular subject than Amazons alone. Most of the other representations are considerably later. Usually all the Amazons are mounted, and accompanied by their dogs. The Leagros Group has only a few pictures of Amazons by themselves. L 210 (180) is a neck-amphora which shows them on both sides of the vase. On the front are two Amazons riding to the right on galloping horses, each accompanied by a dog which faces back in the direction from which they have come. Both riders wear Corinthian helmets and short chitons, and carry two spears, exactly as if they were cavalry riding out in the ordinary way. On the other side one Amazon is riding, again with her dog facing in the opposite direction. Her companion runs along in front. She is equipped like a hoplite,

with a round shield. The mounted Amazon carries two spears as before, and wears a Corinthian helmet and a short chiton.

Two other Leagran vases are both lekythoi. L 256 (181) shows a fallen warrior between two mounted Amazons, clearly a version of the three-figure fight common on Leagran vases. L 255 (182) is interesting because it shows Amazons dismounting; there are four of them, all sliding down from their horses, both legs on their horses' right. All of them have dogs.

L 105 (plate 88) a type B amphora in the Antiope Group said to recall the Acheloos Painter, shows two mounted Amazons riding to the right, each with her large collie-like dog. The front horse is restive, and shies at something outside the picture to the right, which has also startled the dogs. Both Amazons are equipped as before, in short chitons and Corinthian helmets. This time they wear breastplates. Sometimes the scene can be varied by having a long cavalcade strung out across the vase. The Priam Painter (183) showed a version which has five Amazons and two dogs, two pairs of a hoplite and an archer, and a singleton archer, labelled as Andromache; the hoplites carry round shields. Amazons sometimes carry a pelta instead. This is particularly effective on a vase in Munich with a cavalcade of six (184) as the figures are strung out in line, and the equipment is varied on alternate figures.

The Acheloos Painter's lekythos 47 (plate 56) belongs to

a group of vases showing yet another variation, which has one Amazon dismounted and leading her horse. Here she is the one in the middle, walking on her horse's left. She wears a Corinthian helmet, the others soft caps and cloaks over short chitons. All three carry spears. Both the mounted Amazons carry a pelta, slung upside down. The walking Amazon has a round shield with pellets for the blazon. None of them has a dog. This lekythos belongs late in the painter's oeuvre, and it is, perhaps, not surprising to find that there are no innovations in this picture, which is by his standards dull. It belongs to a small group of such pictures, among which lekythoi figure prominently, many belonging to the fringe Leagran Class of Athens 581. Amazons do not appear elsewhere in the Acheloos Painter's work, and it is likely that the subject did not interest him greatly.

Apollo.

Apollo, carrying or playing his kithara, appears very often in Attic black figure after the middle of the sixth century. The vast majority of the vases with pictures of him are amphorae, or large closed shapes, with very few exceptions: Apollo is a serious subject for big vases, and the subject is treated seriously. The figure of a much-respected god whose principal peaceful activity on vases, i. e. not shooting Niobids or dealing with Tityos, is to play the kithara, is not one open to much

variety, other than in his position, sitting or standing, and in the company he keeps. These are very stereotyped vases; they can very easily be divided into groups (185) by means of the identity of the bystanders, and there are very few vases which do not fit readily into one or other of these groups.

One of the earliest scenes appears on a neck-amphora by the Princeton Painter (186). Apollo,* bearded for once, stands in the centre of the picture, facing to the right, holding his kithara; each side of him, facing towards him, is a goddess. At the extreme left is Hermes, who is winged himself as well as having winged boots. He makes an enthusiastic gesture with his left hand, the fingers extended. At the extreme right stands Poseidon, facing away from the picture, but looking over his shoulder at Apollo. In his right hand he holds a trident. The two goddesses appear elsewhere, for example on an amphora by the Antimenes Painter (187), showing the same group of figures. Here one of them wears a polos headdress, which identifies her as Artemis, so that the other is logically Leto. Here, the absence of the polos means that the two goddesses could well be Muses, and Beazley frequently called such figures either Muses or goddesses, identified or not; occasionally they are even called Artemis and Muse (188).

There are many vases which show Hermes, Poseidon, and the female figures as spectators, and those which substitute other * Beazley, it has to be admitted, questioned whether this was Apollo.

male deities can be regarded as aberrations from the norm. One such scene appears on a stamnos in Oxford (189) with a large group of spectators. At the left a goddess overlaps with Dionysos, who holds a kantharos; beyond them is a goat. In front of them are two goddesses with torches. Apollo stands in the centre, at the right are two goddesses with a fawn, and at the extreme right is Hephaistos, holding his axe and facing away from the action. The goddess next to Dionysos might be Leto, the others Muses, one of those with the fawn Artemis, but it is not possible to be certain. We might think of the pictures of Apollo with a selection of these spectators as an excerpted version of the full one, so we may have Artemis and Hermes only (190), Artemis or Leto with Hermes and two Muses (191), or four Muses (192).

Another group of vases shows Apollo with Artemis on Delos. On these the palm tree usually occupies the centre of the picture, with Apollo on one side, and Artemis on the other. An amphora in the Antimenean circle (193) shows Apollo to the right and Artemis to the left. In the centre is the tree, and there are a stag and a flying swan. Is the stag Apollo's or Artemis' ? Perhaps the swan reflects the idea later expressed by Plato in the Phaedo (194) that swans are Apollo's birds and musical at that.

There are some two dozen vases in the Leagros Group which

show Apollo playing his kithara to an audience. Many of them are very like the ones already described, though by this time the picture often has the filling tree in the background. L 176 (195) shows Apollo playing to two Muses and his Fawn, with the tree in the background. The Leagrans rather like to show one of the women holding a flower, as on L 150 (196). Occasionally there are anonymous male deities in the audience; L 149 (197) has a seated god, Dionysos with his kantharos, Apollo, a goddess with a vine, and no Hermes. He does not appear as often as he did before. On the single lekythos with the subject (198) Hermes is at the left with his kerykeion, looking behind him as he often does on Leagran vases. The other member of the audience is a single female, and there is a filling tree.

On a number of the Leagran vases, not just the ones showing the Delos scene, including the lekythos just described, Apollo, some of the spectators, or both may sit down. L 161 (199) shows a Muse standing to the left, Apollo seated to play his kithara, a tree with a bird in it, and a Muse with a hand to her mouth. At the right of the picture is a fawn. L 157 (200), a charming vase, shows Hermes with kerykeion and petasos, holding up two fingers in a gesture of encouragement behind Apollo's back; Apollo sits under the tree, watched by a Muse, and between them is a bird with long legs and an elegant dotted edge to his feathers, perhaps a crane, which is watching Apollo attentively. L 152

(201) shows four figures who should be Muses. Apollo stands in the centre with his kithara and a fawn. L 163 (202) shows Apollo seated with two Muses and a fawn. The Delos scene also appears; the palm tree now has a parasitical filling tree with spindly branches. L 165 (203) shows this feature.

The Acheloos Painter's single version of this subject, 18 (plate 26) shows Apollo with two Muses, apparently, and looks conventional at first. Apollo sits on a block in the centre, in front of the tree. Behind him are two Muses, overlapping each other in such a way as to look like one figure at first glance, and in front of him is another. One of the Muses on the left has a hand to her mouth as if she were in doubt about something. The Muse in front makes the same gesture. A second look at Apollo shows us that he is not playing his kithara but has a hand on the bridge, and appears to be tuning it. He has been given a particularly prominent ear, emphasised by three fat locks of hair in front of it, and it seems that we are intended to take note of it. Apollo is listening intently to the sound he is making, and his large surprised eye adds to the tension of the moment. Unlike many of the Acheloos Painter's innovatory vases, this one is arranged exactly as its predecessors in terms of composition, and it is just as formal and static as the rest, but its mood seems just a little different. It is not funny, as some of his paintings are, but whereas Apollo appears on other

vases as the perfectly prepared musician whose instrument never goes out of tune, and we might expect this, here there is a moment of doubt, rather of the same kind as we encounter on the Heracles vases. Although things will be successful in the end, they are not necessarily accomplished here without preparation.

Dionysia.

The Acheloos Painter is fond of scenes of komos and sym-
posion, and of satyrs and maenads, but only shows Dionysos on
four vases, none of them up to his usual standard of originality.
31 shows Dionysos with a maenad and a pair of dancing satyrs,
very like many other vases. The god appears, as on all other
vases by this painter, as a fully dressed figure with a beard
and a heavy vine wreath, holding a kantharos. An amphora in
Munich 4 (plate 5) shows a marginally more interesting scene. A
satyr stands behind Dionysos, and gestures towards the god, who
turns his head to look at him. Beside Dionysos, who holds a
large trailing vine and a kantharos, is a goat. The Acheloos
Painter is fond of goats, and they appear in his party pieces,
one of which shows the goat being ridden. In front of Dionysos
is another satyr, who sniffs at the contents of the god's kan-
tharos. The scene is not unlike the even more sedate picture
on 9 (plate 13). Here the painter used the god as an obvious
B side filler for the back of an amphora with the abduction of
Kerberos on the front. Dionysos is shown standing still, vine

and kantharos in hand, with a quiet maenad on either side of him. The composition of this, and of the previous vase, is like that of Apollo and two Muses on many Leagran vases, including one by our painter himself, 18 (plate 26), a standard three-figure piece, and both vases are at best uninspired, in spite of the charming goat on the Munich amphora.

