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# Hephaistos Goes Home: An Attic Black-figured Column-krater in the Metropolitan Museum

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MARY B. MOORE

*Professor of Art History, Emerita, Hunter College of the City University of New York*

In Athens during the sixth century B.C., artists decorating pottery worked in a technique modern scholars call Attic black figure.<sup>1</sup> Ornament and figures were drawn in a lustrous black glaze on the light reddish background of the vase, and incision as well as accessory red and white embellished the decoration. In Attic black figure, mythological scenes were favorite subjects and provide the best evidence for how the Greeks envisioned the lives and adventures of their gods and heroes.

In 1997, The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired fragments of a very large column-krater that may be dated about 560–550 B.C. (Figures 1–3, 13, 14, 26–34). The column-krater was used to hold wine mixed with water at symposia as well as other bibulous occasions, and it is the most common type of krater in Attic black figure (see Figure 7). It has a flat rim with a vertical overhang, a slightly concave neck, and an ovoid body tapering to an echinus foot or one in two degrees. A flat handle plate extends from the rim at each side and is supported by two columns, the feature that gives the shape its name. It is a sturdy, practical-looking vessel.<sup>2</sup>

Although the Metropolitan's column-krater is quite fragmentary, enough of one large fragment (b+g+h; see Figure 2) remains to calculate its dimensions and describe its shape and ornamental patterns.<sup>3</sup> The rim is flat on top and decorated with a frieze of lions confronting boars (Figure 4). A chain of lotuses and palmettes appears on the overhang, with added red applied to the cuffs of the lotuses as well as to the hearts of the palmettes, and a white dot appears in each link of the chain. The glazed neck is slightly concave. On the shoulder, a frieze of tongues alternating red and black appears above a festoon of lotuses and palmettes (the cuffs of the lotuses and the hearts of the palmettes are red;

in some of the chain links there is a white dot). The main figural composition on the body of the krater depicts the Return of Hephaistos to Olympos accompanied by satyrs and nymphs. In the frieze below, there is an extended representation of Herakles driving the cattle of Geryon, one of the latest of his twelve labors. Each mythological scene continues around the vase without interruption. Below the main figural composition, there are two red lines; next comes a wide band of glaze and another red line, some of it hardly visible today, then rays above the foot, which is not preserved. One handle plate remains with most of both supporting columns; on the side of the plate there is a continuation of the lotus-palmette chain on the overhang of the rim. On the top side of the preserved handle plate (see Figure 36) there is a chariot to right.

Since this is the initial publication of all the fragments of this important vase, I shall not only describe what is preserved, but also present a reconstruction drawing of the missing parts of the Return of Hephaistos to Olympos in order to restore as much as possible of the original appearance of this innovative composition (see Figure 5).<sup>4</sup>

A word about the terminology for satyrs (or silens), nymphs, and maenads. The most important recent discussion is by Guy Hedreen, who refers to satyrs as silens or silenoi because this is how they are labeled in the Return of Hephaistos on the François Vase (see Figure 6), the only known inscription identifying them as a group.<sup>5</sup> Since “satyr” is the term more commonly used in modern parlance, I shall retain it for this article. The difference between maenads and nymphs is more clear-cut. Maenads were mortal women forced to worship Dionysos against their will and were temporarily maddened during a ritual in his honor. Nymphs are creatures of myth who are associated with the infancy of Dionysos and later honor the god willingly; in the Return of Hephaistos on the François Vase, they are labeled ΝΥΜΦΑΙ (nymphs). For most of the sixth

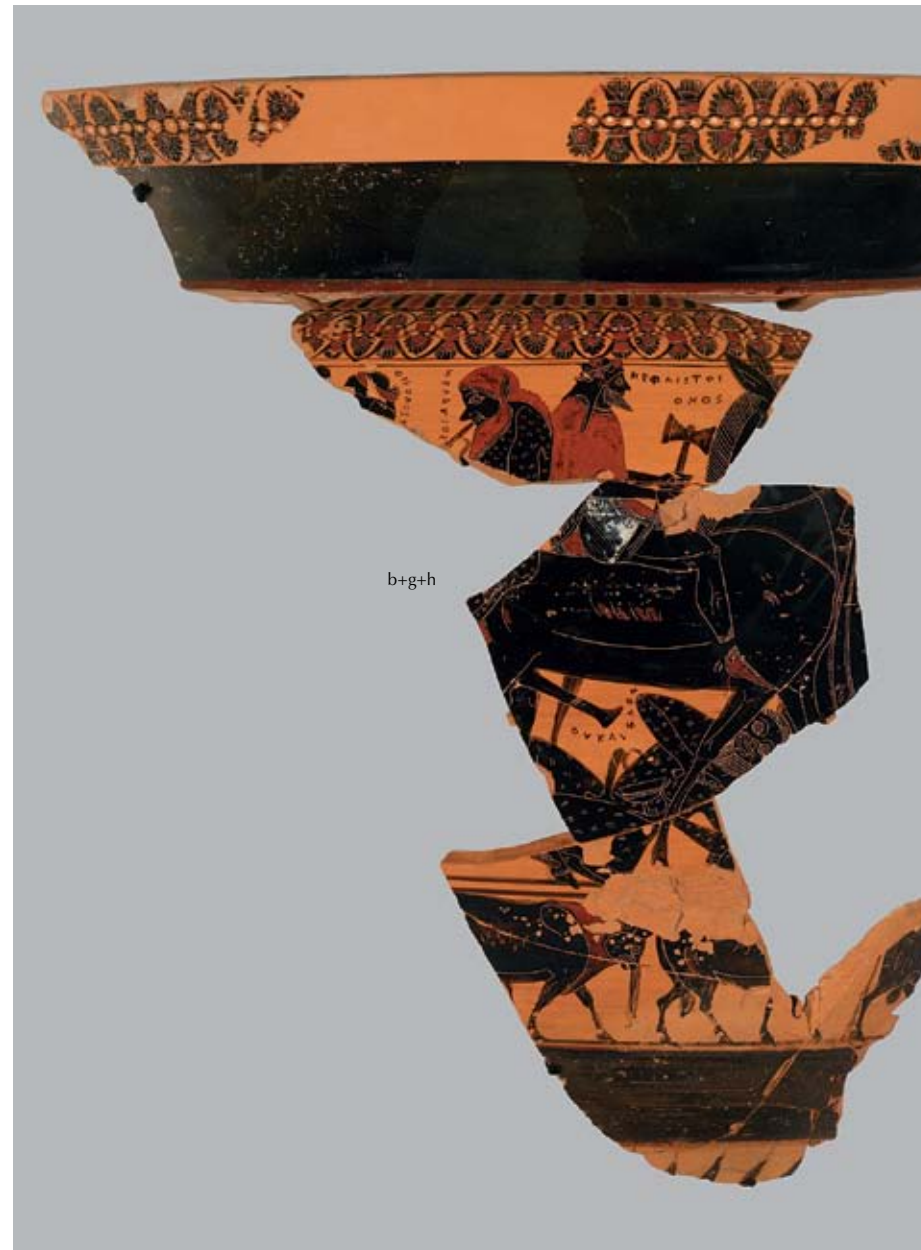


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century B.C. there is a certain intimacy and friendly playfulness between satyrs and nymphs. In red-figured vase painting, the association is less amicable.<sup>6</sup>

#### THE RETURN OF HEPHAISTOS: THE MYTH

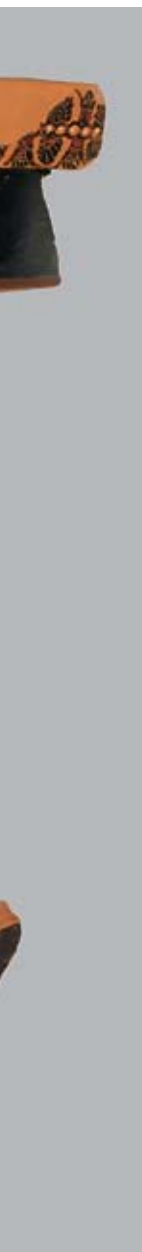
This is a story of revenge. When Hephaistos was born with deformed legs or feet, Hera was so ashamed of her son she cast him out of Olympus. He fell into the sea; after Thetis rescued him, she and her sisters, the Nereids, cared for him. Hephaistos vowed retaliation: he fashioned a beautiful throne and footstool made of gold, then sent them to Olympus as a present for his mother. The throne was equipped with invisible chains and when Hera sat on it, she



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could not rise. Only Hephaistos could free her, but he refused. Ares foolishly attempted to bring him back to Olympus by force, but he was no match for the master craftsman and armorer, who scared him off with blazing torches. Dionysos had a much more persuasive means—wine. He made Hephaistos drunk, put him on a mule, then led him back to Olympus accompanied by his retinue of playful satyrs and dancing nymphs.<sup>7</sup>

Depictions of the Return of Hephaistos in Attic vase painting begin early in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., specifically on the famous François Vase in Florence, dated about 570 B.C., which was signed by Ergotimos as potter and by Kleitias as painter (Figure 6).<sup>8</sup> The scene appears on the reverse of the vase in the frieze below



1. Fragments c, m, n+o+1997.493, p, and q of an Attic black-figured column-krater, showing a nymph and a satyr at a volute-krater and, in the frieze below, Herakles. Greek, ca. 560–550 B.C. Terracotta; overall H. 28 in. (71.1 cm); H. of fragment m: 3 1/4 in. (8.3 cm); H. of fragment n+o+1997.493: 6 3/8 in. (16.3 cm); H. of fragment p: 5 1/2 in. (14 cm); H. of fragment q: 2 in. (5.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Dietrich von Bothmer, Christos G. Bastis, The Charles Engelhard Foundation, and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gifts, 1997 (1997.388a–eee). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1996 (1996.56a, b). Gift of Dietrich von Bothmer, 1997 (1997.493). See also Figure 5.

2. Fragment b+g+h of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the Return of Hephaistos in the main zone and Herakles driving the Cattle of Geryon in the frieze below. H. 28 in. (71.1 cm)

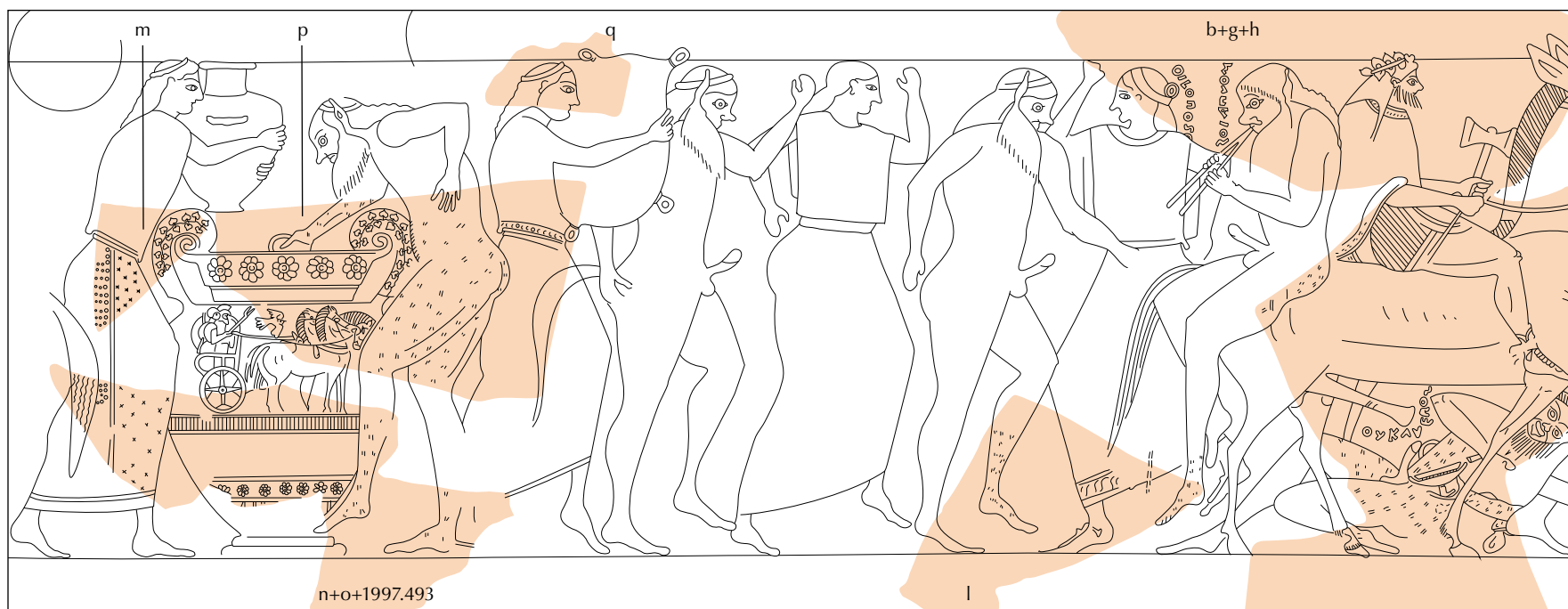
3. Fragment d+e+f of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, depicting a shaggy satyr pouring wine into a krater, two nymphs, and another shaggy satyr; and, in the frieze below, parts of three bulls. H. 13 1/8 in. (33.3 cm)

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4. Detail of Figure 2, showing the frieze of lions confronting boars on the flat top of the rim of the column-krater





5. Reconstruction drawing of the Return of Hephaistos to Olympus on the obverse of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, with the surviving fragments in place. Drawing: Mary B. Moore

the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, and inscriptions name each figure. The party led by Dionysos has just arrived at Olympus, greeted by Aphrodite. A majestic Zeus and a gloomy Hera sit on separate thrones. This moment in the myth is not depicted very often.<sup>9</sup> Much more frequent is the noisy, uninhibited procession, such as the one on a column-krater by Lydos dating about 550 B.C. (Figure 7) and on a contemporary band cup by the Oakeshott Painter (Figure 8), both in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>10</sup>

The scene on the Museum's fragmentary column-krater depicts a moment different from either of these. Hephaistos sits astride the mule preceded by Dionysos. He has probably drunk his fill, but he is not inebriated, unlike the satyr lying on the ground beneath the mule who surely is (see Figures 2, 16). The procession has not truly begun because two large kraters standing on the ground, one below each handle (see Figures 1, 3), are still in use. The drinking is not quite finished. The scene may take place on Naxos.

## THE MAIN FIGURAL DECORATION ON THE COLUMN-KRATER

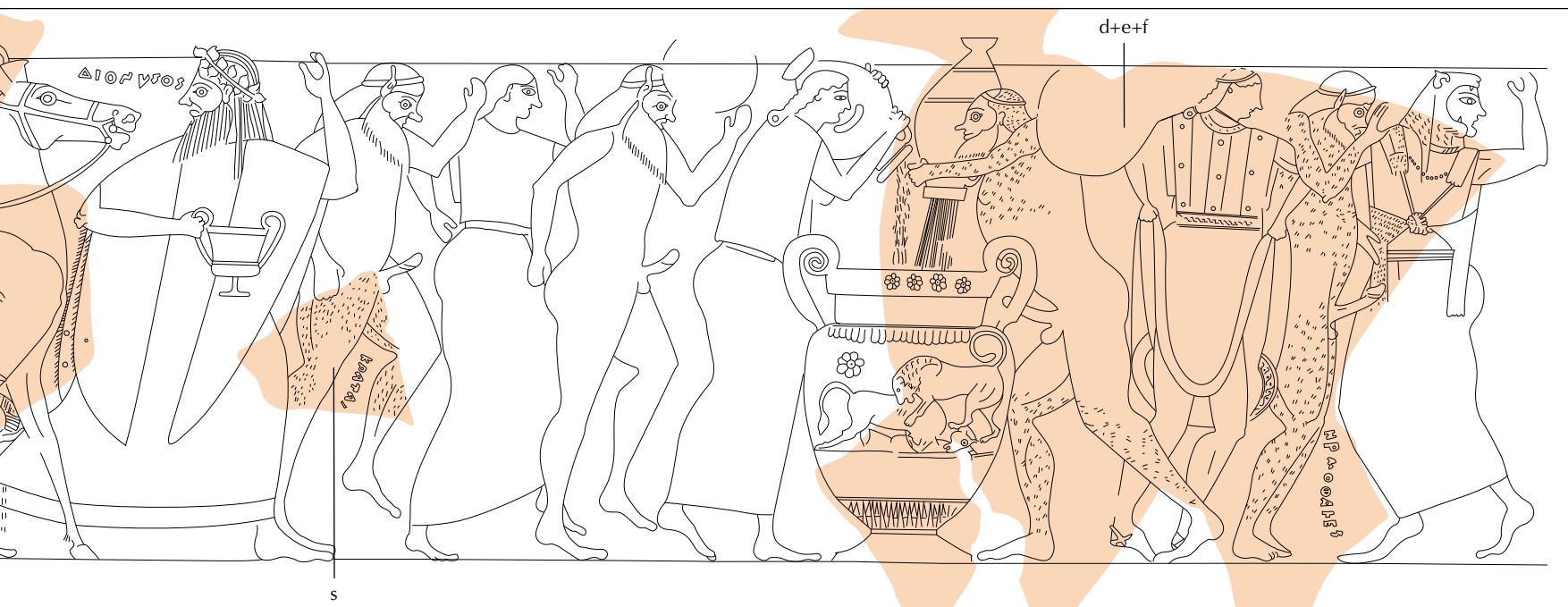
### The Composition below the Left Handle

Four nonjoining fragments (m, n+o+1997.493, p, q; see Figure 1 and also Figure 5) comprise what remains of this scene: a nymph at the left holds a vase, a large volute-krater stands on the ground, and a satyr dips his oinochoe into it to draw wine.<sup>11</sup> Directly below this satyr, Herakles appears

and indicates the beginning of his driving the cattle of Geryon, which proceeds from left to right.