Dionysos is shown in Attic black figure from an early date, very soon after the appearance of the technique, and soon becomes a figure shown in many situations, both in his own right and as one of a group of deities engaged in joint activity, such as a gigantomachy, or on Olympus. The Acheloos Painter has little interest in myth outside the Heracles cycle, so that the return of Hephaistos, which gives Dionysos a major role, is one of several themes not exploited in spite of its many opportunities, explored at their fullest, of course, on the François Vase (204) which is the definitive version. The Acheloos Painter's maenads and satyrs are elegant and sophisticated figures, in general, and they do not dance when with Dionysos, or indulge in riotous activity. They do not become useful, as the Amasis Painter's satyrs working at the vintage do (205). Our painter's Dionysos is normally literally pedestrian, he does not even have a chariot, as he does on several vases in the Leagros Group, such as L 179 (206) which shows Ariadne walking alongside, and a little satyr acting as ostler. Occasionally Dionysos appears riding a donkey,

as on L 207 (207) which shows the god riding a donkey which carries its own oenochoe on its erect penis. The Acheloos Painter's only donkey rider is a maenad on a vase which does not show the god at all.

A lekythos in the Funcke Collection 48 (plate 57) shows Dionysos reclining as a symposiast, with a satyr acting as his butler, handing him a kantharos. At each side there is a seated woman, one of them holding a child which puts its arms round her neck. All of them wear big wreaths except the satyr and the child. Underneath the kline is a panther with a bone in her mouth, behaving exactly like the symposiasts' dogs on the painter's human symposiast vases. Dionysos appears reclining on vases which occur late in the black figure series, and these vases may refer to his comparatively recent arrival on Olympus (208)*. Another example appears on a lekythos by the Gela Painter (209), roughly contemporary with this one.

The Acheloos Painter's pictures are typical of the approach of the Leagros Group to the subject; indeed these scenes are more like their work than usual, and perhaps demonstrate a reaction to a subject with a long history and a standard iconography; he might often be content to leave its conventions alone. Here he was contending with a subject which has no single iconographic convention, but a very varied one, open to infinite change, and contending with it late in its career; it may have

*The Lysippidean vase Development pl. 36,1 pp. 77f. shows the party to make Hephaistos drunk.

been so various, and so ubiquitous, as to hold very little interest.

Peleus and Thetis visit Chiron.

Scenes from the earliest part of the Trojan cycle appear in Attic black figure early, and the delivery of Achilles to Chiron to be educated is among the earliest. Indeed it appears in proto-Attic vase painting, in the work of the Ram Jug Painter (210) before the advent of the black figure technique. Apollodorus says that Thetis brought Achilles to Chiron (211) when she left Peleus, but the version illustrated by the vase painters shows both parents or Peleus alone. Von Stern (212) pointed out that there are two versions even of this story, one of which shows Achilles as a babe in arms, and the other shows him as a grown lad. The latter is the later version, which belongs to the end of the sixth century.

Brommer lists (213) some twenty-two versions in black figure. The Heidelberg Painter shows two at about 560, and from then on the subject appears fairly regularly. The Heidelberg Painter was responsible for a cup in Würzburg (214); here Chiron, accompanied by his womenfolk (215) receives Peleus with a friendly gesture of his left hand. He is, of course, a centaur, with a horse body, and human front legs and body. Over his shoulder, grasped in his right hand, he holds a branch with the game he has been pursuing (216). Peleus, accompanied by Thetis, holds

his baby son in his arms. The second version by this painter, on a fragmentary cup in Palermo (217), shows Peleus and Chiron with Hermes, who has brought Peleus to Chiron's home on Pelion. Thetis and one of Chiron's womenfolk frame the design. Chiron is eager and welcoming, and Peleus carries baby Achilles in his arms.

A white ground oenochoe in London, by the Painter of London B 260 (218) shows a more formal picture, which sets the tone for some of the late ones in the series, at least in mood. Here Chiron is shown as a much more elderly and dignified figure, with his human half clothed, holding a branch but no quarry. Peleus is also apparently older and is fully dressed. He holds the baby Achilles up facing Chiron, so that he and the centaur can see each other. In front of Peleus is Chiron's dog, lifting a paw apprehensively. This slight nervousness pervades the picture, and the eager welcome of the Heidelberg Painter's vase is not present here.

On a lekythos in Palermo in the manner of the Athena Painter (219) Peleus, wearing hunting gear and with a dog, shakes hands with Chiron, who emerges from his cave, holding a branch over his shoulder. He is elderly and clothed; beyond him stands a fawn with pricked ears. Achilles, a grown boy (220) seems to be waving at the fawn. Here we have the delivery of a rather older Achilles to Chiron. Behind Peleus is a mourning woman, who

may be Thetis.

A lekythos in Athens by the Edinburgh Painter (221) has the same sedate air. Here Achilles is a small boy standing next to Chiron, who seems to approve of him, and puts a friendly hand on his shoulder. Achilles has a fawn on a lead. Peleus wears hunting gear and carries two spears, and he talks to Chiron with easy familiarity; he has known him for some time. The picture seems to illustrate a visit by Peleus after Achilles has been with Chiron for a time.

Peleus wrestling with Thetis is occasionally illustrated by the Leagros Group, but the delivery of Achilles to Chiron only twice. L 22 (222) is a big hydria with the picture on the body. Here Peleus and Thetis have arrived in the grand manner by chariot, and the charioteer waits patiently. Thetis stands by the horses while Peleus introduces Achilles, who makes a greeting gesture, to Chiron. The centaur is very much the elder statesman, tall, dignified and dressed. Beyond the charioteer some small animals hang in a tree.

L 23 (223) shows Thetis standing by the horses of the chariot in which she has arrived with Peleus, greeting Chiron from a safe distance. Peleus, in travelling costume, introduces Achilles, who greets Chiron with one hand and holds a wreath in the other. Chiron's game hangs in a tree. He himself is the same elderly dignified figure.

The Acheloos Painter's 35 (plate 46) shows a visit of even greater formality, once again by chariot. Chiron stands at the side of the picture, wearing a himation and a wreath, and holding a branch. Peleus approaches him rather gingerly, with a hand to his mouth as if unsure of the outcome of the visit, and offers Chiron a flower with the other hand. He is wearing his most decorative travelling cloak and a petasos with a wreath round it, and boots. Behind him walks Thetis, also wreathed, holding two objects which might be torches in her hands. Their charioteer waits by their horses. Of Achilles there is no sign at all.* As the pictures of the episode get later in date, we notice that the tone of the visit becomes gradually more formal, and Chiron less approachable. On the Athens lekythos Achilles might almost be a pupil at a preparatory school, being visited by his father, who talks to the headmaster about his progress. Here, on the Acheloos Painter's hydria, it might almost be as if Achilles has been put down for the school at birth, and his anxious parents are here making the arrangements to send him. It has the formality of the Leagran versions of the subject, without the confident handing over of Achilles, and the element of placatory overture to Chiron is new. By adaptation of the Leagran form of picture, the Acheloos Painter has once again achieved something entirely individual and peculiar to himself.

This scene more probably has nothing to do with Achilles at all, but is Peleus bringing his bride to visit Chiron, which explains the torches she carries; they were old friends, and Chiron is shown at the wedding on the François vase. cf the two vases by the Berlin Painter ARV²139, 140.)

Silenos.

The capture of Silenos appears on a few black figure vases of very varied shape and date (224). The vases divide neatly into two groups, one showing the moment before the capture, and the other the little procession leading Silenos to Midas. In the version of the story which will have been familiar to the painters (225) Midas was actively engaged in trying to capture Silenos, and he mixed wine with the water in his garden fountain in order to attract Silenos and make him drunk so that he could easily be overpowered.

One of the earliest Attic representations appears on a black figure cup signed by Ergotimos (226) now in Berlin. It shows two hunters and Silenos in procession from left to right. In front goes a hunter labelled $\sigma\rho\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$, who has red hair and a beard, and wears a chlamys. He carries a full wineskin in one hand, and leads Silenos by the end of the rope binding his wrists with the other. Silenos is a satyr with human legs, red hair, beard and horse tail, and he too is labelled. The second hunter, bringing up the rear, is not - the label beside him reads $\sigma\rho\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, which must refer to both hunters. He wears a chlamys and a fur cap. He carries a lasso in one hand and stretches out the other to rest it on Silenos' shoulder to make sure he does not get away, or dawdle. Dietrich von Bothmer (227) suggested that the contents of the wineskin need not be the cause of

Silenos' state, and that he has perhaps filled it prior to capture. Silenos, he says, is certainly drunk, but this is not, in fact clear from the painting, and it seems more likely that the skin is there to remind us of the ruse by which he was caught.

A sieve-pot found at Eleusis shows the arrival of the party (228). Midas, a middle-aged man with a sceptre, sits on a stool at the left of the picture. In front of him stands a herald wearing a petasos and boots, holding a kerykeion. Silenos is again a satyr with human legs, led on a rope, but this time his hands are tied behind him, and he walks in front of the hunter who holds the other end of the string. The hunter is armed with a spear, and his victim looks back at him as they go.

Midas does not appear in a version on an amphora in the Navarra-Selonia collection at Gela (229), which belongs to a small group related to the doubleens painted by the Edinburgh Painter and others. Here the captor is not a hunter but a soldier, wearing a Corinthian helmet and a bell-corselet, and carrying two spears. Silenos, hands bound behind him, walks in front of him; they go from left to right across the picture. This is the most economic version of the story, with just the two figures, no Midas and no topographical indication, though in this last respect it is no different from the others we have seen; vases showing the events after the capture do not go into detail about the whereabouts of the procession.

A pelike decorated by the Eucharides Painter (230) shows Silenos between two hunters, each of them armed with two spears, and each of them wearing a chlamys and boots. The second hunter, once again holding the other end of the rope binding Silenos' hands, wears a petasos as well. Beyond Silenos is a panther; since panthers are often associated with Dionysos, it is perhaps there to indicate that Silenos is drunk, and if so is almost the only indication on these vases, except for the wineskin on the Ergotimos cup, that Silenos is the worse for wine.

As we see, the black figure vases showing the procession are few, and those showing the ambush are fewer still. Outside Attic painting there is a Laconian kylix of the second quarter of the sixth century which shows Silenos making for the fountain on all fours, and the hunters, in Phrygian dress, waiting to lean over and catch him. (231). An Attic black figure lekythos, by the Sappho Painter (232), shows the fountain house as a low structure shaped like a bench. On either side of it is a seated figure with a sceptre, one of which is labelled ΜΙΑΑΣ; the other, unidentified, must simply be a balancing spectator figure. A palm tree grows on either side of the fountain. Silenos lies in a relaxed, happy posture in the fountain house, twisting his head to get his mouth close to the lion-head spout. The hunter, wearing a corselet and a short chiton, crouches on the roof of the building, clutching a lasso with which to secure his quarry,

who is apparently already in an advanced state of drunkenness. Both scenes, the ambush and the capture, continue into red figure, and they do not really follow a chronological sequence in which the ambush takes over from the capture, though there are more scenes of the ambush in red figure than in black.

The Acheloos Painter is the only member of the Leagros Group who chose to show any part of the story, and he might, to judge from other versions, have chosen to paint either part. He decorated a handsome pelike 26 (plate 37) with a picture of the ambush. The fountain, at the right of the picture, is a red stream coming out of the rock, with a lion-head spout. Beyond it is a tree, rather livelier than is usual in this painter's work, with its branches waving in the air; it has some white fruit on it, so perhaps this is Midas' orchard. To the left is the ambush - two alert, interested hunters. One of them crouches on the top of a rock; he wears a white petasos and a short chiton, and his cloak is wrapped round his arm as if he were out after big game. He has a sword on a double baldric and two spears. The second hunter, on the ground, is beginning to move out from under cover of the rock. He is dressed in the same way, with the chlamys wrapped round his shield arm, and he carries two spears. Silenos has approached right up to the fountain and has one foot on the basin; he waves his arms in delight as he bends to sniff the wine. The scene looks bright and sunny, even a little airless, but every-

one is very much alert, Silenos no less than the hunters, and this vase is perhaps unique in showing him before he has had a chance to drink. The hunters are equipped as if expecting difficulty, and there is no sign of the rope which is such a feature of the other versions we have seen. Both the hunters are middle-aged, and so not, perhaps, confident of success in unarmed combat, even with a drunken satyr, and the hunter starting forward appears to be about to go into action without allowing Silenos a chance to get drunk. Silenos has a sporting chance of getting away. The picture is one of the Acheloos Painter's most elaborately drawn, full of the lively detail we see on his best vases. Since there is no surviving Leagran vase from the main Group with this subject, it is possible that only the Acheloos Painter drew it, and that he looked outside the Leagran tradition for the subject, particularly since it calls for comic treatment, and the Leagros Group are not humorists.

The Underworld: Sisyphos.

The Underworld was not a picture which held much interest for Attic black figure vase painters. However, a few vases show Sisyphos with his stone: Brommer lists eleven (233) and there is a small lekythos in Bucharest (234) which he does not mention. All the vases belong to the period after the middle of the sixth century, and the subject never had any real vogue - there are

not many red figure pictures of Sisyphos either.

Almost all the black figure pictures appear on amphorae, and they fall into two groups. The first show Sisyphos as one figure among several inhabitants of the Underworld, part of a Nekyia. A neck-amphora in Munich by the Swinger (235) is one example of this kind. A figure identified as Ajax (236) stands at the left, facing left. He wears a Corinthian helmet and a chiton with some kind of animal skin on top of it. His arms are positioned as if he were holding a bulky object in front of him, although he is holding nothing at all. Persephone stands in the centre of the picture, facing right; she wears her himation draped over her head and hands, and she holds her arms out in front of her in the same way as Ajax. At the right of the picture is Sisyphos, facing right; he is a naked middle-aged man, and he holds his boulder in front of him, left hand on top right hand underneath - the other figures are echoing his gesture. There is no sign of the hill up which he had to roll the boulder.

A neck-amphora by the Bucci Painter (237) also shows a picture of the Underworld, in which Sisyphos is only one of the figures concerned. At the left of the picture winged souls pour water into a leaky pithos, and at the right Sisyphos rolls a big white boulder up a small triangular hill. He holds it as before, and he himself is the same naked middle-aged man. His left foot is braced against the hill, and this is a position

which we shall see repeated.

On one of the metopes of the Heraion by the Silaris (238) Sisyphos appears as a subject in his own right. He is shown rolling the boulder up a hill with his foot braced against the slope. On his back is a hobgoblin, interpreted by Zancani-Montuoro (239) as a personification of his condemned soul. Apart from the hobgoblin, the picture is more like those which appear on the second set of vases, where he is the main subject although he is never actually alone, even on the Bucharest lekythos, where he might have been in view of the limited space. This vase is a badly executed member of the Haimon Group, on which the figures are barely more than blotchy silhouettes. To the left of the picture are two figures, clothed. The left hand one carries a staff with which he points, and so is presumably Hermes, and the other is probably Persephone, since she often does appear with Sisyphos. A small neck amphora, connected with the doubleens, in the Group of the Edinburgh Painter (240) shows Persephone, seated at the left of the picture, so close to Sisyphos that she can put her hands on his shoulders. Sisyphos, in the same position as before, holds the boulder on the apex of the hill, which has taken on a lumpy appearance. Beyond them is a tree with white fruit.

There are two vases by the Nikoxenos Painter; both of them show more topographical indication than before. Sisyphos' hill

is apparently just outside the portico of Hades. On a neck-amphora in Berlin (241) Persephone sits under the portico at the left. She holds a sceptre in her left hand, and she holds out her right hand to Sisyphos, who holds his stone on the rock, his clothes thrown over his farther shoulder. Beyond them is a fruit tree. The second vase (242) shows a more populous Hades. The portico has a column with a white capital, and the architrave has triglyphs; gracing it is Hermes, pointing to the scene in front of him with his kerykeion. Kerberos stands before him, one head pointing in each direction. Persephone sits in front of him watching Sisyphos, who holds the boulder on top of the hill as before, his clothes over his shoulder. Beyond them is the apple tree.

There are two vases which belong to the main Leagros Group. The first, on a neck-amphora in Leiden (243) is what we might by now regard as the standard version; Persephone sits on a stool holding ears of corn under a portico, and beyond her is a tree with white fruit. Sisyphos, wearing a himation, holds the boulder on top of the hill, against which he has braced his foot.

The second vase shows a different scene (244). Hades sits at the left, holding a sceptre. Hermes stands in front of him looking back at him, and gesturing to Persephone, who stands facing away from them holding her corn. Sisyphos is in the same position as before. Presumably Hermes is about to lead Perse-

phone to the upper world and is waiting for Hades' permission to do so. They are evidently the central subject of the picture, and Sisyphos, reverting to rolling rather than holding the boulder, is merely a padding figure.

The Acheloos Painter illustrated the subject twice. 16 (plate 24) shows Persephone seated on a chair with swan-neck supports to the back and swan-head finials, holding her ears of corn. Sisyphos stands naked, foot braced, holding his stone. The odd feature is the hill; instead of being a slope up which Sisyphos might plausibly roll a boulder only for it to roll down again, the hill is almost vertical, shaped like an inverted L with the boulder resting on the short leg. The stone could topple, but it is unlikely to do so.

The second vase 17 (plate 25) shows Sisyphos in the centre of the picture, watched by Hades, sitting on a block-stool, and Persephone sitting on a rock, with corn in both hands. Sisyphos, clothes on shoulder, foot on hill, holds the boulder on the flattened hill-top, and this time really does appear to be balancing it so that it will stay there. His hands are in the position which would indicate in life that he was just about gingerly to remove them.

Beazley thought of the black figure work of the Kleophrades Painter, other than Panathenais, as essentially Leagran (245). There is one vase which shows Sisyphos which is rather like the

Leagran ones (246). There is a portico at the left, and under it is Hermes, facing left, but looking over his shoulder at what is happening. To the right of him, a head facing in either direction, is Kerberos, and to the right of him, Sisyphos. He has his clothing tied round his waist, and both feet planted firmly on the ground. The boulder is set securely on the hill, which is now flattened to form a T. The boulder could not roll off at all easily. Sisyphos looks round at Hermes, who gestures to him rather as if he had achieved a goal, as he might to Heracles.

It is tempting to see a pattern in these pictures. At first Sisyphos is one of a number of figures in the Underworld, and the scene is not specifically of him. This is echoed on the Leagran vase showing Hermes leading Persephone away. In these pictures he actually rolls the boulder, with signs of effort, if the hill is shown at all. Later, in the Leagros period, he is really the subject of the picture, and he has succeeded in getting the boulder to the top of the hill and is holding it there, sometimes with the active encouragement of the spectators. The Acheloos Painter gives him a hill on which it is possible to balance the boulder, and the Kleophrades Painter one on which it would take genius to fail to do so. The repeated raised foot is the only sign of effort which persists. Pherekydes told a story about Sisyphos in which he escaped death altogether (247)

and perhaps these vases reflect a version of the story in which he got the boulder to the top of the hill and succeeded in keeping it there, the Kleophrades Painter's being the latest and most extreme version, at any rate in black figure.

3: Daily Life.

Athletes.

Most pictures of athletes, other than those on Panathenaic amphorae, are either very simple genre scenes, such as a pair of boxers squaring up to one another, or more complicated ones which are influenced by the advent of red figure, and a growing interest in anatomical detail. Athletes are an obvious subject as a basis for experiment.