Fragment m preserves part of the torso and legs of a nymph wearing a belted peplos that has a red overfold and a skirt divided vertically by two incised lines. Rows of closely spaced red dots above a red panel decorate the left side; small Xs ornament the right. In front of the nymph is a section of the flanged handle of the volute-krater decorated with ivy leaves. Fragment n+o+1997.493 gives more of the nymph's skirt: part of each panel and, just above the break, a little of the lower border decorated with Ss. Overlapping the skirt is part of the incised tail of a satyr to the left, who belongs with the group to the left of the handle because he moves away from the krater scene. Next is more of the volute-krater: the lower part of the body and a little of the foot in two degrees that looks like a torus above a torus, the lower one in added red.<sup>12</sup> On the body of the krater, the artist incised a chariot team to right (half of the wheel of the vehicle and the hind legs of the horses from the hocks down as well as their front hooves remain; more of them appears on fragment p). Below them is a narrow band of vertical bars with two incised lines above and below; next, two red lines, a zone of glaze, another red line, and a frieze of rosettes between lines. Above the foot were incised rays (just the tips of five are preserved).

At the upper left break of fragment p there is the foot of a vessel held by the nymph and to the right of it is the beginning of an inscription, perhaps a  $\Phi$ .<sup>13</sup> Fragment p preserves



the right side of the volute-krater: its flanged handle, the upper section of the neck decorated with a row of incised rosettes (a white dot in the core of each one, the petals alternating red and black), and the lower section of it painted red and bordered above and below by two incised lines. The preserved foreparts of the team show two trace horses wearing red collars, and the yoke pad on the pole horses is also red. At the left break, above the area where the team's hindquarters were, an eagle (the beak and part of each wing, the covert of one painted red) flies to right.

Fragment n+o+1997.493 shows the calves and feet of a woolly or shaggy satyr, his left foot raised, the right on the ground; fragment p depicts the lower part of his torso and both thighs, also his right forearm, the hand grasping the handle of an oinochoe that he dips into the krater for one last drink before joining the procession.<sup>14</sup>

At the right break of fragment n+o+1997.493 is the white foot of a nymph to right wearing a sandal, its sole and straps



6. The François Vase, an Attic black-figured volute-krater signed by Ergotimos as potter and by Kleitias as painter. Chiusi, ca. 570 B.C. Terra-cotta, H. 26 in. (66 cm). Museo Archeologico Etrusco, Florence (4209). Photographs: Nimatallah / Art Resource, New York. The overall photograph shows the Caledonian boar hunt, the chariot race at the funeral of Patroklos, and the gods arriving after the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. The detail below shows the Return of Hephaistos on the other side of the vase. See also Figure 19.







7. Attic black-figured column-krater attributed to Lydos. Obverse (with detail), showing the Return of Hephaistos. Greek, ca. 550 B.C. Terracotta, H. 22–22 ¼ in. (55.9–56.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1931 (31.11.11). See also Figures 10, 20.



8. Detail of an Attic black-figured band cup attributed to the Oakeshott Painter, showing the Return of Hephaistos. Greek, ca. 550 B.C. Terracotta, H. of cup 6 ½ in. (16.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1917 (17.230.5)

in red,<sup>15</sup> and a little of the border of her peplos decorated with a wavy line. Fragment p preserves most of the red skirt, its belt, and the black overfold decorated with small red dots. Just in front of her at the break is a tied leg of the red wineskin she carries. Overlapping the nymph's skirt is the solid black tail of a satyr to right. Fragment q shows part of the nymph's cheek and the end of her nose painted white, the back of her head with a red fillet, and more of the wineskin, as well as a little bit of a tied leg. Because this nymph and satyr move away from the krater scene, they begin the section of the procession showing Hephaistos on his mule accompanied by Dionysos, as well as more nymphs and satyrs (see Figure 5).

#### *The nymph to the left of the volute-krater*

The nymph's left leg bore her weight and her right leg was back, the heel raised slightly. I reconstructed her head from that of the nymph on fragment q (Figure 1). The small foot of

the vase she holds indicates a closed shape, either an amphora or a hydria. An amphora is a vessel used to store various commodities, especially wine. It would not have an iconographical purpose in this composition because the wine is already in the krater; otherwise the satyr would not be dipping his oinochoe into it. The nymph must therefore be holding a hydria full of water that she will pour into the krater.

In Attic black figure, there are three variants of the hydria: the round-bodied, the shouldered, and the kalpis. The last is not pertinent to this study because it was not invented until the end of the sixth century B.C.<sup>16</sup> The round-bodied hydria has a slightly flaring neck and a spherical body tapering to an echinus foot; it was popular from about 580 B.C. until a little after 550. When I tried drawing this variant, it looked old-fashioned compared with the volute-krater, which is a very accurate representation of a shape better known after the middle of the sixth century B.C. (see Figure 6). The

shouldered hydria, characterized by having the shoulder offset from the body, appears in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. One of the earliest (about 570 B.C.) is attributed to Lydos; the others by him date in the 560s.<sup>17</sup> This type, popular after 540 B.C., lasted until the early fifth century. Normally, the shouldered hydria has a torus mouth and an echinus foot, but on some, the foot is more articulated. I based the reconstruction of the hydria held by the nymph rather generally on a hydria in the Metropolitan Museum of about 560–550 B.C. that was decorated by an unidentified artist contemporary with the painter of our column-krater (Figure 9).<sup>18</sup> This hydria has the typical torus mouth, a slightly concave glazed neck, and a gently sloping shoulder, the body tapering to a foot in two degrees, which is probably a little wider in proportion to the diameter of the mouth than the one I reconstructed.<sup>19</sup> The positioning of the handles in the drawing reflects their placement on shouldered hydriai made around the middle of the sixth century B.C. The horizontal handles attach to the body slightly below the shoulder; in back, the vertical handle rises from the shoulder to the top of the mouth. The nymph clasps the hydria tightly, bracing it against her left shoulder, as she prepares to empty its contents into the krater.<sup>20</sup>

#### *The satyr to the right of the volute-krater*

The preserved handle (fragment c; see Figures 1, 36) was originally attached just above the satyr dipping his oinochoe into the krater; the brownish misfiring of the glaze on its right column matches that on the satyr. This position of the handle column caused the satyr to duck beneath it much like one of his counterparts on Lydos's column-krater (Figure 10).<sup>21</sup> Judging from the space available for our satyr's left arm, I suggest it was raised and bent sharply at the elbow, the hand empty. I based it loosely on the satyr named Hermothales in the scene next to the right handle (see Figures 3, 5, 23), only reversed. For his head, I relied on that of Molpaios, the piping satyr behind Hephaistos (see Figures 2, 5, 12). An oddity of this satyr is that he lacks a tail, as those nearest Hephaistos and probably the one at the right handle do also. This is an unexpected omission, since a horse's tail is as intrinsic a feature of a satyr as his equine ears and snub nose.<sup>22</sup> Cornelia Isler-Kerényi remarked that "more than once there are some satyrs without a tail, an allusion . . . to the metamorphosis from [padded] dancer to satyr."<sup>23</sup> This explanation would be plausible if fully formed satyrs, with or without tails, occurred in Attic black figure only after the initial appearance of padded dancers, about 580 B.C., but such is not the case. The earliest satyrs are contemporary with the first padded dancers and may be dated about 590–580 B.C. The three best-preserved satyrs are the one astride a mule on a lekythos in the manner of the Gorgon Painter and two by Sophilos, one grasping a nymph by the arm, the



9. Unattributed Attic black-figured hydria. Greek, ca. 560–550 B.C. Terracotta, H. 19¾ in. (50.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Bothmer Purchase Fund, 1988 (1988.11.3)



10. Detail of the side of the column-krater in Figure 7



other in a file of satyrs.<sup>24</sup> Darrell Amyx remarked that “padded dancers are not the precursors of satyrs, but are instead purely human characters dressed in a special costume for specific religious and ritualistic events” and that “padded dancers are ‘simply ordinary people made up in a particular way,’ to celebrate a particular occasion. The nature of that occasion has been, and still is, a matter for human speculation, for there is no general agreement on the answer to this question.”<sup>25</sup> What the padded dancer and the satyr often have in common is the dancing motion: arms akimbo, one leg weight-bearing, the other raised and bent at the knee.

As for the satyr without a tail, there may be a simpler explanation than a metamorphosis from a dancer to a satyr. John Boardman wrote that “satyrs seem to have been invented by Athenian artists by about 580 B.C. They are never really involved in myth, . . . but they attend Dionysos on events such as the Return of Hephaistos.”<sup>26</sup> This is an important observation because all of the satyrs without tails known to me, with one exception,<sup>27</sup> seem rather tame and high-spirited but not unruly or threatening, and they are all connected with Dionysos. The satyrs on the Metropolitan column-krater are cheerful, amiable fellows, even the inebriated one on fragment b+g+h (see Figures 2, 16). Another reason for the omission of a tail may simply be lack of space. On the obverse of the column-krater, the tail would interfere with the harmony of the composition, as I realized when I tried drawing a tail on the satyr pouring wine into the krater on fragment d+e+f (see Figures 3, 5).<sup>28</sup>

### *The volute-krater*

The most important component of the scene at the left handle (see Figure 1) is the volute-krater, the grandest of the kraters.<sup>29</sup> Few preserved volute-kraters may be dated before 550 B.C. Most famous is the François Vase (ca. 570 B.C.; see Figure 6), but also important is the fragmentary example in Izmir found in Phocaea and attributed to the Fallow Deer Painter. It may be dated about 560 B.C.<sup>30</sup> Although the rest of the early volute-kraters are very fragmentary, they nonetheless provide details pertinent to the volute-krater depicted here.

Before the middle of the sixth century B.C., the volute-krater did not have an offset rim, and the handle spirals rested on the flat top side of the neck. Those of the François Vase are attached in this manner, and those of the Izmir krater probably were too. Today, its handles are missing, but the absence of an offset rim above the neck indicates this attachment was likely.<sup>31</sup> This is exactly the arrangement on fragment p (see Figures 1, 5, 11), including the line accenting the outer edge of the neck.<sup>32</sup> On all three kraters, the two parts of the neck flare, the ones on fragment p a little more sharply than those of the François Vase and the one in Izmir, but this difference is marginal. Also, our painter accurately observed the handle, noting not only how the spiral rests on

the top side of the neck, but also how the upright loop supporting the flange looks in profile.<sup>33</sup> The flanges of the painted krater’s handles are decorated with ivy, a conceit standard on later Attic black-figured volute-kraters as well as on the handle flanges of amphorae Type A.<sup>34</sup> A chain of double palmettes ornaments the handles of the François Vase. There is no way of knowing how the handle flanges of the other contemporary volute-kraters were decorated because none survives, but ivy appears elsewhere, for example on the upper part of the neck of a proto-volute-krater in the Metropolitan Museum attributed to Sophilos, dating about 580–570 B.C.<sup>35</sup> Given the narrow space for decoration of the handle flanges, our painter opted for a simpler ornament, but one that is very effective.

The rosettes on the volute-krater, particularly those on the upper part of the neck, are especially decorative with alternate petals in added red and a white dot in each core. The rosette is a common ornament, but these compare best with some by the Painter of London B 76, an artist active in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.<sup>36</sup> The difference is that on vases by this painter and his contemporaries the petals of the rosettes are separated only by a short incised line because they appear against the reserved background. On fragment p, they are incised in the black glaze and each petal is fully articulated. Below the rosettes, just above the break, there are the tips of five incised rays; it is uncertain whether they were stacked as they are on fragment d+e+f (Figure 3). My guess is they were.

The figures on the body of the volute-krater, as well as those on the krater below the right handle (fragment d+e+f; see Figure 3), are its most important feature. These, along with the figured kantharos incised on a hydria in the J. Paul Getty Museum (see Figure 21), are the earliest preserved examples of this unusual choice of decoration, a figured vase painted on a figured vase.<sup>37</sup> The model for my reconstruction of the missing parts of the horses is the team on the handle plate, fragment c (see Figure 36). There is no way to know if an eagle flew above the hindquarters of these horses on fragment c, but one may have.<sup>38</sup> The chariot on the handle plate also provided the model for the missing half of the wheel, all of the box, rail, and breast work, as well as the driver who stands in the vehicle well back of the axle.<sup>39</sup> There was no passenger beside the charioteer on the handle. When I drew just one figure in the chariot on the volute-krater, there was too much empty space. Introducing a warrior not only filled this area, but also enhanced the narrative. To sum up, the harmony of shape, ornament, and figures indicates that not only was our painter very familiar with this type of krater and its details, but he was also able to show us how contemporary volute-kraters, known today only from fragments, may have looked when they were intact.



## The Central Group: Hephaistos, Dionysos, Satyrs and Nymphs

The main figures on the obverse of our column-krater (Figure 2, and see also Figure 5) are Hephaistos on his mule accompanied by Dionysos, satyrs, and nymphs. This scene begins on fragment p (Figure 11) with the nymph carrying the wineskin and the satyr in front of her (just his tail remains) moving to right. After these two figures, there is a missing area before we come to the three fragments that preserve the section of the composition depicting Hephaistos and the figures nearest him, fragments b+g+h, l, and s (Figures 12–14).<sup>40</sup>

### *Philoposia and Molpaios*

At the far left of fragment b+g+h (see Figures 2, 5), just below the ornament on the shoulder, there is a bit of black glaze that may be the raised hand of the nymph who faces left. All that remains of her on this fragment are the top of her head and her hair tied up with a red fillet.<sup>41</sup> Written behind her is ΦΙΛΟΠΟΣΙΑ (Philoposia, love of drinking).<sup>42</sup> More interesting is the satyr behind Philoposia whose name is also inscribed: ΜΟΛΠΑΙΟΣ, retrograde (Molpaios means rhythmic or tuneful, which is appropriate because he plays the aulos).<sup>43</sup> Preserved are his head and left shoulder (Figure 12) and part of his buttock and thigh. His long hair and beard are red, and he has a shaggy coat. He also has no tail, just like the satyr on fragment p.<sup>44</sup> Fragment l (Figure 13), one of a group of fragments (see also Figures 14, 26–34) not included in the assemblages shown in the gallery (Figures 1–3), preserves the lower left leg and foot of Molpaios and the feet of Philoposia, as well as the right foot and raised left leg and foot of a shaggy satyr dancing toward them.<sup>45</sup> Of Philoposia, there is the lower part of her peplos decorated with a border of Ss and her feet shod with sandals like those of the nymph on fragment n+o+1997.493 (see



11. Detail of Figure 1 (fragment p), showing the satyr standing next to the volute-krater



12. Detail of Figure 2 (fragment b+g+h), showing the heads of Molpaios and Hephaistos



13. Fragment l of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the lower legs and feet of two shaggy satyrs, the feet and lower drapery of a nymph, and, in the frieze below, part of the head, neck, and shoulder of a bull. H. 5 in. (12.8 cm)

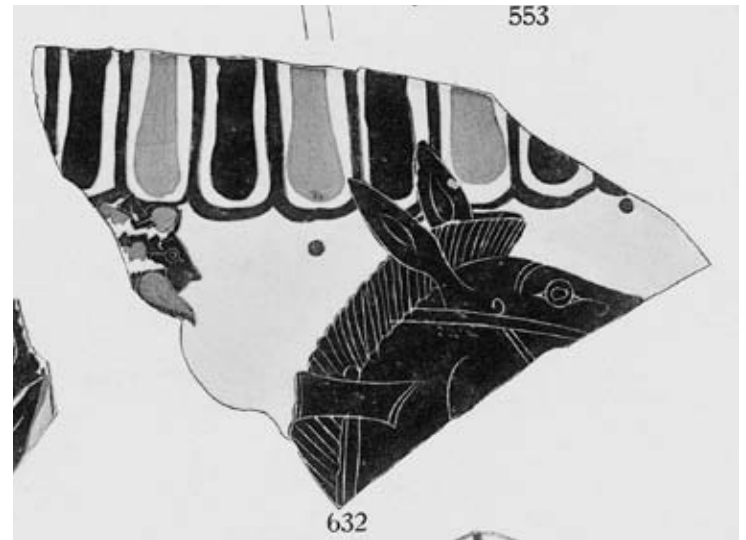
Figures 1, 5). It was difficult to incorporate the tracing of this fragment into the reconstruction drawing because of its strong vertical curve and the degree to which the foot of Molpaios overlaps the remaining parts of Philoposia. When I tried to “stretch” the ground line, the result made the fragment look very distorted, but I believe this is where fragment l belongs in the composition.<sup>46</sup> In the reconstruction (Figure 5), I inserted a tracing of the preserved parts of Philoposia and Molpaios on fragment l into the appropriate part of the composition and drew the rest of the figures free-hand. Comparison of Figure 13 with Figure 5 indicates where the photograph differs from the drawing, mainly the left foot of Molpaios overlapping the skirt of Philoposia’s peplos.

I opted to depict Philoposia dressed in a belted peplos, one arm raised, the other lowered, and one foot on the ground, the other raised slightly. Filling in the missing parts of Molpaios produced surprising results. Drawing his arms and hands, then the aulos, was quite easy and, at first glance, it looks as if one foot touched the ground overlapping the

14. Fragment s of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing part of Dionysos and the legs of a shaggy satyr. H. 3 7/8 in. (9.7 cm)



15. Fragment of an unattributed column-krater depicting the Return of Hephaistos, showing the head of Hephaistos and the head of his mule. Ca. 560 B.C. Terra-cotta, H. 3 1/2 in. (9 cm). Akropolis Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens (632). Photograph: Graef and Langlotz 1925–33, vol. 2, pl. 25, no. 632



hindquarters of the mule. But this is not possible because his leg would be much too long. Rather, he is either sitting on the hindquarters of the mule or, more likely, sliding off them. I do not know a parallel for this most unusual detail, but there are other unexpected features in this part of the composition, such as the satyr reclining on the ground looking out at the viewer. Reconstruction of the dancing satyr on fragment l is quite tentative. I also drew him freehand, relying on parts of other satyrs, namely the one named Hermothales and the one on fragment s who was dancing (Figures 3, 14, and see Figure 5).

#### *Hephaistos on the mule*

Hephaistos sits astride his ithyphallic mule moving slowly to right looking very dignified and not the least bit drunk (see Figures 2, 12). His hair is long, his beard neatly trimmed. He wears a red cloak over a short white pleated chiton and an ivy wreath around his head, the leaves alternating red and black. On his right foot is a laced-up red boot. Written in front of his face is: **ΗΕΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ**. In his right hand Hephaistos holds the reins and in his left an ax, one of the earliest preserved examples of this attribute in the representations of the Return to Olympus. An unattributed fragment of a column-krater, found on the Akropolis and dating about 560 B.C. (Figure 15), also depicts this object.<sup>47</sup> The Akropolis fragment shows most of the god's face and red beard, part of the head, ears and neck of his mule, and the head of the ax with part of the handle. Hephaistos with his ax appears earlier in illustrations of the Birth of Athena,<sup>48</sup> which very likely prompted painters to include it in scenes of the Return to Olympus, because it is an attribute that identifies him as a master craftsman. The length of the handle varies and sometimes may be rather long. The parts of Hephaistos that had to be reconstructed were minimal, chiefly a little of his cloak and parts of his right hand and thigh (Figure 5).

#### *The mule*

The mule on our krater (see Figures 2, 5) is an elegant animal worthy of its immortal rider. Preserved are its long ears, much of its neck and mane, all of its body, its right foreleg but for the hoof, and the start of the left, as well as a little of both hind legs including the left hind hoof. Red accents the incised line defining the shoulder bone, as well as the arcs incised on its shoulder and hindquarter, also its ribs. In the reconstruction drawing, the head of Hephaistos's mule on the column-krater by Lydos (Figure 7) was my model, but I opted for a plain eye rather than the decorative one Lydos incised. The tail is based on that of the mule ridden by Hephaistos in the Return scene on the François Vase (Figure 6). I drew the missing parts of the mule's hind legs and all of the tail freehand. Because the mane on fragment b+g+h (Figure 2) is so carefully incised, I chose to incise the tail as well so it would look more luxuriant and add texture to this part of the composition. The cheek strap of the headstall of the bridle is indicated by a double line, not a single one as on the mule by Lydos; the start of the cheek strap remains on fragment b+g+h, but today it is covered by one of the clamps that support the fragment in the exhibition vitrine.<sup>49</sup> On his column-krater, Lydos included the brow band and throatlatch, but very likely only the upper half of the noseband, which on an actual bridle encircles the muzzle just above the mouth. Omitting the lower half of the noseband is the way Lydos usually drew this strap of the headstall, and I decided on the same arrangement for fragment b+g+h.<sup>50</sup> Inscribed above Hephaistos's ax is **ΟΝΟΣ** (onos, ass).<sup>51</sup>

#### *The inebriated satyr*

Along the left side of the mule, an inebriated shaggy satyr lies on the ground staring out at the viewer (Figures 2, 16). A large red dot defines the pupil of each eye. Most of his body and all of his right arm, the hand grasping the lower



leg of a hoofed animal, remain,<sup>52</sup> as do his left forearm and hand balancing a cup, indicating that he probably plans to drink some more. The position of this forearm indicates he supported himself on his left elbow (his shoulder and nearly all of the upper arm are lost). His right thigh is raised, the leg probably bent at the knee; his left leg was folded back very sharply for his foot is visible next to the left hind hoof of the mule. This satyr, like Molpaïos and the one on fragment p, has no tail. Inscribed between the satyr and the belly of the mule is *OYKALETON* (Oukalegon, nothing worries me).<sup>53</sup>

The satyr's frontal face draws attention not only to himself, but also to Hephaistos and Dionysos, the central figures on this side of the krater. Beazley observed that "in archaic painting the frontal face is not used haphazard."<sup>54</sup> The satyr behind Hephaistos on Lydos's krater (Figure 7) looks out at the viewer with his arms raised and his legs bent. Were he to stand he would be taller than the other figures in the scene, thus emphasizing his role, which is to focus attention on Hephaistos; likewise the satyr near Dionysos on the other side of that krater. See also the satyr with the frontal face on the Oakeshott Painter's cup, which depicts the Return of Hephaistos (Figure 8).<sup>55</sup> On the Amasis Painter's famous amphora in Würzburg, a cheerful-looking satyr peers out at the viewer while he pours wine from a rather full skin into the kantharos of a tipsy Dionysos.<sup>56</sup> Figures with frontal faces normally stand, so our drunken satyr reclining on the ground is exceptional.<sup>57</sup>

Reconstructing Oukalegon's legs and the left side of his face with beard and ear was not difficult (see Figure 5). More of a challenge was to draw his missing upper left arm and elbow, which, as we shall see, were overlapped by part of Dionysos, who appeared in front of the mule. What remains of the satyr's right shoulder is particularly brawny, and the start of his upper left arm just above the forearm indicates that it too was muscular. The painter's drawing here is a little imprecise, so reconstruction of this area may not be quite accurate. The satyr's left elbow did not rest on the ground line. Below his left forearm and overlapped by the right heel of Dionysos, there is part of an object that must have been lying on the ground, and presumably it supported the satyr's elbow. All that remain are a small, incised hook and a pair of very short lines that do not match the incisions on the shaggy satyr. Just above the modern break there are two narrowly spaced horizontal lines, and there is a little more glaze below Dionysos's heel. One thinks of a pillow, but pillows usually appear in scenes set indoors, and on Attic black-figured vases they are plain or decorated with an incised line or two. A wineskin comes to mind, but normally wineskins are plain (see Figure 6).<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, wineskins used as pillows usually appear on Attic black-figured vases of the late sixth century B.C. and on red-



16. Detail of Figure 2 (fragment b+g+h), showing an inebriated satyr

figured ones of the fifth. During the middle decades of the sixth century B.C., wineskins are not depicted very often. But even without a good contemporary parallel, it is very tempting to suggest that a wineskin supports our satyr as he looks out at us. A rather good later counterpart is the lively reclining satyr painted on the front of the wheel-made rim of MMA 12.234.5, a head vase by the Brygos Painter, dating about 490–480 B.C. (Figure 17).<sup>59</sup> He is quite similar to the satyr on fragment b+g+h, and his wineskin shows very clearly how one leg of the skin is tied so the wine will not spill, and how it folds back on itself, indicating it is partly empty. This satyr holds a pair of *krotala* (castanets) and looks back, his left leg raised, his right outstretched on the ground. If the object supporting our black-figured satyr is a wineskin, then what remains might be the end of one leg and the pair of incised lines its tie. Since our painter favored shaggy satyrs, he might very well have articulated the pelt of the wineskin this way, even though the wineskin carried by the nymph on fragments p and q (Figure 1) is painted red. There is, however, a good parallel for a wineskin decorated with rows of incised dots, even if it is not being used as a pillow.

17. Detail of the rim of an Attic red-figured kantharos in the form of two female heads attributed to the Brygos Painter, showing a satyr playing castanets and reclining against a wineskin. Greek, ca. 490–480 B.C. Terracotta, H. 7¾ in. (19.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.234.5)





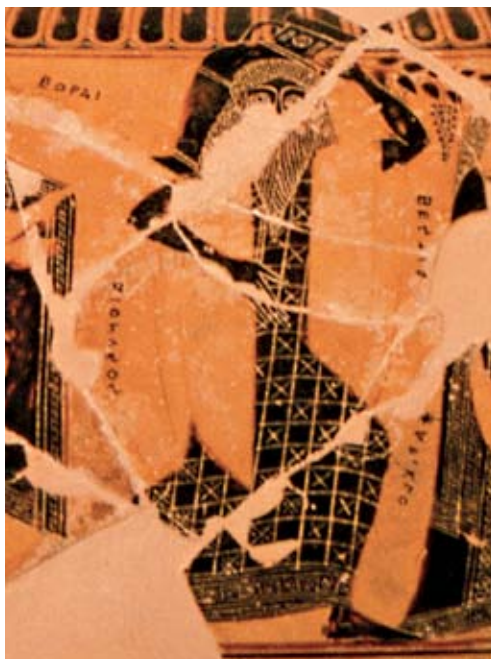


18. Detail of an Attic cup with merrythought handles signed by Ergotimos as potter. Greek, ca. 560 B.C. Terracotta, Diam. 7½ in. (19 cm). Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (V.I.3151). Photograph: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, New York

Oreios carries it on the unattributed cup in Berlin signed by Ergotimos as potter and dating about 560 B.C.; it depicts the Capture of Silenos (Figure 18).<sup>60</sup> Thus, in the reconstruction drawing (Figure 5), I tentatively suggest that the satyr reclines against a wineskin, which was mostly overlapped by Dionysos.

Two details around the inebriated satyr (see Figure 16) at present defy explanation. The first is the enigmatic area of glaze between the satyr's left buttock and left foot and the ground line; more of it appears behind the left hind hoof of the mule. The incision defining the contour of the satyr's buttock and thigh is clear, but what the glaze below it represents is not. The other puzzling detail is the loop that projects above the satyr's rib cage. It looks like the handle of a dipper similar to the one held by the satyr on fragment p (Figures 1, 11), except that it makes no sense here, because there is no one to hold it. The loop also resembles the curved tail of a feline, but this will not work because the area where the

19. Detail of Figure 6, showing Dionysos



rest of the animal would have to appear is reserved. For now, therefore, I have no explanation for these two areas of glaze.

### Dionysos

The next figure in the procession is Dionysos (see Figure 5). Very little of him remains, but there are good parallels for the reconstruction I propose: he strides to right, torso and shoulders frontal, head turned back to face Hephaistos. Dionysos wears a long chiton with a cloak over both shoulders and very likely an ivy wreath around his head. Since most of the figures are named, Dionysos's name was probably written in the space above the mule's head.

Fragment b+g+h preserves Dionysos's raised right heel next to the inebriated satyr's left forearm, and at the right break opposite the mule's neck and chest there is a little of the back and front of the god's cloak edged with fringe, his right elbow, and the start of his forearm (Figure 2). The cloak covered all of his right shoulder and upper arm but was overlapped by the forearm, leaving it and the hand free. More of Dionysos appears at the far left of fragment s (Figure 14): a little of the god's fringed cloak and the skirt of his chiton painted a dull red.<sup>61</sup>

The general pose of Dionysos was comparable to that of Dionysos in the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the François Vase (Figure 19): torso and shoulders in front view, left leg forward and bent at the knee, right leg back probably with the heel raised fairly high. Even the position of his arms was helpful for the reconstruction. Dionysos on the cup by the Oakeshott Painter (Figure 8) is even more similar to the pose I suggest.<sup>62</sup> Since the satyr with the frontal face on fragment b+g+h draws attention to both Hephaistos and Dionysos, there was no need for Dionysos to look at the viewer. Turning his head toward Hephaistos emphasizes their shared responsibilities. I modeled Dionysos's head on that of Hephaistos but enlarged it and gave him a longer beard, which is typical for Dionysos, and for contrast I incised his long locks of hair instead of leaving them solid black as our painter did for some of his other figures, including Hephaistos (see Figure 5). This adds texture that complements the shaggy coats of the satyrs and the colorful white chiton and red cloak and boot worn by Hephaistos. I also made Dionysos's head overlap the ornament a little bit so his face would be at the same height in the composition as that of Hephaistos. Dionysos's garments are rather subdued, although originally the red of his chiton may have been brighter. Small red dots strewn over the surface of his cloak and the short fringe accenting the edges are decorative touches.<sup>63</sup>

We come now to the position of each arm. I suggest that Dionysos raised his left arm as he does in the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, except that his hand held nothing. Instead, this is a gesture of exclamation or excitement. Of more interest is his now-missing right hand. The little that remains

of Dionysos's right elbow indicates the arm was bent almost at a right angle, with the forearm about horizontal. It is likely that his right hand was not empty but held something. There are three choices: a branch with ivy leaves or bunches of grapes, a drinking horn, or a kantharos.

On Lydos's column-krater, Dionysos holds a drinking horn and ivy in his raised left hand and a branch laden with grapes in his right (Figure 20). Because the god stands very quietly in this scene, there is more space around him than there is on fragments b+g+h and s, where he moves forward in a lively manner. A little later, the Oakeshott Painter gave Dionysos an ivy branch as well as a kantharos (Figure 8), but on this cup, there is plenty of space and no figure overlaps another. In our composition, introducing a branch, either of ivy or with grapes, would disrupt the balance between textures and colors as well as the rhythm between the figures and the background. A drinking horn is a common attribute for Dionysos, and in many scenes he holds one as he does on the column-krater in Figure 20, but when I drew a drinking horn held in his right hand, it diminished his dignified manner considerably because it had to be held upright and be small enough not to overlap his beard, let alone his face. In Attic black figure, Dionysos usually holds the drinking horn against the reserved background of the composition.<sup>64</sup>

I propose instead that Dionysos held a kantharos in his right hand (see Figure 5). The kantharos was man-made and therefore different from the drinking horn, which was acquired from the slaughter of an animal. Isler-Kerényi considers the drinking horn a vessel used in a primitive phase of wine imbibing, "the antithesis of the civilized world," and that it recalls "a previous period, when vessels used for drinking wine made by man—the skyphoi and kylikes—were not yet used. Instead, containers acquired through sacrifice from the animal realm were used."<sup>65</sup> In scenes on Greek vases, the kantharos is very metallic-looking, and surely the painters intended the kantharos held by Dionysos to imitate those made of metal, not clay.<sup>66</sup> With its tall handles, flaring body, and slender stem terminating in a thin flat foot, it is an elegant shape, befitting an Olympian god, and it became the preferred vessel for Dionysos, even though the drinking horn never entirely disappeared.

The earliest preserved representation of the kantharos appears on a late seventh-century B.C. Cycladic amphora in the Archaeological Museum on Melos. In this scene, a dignified-looking man, identified as Dionysos because he holds a kantharos, stands to right facing a woman holding out her veil (an early example of the bridal gesture), who is probably Ariadne, the god's wife.<sup>67</sup> When the kantharos appears on Attic black-figured vases in the early decades of the sixth century B.C., it is not held by Dionysos, but by komasts (revelers). Good examples are those on two skyphoi and a cup by the KX Painter and on a dinos connected



with the Painter of the Dresden Lekanis.<sup>68</sup> On the dinos in London signed by Sophilos, Peleus holds out a kantharos as he greets his wedding guests, and on the François Vase by Kleitias, in the scene of the same subject, a kantharos stands on an altar in front of Peleus.<sup>69</sup>

Images of Dionysos holding a kantharos in Attic black figure first appear during the time our painter was decorating the Metropolitan's column-krater, not in the 540s B.C., as Thomas Carpenter thought.<sup>70</sup> One occurs on Munich 1447, an amphora dated about 560 B.C. that Beazley attributed to an artist near the Painter of Acropolis 606. Dionysos stands quietly before a dancing satyr, his kantharos very metallic-looking. See also Dionysos on the cup by the Oakeshott Painter (Figure 8). Another example appears on an unattributed fragmentary skyphos dated about 550 B.C., or a little earlier, which was dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis. Dionysos's name is inscribed, and he holds out his kantharos very proudly. A fourth example is Dionysos on the shoulder of an unattributed hydria of about 550 B.C. in Florence. A fifth representation, contemporary with our column-krater, occurs on a hydria in the J. Paul Getty Museum, attributed to the wider circle of Lydos by Herbert Cahn and dated about 560–550 B.C. (Figure 21). On this vase, an incised horse and rider decorate Dionysos's large black kantharos, and he is accompanied by a woman holding out her veil, the pair facing Poseidon.<sup>71</sup> The style of drawing on the Metropolitan column-krater is closer to that

20. Detail of the reverse of Figure 7, showing Dionysos with a maenad and two satyrs



21. Detail of an Attic black-figured hydria attributed to the wider circle of Lydos, showing Dionysos, Ariadne, and Poseidon. Greek, ca. 560–550 B.C. Terra-cotta, H. 15¼ in. (38.5 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, Villa Collection (86.AE.113)



on the Malibu hydria than it is to that on the other four vases; therefore I used this kantharos as the model in my reconstruction. In such a monumental representation of the Return of Hephaistos, it is more appropriate for Dionysos to hold an elegant metal kantharos than a common animal horn. In any case, these examples, as well as the above discussion, offer compelling evidence that during the decade 560–550 B.C. the kantharos began to be the preferred vessel held by the god of wine.

The background between the incised contour of the mule's neck and chest and Dionysos is glazed, and the glaze extends downward between the animal's left foreleg and the top of the reclining satyr's head. This is an area one expects to be reserved. I have no explanation for what is represented, and there is no clue such as added color or incision.

### *The dancing satyr*

Most of fragment s depicts the thigh and calf of the shaggy satyr in front of Dionysos (Figure 14). What remains indicates that the right leg was straight and was overlapped a bit by Dionysos's chiton, and the left leg was bent rather sharply at the knee and the foot raised. He is an animated dancing satyr named KPATAI[OΣ] (Krataios means strong).<sup>72</sup> Since so little is preserved, I tentatively suggest he was in profile to right, one arm lowered, the other raised, and he may have had a fillet around his head, similar to the satyrs on fragment d+e+f (see Figure 3). A tantalizing bit of glaze and added red appear at the break in the lower right and represent the sandal of a nymph (a little of the red strap at the back and the heel). See fragments l, i+j, and r (Figures 13, 25, 26).

### **The Composition below the Right Handle**

Fragment d+e+f (Figure 3) preserves about two-thirds of the scene at this handle.<sup>73</sup> A shaggy satyr stands to left emptying wine from a one-piece amphora into a large krater placed on the ground. What remains are his head with receding hairline (the hair stippled), indicating he is an older satyr; his long red beard; his left arm; part of his portly torso; and his lower legs, the right forward and bent at the knee, the left back with the heel raised. Around his head is a thin red fillet. An odd feature of this satyr is that he has a human ear instead of an equine one (Figure 22).<sup>74</sup> The satyr's left thumb is looped through one handle of the amphora to help steady it against his right shoulder. Accessory red accents the mouth of the vase, and there is a wide red band below the maximum diameter of the body. In front of the satyr's chest are three letters of his name: EOI.<sup>75</sup> Next to the handle of the amphora is the red torus mouth, a little of the neck, and the start of the vertical handle of a hydria from which water gushes into the krater to mix with the wine. I believe the hydria is held by a nymph, not by another satyr (see Figure 5).<sup>76</sup> Both liquids are drawn in dilute glaze.