The simplest kind of genre scene is well represented by an amphora in London (248) by the BMN Painter, with pictures on the neck as well as the body. On one side, on the neck, there are wrestlers, grappling in the akrocheirismos position (249), watched by their trainers, and on the body is a pair of symmetrically posed boxers, with their closed fists crossed between them. On the other side the position is reversed, and the boxers, this time with their fists raised in defence, occupy the neck, framed by their trainers, and the wrestlers are grappling at rather closer quarters, head to head, on the body. An amphora by the Amasis Painter (250) shows a more varied scene - three runners with their trainer watching them go, two boxers with their

trainer, a jumper with his halteres, and four more figures making animated conversational gestures at the right. None of the earlier athlete vases outside the Panathenaic tradition makes any noticeable advance on these stock scenes with their stereotyped figures.* Even a cup decorated by the Mastos Painter (251) with a frieze of athletes still makes up the frieze from stock figures and poses.

An amphora of Panathenaic shape by the Mastos Painter (252) shows the interest in anatomy fostered by the advent of red figure beginning to make itself felt. It shows the standard pair of trainers framing the action, but only one of the boxers is still in the fight. He advances to punch his opponent with his right hand, but he is leaning away from him at a dangerous angle, twisting slightly as he goes, defending his head with his right arm, and stretching out his left to break his fall. His trainer gestures to his opponent to stop.

The Leagran athlete vases show crowded action pictures, with their own group of stock figures. L 118 (253), an amphora of Panathenaic shape, is perhaps the least crowded. A trainer with his stick watches a discus thrower. In front of him is a piper in a long white chiton with a black border, and in front of him a javelin thrower with three javelins. All these figures appear elsewhere in different combinations with yet others who are equally stock, in spite of the influence of red figure, and * except possibly those of the Heidelberg Painter.

the odd attempt to introduce some variety of pose or gesture. L 212 (254), an amphora in London, is one of the rare exceptions; this has athletes on both sides. One shows boxers; a trainer at the left and a second man acting as umpire at the right watch the action. The winning boxer occupies the traditional position at the left, his left arm extended for balance, his right brought back to deliver the final blow. His farther leg is lifted, and his body twisted so that his chest is frontal. His opponent is kneeling, and has admitted defeat by raising his hand, and looking behind him at the umpire. This involves a twisted posture which is quite convincingly managed. The tree behind them rescues the scene from the topographical limbo in which the previous athletes seem to have been performing. The other side of the vase shows a discus thrower with his trainer behind him, his discus propped against his forearm so that we see it edge on. In front of him is a colleague gesturing at the discus, as if the thrower were about to make a bad mistake. L 213 (255) also has athletes on both sides of the vase; one side shows a discus thrower with the discus in front of him. He shares a training session with a pair of akontists, one of whom kneels in front of him with his javelins, and the other walks off to the right with a single javelin in his hand. The trainer stands in the middle looking round at his pupils. On the other side the trainer stands at the side, watching a discus thrower who

has just completed his throw. The discus is sunk in the ground under the feet of two sprinters who run forward in the middle of the picture. The same idea is repeated on L 215 (255a) but the man who threw it is not in sight. L 142 (255b) shows us wrestlers, of whom there are not many Leagran examples: boxers are preferred. The one on the left has been gripped in a head-lock, and is trying to force his opponent to let go by strangling him with his left arm. Another athlete, oblivious of this, carries some small objects, either aryballoi or fruit, off to the right.

*54 by Hand B (plate 63) shows two discus throwers, one with his discus in front and the other with it behind, a piper and two kneeling boxers, one with hand to mouth and the other flexing his muscles. The other side shows a discus thrower, a kneeling jumper clutching his halteres to his bosom, a trainer and a boxer punching his opponent on the head and putting a foot on his thigh; his victim appeals to the trainer behind him.

*64 (plates 73, 74) by Hand D shows a jumper, a piper, an akontist in an extravagantly theatrical kneeling posture, one hand behind him, and the other outstretched with the javelins clutched to his chest. On the other side is a discus thrower, with his discus in one hand, making a slightly threatening gesture with his other fist, a piper, and an akontist with a javelin in each fist. All the figures are in profile.

The Acheloos Painter's contribution to the genre is very like those of his colleagues. 12 (plate 17) has athletes on both sides. At the left of one side is a discus thrower with his discus out in front of him in the stock position. In the middle of the picture is a piper in a striking parti-coloured chiton with a battlemented seam. He is a stock figure on the Acheloos Painter's vases, and this chiton is his standard dress; the relative position of the colours is not always the same. Facing this particular player is a jumper with his halteres running towards his take-off point. All the figures are in strict profile, and we shall find that this is a peculiarity of the Acheloos Painter's athlete vases; they have an oddly reactionary technique in this respect. On the other side of this vase, only the trainer, his chest turned slightly towards us, shows any tendency to exploit the technical possibilities of the subject. He encourages a discus thrower, in the old posture, and the piper stands at the right. Beyond him is a fourth man, resting, holding his knee. 23 (plates 33, 34) has two very attractive scenes, taking place in front of an apple tree. The front has two jumpers, each with his trainer, accompanied by a plump piper, whose belly strains against his chiton as he plays. The jumper on the left stretches his weighted arms out in front of him. The second jumper faces him, crouching to start his run. The other side of the vase shows a discus thrower, and in front of him two

sprinters, in the oddly hieratic posture occasioned by their left arms and legs coming forward together, as runners are normally shown at this time. The forward leg is the one in the air, but the sense of speed and the perfectionism instilled into them by their trainer, who watches them go, is there too. Their weights are on the ground, waiting for their next practice. The runners are both twisted to show the chest, but they are essentially profile figures, nonetheless.

13 (plate 19) is full of activity. On one side a trainer turns away from two discus throwers, one in the stock posture, and the other with his discus behind him in the other position of rest at the end of the first movement. Between them is an akontist with two akontes held upright in his fist. None of the Leagran vases ever shows anyone throwing a javelin. The discus joke appears on the other side of the vase, where it is embedded in the ground under the feet of a sprinter. He is watched by a discus thrower at the left, and a trainer at the right.

All these vases are conventional, and fit recognisably into the Leagran pattern. Evidently the possibilities of anatomical portrayal caused our painter little excitement. There is a single vase which, if we think of the Acheloos Painter as the humourist of the Group might show us his real view of the genre. This is a superb pelike in New York, 26 (plate 37) which shows boxers practising, and treats the subject as a burlesque.

At the left is a scrawny piper, who has abandoned the parti-coloured chiton for a plain one and a weedy wreath. He plays for a young boxer, a south-paw, who dances in a languid fashion towards a fat elderly boxer who dodges by dancing off to the right. Neither is taking the activity very seriously, and it is not even certain that they are sober. The older boxer is grotesquely muscle-bound, and has a very flattened face; he is a battle-scarred and far from lovely specimen. Here too, the painter has at last taken advantage of the limited possibility of showing anatomical structure, to show exactly how unlovely this specimen is. It appears, in view of this, one of the painter's best non-mythical pictures, that the straightforward athlete pictures were of little interest to him, and that he was not concerned with them as a vehicle for technical experiment, but here he had seen the comic possibilities inherent in boxing, and also its occasional pathos; here, perhaps, he is closer to the spirit of some red figure than he otherwise demonstrates - there is, after all, the cup by Pheidippos on which a tubby little man appears alongside the fit and beautiful ones in the palaistra (256). The Acheloos Painter's pelike picture has an emotive content quite lacking in his other athlete pictures, which merely follow those of his colleagues.

Fountain-houses.

About 530 Attic black figure painters begin to show rep-

representations of fountain-houses, occupied variously by women drawing water or by members of either sex bathing. Scholars have often suggested that the series of pictures is associated with the Peisistratan reorganisation of Athens' water supply, and the building of Enneakrounos. Two of the fountain-houses on these vases (257) are labelled with the name of the Athenian spring Kallirhoe, but the buildings themselves are different, and clearly intended, as are the others, as a symbol for a fountain-house and not as a portrait of a particular one. The Leagros Group and the Acheloos Painter contributed numerous examples to the series, as did most of their more notable contemporaries. The shape in which the building is shown is varied, both within the Leagros Group and outside it.

L 70 (258) has a profile fountain-house at the right of the picture; five women approach it to fill their hydriai, two of them accompanied by fawns. The woman who owns the hydria standing on a block under the spout has failed to notice that she has positioned her pitcher badly, and the water is pouring away down the side of the vessel. The building itself is of a type often shown on the vases; it has a baseless Ionic column supporting a rather telescoped Doric entablature, and a single lion-head spout, shown in profile attached to the frame at the side of the picture. Occasionally the end of a frontal fountain-house is shown instead, as on a vase by the Antimenes Painter (259)

which shows the end of the pediment. Sometimes, as on L 73 (260) we are shown a frontal panther head in a profile building. This, and the odd picture of a building with both frontal and profile spouts, led Miss Dunkley to suggest (261) that these are not a deliberate section through, or profile of, a fountain-house, but a conglomerate view of all the most characteristic features of such a building. This may be the case, though there is no reason to suppose that a building with spouts in its back and side walls could not have existed. The decorative qualities and the avoidance of functional ambiguity of these schemes are obvious, and both of them appear quite often.

L 71 (262) shows another kind of structure, which Miss Dunkley suggested was one solution of the problem of asymmetry posed by the profile structure. This has a wall down the centre shown end-on, with spouts on either side of it; no such building has ever been found in corpore, though our knowledge of plumbing in Greece at the time shows that it could have existed. This particular example shows the wall with a chequer pattern down its end, and a column and spout on either side of it. The pediment is rounded, and has a Nike as its central akroterion. L 72 (263) shows a frontal fountain-house, from a point inside the portico, so that all the indication of the structure that appears is the spouts floating in mid-air in the middle. Each of them has a block for the hydriae underneath it. Four women

are filling their hydriai and garlanding the spouts. A number of vases show a frontal fountain-house with the architrave forming the line which separates the body of the hydria from its shoulder, but few cut out the architrave entirely, as this one does.

On all these vases the fountain-house is being used by women. Others, for example a hydria in Leiden by the Antimenes Painter (264), show a fountain being used as a shower by men. Here we have the whole of a frontal structure with spouts, but no blocks for hydriai, and under each spout a man is washing himself. Others stand under the surrounding trees talking. One vase by the Edinburgh Painter shows women using a fountain as a bath (265). On all these vases the sexes are segregated. The name vase of the Painter of the Madrid Fountain (266) shows women approaching the fountain to fill their hydriai in the ordinary way, but on one of the blocks sits a small boy rubbing his chest. This seems to be the only picture of an ordinary fountain-house which does not segregate the sexes before the ones painted by the Acheloos Painter.

The Acheloos Painter decorated three vases with fountain-houses, and all three of them show adults of both sexes together in the building. His most notable version shows the inside of the building, with the triglyph and metope frieze with white guttae stretching across the top of the picture. 35 (plate 45)

has a central wall which divides the fountain into two equal parts, almost two fountain-houses. Each of the two has a lion-head spout on the party-wall, and a donkey-head on the end one. Beneath each spout is a block; the one in the centre is continuous, and may be a draw basin on one side of the party-wall. The other side is slightly higher and is evidently a block, because a hydria rests on it. The woman on the side which may have a trough rests her foot on its edge, and her hydria on the raised knee, as if there were no solid place to put it under the spout. Across each half of the building is what appears to be a tie-bar below the architrave. This is a feature of other vases, but on this one there are animals in the space above the bar. The difficulty is to decide whether the bar is at the front or back of the building, and whether it really is a tie-bar or the lower edge of a frieze, and the two snakes and a bird are sculptures, which is possible, or alive. They repeat themselves too neatly for it to be easy to accept them as alive, but we might expect them to be mirror-imaged, unless the two halves of the building are meant to be read as two of a row of cubicles. Each compartment is occupied by a man and a woman filling their hydriae, women on the right. In the left half the figures are facing the same way, the woman supporting the hydria on her knee, and concentrating on what she is doing. The man faces in the same direction, but turns his head to watch his hydria fill. In the right hand half

the woman holds a branch, and rests her other hand against the wall by the spout as she turns her head to look at the man behind her, who also turns his head to speak. He holds up a hand in front of the spout, and the other just above the mouth of the jar. Both women are conspicuously taller than the men, which may indicate that the latter are slaves, or perhaps henpecked.

14 (plate 20) is a neck-amphora, not the more usual hydria. It could be described as a view from further back of the building on L 71; that is to say that the picture is framed by two slim, unfluted Doric columns, supporting a two-tier architrave with white triglyph-like markings. Two panther-head spouts float in the background, each with its block. Between them grows a spindly tree. A woman steps onto each block to fill her kalpis, and between them, walking across the front of the picture, is a man wearing nothing but a cloak across his shoulders. He gestures to the right hand woman with a bent right arm, and to the one on the left with an outstretched hand as if to indicate that he is just going.

37 (plate 47) shows a man molesting a woman at a fountain. The man, wearing a loin cloth like the men on the hydria, sneaks up on the woman from behind, and seizes her, and she turns her head to see what is happening. He has managed to unbalance her, but she still has her hand on the handle of the vase, and the expression on her face, which is deliberately painted in that

way, indicates that she is keeping an eye on the hydria to use it as a weapon when it fills. The fountain has a frontal panther spout in a profile building at the right of the picture. An unfluted Doric column supports a two tier architrave with white triglyphs. There is a rootless vine in use as a filling tree.

The fountains on these vases are very like others to be found in the work of the Leagros Group, but their population is not. There are a few later vases, such as one by the Eucharides Painter (267) which show adults together in fountain-houses, but it is probable that the Acheloos Painter was the originator of the idea. (267a)

Horses and Chariots.

Activities involving horses and chariots form part of the pictorial small change of the Acheloos Painter's work, as they do for the Leagros Group also. A chariot race can usefully be employed to fill the subsidiary picture space on vases whose main subject is heroic, especially on the shoulder of a hydria, where it will be suited to the long narrow space. Vases with scenes from the Trojan cycle or from the Heracles stories frequently have chariots in the secondary space. Occasionally the back of an amphora has the stationary frontal chariot so popular in black figure because it is a good symmetrical subject, and can, although this is rare, be made specific and heroic by the addition of a few labels (268). A good Leagran example

on L 126 (269) embellishes the basic chariot with a dog leaping up beside the lower palmette at the right, and a bird over the charioteer's head. The form of the picture does not differ at all from earlier versions: there is one by the Lysippides Painter which is essentially the same picture (270).

This is also true of pictures of chariots being harnessed. On L 64 (271) the pole horses are already harnessed to the chariot, and a groom stands by their heads. The reins are held by the helmeted owner, who is stepping into the chariot. One of the trace horses is being led up, beyond the others, by a groom, and the charioteer, wearing a white petasos, stands beyond the chariot. A fragmentary vase in Florence by Hand C, *61 (plate 69) shows a very similar scene. The owner holds the reins of the yoked horses, and also a driving-whip, and beyond the horses stands the charioteer, wearing a chequered chiton rather than the more usual white one. One of the trace-horses has already been harnessed, and a groom stands at the heads of the three which are ready as the second groom brings up the other trace horse.

Stationary chariots, singly or in rows, about to start a race, are quite a well known Leagran subject. *57, by Hand B (plate 65) has a single chariot with the charioteer climbing into it, holding the driving whip, and with his dog by the horses' heads. Two vases by the Acheloos Painter, 29 and 30

(plates 40 and 41), the upper register of the neck of two volute kraters show rows of stationary chariots, which consist of the same motif repeated. This basic unit is a charioteer with a shield on his back, climbing into a four-horse chariot, holding reins and whip. Beside the horses' forelegs, or beyond them, is a dog, and in front of the entire assemblage is a seated man holding a staff. The same scene appears on *55 (plate 64) by Hand B.

Chariot races are a very popular Leagran subject. L 182 (272) shows one which is painted continuously round the body of the vase. Again the picture is made up of repeated units; it is obviously an easy way to show the event, and the Antimenes Painter did the same thing (273). The repeated unit consists of the charioteer leaning over the rail of his chariot, urging his speeding horses on. They are shown in the same position as sprinters, with the back legs barely touching the ground, and the forelegs well clear of it. The pairs of horses are slightly separated, as if the team were turning a corner, so that the near side horses are a little ahead of the off-side ones, and under one handle they overlap the chariot in front. On the shoulder of the hydria *51 (plate 60) by Hand A, is a single chariot at full gallop, in effect a single example of the unit elsewhere repeated to make a race. The Acheloos Painter's 34 (plate 43) shows a very similar race with two chariots; the

forehooves of the team are behind the protruding bottom of the charioteer in front. The chariots are shown in strict profile, but the pairs of horses are still well separated. 40, a kalpis in the Noble collection, (plate 49) shows a race made up in the usual way of two overlapped units, the chariot horses at full gallop, craning charioteer, and a dog running along at the front.

The Acheloos Painter does not show the party of horsemen which figures elsewhere on the Leagran pots, but some of his closer associates do, in particular Hand A, who specialised in them. *51 (plate 60) shows two mounted men and a pedestrian with a dog, and *52 and *53 (plates 61 and 62) show virtually the same scene, only varied by the numbers of riders and dogs. *56 (plate 64) by Hand B has two horsemen, one in front of the other, the front one turning to look at the one behind. Neither of them has a dog or a petasos, but there is the same sense as on Hand A's hydria of setting off on a pleasant expedition. Hunting is the obvious suggestion in view of the spears and headgear and the dogs, and *59 (plate 67) shows a similar party coming back with the quarry.

Komos.

The Acheloos Painter's favourite non-mythological subject is the komos. A number of komos pictures in the main Leagros Group are said by Beazley to be like the Acheloos Painter's

work, and it is possible that his taste for these scenes influenced the rest of the Group.

Komasts, as originally seen on Attic vases in the work of the Komast Group, wear a distinctive padded chiton and perform a dance consisting of a series of kicking steps and bottom-slapping; sometimes the dancers have cups or drinking horns in their hands. Sometimes they are joined by naked women, who (274) very occasionally don the padding themselves. Seeberg noticed (275) that most of the earlier Corinthian komasts are shown as fat; later they become thinner, but if they are thin they have a fold in the belly of the chiton which is sometimes omitted, if the dancer is fat. Corpulence, in fact, is an important feature of the dance. Before 550 the Corinthian komasts are assimilated to satyrs and appear in strictly Dionysiac contexts, but in Attic painting the transformation is not at all clear, and what Beazley calls a komos is, at any rate by the end of the sixth century, usually a group of naked or partly dressed men, occasionally accompanied by women, who are normally fully dressed, and may be flute girls or quasi-maenads, sometimes dancing, but not invariably. If they are dancing, it is in a way which is clearly related to the original komast dance, with something like the same steps and arm positions (276), but without the aid of padding, and they usually wear wreaths which should indicate the aftermath of a party, rather than a more

formal occasion. An oenochoe by the Amasis Painter (277) shows a slim young man, belly thrust out to achieve the effect of the padding, dancing with his arm arched above his head, to the music produced by a female piper, and in company with a man fully dressed in a long chiton and himation, holding a trail of ivy. The same figures are repeated in a different order in the remaining space. A barbiton may also accompany an Attic komos, and Psiax painted a turbaned komast holding one as he dances (278).