The krater into which the satyr pours wine is an elaborate vessel. Decorating the upper part of the neck are incised rosettes, the petals alternating red and black, and the lower part of it is red; then comes a row of white dots between an incised line above and below, next a zone of black tongues on the shoulder at the junction with the neck. On the body, a fierce lion brings down a large bull. This is a motif borrowed from the Near East that was a frequent subject in sixth-century B.C. Greek art, especially in Athens.<sup>77</sup> What remains of the lion are its lower jaw seizing the bull's back just behind the shoulder, part of its ruff (parallel incised lines), its neck with incised S-shaped locks of mane, much of its body, all of its legs, and the end of its tail. Of the bull, just the foreparts, some of its body, and one hind leg are preserved; red decorates its neck and belly. Below these figures, there is a wide band of accessory red between two lines above and below, then a zone of incised stacked rays. An incised fillet separates the body from the foot, which was not in two degrees like that on fragment n+o+1997.493 (see Figure 1), because there is no line separating the two parts.<sup>78</sup> The rest of the figures on this fragment belong to the procession on the back of the vase (see below).

The nymph pouring water from the hydria was probably similar to her counterpart at the left handle (see Figures 1, 5), and I based my drawing of her on this one with only minor adjustments for the different manner in which she holds the vessel. Filling in the missing parts of the satyr was relatively uncomplicated because so much of him is preserved. When I drew the contour of his shoulder and back, it became clear that the handle root overlapped them a little bit. Originally I opted to give him a tail, but when I saw how a tail interrupted the folds of the peplos worn by the nymph behind him, I omitted it.

We may return now to the krater between the satyr and the nymph. The defining feature of a column-krater and a volute-krater is the handle, and since the handles are not preserved, I had to guess which type of vessel this is. Anneliese Kossatz-Deissmann thought it was an amphora, not a krater, but the mouth is too wide for an amphora.<sup>79</sup> Also, wine and water would not be poured into an amphora because the mixed liquid was to be consumed, not stored. Werner Oenbrink identified the shape as a column-krater, based on the one drawn by the Amasis Painter on his fragmentary amphora of about 540–530 B.C. excavated in the Heraion at Samos, somewhat later than the Metropolitan's fragmentary column-krater.<sup>80</sup> Jasper Gaunt thought the painter may have drawn a column-krater, but he did not elaborate except to write that "the foot seems to have been an echinus."<sup>81</sup>

Two features argue against identifying the vase as a column-krater. The first is the zone of stacked rays above the foot, which occurs on Attic black-figured vases decorated by artists of the first generation who were active in the late





22. Detail of Figure 3 (fragment d+e+f), showing the satyr pouring wine

seventh century B.C.<sup>82</sup> From the first half of the sixth century B.C. there are very few examples of stacked rays on Attic vases, and as far as I know they do not occur on column-kraters or volute-kraters.<sup>83</sup> This is not surprising. During these decades, the shape of the Attic column-krater was strongly influenced by Corinthian examples, which have single rays above the foot,<sup>84</sup> and the canonical volute-krater did not appear until early in the second quarter. As discussed above, the known examples of the volute-kraters are very fragmentary. Furthermore, the Metropolitan column-krater has a single row of rays above the foot (Figures 2, 3).<sup>85</sup> Since the painter of MMA 1997.388 was so attentive to details of shape and ornament, if the representation on fragment d+e+f (Figure 3) were a column-krater, it would not have stacked rays, but only a single row. The second feature that argues against identifying the vase on fragment d+e+f as a column-krater is the profile of the foot. Before 550 B.C. and even a little later, the foot was a simple echinus, which has a convex profile.<sup>86</sup> The top side of the foot of the krater depicted on fragment d+e+f is slightly concave and thus is a different shape.<sup>87</sup>

Other criteria offer additional reasons for identifying the vase as a volute-krater. When I tried to reconstruct the

handle of a column-krater on a vase with so much ornamental and figural decoration, it looked awkward. A volute-krater handle with its elegant spiral and embellished flange appears more plausible. Furthermore, a second volute-krater balances the one at the left handle, and the two frame the composition on the obverse.

The figural decoration incised on the volute-krater at the right handle shows a lion bringing down a bull. Usually, two lions attack the bull, creating a symmetrical composition well suited to temple pediments, such as those on the Athenian Akropolis. Occasionally, there is just one lion when space for two is lacking.<sup>88</sup> This was the case here, but when I reconstructed the missing hindquarters and tail of the bull (Figure 5), which stretch across the ground line, too much empty space remained in the upper left. In this area, I suggest there was a rosette, just as there is above the bull in a similar composition on the François Vase, only there the figures are reversed.<sup>89</sup> I modeled the rosette on those on the neck of the volute-krater at the left handle (see Figure 1).

Kraters were used for mixing wine and water, and the ancient literary sources emphasize that civilized people did not drink their wine full strength. Only non-Greeks, such as Scythians, or wild creatures like centaurs, indulged in this unacceptable practice.<sup>90</sup> Among the gods only Dionysos drank unmixed wine.<sup>91</sup> Wine is key in this myth; without it, Hephaistos probably would not have returned to Olympus. The two extraordinary kraters painted on the Metropolitan column-krater indicate how keenly aware our artist was of the significance of wine in the myth, as well as that it must be mixed with water. At the left handle (Figures 1, 5), the nymph is about to empty the water in her hydria into the volute-krater, which already contains the wine. A slightly different moment is shown in the scene at the right handle (Figure 3), namely both liquids being poured into the krater simultaneously. This feature is most unusual and may even be unique. François Lissarrague remarked that the painters do not show the “practice of the essential mixing of the wine and water. . . . When a *krater* is shown being filled, it is the wine which is shown, never the water.”<sup>92</sup> The krater on fragment d+e+f (Figure 3) offers irrefutable evidence of an exception to this conclusion. Our artist distinguished the two liquids, not only by their containers, a hydria and an amphora, but also by the appearance of each. The mouth of the amphora is wide enough to allow the wine to flow freely in a steady stream, even when the vessel is held vertically, as on fragment d+e+f.<sup>93</sup> By contrast, the hydria has a narrow mouth and neck compared with its broad shoulder. When a full hydria is held upside down or even at an angle, the water will not pour forth easily, but gurgles as it empties out. Only when the hydria is partly empty, does the water flow in a steady stream.<sup>94</sup> Our artist understood the difference.

### The Two Missing Sections

On the obverse of our column-krater, reconstruction of the preserved sections of the composition did not fill the available space, which is 33 inches (83.7 cm) from the midpoint below each handle. I think it is possible to suggest what the missing figures in these gaps may have looked like. First of all, there is a rhythm in the composition: a satyr always alternates with a nymph, except for the central group of Hephaistos and Dionysos. At the right of fragment p there is the tail of a satyr to right (Figure 1), and at the left of fragment l (Figure 13, and see Figure 5) there are both feet and the calf of the left leg of a satyr dancing to right in front of Philoposia and Molpaios. From this admittedly slender evidence, I reconstructed the two satyrs by combining parts of the better-preserved ones in the composition (Figure 5). This left space for another figure, which I believe was a nymph, and for her I used the same procedure. These three figures nicely fitted the estimated space of about 7 inches (18 cm) with a degree of overlapping comparable to the preserved parts of the composition. I drew freehand most of Krataios, whose legs are partly preserved on fragment s (Figure 14), relying on other satyrs for his missing parts. Between Krataios and the nymph pouring water into the krater below the right handle, there is an estimated gap of about 4 inches (10 cm). This leaves enough room for a nymph and a satyr.

### The First Three Figures on the Reverse

The Return of Hephaistos continues on the reverse of the column-krater; much less remains, and it is not certain where to place each fragment. On fragment d+e+f (Figure 3) there are parts of three figures, an ithyphallic satyr between two nymphs.

The nymph directly behind the satyr pouring wine into the volute-krater moves (dances?) to right. Her head and torso, as well as her legs from the knees down and most of her right foot, remain. Her long black hair is tied in a loop at the end; her flesh is white and her eye has a red pupil. She has a red fillet around her head and an incised necklace. This nymph wears a peplos with an overfold decorated with vertical panels that alternate red and black; a row of Xs between lines accents the neckline, a zone of Ss with dots between two lines defines its lower border. With each hand she holds up part of the red skirt (all of her left arm and hand remain; just a little of her upper right arm overlapped by the root of the handle column and the start of the forearm positioned vertically are preserved). Lower down there is more of the skirt with the same border as the overfold. The nymph's right heel is raised, the foot shod with the type of sandal the other nymphs wear. Her left foot is missing but for the toes (the white has flaked).



23. Detail of Figure 3 (fragment d+e+f), showing a satyr and a nymph

The pose of this nymph holding up her skirt is unusual, but not erotic as one might suppose at first glance.<sup>95</sup> Rather, it enabled her to move or dance faster. I have not yet found a good comparison for this nymph, but one may compare the one on the top side of the rim of an unattributed Attic black-figured dinos in Würzburg, dating about 500 B.C.<sup>96</sup> That nymph runs to left looking back at a satyr and holding up her skirt with her left hand.

Next comes a shaggy ithyphallic satyr standing with feet together but gesturing excitedly (right arm raised, hand open; the forearm of the left appears in the background above the next nymph's right shoulder). Around his head is an incised black fillet; his hair and beard are red. Inscribed in front of him is  $\text{HPMO}\Theta\text{A}\Lambda\text{E}\Sigma$  (Hermothales).<sup>97</sup>

The third figure is a nymph who moves to left, looking back (Figure 23). Just her chin and neck, part of her upper left arm, which was raised, and her right hand, as well as her frontal torso remain (some of the white for her flesh has flaked). She wears a belted peplos with a red overfold and a skirt with vertical panels alternating red and black (part of two remain, as well as traces of one covering her bent right leg at the break opposite the inscription naming Hermothales (Figure 3); this feature is the clue to her position, moving to left looking back). What is most unusual about this nymph is that she wears a lionskin in the manner of Herakles (her head in its mouth). Of the pelt, a little of its red lower jaw, its ruff and mane, as well as a forepaw hanging over each



shoulder, and all of one hind leg remain. It is black and stippled to indicate short hairs. Each forepaw looks as if it has been slit open in back and flipped over, then joined by an incised rosette. The two paws are linked by a loose chain stretching across the nymph's chest and by thin diagonal straps that meet just above her waist and are fastened to the hind legs by an elaborate rosette. The effect is ornamental and striking.

This nymph who wears a lionskin is quite puzzling. The only female figure who sometimes wears a lionskin is Artemis, who has no role in the Return of Hephaistos. She appears at the far left of the scene on the François Vase, but simply as a bystander.<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless, three images of Artemis wearing a lionskin provide comparisons for our nymph. On two occasions contemporary with or slightly later than the Metropolitan column-krater, Artemis wears a lionskin in the Gigantomachy, where she fights alongside her brother, Apollo. One occurs on a fragment of an unattributed band cup excavated on the North Slope of the Akropolis and depicts Artemis with Apollo and Dionysos. Another comes from the Akropolis itself. This is the big dinos signed by Lydos that probably dates a little after 550 B.C. Here, too, Artemis appears with her brother. Most interesting is the fragment of a kantharos attributed to the Heidelberg Painter, also from the Akropolis and dating about 560–550 B.C. (Figure 24).<sup>99</sup> Its subject is uncertain; it depicts a procession of Olympians approaching Zeus seated on an elegant throne and holding his thunderbolt. All that is preserved of the lion's pelt is most of Artemis's face in its mouth and some of its mane. Her name is inscribed in the genitive: ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ. Directly in front of her is Apollo (back of helmeted head, most of frontal torso, and left arm). The baldric attached to his quiver is similar to the chain linking the forepaws of our nymph's lionskin, and the rosette on the flap of his corselet is similar to the one joining the straps above her waist, only better drawn. I have no explanation for why this nymph wears a lionskin; were it a panther skin it would simply be a Dionysiac attribute. In any case, she is an enigmatic, but elegant figure.

### Other Fragments

Other fragments belong on the reverse, but there is not enough preserved to permit a reconstruction drawing or to place them in the composition.

Fragment i+j (Figure 25) shows part of a nymph dancing to left and a shaggy satyr to right.<sup>100</sup> All that remains of him is the calf of his left leg and a little more of it above the nymph's skirt at the left break. The nymph's right foot, shod with the same kind of sandal as the others, is well off the ground, and a little of the heel of her left foot appears at the break. She wears a peplos (just the bottom of its skirt divided by vertical panels alternating red and black, and some of its



24. Fragment of an Attic black-figured kantharos attributed to the Heidelberg Painter, showing part of Apollo and Artemis. Greek, ca. 560–550 B.C. Terracotta, H. 1 5/8 in. (4 cm). Akropolis Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens (2133 b). Photograph: Graef and Langlotz 1925–33, vol. 2, pl. 93



25. Fragment i+j of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the lower legs and feet of a shaggy satyr and a maenad, with parts of two bulls in the lower zone. H. 11 1/2 in. (29.1 cm)



border decorated with Ss between two incised lines above and below).

Fragment r (Figure 26) comes from the lower part of the composition.<sup>101</sup> The main section preserves the lower drapery and right foot of a nymph striding or walking to left. She wears a peplos decorated with a thick red horizontal line and dot rosettes with red cores surrounded by white dots. (The dots are visible today only under magnification.) Over her peplos there is the end of a red cloak with a black border ornamented with short, incised strokes. She wears a sandal with a red sole and straps. Most of the white of her flesh has flaked. Behind her is the lower leg and part of the left foot of a shaggy satyr to left. There is something hanging alongside his calf with a red line articulating one contour, but I am not sure what it is. Between the two: ΠΙΣΙΟΣ.<sup>102</sup>

Fragment k (Figure 27) preserves part of the white foot of a nymph shod like the others and two hooves next to one another, to right.<sup>103</sup> I am not certain what kind of creature these hooves belong to. I doubt it is another equid because there are no short lines of incision at the top of the hoof (called the crown) as there is on Hephaistos's mule (see Figure 2). Perhaps it is a hoofed satyr similar to the one lugging the full wineskin in the Return scene on the François Vase (Figure 6), but it would be odd for a satyr to stand with his feet together. Hoofed or human-footed satyrs prefer to be mobile, though occasionally there is an exception, Hermothales on fragment d+e+f (Figure 3) being one.

Fragment t (Figure 28) preserves the lower calf and part of the left foot of a shaggy satyr dancing to left and a nymph dancing to right.<sup>104</sup> All that remains of her is part of her peplos decorated with vertical panels alternating red and black, its border with short incised lines between two lines, then her raised left foot wearing a sandal like those worn by the other nymphs. At the break in the lower left is a little of her right foot with the red strap of the sandal. White for the nymph's flesh is well preserved.

Fragment u (Figure 29) shows part of the skirt of a peplos: on the left, a panel divided horizontally red, black, and red; then a panel of lozenges with dotted crosses, framed by two incised lines; next part of a red panel. In the lower left, just above the break, there is a curved incised line (part of a satyr?).<sup>105</sup>

Fragment v (Figure 30) also preserves the skirt of a decorated peplos with a bit of the lower border of the overfold.<sup>106</sup> The skirt is decorated with squares with interior boxed Xs, the area outside each box alternating red and black. The nymph seems to be moving to left. At the upper left, traces of another figure—a little bit of glaze with brown outline.

Fragment w (Figure 31) preserves drapery decorated with red squares and a black saltire square in each. Incision and a bit of reserve are at the very bottom.<sup>107</sup>

On fragment x (Figure 32) the surface is completely gone on the inside, so the orientation is uncertain.<sup>108</sup> The stippled

area shows neat rows, so this is probably not a satyr. It might be part of a wineskin, as on the cup signed by Ergotimos (Figure 18). In the upper right there is plain glaze with a red dot or small circle.

Fragment y (Figure 33) is part of the rim.<sup>109</sup> The top side shows the forelegs of a panther. On the side, there are fronds of two lotuses flanking a palmette that has a red heart; one link of the chain has a white dot.

Fragment aa (Figure 34) preserves the area where the root of the right column of the handle sheared off, and at the break there is the end of the tongue pattern where the shoulder joins the neck.<sup>110</sup>

## THE LOCATION OF THE DRINKING PARTY

The moment depicted most often in the Return of Hephaistos to Olympos is the procession (see Figures 7, 8, 10, 20).<sup>111</sup> Much less frequent is the arrival at Olympos, where a disgruntled Hera waits for Hephaistos to free her, often accompanied by other Olympians (Figure 6).<sup>112</sup> The scene on the Metropolitan column-krater does not represent either of these episodes because the presence of the two large volute-kraters with their attendants indicates an earlier moment. The bibulous party is almost over and the procession is just beginning its journey to Olympos, but the participants have not yet fallen into line and some of them face in the opposite direction. The question arises: where did the drinking take place?

At this time on Attic black-figured vases, it was unusual to indicate settings for narrative representations, but there are exceptions. Sophilos depicted the palace of Peleus in two scenes of his wedding to Thetis; so did Kleitias in his monumental illustration, and he also depicted a fountain house and the walls of Troy in the scene of Achilles pursuing Troilos.<sup>113</sup> In the scene on our column-krater, the artist probably had in mind a specific venue because the two volute-kraters are still in use and may even be in a permanent location. They look too large to be transported anywhere. The only recent scholar to consider where Hephaistos prepared for his journey is Guy Hedreen, who thinks it occurred at a place where Dionysos felt at home. Hedreen followed an idea expressed long ago by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who suggested that Naxos was the most probable site for the preliminaries that led to Hephaistos's return to Olympos. Homer was silent about this part of Hephaistos's life, but an ancient scholarly commentary on a passage in the *Iliad* relates that Dionysos entertained Hephaistos on Naxos, and this was when Dionysos received the golden amphora that later contained the ashes of Patroklos and Achilles.<sup>114</sup> A hydria in the British Museum in the manner of the Lysippides Painter may depict this gathering (Figure 35).<sup>115</sup> Dionysos reclines comfortably on a kline, turning to face Hermes who comes in from the right holding a



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26. Fragment r of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the lower parts of a nymph and a shaggy satyr and, in the frieze below, part of the head of a bull. H. 6 in. (15 cm)

27. Fragment k of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the foot of a nymph and two hoofs, with parts of two bulls in the frieze below. H. 3 in. (7.6 cm)

28. Fragment t of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the lower drapery and foot of a nymph and the lower leg of a shaggy satyr. H. 2 3/8 in. (6 cm)

29. Fragment u of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the drapery of a nymph. H. 1 3/8 in. (3.5 cm)

30. Fragment v of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the drapery of a nymph. H. 2 1/4 in. (5.8 cm)

31. Fragment w of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the drapery of a nymph. H. 1 1/2 in. (3.8 cm)

32. Fragment x of the column-krater described the caption to Figure 1, showing what might be part of a wineskin. H. 1 1/8 in. (2.9 cm)

33. Fragment y of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the fore-legs of a panther on the top and fronds of two lotuses flanking a palmette on the side. H. 1 1/8 in. (2.8 cm)

34. Fragment aa of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the end of the tongue pattern where the shoulder joins the neck. H. 3 1/4 in. (8.2 cm)

kantharos. At the far left, Hephaistos enters carrying his ax. Satyrs and nymphs are present, one satyr plays the kithara, and there is a vine in the background. Since Hephaistos does not yet participate in the festivities, I think Hedreen is correct when he writes that the scene “on the London hydria is not taking place at the home of Hephaistos.”<sup>116</sup> On an unattributed Attic red-figured chous, dating about 430–420 B.C., Dionysos reclines with Ariadne on a rock covered with animal skins, and a satyr enters with Hephaistos. The setting is a vineyard.<sup>117</sup> Both scenes depict Dionysos at ease, and if they do represent the beginning of the drinking party, Naxos would be a suitable location.<sup>118</sup> In any case, each of these representations is exceptional.

The composition on the Metropolitan column-krater is equally unusual and may even be unique. The drinking is almost over for now, and the journey is about to begin. This moment precedes the customary one where the procession is well under way, the one by Lydos being a particularly good example. Our painter chose an earlier moment and infused the satyrs and nymphs with exuberance and enthusiasm, Hephaistos and Dionysos with dignity and purpose.

#### HERAKLES WITH THE CATTLE OF GERYON

This is one of the latest of the hero’s twelve labors. To accomplish it Herakles traveled across Okeanos to the island of Erytheia in the far west. He had to kill Geryon, the triple-bodied owner of the herd, as well as his herdsman, Eurytion, and his two-headed dog, Orthos, then round up the cattle and drive them back to Tiryns, an extremely long, arduous journey.<sup>119</sup> The earliest known representations of this labor occur on a Protocorinthian pyxis from Phaleron, dating about 650 B.C., and on a late seventh-century bronze relief from Samos, the latter being the first to include all the participants: Herakles attacking Geryon, the slain Eurytion

and Orthos, also some of the cattle milling about.<sup>120</sup> The usual composition, especially in black figure, shows Herakles attacking Geryon, with or without the herdsman, dog, or cattle depending on the amount of space available. The scene on the Metropolitan column-krater is quite incomplete, but it represents an unexpected moment: the beginning of the journey. Herakles has left the island of Erytheia and is driving the cattle home to Tiryns, perhaps accompanied by someone, with the cattle moving along in line from left to right.

The fragments that remain depict some of this labor, but there are not enough to attempt a reconstruction. Where preserved, the neck, chest, belly stripe, ribs, and markings on the hindquarters of the cattle are red. Fragment n+o+1997.493 (Figure 1) begins the labor because Herakles appears below the satyr dipping his oinochoe into the volute-krater at the left handle. Herakles is preserved to the start of his thighs. He wears his lionskin over a red chiton (the lower jaw of the pelt is red), and he strides ahead, left arm outstretched. A sheathed sword and a quiver hang at his left side (no baldric is indicated and there is no bow). Behind Herakles there seems to be part of another figure (right hand with sword [?]; it is uncertain what the glaze at the break represents). In front of Herakles is a little of the top of a bull’s hindquarters including the start of its tail. Fragment l (Figure 13), below Philoposia and Molpaaios, shows an ear, the horn, some of the neck, and a bit of the shoulder and body of a bull. Fragment b+g+h (Figure 2), below Hephaistos, depicts parts of three bulls: most of the head, neck, forelegs, and body of one; the body, hindquarters, and tail, as well as one foreleg and the hoof of the second; much of the hindquarters and tail of the third. On fragment d+e+f (Figure 3), below the volute-krater at the right handle and the satyr to the right of it, there are parts of three more bulls: most of one, except for the top of its neck and back, and all of its hindquarters and tail; the shoulders and top of the next bull are missing; just a little of the neck and the start of the tail of the third remain.

The rest of the fragments showing Herakles driving the cattle of Geryon are from the reverse of the column-krater. Fragment i+j (Figure 25) preserves the foreparts of one bull and the hindquarters of the next. On fragment r (Figure 26), there are the horn, the ear, and a little of the neck of a bull. Fragment k (Figure 27) depicts just the forehead, horn, and ear of one bull and a little of the hindquarters and tail of the next.

In this representation, there do not seem to be references to the opponents, and one assumes they have met their demise. Since this composition continued around the vase without interruption, I believe it focused on Herakles and the prize cattle. If the slain Geryon, his herdsman, and dog had been included, the narrative would depict two distinct

35. Detail of an Attic black-figured hydria attributed to the Manner of the Lysippides Painter, showing Dionysos reclining on a banquet couch in the presence of Hermes, satyrs, nymphs, and Hephaistos. Greek, ca. 520 B.C. Terracotta, H. 18½ in. (47 cm). British Museum, London (B302). Photograph: © Trustees of the British Museum





episodes, the deaths of the opponents and the return home. Including two moments of a subject in a single panel or frieze is foreign to Attic black-figured vase painters, and if it had been attempted here, it would have disrupted the unity of the figural decoration. Most significantly, each scene on this vase depicts one moment in time, the beginning of a long journey, which can hardly be a coincidence. Herakles driving the cattle is a moment in this labor rarely selected for illustration; its representation on this column-krater is not only the earliest preserved but also the most extensive.<sup>121</sup>

## THE HANDLE PLATE

Fragment c preserves most of the handle on the left of the obverse above the satyr dipping his oinochoe into the volute-krater (Figure 1).<sup>122</sup> On the top side of the handle plate (Figure 36) there is a chariot to right, much like the one painted on the volute-krater below.<sup>123</sup> The heads and necks of the horses are missing, also the tops of their backs. The end of the muzzle of a trace horse appears in front of its chest just below the break indicating that its neck was bent sharply. Of the charioteer only a little of his black chiton remains. The team moves to right at a lively walk. The right-hand pole horse (from the charioteer's vantage) is white with a red tail. The right-hand trace horse has a red collar, and the upper part of its girth is also red. Most of the chariot remains but for the breastwork. The wheel is compass drawn.

The use of white for one of the horses of a chariot team is probably intended to clarify a dense composition of four horses moving together and does not signify a horse of a different color. Usually it is the pole horse nearer the viewer that is white, but not always. Sophilos was the first Attic painter to include a white horse, and he may have invented the conceit. It occurs three times on his dinos in London—for the teams drawing the chariots of Amphitrite and Poseidon, Ares and Aphrodite, and Athena and Artemis—and also on Athens, NM 15499. The next major artist to depict a white horse is Kleitias on the François Vase, for the chariot of Hippothoon in the scene of the Funeral Games for Patroklos and for several of them in the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis.<sup>124</sup> Kleitias clearly understood the clarifying effect a white horse would have in a group with three black horses. After that, the presence of a white pole horse occurred fairly often until about 530 B.C., but no painter seems to have preferred it to the extent that it may be a criterion for attribution.

## THE PAINTER

Attributing a vase to an artist is a lot like reading handwriting, recognizing details peculiar to the writer and to no one else. In theory, it should be possible to attribute every

figured Greek vase to a painter. When the fragmentary column-krater came to the Museum, it brought with it an attribution to Lydos, which was repeated in the publications.<sup>125</sup> The remaining task is to evaluate the attribution to Lydos or, if the krater is not by him, to discover who the painter may be.

Lydos was the most prolific Attic vase painter in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.<sup>126</sup> Well over one hundred vases and fragments are attributed to him, and they attest to his preferred shapes and subjects. Lydos paints pots as well as small vases such as cups and lekythoi; in addition he decorated a fine set of plates, some of them dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis. The early work of Lydos is characterized by somber figures created with a judicious use of incision and accessory color. Good examples are the very early hydria in Munich, the slightly later one in Berlin and the neck-amphora in the Louvre.<sup>127</sup> His mature work, however, is quite the opposite. The drawing is very sure, there is a fine balance of black glaze, incision, and the application of added red and white. The compositions are more complicated, sometimes with a dense overlapping of the figures. The best examples of his mature vases are the Akropolis dinos and the intact column-krater in the Metropolitan (Figures 7, 10, 20).<sup>128</sup> These remarks might appear to justify the attribution of the fragmentary column-krater to Lydos. But there are difficulties.

Heide Mommsen was the first scholar to question the attribution to Lydos, and she was joined more recently by Bettina Kreuzer.<sup>129</sup> In the exhibition gallery at the Metropolitan Museum, the proximity of the two column-kraters (MMA 1997.388 and 31.11.11; Figures 1–3, 7, 20) is most enlightening, for it emphasizes the considerable difference in size between the two vases, which cannot be discerned in photographs. There is no preserved black-figured column-krater as large as this one, either in the oeuvre of Lydos or in that of his contemporaries. It is the creation of someone comfortable working to a scale much larger than usual



36. Top of the handle (fragment c) of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, depicting a chariot. L. at lower edge  $7\frac{7}{8}$  in. (20 cm)

for most other vase painters. Lydos's drawing is very sure and economical, his figures well-proportioned and elegant. At first glance, this seems to be the case with the drawing of the figures on the fragmentary column-krater, but careful study over a period of time reveals quite a number of differences. Our painter's drawing is looser and less controlled than the drawing by Lydos. Lydos's satyrs are quite well behaved, and none is ithyphallic; the coats of the shaggy ones are indicated by carefully incised rows of dots (see Figures 7, 20), not the pairs of short lines that are not arranged in orderly rows and look as if they were executed in haste (Figures 1–3, 14). All of Lydos's satyrs have tails and animal ears. Artistic temperament, not size of vase, accounts for these differences. The figures on the intact column-krater (MMA 31.11.11; Figures 7, 10, 20) are less animated than those on the fragmentary one, and no one is drunk, even though the satyr in front of Dionysos takes a sip of wine from the skin carried by the satyr in front of him (see Figure 20). Lydos did not label his figures very often, and when he did, the letter forms are very neat and precise, drawn with utmost care.<sup>130</sup> Lydos's inscriptions name only human figures, not animals. Without belaboring the point, I cannot attribute the krater to Lydos. That said, it remains to try to figure out who painted this monumental vessel.

In describing the scenes on the vase, especially the Return of Hephaistos, I have drawn comparisons with the work of quite a few painters besides Lydos: Sophilos, Kleitias, the Heidelberg Painter, the Painter of London B 76, Nearchos, and one or two painters from the Tyrrhenian Group, specifically the Prometheus Painter and the Kyllenios Painter. With the exception of Sophilos, these artists flourished during the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. and a bit beyond. Contemporary with them is the early work of the Amasis Painter, who had a long career lasting into the 520s B.C. The work of these artists led to the grand achievements of the painters of Group E and Exekias, the Painter of Berlin 1686, the Princeton Painter, and the Swing Painter. The connections between our column-krater and the first group of painters are slight, comparative details that are iconographic, not stylistic. They indicate the wider context for the painter of our krater, and it is both interesting and somewhat disappointing that the vase cannot be attributed to any of them. Nor have I found unattributed vases clearly by this painter that would help to create a new artist.

While it may not be possible at this time to identify our painter, there are a number of features in his work that help to establish his artistic personality. First of all, he was a painter who liked large areas on which to paint his energetic, spirited figures; in no way was he a miniaturist like Kleitias, who left us delicately rendered figures capable of great expression. Nor was he an artist likely to specialize in one shape, as did the Heidelberg Painter with the Siana cup

and painters of the Tyrrhenian Group with the ovoid neck-amphora. The artist who decorated our column-krater strikes me as one who preferred the challenge of applying ornament and figures to a variety of shapes.

Whoever he was, our painter was most innovative. He depicted two scenes that so far are unique. Hephaistos setting out with Dionysos accompanied by satyrs and nymphs signals the very beginning of the procession that will terminate on Olympos to free Hera from her golden throne, and it seems to have no parallel; neither does the depiction of Herakles driving the cattle of Geryon to Tiryns, also the start of a long journey. The figural compositions, particularly the central group of Hephaistos and his companions, were created by an artist who achieved clarity among the black figures against the light background and also established a balance of black glaze, texture, and added color.

Other observations illustrate this artist's astute observation of the world around him. The kraters at each handle (Figures 1, 3) indicate that the painter was attentive to small potting details one would notice only on actual examples. The figural decoration on each vessel is unprecedented. This is also the case for the cup held by the inebriated satyr (Figures 2, 16). It is a Little-Master Cup, an elegant drinking vessel that became the favorite type of cup just before the middle of the sixth century B.C. and continued well into the 530s. It is characterized by a thin, offset lip; a rather wide, shallow bowl; and a tall stem supported by a broad, flat foot. The handles attach to the bowl just below the lip and curve upward, continuing the profile of the bowl. Usually a line of glaze emphasizes the join of lip and bowl. On a lip cup, one or two small figures appear in the center of the lip, the feature that gives this variant its name.<sup>131</sup> Save for the figures on the lip, our painter observed and included all these features.

The potting details of the column-krater itself are very carefully finished with crisp, precise edges, and the ornament is wisely chosen to enhance the different parts of the vase, such as the overhang of the rim and the junction of the shoulder with the neck (Figure 2). A good potter probably selected the ornaments, even if the painter, who was probably more skilled with the brush than the potter, actually applied the different patterns.

Our painter devoted less energy to his figures, which are not as well articulated, and the unevenness is significant. Molpaïos has a large head compared with the remaining parts of him; the inebriated satyr has an enormous upper right arm; the satyr at the krater below the right handle has a small head, a short, thin left arm, and a thick torso; and Hermothales has a small right arm compared with his long torso (Figures 1, 3, 5). This contrasts considerably with Lydos's masterfully drawn figures that have plausible human proportions even if they are satyrs and nymphs (see Figures 7, 10, 20).

Other details attest to the artist's lively imagination—satyrs without tails and one with human ears, perhaps to make them appear less wild; Molpaïos sliding off the hind-quarters of the mule while playing the aulos, not an easy feat; a nymph wearing a lionskin. If I am correct to give Dionysos a kantharos, it would be one of the earliest representations of the god with this elegant vessel. Our painter had a sense of humor: witness the wry inscription next to the inebriated satyr. He was also literate. He gave the satyrs and nymphs names that appear to be unusual and sometimes relate to their physical characteristics (Krataios: strong), personal traits (Philoposia: love of drinking), or skills (Molpaïos: tuneful or musical).

The discrepancy between the careful attention to details our artist lavished on his painted vessels compared with less attention paid to his figures may signify that he was a potter trying his hand at painting. He was by no means a poor painter, but he was clearly more interested in shapes of pots than shapes of humans, even those of the mythological world. More important is that he depicted new moments in well-known mythological subjects, ones that do not seem to have parallels. And he did this on a grand scale. I do not think this magnificent column-krater was decorated by Lydos, but I hope that in time other vases by this innovative artist will come to light.

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## NOTES

1. The basic introduction to Attic black-figured vase painting is still Beazley 1986. More generally, see Boardman 1991. See also Moore and Philippides 1986 for a discussion of the many shapes and painters found in the extensive Agora excavations. For the most recent review of the scholarship on Greek vase painting, see Oakley 2009.
2. For the shape, see Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 23–25; also Moore 1997, pp. 20–23. Most recently, see the brief remarks in Schöne-Denkinger 2009, p. 15.
3. The column-krater was formerly on loan to the J. Paul Getty Museum (L. 87.AE.120). Fragment MMA 1997.388 b+g+h provided the basic measurements: preserved height 71.1 cm; diameter at the rim 71.8 cm; width of the rim 5.8 cm; height of the main composition 29 cm; height of frieze below 9.5 cm; maximum circumference of the body 257.5 cm. I thank Rudolf Meyer for calculating the measurements and for making a profile drawing of fragment b+g+h. Bibliography: Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, pp. 131, 135–37, figs. 2 a–d; *LIMC*, vol. 6 (1992), s.v. “Molpaïos” (Anneliese Kossatz-Deissmann), p. 648, no. 1; *LIMC*, vol. 7 (1994), s.v. “Oukalegon II” (Kossatz-Deissmann), p. 32, no. 1, pl. 91; *LIMC*, vol. 7 (1994), s.v. “Philopos” (Kossatz-Deissmann), pp. 385–86, no. 1; Oenbrink 1996, pp. 94, figs. 9, 10, 100–104; *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), s.v. “Silenoi” (Erika Simon), p. 1114, no. 29 b (Malibu L. 87.AE.120: the fragment not designated); Mertens 1998; Hedreen 2004, p. 41n13; Venit 2006, pp. 32–33, pl. 7; Kreuzer 2009, pp. 147–49, fig. 5; Clark 2009, pp. 90–91, 104, fig. 3; Mackay 2010, pp. 48–49n5; Hirayama 2010, p. 77, fig. 5i, j.
4. A note on procedure: I traced every fragment but one on coated mylar. The exception is fragment b+g+h, which is too fragile for this kind of work. For the figures on this fragment, I enlarged a photograph on a copier until the height of the frieze measured 1:1 (29 cm). Because the actual size of the figures is so large, I reduced my 1:1 drawings by 35% and worked at this scale. The adjusted circumference is 167.4 cm, the height of the frieze 18.5 cm. The 1:1 measurements are given below when each fragment is described.  
In the drawing (Figure 5), the perimeter of each fragment and its missing areas are indicated by dashes. I did not fill in details, such as ornament on drapery or the shaggy coats of the satyrs, because this would be misleading. Thus, the reader may determine exactly what remains and what I have reconstructed. On the obverse, the length of the composition from the midpoint below each handle is 83.7 cm. On this side, I was able to reconstruct three groups: the nymph and satyr with the volute-krater below the left handle, Hephaistos and Dionysos with satyrs and nymphs, and the satyr and nymph pouring wine and water into a krater below the right handle.  
Fragments I was unable to fit into the reconstruction drawing are described after the discussion of this composition. For the depiction of Herakles driving Geryon's cattle, I merely described what remains because it is obvious how the figures were arranged even if the rendering of the scene is quite unusual.
5. Hedreen 1994. On a fragment of a large unattributed cup found on the Akropolis and dating ca. 570 B.C. (Athens, NMAcr. 1611 c), a satyr (preserved are most of his head and his left shoulder) is inscribed ΣΙΑΕΝΟΣ (Silenos); see Graef and Langlotz 1925–33, vol. 1, pl. 82. Hedreen (1994, p. 47n1) writes: “It seems likely that the names *silen* and *satyr* were synonymous in the Archaic period,” but he prefers the former term because “the name *silen* is attested on Athenian vases and the name *satyr* is not.”