As time goes on the Attic komos becomes progressively less like its Corinthian predecessor, and tends to look less theatrical and more like a party. Those belonging to the Leagros Group, of which there are not very many, are very unlike their early predecessors, and seem to be the result of a sudden upsurge of interest on the part of the painters of large pots, perhaps because of those painted by their red figure colleagues, who were using them as a vehicle for technical experiments in anatomy. L 90 (279) shows a group of men, all of whom have names, in what seems to be a straightforwardly convivial context. Milichos stands at the left wearing boots and a wreath. In front of him is Telokles, who has brought his barbiton, wearing a wreath, a loincloth and a necklace. In front of him is Mousaon, dressed in the same way with the addition of a pair of boots, and holding a lyre. The only man dancing is Chremes, performing

his kickstep, facing his colleagues and rattling his krotala. He wears a loincloth, a wreath and a necklace. The partially removed clothing and the fact that not all the people present are dancing are typical features of the Leagran komos which appear elsewhere. Another unnamed man moves out of the picture playing his pipes. L 193 (280) adds another typical feature, a woman lifted as though she were a woman being carried off by a satyr, holding an ivy trail to add a Dionysiac tone to the proceedings. L 199 (281), said like the previous vase to be like the Acheloos Painter, has another Dionysiac feature, a woman riding a goat. There is one Corinthian komast vase (282) which shows a goat; Seeberg thought that it might indicate a sacrifice, and so a ritual context, and so it may here, but goats appear quite often in a context of music and parties in the Leagros Group, and especially on the vases of the Acheloos Painter, even when the context is not Dionysiac at all, though he does have a maenad riding a goat on 24 (plate 35).

The Acheloos Painter's own komos scenes are many and varied. 8 (plate 12) is the least characteristic. This is a fragmentary neck-amphora, one side of which shows a komos which includes a man riding a goat; he is wearing a himation draped across his shoulders so that the corners fly out from his arms, which are raised above his head. He has ivy clutched in one fist. A second man dances with his arms above his head, and a third

apparently clutches some more ivy. The Cambridge oenochoe 43 (plate 52) has a similar scene, with the addition of a maenad-like woman.

Several vases include women in the party. Some show them lifted as if they were maenads, and others simply include them as members of the party. 14 (plate 20) shows ~~three~~ men and a woman. ^{The} three men are dancing and so is the woman.

. 16

and 18 (plates 24 and 26) both show three-figure groups, the woman in the middle accompanied by two men. Clothing consists, for the men, of various combinations of loin cloths, himatia, wreaths and boots. On 16 the men have a drinking horn and ivy respectively in their hands. The woman carries krotala in both pictures. There is no hint of dancing on either 16 or 18, any more than there is on 32 (plate 42) which shows processions of men and women, singing and accompanying their progress with the barbiton. On both sides of 15 (plates 21 to 23) the woman is being lifted. On either side she is supported by a naked pot-bellied man, one of them wreathed, who dances forward, looking back at the man behind him. The men are either naked wearing loincloths or himatia, and most of them wear big wreaths. one of them also wears a turban. Some of them carry drinking vessels, a kylix or a horn. One of the women waves krotala. None of the men is young or slim, they are all the painter's

paunchy middle aged figures, whom we meet particularly in these scenes. This may be a reversion to the old tradition of fat komasts, but is more likely to be a rather brutal realism, of the sort also practised on #63 by Hand D (plate 71). 33 (plate 43) is a tiny fragment which has a dancing man and the knees of a woman being carried.

The other komos scenes show men alone. 19 (plate 28) shows them obviously dancing; they are all middle-aged, naked and pot-bellied, though the central figure is obviously thrusting his belly forward in the same way as the youth on the Amasis Painter's oenochoe; here at least it looks as though the dance is something like that of the original komasts. The man at the left moves forward into the dance, holding his arms in front of his head; in front of him kneels the second man, one arm arched behind his head, passing a horn with the other hand behind the next man, who dips his fingers into it. This man is dancing, his other arm arched behind his head, and the fourth man has his leg kicked up behind, slapping his bottom as he dances. These last two are plainly dancing with each other, a feature of early komast dance not always apparent on the later ones. 21 (plate 37) has a very similar scene, with one figure dancing forwards with a running step, arms out in front of him. All the men are paunchy and wearing big wreaths. 25 (plate 36) has five figures on either side, moving into a dance.

Three other vases show a rather different scene, which appears to be less sedate, a return after the party. 41 (plate 50) has two men ^{compulsively} linked by the staff of the front one; one of them holds the lead of a dog and a stick in one hand, and a barbiton in the other. His partner wields krotala in a decidedly vehement manner. A third is trying to persuade an obstinately stationary dog to go with him, but the dog is more interested in the last man, who reels along, carrying another barbiton and a stick. A similar scene appears on a second psykter 42 (plate 51), which has a scene continuous round the body. Here only one man has a dog, its lead attached to the strut of his barbiton. The other figures dance animatedly, waving ivy trails or drinking vessels. There is a piper to play for them. On the other psykter there seem to be the makings of a brawl, here all the figures are moving along, not dawdling drunkenly. A small kalpis in Munich 38 (plate 48) shows three men, the front one, himation over shoulder, holding a lyre, and the second one dancing, one leg kicked up in front, and one arm arched behind him. He is seriously impeded by the third man who is clutching him from behind as if trying to climb onto his back. A piggy-back ride appears on both sides of the pelike 28 (plate 39). On one side a man playing the pipes lies back, carried by two others arranged like a pantomime horse. On the other side the piper walks at the rear, and the man at the

front bends double under the weight of his fellow komast, sitting serenely on his back, one knee cocked. This vase may have some slight connection with the odd late sixth century vase showing men dressed as horses to carry riders (283) or as birds or other animals, but these seem to refer to serious dramatic or semi-dramatic occasions. The Acheloos Painter and the Leagros Group painted vases which show people in what seems an immediately obvious situation; they are dressed or undressed in a standard way, and if they dance they perform steps with a plain relationship to those performed by the early padded dancers; other features, such as the musical instruments and the corpulence of the figures can be traced back to the semi-formal komast dance too. Where figures are not dancing they are nonetheless recognisable as the same people, presumably, as Beazley evidently thought, in a related context. The lifting of some of the women like maenads argues for a blurring of the distinction between komasts in a dancing rôle and satyrs impersonated or real, and possibly these pictures are of a rather different occasion. None of the Acheloos Painter's pictures have any indication of the purpose of the dance; the male dancers on their own are always dressed like his symposiasts, if dressed at all, and this would lead one to suppose that the dancing is merely a feature of the night's entertainment, but we cannot be absolutely certain.

Symposion.

The Acheloos Painter's treatment of symposion, which was only painted by one member of the main Group, varies from the relatively sober and quiet to the riotous and the mildly comic. The most sober appears on 19 (plate 28). This shows a quiet intimate occasion rather than a big party; in the centre is the usual man lying on a kline wearing a big wreath and a himation, and looking at a woman who sits at the head of the kline on a cross-legged stool and talks to him with animated gestures. In front of the kline, between it and the food table, stands a second woman, gesturing to the man reclining, but looking at a second man who is performing a little bottom-slapping dance all by himself in a corner. Under the food table is a white-bellied bitch sniffing at the meat on the table and pawing at the standing woman's skirt. 24 (plate 35) shows a slightly more riotous occasion: here a piper has been imported, and a woman dances at the right of the picture. At the left is a woman dancing off to the left who has been caught by an ithyphallic man, like a satyr, who holds her round the waist. The large parties on the volute-krater-necks 29, 30 and, for that matter *55 by Hand B (plates 40, 41, and 64) are relatively tame. These are all virtually the same picture, they occupy the lower register of the neck, and like the chariots above, consist of repeated units. The basic unit is a man on a kline, his food table beside

him, and a woman sitting on the end of the kline, holding a flower. On 29 and *55 there are two dancers between each pair of klinai, and a dog with a bone beside the legs of each kline at the head end. On *55 the dogs are alternately male and female, and the head of the reclining man is turned alternately to his woman and to the dancers. On 30 there is a man who is rather left out, and has no woman and no dog - a bitter reflection on the unfairness of life.

22 (plate 32) has a symposion on either side of the pot, the same symposion in two different stages. Here the party is a small personal affair. A man lies on his kline on striped cushions, and a woman has climbed up to lie beside him. She reaches out a hand to stroke his cheek. Beneath the table there is a bitch sniffing at the food, unnoticed by the people on the kline. On the other side the woman has removed the shoulder pin on one side of her chiton to expose her breasts, and has let down her hair, and the man is looking at her as if slightly discomposed by this action. The bitch, now totally unnoticed, is making a definite move to steal something from the food table. Here a well-established iconographic formula has been used as a basis for something rather different. There are scenes of love-making in the context of a symposion, more often in red figure than in black, but this scene is not quite that. Here the established formula has been used to present a mildly amusing

and entirely private situation by means of a gentle contrast.