6. See Hedreen 1994, *passim*, especially pp. 50–51, for the differences between maenads and nymphs. For the inscribed nymphs of the François Vase, see *Vaso François* 1981, figs. 93, 244.
7. See Schöne 1987, pp. 24–47; Carpenter 1986, chap. 2; *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. “Hephaistos” (Antoine Hermay), pp. 638–41, 652–54, for a brief discussion; Hedreen 1992, chap. 1; Gantz 1993, pp. 74–75. See also the brief remarks by David Walsh (2009, pp. 107–14), who concentrated on the humorous renderings of the myth that are almost exclusively non-Attic.  
Homer gives a brief version of how Hera threw her son out of Olympus because of his lameness (*Iliad* 18.395–405; Murray 1925, pp. 317, 319). The author of the Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo writes a fuller account (*Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer*, 315–19; West 2003, p. 95): Hera complains that “my son has turned out a weakling among the gods, Hephaistos of the withered legs [ρίκνος πόδας], whom I myself bore. I picked him up and threw him in the broad sea, but Nereus’ daughter, Thetis silverfoot, took him in and looked after him together with her sisters; I wish she had done the gods some different service.” For other ancient references, see the bibliography at the beginning of this note. For Hera bound to the throne and Ares scared off by torches, see Page 1955, pp. 258–60. For the lameness of Hephaistos, see *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. “Hephaistos: Hephaistos als Krüppel” (Ludolf Maltens), vol. 8 (1913), cols. 333–37; more briefly, Brommer 1978, pp. 4, 7 (on p. 7, the reference to *The Theogony* should be 578, not 587), and Burkert 1995, pp. 167–68.
8. Florence 4209: Beazley 1956, p. 76, no. 1; Beazley 1971, p. 29, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 21; *Vaso François* 1981, figs. 90–93; Shapiro 1995, p. 8, pl. 75, a, b; Gaunt 2002, pp. 40–50, 435–39, pls. 10–12; Hedreen 2004, pl. 3 a; Torelli 2007, *passim*; Hirayama 2010, *passim*.
9. See *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. “Hera” (Kossatz-Deissmann), pp. 693–95.
10. Lydos: MMA 31.11.11 (Beazley 1956, p. 108, no. 5; Beazley 1971, p. 43, no. 5; Carpenter 1989, p. 29; Kreuzer 2009, pp. 146–47, fig. 4 a, b). The Oakeshott Painter: MMA 17.230.5 (Beazley 1971, p. 78, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 51; *LIMC*, vol. 4 [1988], s.v. “Hephaistos” [Hermay], p. 640, no. 139a, pl. 394; Shapiro 1989, pp. 90–91, pl. 39 d; Shapiro 1995, p. 7, pl. 74 c; Hedreen 2004, pl. 3 b; Hedreen 2009, p. 128, fig. 6).
11. The preserved measurements of the fragments are m: 8.3 x 6 cm; n+o+1997.493: 16.3 x 25.5 cm; p: 14 x 22.3 cm; q: 5.2 x 9 cm. There are nicks and scratches here and there on both the inside and the outside. Some of the accessory color has flaked, especially on the foot of the nymph to the right on fragment n+o+1997.493 and on her face (fragment q). The glaze fired brownish on the satyr at the krater.
12. For the volute-krater, see Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 25–26, with bibliography, especially Hitzl 1982, which should be consulted along with the review by Bothmer (1985, pp. 66–71); Schleiffenbaum 1991; recently, Gaunt 2002, *passim* and pp. 400–401, for the volute-krater painted on MMA 1997.388; Hirayama 2010, pp. 71–78.
13. Kossatz-Deissmann (1991, p. 188) does not deal with this letter. If it is a Φ, a possible name is ΦΙΛΙΑ (Philia, friendship). This name would fit the space available. It occurs on the namepiece of the Eupolis Painter, a red-figured bell-krater dated ca. 450 B.C., where it names a nymph (Vienna 1772: Beazley 1963, p. 1072, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 325). The difficulty of identifying this letter as a Φ is that the transverse bar does not seem to extend through the circle of the letter. It may be a qoppa, which was used in many parts of Greece until the middle of the sixth century B.C. See Jeffery 1961, pp. 33–34, 67, 71–72, pls. 2, 3. She noted that both Sophilos and Kleitias use this letter. For example: Sophilos for Chariklo on Athens, NMAcr. 15165, ex 587 (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 15; Carpenter 1989, p. 10), and for Patroklos on Athens, NM 15499 (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 16; Beazley 1971, p. 18, no. 16; Carpenter 1989, p. 10). On the scene of the Kalydonian Boar on the François Vase, Kleitias named one of the hunters Koraxs (*Vaso François* 1981, fig. 154).
14. See Richter and Hall 1936, p. 128: “The artist [of MMA 07.286.84] has been identified as the Painter of the Shaggy Satyrs.” This name occurred first in Beazley 1925, p. 343: “zottigen Silene” in reference to the name vase of the painter he later called the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs (Beazley 1963, pp. 613–14). For shaggy satyrs, see the list by Frank Brommer (1937, p. 53), and *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), s.v. “Silenoi” (Simon), pp. 1113–14, nos. 29–34, pl. 751. Since there are some shaggy satyrs predating MMA 1997.388 that are not in these references, I drew up a fresh list, especially since the majority of satyrs in Attic black figure are not shaggy. One in the Manner of the Gorgon Painter, formerly Buffalo, Albright-Knox Gallery G 600, ca. 590 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 12, no. 22; Beazley 1971, p. 8, no. 22; Carpenter 1989, p. 3; sale cat., Sotheby’s, New York, June 7, 2007, pp. 48–49, lot 33). Two by Sophilos: collection of Arthur Richter, ca. 580 B.C. (Padgett 2003, pp. 236–38, no. 53, with bibliography); and Istanbul 4514, ca. 580 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 42, no. 37; Carpenter 1989, p. 11; *LIMC*, vol. 8 [1997], s.v. “Nymphai” [Monique Halm-Tisserant and Gérard Siebert], p. 895, no. 42, pl. 592, and s.v. “Silenoi” [Simon], p. 1114, no. 30). Agora P 334, connected with the Painter of the Dresden Lekanis, ca. 580–570 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 23, —; Carpenter 1989, p. 7; *LIMC*, vol. 8 [1997], s.v. “Silenoi” [Simon], p. 1113, no. 29, pl. 751). MMA 26.49 by Nearchos, ca. 570 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 83, no. 4; Beazley 1971, p. 30, no. 4; Carpenter 1989, p. 23). Two unattributed: Athens, NMAcr. 1611 c (see Graef and Langlotz 1925–33, vol. 2, pl. 82), and Vatican 316, a lip-cup, ca. 550 B.C. (Albizzati 1925–39, pl. 34).
15. Other nymphs on this krater wear similar sandals (Figures 1, 3, 13, 26–28). For a clay aryballos in the shape of a foot shod with a sandal just like these, including the red sole and straps, see Kassel T 1172, dated ca. 550 B.C. (Verbanck-Piérard, Massas, and Frère 2008, pp. 374–75, no. III.A.21).
16. For a brief discussion of the three types, see Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 35–38, with bibliography.
17. Munich 1681 (Beazley 1956, p. 108, no. 12; Carpenter 1989, p. 29). See Moore and Philippides 1986, p. 37n14. For the others by Lydos, see Beazley 1956, pp. 108–9, nos. 13–19; Beazley 1971, p. 45; Carpenter 1989, pp. 29–30.
18. See Moore 2006a, pp. 34–35, figs. 1–3. Compare also a slightly later one, Louvre F 10 (CVA, Louvre 6 [France 9], pl. 62 [401], 1, 2).
19. For a hydria with a foot smaller in diameter than the mouth, see Florence 3792, dating ca. 540 B.C., and thus a little later than our column-krater (CVA, Firenze 5 [Italia 42], pl. 17 [1881], 1).
20. I have not found an exact parallel, but on an unattributed hydria in Florence on which five women appear with hydriai, one of them holds hers out in front of her (Florence 3792: CVA, Firenze 5 [Italia 42], pl. 18 [1882], 1; for a good color photograph, see Esposito and De Tommaso 1993, p. 36, fig. 41). This woman, however, is probably preparing to place the hydria on top of her head, which was the customary manner of carrying it, whether full or empty, and the women are probably leaving the fountain house to return to their homes. On Florence 3792, the vertical handle of each hydria in the picture faces backward. For carrying the hydria, see Fölzer

- 1906, p. 10; she also remarks that men carry the hydria differently, namely resting on the shoulder and steadied by one hand.
21. This satyr does not show in Figure 7 or 20. See Tiverios 1976, pl. 54 β.
  22. For a list of satyrs without tails, see Brommer 1937, p. 53; also Isler-Kerényi 2007, p. 145, nn. 185, 186. Add Würzburg L 265 and L 282 by the Amasis Painter, the satyr pouring wine into Dionysos's kantharos (Beazley 1956, p. 151, no. 22; Beazley 1971, p. 63, no. 22; Carpenter 1989, p. 43). Only one of these vases that depict satyrs without tails is earlier than 550 B.C., and thus contemporary with MMA 1997.388: Copenhagen, NM 57, by the Prometheus Painter, an artist in the Tyrrhenian Group (Beazley 1956, p. 102, no. 97; Beazley 1971, p. 38, no. 97: the attribution is by Dietrich von Bothmer). There, a tail would interfere with the inscription naming the nymph *HALIOPE* (Haliope). See Fränkel 1912, p. 22.
  23. Isler-Kerényi 2007, p. 145; and see *ibid.*, chap. 2, "Turning into a Satyr: Small Vases from the First Half of the 6th Century BCE" (pp. 17–63), and the section of chap. 3 subtitled "Early dancers and satyrs" (pp. 65–69).
  24. Manner of the Gorgon Painter: formerly Buffalo, Albright Knox Gallery G 600; two by Sophilos: Oakland, Calif., collection of Arthur Richter, and Istanbul 4514 (all three as in note 14 above). For other early satyrs, see those cited in note 14, especially the one on Agora P 334. Add the head of a piping satyr on an unattributed fragment from Naukratis, London, BM B 103.16 (Carpenter 1986, pl. 18 B). Furthermore, on a round-bodied oinochoe found in the Athenian Agora and dating ca. 600 B.C., an artist working in the manner of the Gorgon Painter drew a pair of satyr protomes complete with animal ear, prominent eye, snub nose, and long beard (Agora P 24945 [Beazley 1971, p. 8, 1 bis; Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 194–95, no. 723, pl. 69; Carpenter 1989, p. 3]).
  25. Amyx 1988, p. 620 for the first quotation, and p. 651 for the second. The embedded quotation is from Payne 1931, p. 120. For komasts and padded dancers, see Smith 2010.
  26. Boardman 1991, p. 233.
  27. The exception is the one by the Prometheus Painter who assaults a nymph (as in note 22 above).
  28. When one consults illustrations of the satyrs without tails cited in the bibliography in note 22 above, it becomes clear that the presence of a tail would crowd these compositions.
  29. Bibliography: as in note 12 above. The body of the volute-krater is similar to that of the column-krater, ovoid and tapering to an echinus foot or one in two degrees, a fillet above a torus, the latter similar to the foot of the calyx-krater and the amphora Type A, each a large vessel introduced after 530 B.C. For the calyx-krater, see Moore 1997, pp. 26–27, for black-figured examples and bibliography. For the amphora Type A, see Moore and Philippides 1986, p. 4, with bibliography. The mouth of the volute-krater is flaring and flat on top; the upper part of the neck is offset from the lower, and each part flares slightly. A vertical loop on the shoulder supports the flanged handle that curves upward above the mouth, then downward terminating in a spiral after it is attached to the top side of the mouth. This feature gives the shape its name. Nearly all the known Attic black-figured volute-kraters were made from ca. 520 to 500 B.C. (see Gaunt 2002, pp. 443–508), and during these decades the shape and the system of decoration are probably indebted to bronze examples, which do not have figures on the body, but only on the neck, if at all. On the clay volute-kraters, a tongue pattern decorates the shoulder at the junction with the neck, ornament appears on the handle flanges, and there are rays above the foot. Figures occur on the neck only. The effect is spare and elegant. For metal and clay examples, see Hitzl 1982, pp. 43–83; Schleiffenbaum 1991, pp. 32–42, 51–58; Gaunt 2002, pp. 340–58; and Hirayama 2010, pp. 71–78.
  30. For the François Vase, see note 8 above, and *Vaso François* 1981, *passim*. The most recent and best discussion, as well as the collected bibliography, is by Gaunt (2002). For Izmir 9634, see Gaunt 2002, pp. 55–58, 440 no. 8; for good photographs, see Tuna-Nörling 1997, pp. 435–38, figs. 1–6, and Hirayama 2010, pp. 76–77, fig. 5h. For the earliest Attic black-figured volute-kraters, the best discussion is Gaunt 2002, pp. 28–60, 434–42 nos. 1–12. This also includes the proto-volute-kraters, which predate the true examples and are not pertinent to this study (Gaunt 2002, pp. 28–40). See also Hirayama 2010, pp. 71–78.
  31. See Tuna-Nörling 1997, pp. 436–37, figs. 3, 4, the former a profile drawing, and also Hirayama 2010, fig. 5h. The earliest preserved volute-krater to have a strongly offset mouth is Athens, NMAcr. 2626, an unattributed one dated ca. 550 B.C. (Gaunt 2002, pp. 434–35, no. 3, pl. 8, fig. 31).
  32. For the line on the François Vase, see the good color photograph in Esposito and De Tommaso 1993, p. 21, figs. 12, 13. For the line on Izmir 9634, see Tuna-Nörling 1997, p. 437, fig. 4, and Hirayama 2010, fig. 5h.
  33. Oenbrink (1996, p. 104) suggests that our painter had in mind a clay krater, not an expensive metal one, and the scheme of decoration supports his interpretation. Later artists were not as attentive as our painter to the appearance of the loop of the handle, and they drew it so it looks as if it has been turned 90 degrees. These are two examples: Heidelberg 279, an unattributed skyphos dating ca. 530–520 B.C. or a bit later (Gaunt 2002, p. 679, no. 16, with bibliography, especially Schleiffenbaum 1991, p. 408, no. D 9, dating the skyphos ca. 510 B.C.); London, BM 1873.8-20.384, ex B 297, a neck-amphora signed by Nikosthenes as potter and attributed to Painter N, dated ca. 530–510 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 218, no. 16; Carpenter 1989, p. 58; Gaunt 2002, p. 680, no. 18; Tosto 1999, p. 211, no. 16, pl. 93).
  34. As in note 29 above.
  35. MMA 1977.11.2: Gaunt 2002, p. 442, no. 12, pl. 9; Hirayama 2010, fig. 4f. The most detailed discussion is by Dietrich von Bothmer (1986). See also Athens, NMAcr. 2626: Gaunt 2002, pp. 434–35, no. 3, pl. 8, fig. 31. Elsewhere in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., ivy may frame figures on hydriai, a good example being Agora P 998 by Lydos, dated ca. 560 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 108, no. 18; Carpenter 1989, p. 30). Ivy also appears on the lips of Siana cups decorated according to the double-decker arrangement, i.e., ornament on the lip and figures on the bowl. Here are four examples by the Heidelberg Painter, all dating ca. 560–550 B.C.: Basel, H. and T. Bosshard Collection, Bo 88 (Brijder 1991, p. 448, no. 361, pl. 117, d, e); Heidelberg S 61 (Beazley 1956, p. 63, no. 2; Brijder 1991, p. 448, no. 362, pl. 118, e, f); Cambridge GR 4. 1930, ex 30.4 (Beazley 1956, p. 63, no. 4; Carpenter 1989, p. 17; Brijder 1991, p. 450, no. 369, pl. 122, a–b); and Rhodes 15370 (Beazley 1956, p. 64, no. 14; Brijder 1991, p. 451, no. 372, pl. 124, a–b). Sometimes the stems of the leaves are wavy, sometimes straight.
  36. Particularly good examples appear on his loutrophoros-hydria at Eleusis, 252, ex 766 (Beazley 1956, p. 86, no. 6; Beazley 1971, p. 32, no. 6). A frieze of rosettes decorates the side of the mouth as well as the back of the vertical handle and the sides of each upright handle on the shoulder. See also the frieze of rosettes on the side of the mouth of the painter's amphora in Lyons, no number (Beazley 1956, p. 87, no. 16; I know this vase from the photograph in Bothmer's archive). These rosettes do not have red petals. For this, see the large rosette painted between a rooster and two

- men conversing on Copenhagen, N.M. 13536 (Beazley 1971, p. 32, no. 2 bis).
37. See Oenbrink 1996, *passim*, and Venit 2006, *passim*. For a fuller account of this hydria, see note 71 below.
38. A flying eagle may accompany either a chariot team or a rider, probably as a sign of victory. See Beazley 1986, p. 36: “as often, a bird flies beside the riders, this time with a serpent in its beak, doubtless a good omen.” The reference is to two amphorae by the Painter of Akropolis 606: Berlin 4823 (Beazley 1956, p. 81, no. 4; Beazley 1971, p. 30, no. 4; Carpenter 1989, p. 22); Tübingen S/10 1298, ex D 4 (Beazley 1956, p. 81, no. 5; Carpenter 1989, p. 22). For a discussion of birds, especially eagles, as omens, see Pollard 1977, pp. 116–24; also Schmidt 1983. See, for example, Rhodes 15370, a Siana cup by the Heidelberg Painter dating ca. 560–550 B.C.: a pair of confronted eagles fly above each of two racing chariot teams (Brijder 1991, p. 451, no. 372, pls. 124 d, e; not very clear in the photographs). I do not know a parallel for confronted eagles in this context, but see Homer, *The Odyssey* 2.146–74 (Murray and Dimock 1995, pp. 57, 59), where two eagles attack one another, perhaps foretelling that Odysseus is near and will soon kill the suitors (Pollard 1977, p. 119). See also Naples 81292, ex 2770, by Lydos, dating ca. 540 B.C., showing a mounted hoplite and his squire (Beazley 1956, p. 109, no. 23; Beazley 1971, p. 44, no. 23; Carpenter 1989, p. 30); two by painters from Group E, each ca. 540 B.C.—Athens, NMAcr. 821, depicting a warrior in a chariot leaving home (Beazley 1956, p. 136, no. 51), and Berlin 1716, a chariot in battle (Beazley 1956, p. 136, no. 62).
39. Oenbrink (1996, p. 101) does not mention the hooves of the horses or the wheel of the chariot, only the foreparts of the team, and he remarks that the appearance of the missing parts is unsure: “Eine weitergehende Rekonstruktion der Gespannszene hinsichtlich des Wagenslenkers und Kriegers bleibt allerdings unsicher.”
40. For a tentative reconstruction of this area as well as the one between the Hephaistos group and the figures at the right handle, see below.
41. This hairstyle is a simpler version of one of the Moirai and two of the Muses in the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the François Vase (as in note 8 above)—the left Moira (*Vaso François* 1981, fig. 76; Torelli 2007, p. 98 above); Stesichore (*Vaso François* 1981, fig. 79; Torelli 2007, p. 99); and Ourania (*Vaso François* 1981, fig. 81; Torelli 2007, p. 100). These hairstyles are more ornate than that of our nymph. They are bound with a ribbon and held by a narrow fillet, but the general result is the same.
42. See Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, p. 135. She restores two letters so the name reads: Φιλοποσία, love of drinking (“liebe zum Trinken”). For a commentary on this name, see *ibid.*, p. 145n8. She also remarks that Philoposia is not a known name for a nymph, but it is one suited to the subject on the krater. Kossatz-Deissmann (*ibid.*, p. 188) notes that Φιλοποσώ (Philoposo) is also a possibility, a less convincing one.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 135. The name is not known among the names of satyrs, but μολπή, a variation on it (*ibid.*, p. 185), means dance or rhythmic movement with song (Liddell and Scott 1937, p. 1142) and μολπαῖος means “tuneful” (*ibid.*).
44. The vertical area of glaze on the far side of the mule and the inebriated satyr is unclear to me. It is shaped like the tail of a satyr, but it cannot belong to Molpaioi, and the glaze is thin in places (it should have been applied more thickly).
45. Preserved measurements of fragment I: 12.8 x 18.8 cm. Most of the white for the nymph’s flesh has flaked. By mistake, the painter drew each foot of the dancing satyr as a right foot. The glaze is pitted on the inside.
46. The position of the bull’s horn and part of its neck and back in the frieze below would fit the space available behind the bull on fragment b+g+h (Figure 2).
47. Athens, NMAcr. 632: see Graef and Langlotz 1925–33, vol. 2, pl. 25.
48. In the scenes of the Birth of Athena, Hephaistos seems particularly proud of his role, cleaving the head of Zeus so Athena could be born from it. Often, spectators are present, including the Eileithyia (goddesses of childbirth), who place comforting hands on Zeus’s head. A good example is the image of Hephaistos in the Birth of Athena on Louvre CA 616, the tripod pyxis attributed to the C Painter, ca. 570 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 58, no. 122; Beazley 1971, p. 23, no. 122; Carpenter 1989, p. 16). Two others are from the Tyrrhenian Group, both ca. 560 B.C.—one by the Kyllenios Painter, Berlin F 1704 (Beazley 1956, p. 96, no. 14; Beazley 1971, p. 36, no. 14; Carpenter 1989, p. 25), and the other, Louvre E 852, unattributed (Beazley 1956, p. 96, no. 13; Carpenter 1989, p. 25). In each of these, Hephaistos leaves the scene looking back, one arm raised triumphantly. Especially lively and spirited is Hephaistos on the Phrynos Painter’s cup in London, also ca. 560 B.C.: London, BM 1867.5-8.962, ex B 424 (Beazley 1956, p. 168, —; Beazley 1971, p. 70; Carpenter 1989, p. 48).
- Whether to call Hephaistos’s attribute an ax or a hammer depends on the context in which the object appears as well as its shape, at least in the better-drawn scenes. The head of an ax is symmetrical with sharp edges, features of the ax on fragment b+g+h and on the Akropolis fragment (Figure 15). The heads of hammers usually have dull edges and may or may not be symmetrical. For Hephaistos carrying an ax and a satyr with two hammers, see Cambridge, Mass., Harvard 1960.236, a calyx-krater by the Kleophrades Painter, ca. 500–490 B.C., that depicts the Return of Hephaistos (Beazley 1963, p. 185, no. 31; Carpenter 1989, p. 187; *LIMC*, vol. 4 [1988], s.v. “Hephaistos” [Hermayr], pp. 643 no. 159, 642 [illus.]). For hammers, see those on the name vase of the Foundry Painter, Berlin 2294, ca. 490–480 B.C. (Beazley 1963, p. 400, no. 1; Beazley 1971, p. 370, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 230).
49. I noted this detail and traced this part of the fragment when it and the others were on loan to the J. Paul Getty Museum, where I saw them during a visit in March 1995. For a double line for the cheek strap and the throatlatch, see Athens, NMAcr. 632 (Figure 15, and as in note 47 above). See also the double line for the cheek strap on a fragment of a column-krater dating ca. 560 B.C. that depicts the Return of Hephaistos, the god holding a large kantharos: Rome, Antiquario del Foro (Hedreen 1992, p. 102n163; good photograph: Coarelli 1986, p. 176, fig. 48; attributed to the Painter of London B 76 by Paribeni [1956–58, pp. 5–6, no. 9, pl. 2]; not in Beazley 1956).
50. The brow band, throatlatch, and noseband appear like this on the chariot team incised on the volute-krater (Figure 1). Most of the lower part of the muzzle of the mule on MMA 31.11.11 is missing and filled in with plaster painted black, so there is no way to know whether the entire noseband was included, but probably it was not. For a well-preserved example of a bridle in the work of Lydos, see Naples 81292, ex 2770 (as in note 38 above). The only painter I know who often draws all four straps is the Princeton Painter; see Moore 2007, p. 41, for examples.
51. For the inscription, see Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, pp. 131, 145n5 for bibliography, especially Josef Wiesner (1969), in a lecture about the god on the donkey (“Gott auf dem Esel”) given in Freiburg, Germany on July 9, 1968. For the association of a donkey or mule with Hephaistos, see Hedreen 1992, p. 17.
- A few words about the difference between a donkey and a mule: a donkey is small and fertile; a mule is large and a cross between a male donkey and a mare, thus it is a hybrid and infer-



- tile. Mules are more horse-like with refined heads, short upright manes, and tails furnished with long hairs. Donkeys have coarser heads, sometimes with light tan muzzles, and thin tails ending in a prominent tassel. They have a dark stripe across their withers at the base of the neck and rings or bars on their legs. The last two features seldom occur on donkeys in Attic black figure, though the right hind leg of the donkey ridden by Hephaistos on Munich 1522 by a painter near the Group of Toronto 305, ca. 510 B.C., has three white rings painted on its right hind leg and four incised rings on each foreleg (Beazley 1956, p. 283, no. 1; *Kunst der Schale* 1990, p. 360, fig. 63.1). Finally, mules wear bits, donkeys usually do not. Sometimes the painters include the cheek piece of the bit but draw it above the corner of the donkey's mouth, making clear that no mouthpiece rested on the bars of the animal's jaw. This position of the cheek piece vertical to the mouth might have been useful in guiding the donkey to turn right or left, for it would exert pressure on one side of the muzzle when the rein on the opposite side was pulled. Kleitias observed these differences and painted a good example of each animal on the François Vase: a mule in the scene of the Return of Hephaistos (Figure 6) and a donkey in the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, best observed in the drawing by Karl Reichhold in Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32, pl. 2. See also Torelli 2007, p. 105 for the mule, and p. 97 for the donkey. Beazley (1986, p. 29) also recognized the distinction in his description of the Return of Hephaistos on the François Vase. See also Wiesner 1969, pp. 532–34.
52. Kossatz-Deissmann (1991, pp. 131, 135) thinks this is the hoof of a deer torn from the animal in the manner that frenzied maenads tear up animals. This animal part has not been torn off, but rather neatly cut off, as the double incision at the end of it indicates. It is probably intended for consumption.
53. See *ibid.*, p. 135: “der sich um nichts kümmert.” The inscription may not be his name, but a reference to his condition, though Kossatz-Deissmann (*ibid.*, p. 165) notes that a Trojan elder bears this name (*Iliad* 3.148). He appears only once and is otherwise unknown. See also note 3 above.
54. Beazley 1986, p. 26 (1951 and 1964 eds., p. 28).
55. For a list of satyrs with frontal faces in Attic black figure, see Korshak 1987, pp. 45–51. Add these examples in other scenes of the Return of Hephaistos: Oxford 1920.107, by a painter from the Burgon Group, ca. 560 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 89, no. 2; Beazley 1971, p. 33, no. 2; Carpenter 1989, p. 24; Hedreen 2009, p. 129, fig. 7a); Cracow 30 by the Amasis Painter, ca. 550–540 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 156, no. 84; Carpenter 1989, p. 46); London, BM 1914.3–17.6, an unattributed fragment of a band cup, ca. 550 B.C. (Beazley and Payne 1929, pl. 16, 9). For frontal faces in a variety of scenes, see Korshak 1987, *passim*; also Frontisi-Ducroux 1989; in more detail, Frontisi-Ducroux 1995, *passim*; Mackay 2001; most recently, Hedreen 2007, pp. 234–37, for satyrs with frontal faces.
56. Würzburg L 265 and L 282 (as in note 22 above). This vase dates ca. 540 B.C., and it may be the earliest example of an inebriated Dionysos. Carlo Gasparri (*LIMC*, vol. 3 [1986], s.v. “Dionysos,” p. 459, no. 415) thinks the god dances toward the satyr. Dancers have one foot raised well off the ground. Compare Carpenter 1986, pl. 19 A (Copenhagen, NM 5179, by the Heidelberg Painter [Beazley 1956, p. 64, no. 24; Carpenter 1989, p. 17; Brijder 1991, pl. 109], where Dionysos *is* dancing) with pl. 19 B (Würzburg L 265). On the latter, he is clearly tipsy.
57. See, however, the satyr lying on the ground on an unattributed late sixth-century B.C. neck-amphora, Naples 86322, where Dionysos, holding a drinking horn and an ax, sits sideways on a bull followed by a satyr (*LIMC*, vol. 3 [1986], s.v. “Dionysos” [Gasparri], p. 461, no. 436, pl. 350). It is unclear whether the satyr on the ground is drunk. Perhaps add Saint Petersburg B 1950, ex B 179, where a peculiar-looking creature squats on the ground alongside the mule. He is not a satyr because he lacks equine ears and tail. See *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. “Hephaistos” (Hermay), p. 640, no. 139c (attributed by Gorbunova to the Painter of Berlin 1686), pl. 394 (not in Beazley).
58. Nonnos, a late Greek writer (fifth century A.D.?) who described the Indian Triumph of Dionysos, referred to wineskins made from “the dappled skins of fawns” in *Dionysiaca* 12.354–55 (Rouse 1940, p. 423). For Nonnos, see *OCD* 2003, p. 1048, s.v. “Nonnos” (Neal Hopkinson). For a dappled fawn skin, see the one held by a nymph on the famous pointed amphora by the Kleophrades Painter (Munich 8732, ex 2344: Beazley 1963, p. 182, no. 6; Beazley 1971, p. 340, no. 6; Carpenter 1989, p. 186). For a good color photograph, see Arias 1962, pl. XXXI. For a wineskin that looks furry or hairy, see the one held by a satyr who pours wine into a column-krater on Munich 2919 A by the Epeleios Painter, ca. 510 B.C. (Beazley 1963, p. 146, no. 2; Carpenter 1989, p. 179).
59. Beazley 1963, p. 382, no. 183; Beazley 1971, p. 366, no. 183; Carpenter 1989, 227.
60. Berlin 3151 (Beazley 1956, p. 78, —; Beazley 1971, p. 30; Carpenter 1989, p. 22; *LIMC*, vol. 7 [1994], s.v. “Oreios” [Madeleine Page-Gasser], p. 64, no. 1, pl. 49; Schlesier and Schwarzaier 2008, p. 45, fig. 3; Hirayama 2010, pl. 44a).
61. Preserved measurements of fragment s: 9.7 x 11.1 cm. There are nicks here and there; the glaze is flaked on the right thigh of the satyr in front of Dionysos. Some of the glaze has a brownish cast. Reserved background is slightly reddish (wash?). There is good hard black glaze on the inside, pitted.
62. For Dionysos on the François Vase (as in note 8 above), see Vaso François 1981, fig. 132; Torelli 2007, p. 101 below. See also Dionysos on the unattributed amphora in Saint Petersburg (as in note 57 above) and Saint Petersburg 1524 (209), a column-krater, ca. 530–520 B.C., that is probably by the Swing Painter (Beazley 1956, p. 310; Carpenter 1989, p. 84; for the date, see Böhr 1982, p. 20).
63. Often the Heidelberg Painter included fringe on the garments of some of his figures. Here are some examples, all datable ca. 560–550 B.C.: Heidelberg S 5 (Beazley 1956, p. 63, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 17; Brijder 1991, p. 449, no. 365, pl. 120 b); Louvre CA 576 (Beazley 1956, p. 63, no. 3; Carpenter 1989, p. 17; Brijder 1991, pp. 449–50, no. 367, pl. 121 b); Cambridge, GR 4.1930, ex 30.4 (Beazley 1956, p. 63, no. 4; Carpenter 1989, p. 17; Brijder 1991, p. 450, no. 369, pls. 121 c, 122 c, e, f); Florence 3893 (Beazley 1956, p. 64, no. 26; Brijder 1991, p. 445, no. 346, pl. 111 c); Taranto, no number (Beazley 1956, p. 64, no. 23; Brijder 1991, p. 446, no. 350, pl. 113 d); Athens, NM 12667 (Beazley 1956, p. 65, no. 33; Brijder 1991, p. 446, no. 352, pl. 114 a); Basel art market (Brijder 1991, p. 447, no. 356, pl. 116 a). The Amasis Painter added fringe to garments. Here are four examples that may stand for many: Bloomington, Ind., 71.82, ca. 560–550 B.C., the cloaks of Dionysos and a man (Beazley 1971, p. 65; Carpenter 1989, p. 43); Berlin 1688, ca. 540 B.C., cloaks of Zeus and Hermes (Beazley 1956, p. 150, no. 9; Beazley 1971, p. 63, no. 9; Carpenter 1989, p. 42); London, BM 1849.6–20.5, ex B 471, ca. 540 B.C., Perseus's chiton and Hermes's cloak (Beazley 1956, p. 153, no. 32; Beazley 1971, p. 64, no. 32; Carpenter 1989, p. 44); Copenhagen, NM 14067, ca. 540 B.C., the cloak worn by a youth (Beazley 1971, p. 66; Carpenter 1989, p. 45).
64. For an exception, see Saint Petersburg B 1950, ex B 179 (as in note 57 above). There, Dionysos holds the drinking horn in his right