A pelike in London, 27 (plate 38) has a similar pair of linked scenes, except that the intended effect is a much greater contrast. One side has a recognised iconographic formula, which is used to contrast with an individual scene without a Leagran parallel, a product of observation rather than another version of a well-worn formula. The front of the pelike shows an excited satyr lifting a maenad to carry her off; they are painted as the Acheloos Painter often shows lifting figures, the satyr looking furtively behind him and the maenad clutching, not very roughly, at his hair. If we look at the back we find two ordinary mortals, man and woman, in a chilly arms' length embrace, which seems both a familiar situation for them, and over-civilised. There is only a stool with some folded clothes on it to show their surroundings, and so we cannot say what their official relationship is, but the lack of enthusiasm suggests that they are probably man and wife. The contrast is as much in mood as in action - the satyr and maenad crude and happy, the humans enigmatic and sad. The frames indicate that we should look at the satyr and maenad first, and turn the vase to smile wryly at the other side. This vase and the other with the symposion show a subtlety which the Leagros Group reserves for important myth scenes, and not for anything approaching everyday life. The Acheloos Painter had a greater interest in everyday life

and ordinary people, and here he has been wry about a realistic situation in a way which is foreign to the Leagros Group as a whole.

Country Life.

On the shoulder of a hydria by the Acheloos Painter 34 (plate 46) is a single scene of everyday life which seems to have no ulterior significance, and can reasonably be taken at its face value. This is a scene of men catching bulls. At either end of the picture is a bull running bellowing towards the right. At the left a man has contrived to catch the bull by the horn and the neck, rather as Heracles catches Acheloos on 5 (plate 7) - the painter may have used what he knew about the catching of ordinary bulls to show Acheloos - and the man on the right has caught his bull by the horn and foreleg. The foreleg is curled back, also like Acheloos. In front of the bull at the left is a man wearing boots and carrying two spears, gesturing at waist-level, perhaps giving instructions to the catcher; behind the other catcher is a second man wearing chlamys and petasos, also carrying spears and gesturing encouragement. In the middle is a bitch, moving to the left and jumping up, holding in her mouth an object which looks like a bovine leg. To judge by the petasos and boots, the men have come out into the country specifically to round up the bulls, and an animal has been slaughtered; the dog has acquired one of its legs.

The only comparable Leagran vase is L 42 (284), and the picture is also on a hydria shoulder. It shows a man catching a goat. He is naked, except for a himation thrown over one shoulder, and two women sit watching him. This then, by contrast with the Acheloos Painter's bull-catching is in a domestic context, a place close to the house, where a single goat would be kept. The bulls are presumably in a herd out in the country, (285) and a short expedition has to be made to reach them.

Military activity.

Scenes connected with military activity are, like horses and chariots, a popular subject in the Leagros Group for the subsidiary picture on vases with a heroic picture for the main subject. They are very diverse, but the most popular are departure from home, by horse or on foot, and an actual skirmish. L 103 (286) has most of the elements which appear in departure scenes. At the left is an old man with a hoplite in full armour facing him. Beyond the hoplite is a dog, and behind him is a man with a horse, about to move off to the right, with another dog. In front of the horse is a woman with a phiale and an oenochoe in her hands, about to pour a libation for the departing warriors.

*50, by Hand A (plate 59) has a man with a horse as its central figure. The picture is framed by two archers, who indicate that the occasion is military, although the horseman is equipped

as if for hunting. The old man saying good-bye is the same figure as we find in other such scenes. The dog stands beside the horse looking at the archer at the right and howling. Four hoplites who should probably be read as part of the same scene line up on the other side of the vase.

The Acheloos Painter's two departure scenes on 5 and 7 (plates 6 and 10) are essentially the same and much more commonplace. In both the warriors' mother holds her himation up to her face in a gesture very common in departure scenes. The warriors are a hoplite and an archer, standing in such a way that they overlap and the archer cannot be seen. The warriors on 5 have a dog, those on 7 do not. Their father says good-bye on both. The positions of the parents are reversed relative to their offspring on 7.

The Acheloos Painter's fights are recognisably in the Leagran mould, but they vary. L 204 (287) has a warrior advancing from either side, and a kneeling hoplite between them, looking behind him. The Acheloos Painter's 10 (plate 15) shows exactly this, except that the hoplite on the left has a round shield rather than the Boeotian one carried by his counterpart on L 204. The fight on 11 (plate 16) is much more exciting, as it shows one of the rare cavalry skirmishes which appear in black figure - two horsemen riding at one another, and thrusting at one another from their mounts with spears (288).

Beyond the flailing forehooves is a collapsing hoplite. An archer falls behind the forequarters of the horse at the right, shot by another who kneels by the hind legs of the horse at the left. This, as usual, is the winning side. This seems less like the usual Leagran battle scene, which is more often the three-figure fight, and is a genuine attempt to convey a cavalry battle, and its crowded activity is more realistic and more successful than the rather balletic fight on 10. 21 (plate 31) shows a hoplite fight which has been interrupted by a chariot speeding between the combatants, one of whom falls beneath the forehooves of the horses while his opponent leaps back out of the way. It has a mildly comic element, but its chief impact is as a breach of the old three-figure scheme, so that the painting is asymmetrical, and so individual and unlike the Leagran ones, though it plainly has an ancestor in the Leagran wheeling chariot scenes.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

The basis of this examination of the Acheloos Painter's work has been the list of vases attributed by Beazley, here accepted wholesale because it presents a consistent artistic personality. A small number of vases not attributed by Beazley has been added because they appear to be inseparable from that personality. Beazley found that some vases bore a close resemblance to the work of the Acheloos Painter, but was unwilling to attribute them to him; some of these are here included in the catalogue of the painter's own work, because it seems impossible that they could be that of anyone else, though, as Beazley said, it is often difficult to tell whether a vase is by the painter himself or only in his manner, and when he had any doubts, he included the vase in his 'Manner' list. In Paralipomena he promoted some of these to the status of certain attributions; some others seem to qualify for similar promotion, and are here given it. What is left is recognisably based in some sense on the Acheloos Painter's own style, and has been ascribed to the five hands who appear to have been responsible.

The chronological charts based on style and on changing vase shapes show us a career which began before 510, very much in the Leagran large-vase tradition, with the three big pointed amphorae 2-4. These show the earliest stage of the Acheloos

Painter's graphic style, which appears in more mature form on the big neck-amphorae which constitute the main body of his work, such as the name vase 5, 15, 16, and the slightly later 14. To this middle period also belong the three type B amphorae, a pelike, 27, and the big kraters 29 and 30. Two of the three hydriai, 35 and 36, are also mature work. The bigger the vases, the earlier they belong in the Acheloos Painter's career. In the middle period he also began to paint lekythoi - indeed only the big cylinder in Munich, 49, belongs to the latest stage of his career. These middle-period lekythoi set the tone for some smaller vases, psykters, oenochoai and kalpides. At the end of his career the Acheloos Painter was sharing potters with the Theseus and Edinburgh Painter workshops, and this may have encouraged him to paint small vases. Another reason for his growing attention to smaller shapes may have been competition from his red figure colleagues, who were painting large ones, and presumably commanding an increasing proportion of the market.

The Acheloos Painter was influenced by the Antiope Group and the Group of Würzburg 210 in the earlier part of his career, in a general way; some of the figure types, especially those with Dionysiac connections, have their roots in this particular corner of the Leagros Group. The Antiope Group passed on its feeling for composition and use of space, and also some of its

figure types. Indeed, perhaps one of the most noticeable, because contradictory, features of the Acheloos Painter's work, is that he was not a stylistic innovator, despite the immediately recognisable quality of much of his work. Beazley found, as is clear from the entire Leagros Group chapter in ABV, that there are many vases in the main Group which bear a generic similarity to the Acheloos Painter, just as there is a family resemblance between most of the vases of the Leagros Group; after all, he found it almost impossible to tell more than a very few of the Leagran painters apart. In view of the comparative lateness of the Acheloos Painter's contribution to the workshop it might be more accurate to suggest that his work bears a generic resemblance to the vases listed as like his by Beazley, rather than the other way round. He appears to have attracted a coterie of other painters, here referred to as Hands A-E, and the Painter of Louvre F 314. These seem to bear a much closer resemblance to his work than the stray pots in the Leagran list, which is, of course, why they appeared in ABV as 'Manner of the Acheloos Painter'. The styles of these painters differ enough to make it possible not only to tell them apart, but also to have some idea of the stage of the Acheloos Painter's own career to which their association with him belongs. None of them seems to have joined him earlier than his mature period, and this is only to be expected - it must

have been at the time at which his mature vases were painted that he became prominent and therefore imitated. All five Hands and the Painter of Louvre F 314 have some vases which are more like the Acheloos Painter's work in style, and some which are less; these latter are presumably later, when their authors developed their own styles. It is important to notice that it is the drawing and not the ethos of the pictures which is the source of the likeness; this is particularly apparent in the work of the Painter of Louvre F 314, which conspicuously lacks the vitality and range of subjects characteristic of the Acheloos Painter, and all the subjects are ones painted by the Acheloos Painter, though they may be treated rather differently.

The Acheloos Painter, then, is not notable for the individuality of his draughtsmanship, or for accurate anatomical observation, though he sometimes shows some details which would not appear had red figure vases not been an article of commerce at the time. It is his heads which distinguish his work from that of the rest of the Leagros Group, more than any other single feature of his figures. We saw that he has two distinctive head types, one of which, the horizontal type, particularly attracted the attention of Beazley and Miss Haspels. There is, however, the second type, which has a vertical long axis, and which in fact appears quite as often. Both types, in their varied degrees of exaggeration, were imitated by hands A-E

and by the Painter of Louvre F 314, though without the differentiation of use to which the types are put in the Acheloos Painter's own mature work. We saw that the horizontal head type appears, with its characteristically ironic or slightly uncertain look, in contexts which are comic, and the vertical type in more serious scenes, often on the backs of vases, such as the Dionysos on 9, the athletes on 12, or Hades and Persephone on the Sisyphos vase 17, where they are serious spectators, though Sisyphos himself is perhaps not a serious protagonist. The use of these head types is intentional, and whatever their precise significance they are meant to be noticed; the horizontal type is so exaggerated that it must be used deliberately, presumably to draw attention to the scene, or to the figure on which it appears. In the context of the Acheloos Painter's surviving work, the vases on which it is used stand out as in a spotlight.

We have seen that the Acheloos Painter was not interested in the details of anatomy, except where they clarify the action, and that his figures are surprisingly uniform, including his animals, which have a virtually standard body with the appropriate head, tail and legs for the animal in question. A similar lack of real interest characterises his plant life and - although this is true of the Leagros Group and indeed of Attic vase painting as a whole - his topographical indications, which

are almost non-existent. His use of added colour is conventional, and the red and white are added without much precision where they will clarify a figure, as on Heracles' lion skin, or differentiate one garment from another. Some of his trees have white fruit on them, and the fountain houses on 35 and 37, some of his few architectural structures, have white triglyphs. Few of the subsidiary patterns on his vases are elaborate, and with the possible exception of those on the psykter 41 all of them can be paralleled elsewhere in the Leagros Group or in contemporary black figure painting.

Clearly the force of the Acheloos Painter's interest was concentrated elsewhere, and must presumably have been in the content of his pictures. This is evident in their smallest features, if we look at them in this light. His animals may be drawn without much attention to the differences of their physical structure, but they display a nice observation of their behavioural characteristics, well-demonstrated by the bitch under the table on 22, reaching for the food on it as soon as the humans are otherwise occupied, the dog on 36 with the bone in its mouth, the restive horse on the Amazon lekythos 47, the lumbering bull on 45, Kerberos backing away from Athena on 34. A similar observation is brought to bear on the human figures, particularly on his favourite komasts, who dance, play the pipes, and dawdle with their dogs or women in a way

that is immediate and enviable. Many of his pictures of everyday life have a rather wry flavour - his komasts are enjoying life but none of them is either beautiful, young, or particularly fit: they are fat, elderly - like life rather than art, perhaps? His women are often larger than their men, and most of them are as much in control of the situations in which they find themselves as is their immortal counterpart, Athena. The women in the fountain houses on 14, 35 and 37 all dominate the men who, unusually, appear with them, 37 in particular, with its woman preparing to use the weapon nearest to hand to discourage the attentions of the man molesting her. The pelike 27, the satyr and maenad contrasted with the all-too-human embrace on the other side, has the same dry, cartoon-like atmosphere. On these vases we find the horizontal head-type, less or more exaggerated, and this cannot be accidental; indeed it is the use of this head type, perhaps, which leads us to look again at the actions performed by some of the figures. However, there is one particular figure who most markedly has this specific head type, and that is the Acheloos Painter's favourite mythological figure, Heracles.

The Heracles cycle is one of the favourite mythological subjects of the Leagros Group, as are scenes from the Trojan cycle, which is conspicuously absent from the Acheloos Painter's repertoire; he has been found to differ from the Leagros Group

in his choice of subjects or in emphasis on certain subjects, but here is a definite divergence. The reason appears to be that the Trojan cycle is invariably treated seriously and even gloomily, certainly as an opportunity for violence, by the Leagros Group, and this is not part of the Acheloos Painter's way of looking at any subject. His Heracles therefore, appears in a very different light from the Leagros one, and, as becomes clear from the comparative material described in the iconographic chapter, in a way which seems to embody an attempt to say something different about the hero. The use of the horizontal head-type should lead us to expect a note of mild comedy, or even satire - that Heracles is being used in some sense as a cartoon figure. It is perhaps unlikely that he is a caricature of a recognisable person, such as a political figure of the day, but if there is a political significance in these pictures of Heracles, it lies in the consistent presentation of him as an anti-hero after the Peisistratid interest had ceased to be strong in Athens. There is every reason to suppose that he is drawn in this way on these vases to elicit a specific response from anyone looking at them.

He is seen on the Acheloos Painter's surviving vases with Acheloos, Apples, the Boar, the Bull, Kerberos, the Kerkopes, playing the kithara and the pipes, wrestling with the Lion and struggling with Apollo for the Fawn. All of these are

either unusual subjects like the Apples or the Kerkopes, or differ in their treatment of the episode from that of the Leagros Group, quite apart from any comic element there may be, if only in the addition of some non-Leagran participant in the scene, or in the portrayal of some part of the episode not shown by the Leagros Group. Hence there is no certainty that Heracles will succeed in breaking off the horn of Acheloos, who makes him run to get it, and there is a hint that the long-term results of his action will not be happy; Hermes' expression is far from one of unqualified approval. The Boar and the Bull lumber heavily out of the picture, with Heracles lumbering equally heavily after them. He lifts the Boar head downwards above the pithos on 8, in even such a small detail going outside the Leagran tradition into red figure and contemporary non-Leagran black figure for his iconographic convention - the Leagros Group shows the Boar head up. On 47 Heracles lifts the Boar as if to put it into the pithos, but is apparently waiting politely for Eurystheus, who has not yet climbed into the jar, instead of making as if to put it down on top of him when installed. The encounter with the Kerkopes is rare in any case, but is here made stranger by its emphasis on the relations between Heracles and Hermes, who is offered a club which he appears to refuse. The encounter with the Lion has a similar emphasis on Iolaos and Athena, and not on the combatants at

all. Heracles as a kithara player is no more bizarre here than on other Leagran vases, but he also appears as a piper on 1, a portrayal for which there is only one parallel, and that not exact. Heracles is not shown fighting Apollo for the Tripod, as he is in the rest of the Leagros Group, but for the Fawn instead. On a twin vase, in all probability decorated at the same time, he chose to show the encounter with the Kerynitian Stag, an unrelated episode, it is true, but occasionally confused by other painters with the Fawn, and here plainly distinguished from it, but given an odd twist in the presence of Athena rather than Artemis. The encounter with Kerberos is one of the episodes which appears in more than one version, and the Leagros Group shows both. It is the variant, in a typically altered form, which appears on the Acheloos Painter's pots. Not only is there an unwillingness to follow the Leagros Group's iconographic lead, but, it seems, a positive wish to advertise dissociation from it. It is even possible to argue that it is in some sense a comment on the Leagran treatment of the Heracles cycle; the Heracles of these vases is not necessarily a political figure, but he is decidedly a burlesque version of a hero who is normally treated seriously in the art of this period. If Heracles is a hero who in some sense stands for human aspirations, here those aspirations face some definite setbacks. The hero is here at his most human, and his least successfully

heroic.

If we look at some of the painter's other mythological vases, we find some similar things happening to the figures. The Apollo who sits between Muses on 18 is tuning his kithara, not playing it, and his eye is almost as large and surprised as Heracles', as if he were having difficulty in achieving correct tuning. Silenos is not a Leagran subject at all, but is one which lends itself to comic treatment, and richly receives it on 26. Sisyphos is given a hill on which it may be possible to balance his rock and end his torment, possibly a reference to a version of the story in which he does just that. Silenos and Sisyphos are not very common subjects for vase painters, and when we turn to the more common ones painted by the Acheloos Painter, we find that he was not interested enough to expend much originality on them.

A number of the Acheloos Painter's vases are dedicated to scenes of human, if not everyday, life. Some of these are conventional, others less so. His athlete vases are all easily paralleled by others in the Leagros Group, except for the boxers on the back of the Silenos pelike 26, which mock the entire genre; athlete vases, it seems, were not interesting for their inherent anatomical possibilities, but their comic potential is here seized on and exploited, as are those of the fountain house on 37. Bull catching on 36 is a scene from country life

of a kind which is not common in vase painting at all. The battle scenes are few, but there is a successful attempt to break up the monotony of the three figure fight on 21. The symposion provides opportunities for the conventional symposion scenes, but also for the delightful contrast-amphora 22. The komos vases, of which there are more than there are of Heracles, are very varied, many of them superb evocations of the mood of such a party, and perhaps the most typical examples of the painter's work apart from the Heracles scenes.

In this wealth of different subjects - we have noticed that there seems to be no single favourite to which the painter returned repeatedly - there are very few which the Acheloos Painter failed to treat differently from his workshop colleagues, even at the end of his career, when he was probably working on a more free-lance basis. The difference of approach from the Leagros Group appears to be far too frequent to be coincidental, and while it is, to some extent, a consequence of his humorous tendencies, there is also, perhaps, a touch of grim determination in the way in which he constantly exploits the comic possibilities of his subjects, and eschews most of those which do not provide them.

The painter who emerges, then, seems a strong, clear personality. His draughtsmanship is rooted solidly in the Leagros Group, and he passed much of what he learnt in the

Leagran workshop on to his closer associates, some of whom were perhaps pupils. He worked for potters whose work was decorated almost exclusively by the Leagros Group, at any rate in his maturity, and we should conclude that he was sitting in the Leagran workshop and observing what was going on round him. Yet his choice of subjects and his treatment of them is belligerently divergent from theirs, and that so wholeheartedly that it cannot but be a deliberate policy on his part. We should not forget that the Leagros Group were colleagues of the red figure Pioneers, whose choice of subjects was, as we saw, more like that of the Acheloos Painter than that of the Leagros Group. It is unlikely that the Acheloos Painter's Heracles is intended as a political cartoon figure, but he may have been intended to reflect an attitude to life, and so too the other mythological figures who appear. The pictures of everyday life certainly do. It is not unlikely that the Acheloos Painter felt more at home with the Pioneers than he did with his immediate colleagues, and in view of his consistent dissociation of himself from their iconographic practice, it is not implausible that his vases may be intended at least partially as a running commentary on theirs, a statement of temperamental disagreement, made repeatedly over the years, and noticeably not echoed by his closer associates.