- hand across his body. Two others, created near the end of the sixth century B.C. or a little later may be mentioned. On one, an unattributed column-krater, Dionysos sits on a campstool holding the vessel in his right hand and cradling it in the crook of his left arm (Louvre Cp 11283: *LIMC*, vol. 3 [1986], s.v. "Dionysos" [Gasparri], p. 467, no. 519, pl. 359). The other is Athens, NM 581, a lekythos that is the name vase of a group of inept painters working during the time of the Persian Wars; Dionysos reclines on a couch holding the drinking horn so it overlaps his chest and left shoulder (*LIMC*, vol. 3 [1986], s.v. "Dionysos" [Gasparri], p. 470, no. 558, pl. 362).
65. Isler-Kerényi 2007, pp. 16, 33. See also Nonnos (*Dionysiaca* 12.358–64; Rouse 1940, p. 423), who wrote: "the wine spurted up . . . pressed by the alternating tread the fruit bubbled out red juice with white foam. They scooped it up with oxhorns, instead of cups which had not yet been seen. . . ." Nonnos was describing how Dionysos taught the satyrs to make wine.
66. A particularly good example is the kantharos held by Dionysos on Munich 8732, ex 2344, by the Kleophrades Painter (as in note 58 above). The artist covered the vessel with diluted glaze that imitates a metal sheen, in this case bronze. For a good color photograph, see Arias 1962, pl. XXX. For the kantharos, see Moore 1997, pp. 59–62, with bibliography, especially Courbin 1953, and also Hirayama 2010, pp. 85–86. There are not very many kantharoi in either Attic black figure or red figure, probably because it was a fragile shape, especially when compared with the sturdy skyphos and some of the heavier drinking cups. See Caskey 1931, p. 14, paraphrasing Beazley: "it is certain that there were metal kantharoi, and that their forms influenced the clay examples."
67. Melos, Archaeological Museum, no number, ex British School of Archaeology at Athens. The identification of the man as Dionysos was made by John ff. Baker-Penoyre in the initial publication of the amphora (1902, p. 70; but he opted to identify the woman as a maenad, p. 72). Klaus Fittschen (1969, pp. 139–40) opted for Dionysos and Ariadne, as did Dimitrios Papastamos (1970, p. 56), who also noted that Hesiod (*Theogony*, 948; Evelyn-White 1914, p. 149) described Dionysos and Ariadne as man and wife. Angelika Schöne (1987, p. 49) also identified them as Dionysos and Ariadne, as did Hedreen (1992, pp. 88–89) and Isler-Kerényi (2007, p. 7), who remarked that this is the earliest representation of Dionysos in figurative art. The lone dissenter is Carpenter (1986, p. 1n1), who does not believe that on the Melian amphora "the kantharos is sufficient evidence for an identification of the man as Dionysos" and wrote that the kantharos did not become an attribute of Dionysos before the middle of the sixth century B.C. As we shall see (note 70), the latter conclusion is inaccurate.
68. KX Painter: Athens, NM 640 (Beazley 1956, p. 26, no. 21; Carpenter 1989, p. 7; Hirayama 2010, fig. 7k, detail of kantharos); Athens, Kerameikos, no number (Beazley 1971, p. 15); and Samos K 1280 a, b (Beazley 1956, p. 26, no. 28; Kreuzer 1998, pp. 169–72, pls. 37 above and 38 above, colorpl. 1). Connected with the Painter of the Dresden Lekanis: Agora P 334 (as in note 14 above); Isler-Kerényi 2007, p. 65, fig. 33. These vases date ca. 580–570 B.C. For early kantharoi and their Etruscan antecedents, see Brijder 1988, especially pp. 109–12, for the earliest examples in Attic black figure.
69. Sophilos: London, BM 1971.11-1.1 (Beazley 1971, p. 19, no. 16 bis; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; good photo: Williams 1983, p. 23, fig. 26). Kleitias: Florence 4209 (*Vaso François* 1981, figs. 82, 83; Torelli 2007, p. 102 above).
70. Carpenter (1986, p. 117) remarked that "during the 540s the [drinking] horn is replaced by the kantharos, which is more common from then on." Hedreen (1992, p. 88) recognized correctly "that Dionysos is depicted with the kantharos . . . on several Attic vases that should date to the period 560–550." See the brief remarks by Shapiro 1989, p. 91.
71. For Munich 1447, see Beazley 1956, p. 81, —, no. 1; Beazley 1971, p. 30, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 22. For all the fragments of Akropolis 603, see Graef and Langlotz 1925–33, vol. 1, pp. 67–68, vol. 2, pl. 29; the subject may be the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis (Graef), because part of Peleus's name appears on fragment a and other Olympians are present. For the date, see *LIMC*, vol. 2 (1984), s.v. "Artemis" (Lilly Kahil), p. 711, no. 1163. On Florence 3809 (see CVA, Firenze 5 [Italia 42], pl. 11 [1875], 2), a satyr behind Hephaistos looks out at the viewer. Piera Bocci (1969, p. 6) compared the hydria with the cup by the Oakeshott Painter (Figure 8). Add here the example on a very fragmentary dinos in Chiusi (67371), which depicts the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis and is attributed by Mario Iozzo (2009, p. 68, figs. 10, 11, p. 69) to the Painter of London B 76. There, all that remains of the kantharos is the foot and beginning of the stem. I thank Dr. Iozzo for allowing me to read his manuscript before publication.
- For Malibu 86.AE.113, see CVA, Malibu 1 (USA 23), pl. 53 (1163), 2. For the Cahn attribution, see Clark 1988, p. 56; he noted that "Bothmer has observed that the kantharos held by Dionysos is one of the earliest examples of a representation of a vase decorated with a picture." The identification of the woman as Amphitrite began with Herbert Cahn (*Kunstwerke der Antike*, sale cat., Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel, May 6, 1967, p. 59, lot 122) and was accepted by Hedreen (1992 p. 88) and by Sophia Kaempf-Dimitriadou (*LIMC*, vol. 1 [1981], s.v. "Amphitrite," p. 728, no. 43). Clark (1988, p. 55) opted for Ariadne, but without discussion. Since this woman faces Poseidon instead of standing with him, I agree with the Ariadne identification.
72. See Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, p. 135 ("der Starke"). Another possibility she suggested might be ΚΡΑΤΑΙΜΕΝΗΣ (Krataimenes). Either one would fit in the space available.
73. Preserved measurements of fragment d+e+f: 33.3 x 38.3 cm. A large section is restored in plaster and painted. Chips are missing throughout. Some of the white for female flesh has flaked. To the right of the satyr is the area where the handle broke off. There are a hard dull glaze on the inside, nicks, and chips. At the very top of fragment d+e+f, above the foot of the amphora, is the red line marking the top of the shoulder where the neck sheared off.
74. These are examples I have been able to find of a satyr with a human ear, all but the first contemporary with MMA 1997.388: Agora P 334 (as in note 14 above); MMA 17.230.5 (as in note 10 above and Figure 8); Oxford 1920.107 (as in note 55 above); Vatican 316 (as in note 14 above); and Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS 424, dating ca. 550 B.C. and attributed to Lydos by Michales Tiverios (1976, p. 130, no. 38; CVA, Basel 1 [Schweiz 4], pl. 28 [174], 2). The head of the satyr on Agora P 334 and on Vatican 316 is in profile; the other three are frontal.
75. See Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, p. 152: its interpretation is difficult to determine, possibly an adjective (ἡριος), meaning early morning, or of the morning ("morgendlich, zum Morgen gehörig"). The glaze directly above the preserved letters of his name between the amphora and the satyr's chest may be part of his right arm.
76. I think both Gaunt and Venit misunderstood what this composition looked like originally. Gaunt (2002, pp. 401–2) wrote: "Two satyrs are busy emptying wine from amphorae into the krater; although no hydriai are immediately apparent, the wine may have been diluted by water from a well, and thus raised in an amphora." To begin with, in the entire composition on the obverse of MMA 1997.388 a satyr alternates with a nymph, and there is no reason

to believe it was otherwise at this handle. Furthermore, a hydria is a water jar, and it is usually women who go to the fountain house to fill it.

Venit (2006, p. 32) also thought there were two satyrs in this scene, and she identified the hydria as an oinochoe. "Two satyrs (only the lip of the oinochoe and the stream of wine is preserved of the left-hand action) dump wine into the . . . krater."

77. See Hölscher 1972, especially pp. 69–99, for the subject on temples; Müller 1978, especially pp. 167–73 for architectural sculpture, and pp. 174–80 for vase painting. See also Oenbrink 1996, p. 101, and Venit 2006, p. 33, for the Near Eastern connection (both with bibliography). Ernst Buschor (1922, p. 101) may have been the first to recognize this association when he pointed out that already in the Greek geometric period there was an interest in lions attacking prey.
78. It was probably similar to the foot of the early amphora Type A, which has a slightly concave top side and flares downward to a reserved resting surface. For two good examples, see these from Group E, each dating between 540 and 530 B.C.: Berlin 1699 (Beazley 1956, p. 136, no. 53; Beazley 1971, p. 55, no. 53—the vase now believed lost; Carpenter 1989, p. 37); Berlin 1698 (Beazley 1956, p. 136, no. 54; Carpenter 1989, p. 37). For photographs of each depicting the foot, see Technau 1936, pls. 30 and 31, respectively.
79. Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, pp. 131, 135: "Fragment . . . zeigt eine Amphora, in die ein Satyr Wein hineinschüttet."
80. Oenbrink 1996, p. 100. For the Samos fragment, K 898, see Beazley 1956, p. 151, no. 18; Beazley 1971, p. 63, no. 18; Carpenter 1989, p. 42; for the date, see Beazley 1954, p. 96.
81. Gaunt 2002, p. 401.
82. After that, double rays appear infrequently except in the work of the Affecter and the Amasis Painter, neither of whom decorated kraters. For this ornament, see the list of examples compiled and discussed by Heide Mommsen (1975, pp. 28–31).
83. There are no column-kraters or volute-kraters in the list cited in note 82 above.
84. For the column-krater, see Bakir 1974, especially pp. 20–22 for a list of Attic column-kraters, and pp. 60–63 for Corinthian influence on them. Also Amyx 1988, pp. 304–11, for a brief discussion of the shape; he does not mention the rays above the foot in his description of decoration (pp. 305–9). For double rays on Corinthian vases, see Mommsen 1975, p. 29n153. Add these from Amyx 1988—a skyphos, Boston, MFA 49.403, by the Perachora Painter, dated ca. 630–620 B.C. (p. 64, no. A 10, pl. 20); a pyxis with lid, Brussels, Bibliothèque, no number, by the Royal Library Painter, dated ca. 620–590 B.C. (p. 127, no. A 7, pl. 51 a); Basel, formerly collection of Karl Vogler, the name vase of the Vogler Painter, dated ca. 590–570 B.C. (p. 185, no. 1, pl. 70, 2 b); and a cup, Moscow, Pushkin Museum II.1-b.7, the name vase of the Moscow Gorgoneion Klyx, dated ca. 590–570 B.C. (p. 198, no. 1, pl. 81, 1 b, c). For these dates, see *ibid.*, p. 428.
85. There is not quite enough preserved of the rays to be absolutely certain, but it seems likely there was only a single row.
86. For a later column-krater with a more articulated foot, a torus above a torus, see an unattributed one dating ca. 540 B.C., MMA 24.97.95: Richter 1925, pp. 299 fig. 8, 300; Richter and Milne 1935, fig. 45.
87. See note 78 above. Also Gaunt 2002, chap. 3, "Late Attic Black-figured Volute-kraters. Introduction: Shape and Scheme of Decoration," pp. 61–72, especially pp. 61–62 for characteristics of the shape after the middle of the sixth century B.C. When Ergotimos made the François Vase, he opted for the simpler echinus foot

probably because the shape of the body is so similar to that of the column-krater.

88. Oenbrink (1996, p. 102) and Venit (2006, p. 33) recognized this. Gaunt (2002, p. 401) thought that "two lions bring down a bull." For the subject on temples, see Hölscher 1972, pp. 68–76, and Müller 1978, pp. 167–73.
89. On the François Vase, the lion and bull appear on the obverse in the animal frieze below the Pursuit of Troilos, specifically beneath the figures of Apollo and Troon. Above the back of the bull is a very ornate rosette. See *Vaso François* 1981, fig. 101. See also a similar composition on one leg of a tripod-kothon in the manner of the KY Painter, Athens, NM 12688 (Beazley 1956, p. 33, no. 1), and the elegant rosettes as fillers on MMA 1977.11.2 by Sophilos (as in note 35 above).
90. Hesiod, writing ca. 700 B.C., is the earliest author to mention wine mixed with water: ". . . thrice pour an offering of water, but make a fourth libation of wine" (*Works and Days*, 594–95; Evelyn-White 1914, p. 47). The lyric poet Alkaios advocated "mix one part of water to two of wine" (Fragment 346; Campbell 1982, p. 381). His fellow lyricist Anakreon advised just the opposite: "pour in ten ladles of water and five of wine"; he later modified his remarks on drinking unmixed wine: "come again, let us no longer practice Scythian drinking with clatter and shouting over our wine, but drink moderately amid beautiful songs of praise" (Fragment 356; Campbell 1988, p. 55). For later authors, see Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists* 10.426–427, 429–430 (Gulick 1969, pp. 429–35, 447). For the drinking of unmixed wine associated with uncivilized behavior, not just Scythian, see Slater 1990. For Pholos and his companion centaurs served unmixed wine by Herakles from a pithos half sunk in the ground, see *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), s.v. "Kentauroi et Kentaurides" (Lila Marangou), pp. 691–92, nos. 237–41, pl. 442.
91. See the general article by Friedrich W. Hamdorf (1990). See also Lissarrague 1990b, p. 202. Drinking unmixed wine caused men to become delirious, even to fall into a stupor. Originally, mixing wine with water was not an intentional practice, but an accidental occurrence. A rainstorm broke up a drinking party held at the sea-shore, and when the participants returned, they discovered that their partly empty wine bowls had filled with water, thus mixing the two liquids. See Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists* 15.675b (Gulick 1971, p. 115). Occasionally, if no krater or hydria is present, Dionysos is probably about to drink unmixed wine. These are two examples: a neck-amphora in Munich attributed to the Lysippides Painter and dated ca. 520 B.C. (Munich 1478: Beazley 1956, p. 255, no. 13; Carpenter 1989, p. 66; *Kunst der Schale* 1990, p. 392, fig. 69.6)—a satyr is about to pour wine from a skin into Dionysos's kantharos; a late sixth-century B.C. unattributed black-figured neck-amphora, Würzburg 208 (Lissarrague 1990a, p. 17, fig. 7)—a satyr comes up with an amphora full of wine to pour into the pithos and Dionysos sits opposite holding out his kantharos.
92. Lissarrague 1990b, p. 201. He noted (*ibid.*, n. 31) that on Louvre F 227, a neck-amphora by the Swing Painter, two komasts (not satyrs) carry containers, one a hydria, the other a wineskin (Beazley 1956, p. 309, no. 86; Carpenter 1989, p. 83). Their contents are presumably intended for Dionysos, who sits on the opposite side of the vase holding out his kantharos by its stem; he is accompanied by two kneeling satyrs, one of whom grasps a handle of the god's vessel. There is no krater present for mixing the wine.
93. The same pertains to lion's-head water spouts in fountain houses, whose large, open jaws permit water to gush out. A good example may be seen on a hydria in London attributed to the Priam Painter, ca. 510 B.C. (London, BM 1843.11-3.17, ex B 332: Beazley 1956,



- p. 333, no. 27; Beazley 1971, p. 146, no. 27; Carpenter 1989, p. 90). There, water pours from two spouts. See also MMA 06.1021.77, a late sixth-century B.C. hydria attributed to the Class of Hamburg 1917.77 (Beazley 1971, p. 148; Mertens 2010, p. 95, no. 18).
94. For a very good, if somewhat later, example, see the figure of Nike pouring water into a metal basin for a bull to drink, a victory scene on a stamnos in Munich attributed to the Hector Painter, a classical artist working in the middle of the fifth century B.C. (Munich 2412: Beazley 1963, p. 1036, no. 5; Beazley 1971, p. 443, no. 5; Carpenter 1989, p. 318). In this representation, the pressure has eased and the water (painted white) empties out easily in a steady stream. The scene is best observed in the drawing by by Karl Reichhold in Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32, pl. 19.
95. This is not an erotic pose, as implied by Kreuzer (2009, pp. 149, 152n47). For examples of nymphs lifting the skirts of their rather short chitons above their waists to expose themselves to satyrs, see two uninhibited ones on the Tyrrhenian amphora in the Villa Giulia attributed by Bothmer to the Castellani Painter (50631, ex M.453: Beazley 1956, p. 100, no. 73; Beazley 1971, p. 38, no. 73; Hedreen 1992, pl. 40 b; cited by Kreuzer [2009, p. 152n47] along with others). There, the skirts are lifted to shoulder level, much higher than the skirt of our nymph. Hedreen (1992, p. 126) wrote: “The repetition of the figures [on the Villa Giulia amphora] suggests that we are viewing an actual obscene choral performance.” In that composition, the satyrs and nymphs alternate just as they do on MMA 1997.388, but this is the only similarity. For a detail of those two nymphs, see Kluiver 2003, p. 235, fig. 92. The nymph on MMA 1997.388 is very tame by comparison.
96. Würzburg Ha 166a: CVA, Würzburg 1 (Deutschland 39), pl. 44 (1926), 6.
97. For the name, see Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, p. 135: “The name relates (genetically) to the god Hermes and is thus far unknown” (Allerdings ist die Verbindung Hermothales [“der durch Hermes blühende”] bislang singular). This of considerable interest because Hermes is the father of the satyrs. Nonnos (*Dionysiaca* 14.105–14; Rouse 1940, pp. 479, 481) wrote: “And the horned satyrs [were] all sons of Hermes.” For other literary evidence, see Moore 2006b, pp. 25–26.
98. Florence 4209 (as in note 8 above; see *Vaso François* 1981, fig. 89).
99. Athens, Agora A-P 1953 a (Roebuck 1940, p. 199, no. 134, fig. 31). Lydos: Athens, NMAcr. 607, fragment t (Beazley 1956, p. 107, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 29). On this fragment, Apollo’s nebris is clasped with a rosette. The Heidelberg Painter: Athens, NMAcr. 2133 b (Beazley 1956, p. 66, no. 60; Carpenter 1989, p. 18; Brijder 1991, p. 406 and pl. 153 a). On a fragmentary unattributed neck-amphora of ca. 530 B.C. in Malibu, Artemis wearing a lion-skin and holding her bow sits on a throne facing a kithara player and another seated woman (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.45: *LIMC*, vol. 7 [1994], s.v. “Omphale” [John Boardman], p. 52, no. 82, with bibliography [Boardman, along with other scholars, rejects the identification of this woman as Omphale and opts for Artemis]). I have been able to find only two other nymphs wearing lionskins. They appear on each side of an eye-cup in Munich by a painter from the Group of Walters 48.42, dated 530–520 B.C. (Munich 2052: Beazley 1956, p. 206, no. 7; Beazley 1971, p. 95, no. 7; Carpenter 1989, p. 55; CVA, München 13 [Deutschland 77], pl. 24 [3884], 3–5). For rosettes as ties, see the one Nearchos used to fasten Hermes’s nebris on Athens, NMAcr. 15156 a, ex Acr. 612 a (Beazley 1956, p. 83, no. 3; Carpenter 1989, p. 23).
100. Preserved measurements of fragment i+j: 29.1 x 18.5 cm.
101. Preserved measurements of fragment r: 29.1 cm x 18.5 cm.
102. See Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, p. 135: “The restoration of the name is uncertain since there does not seem to be a parallel” (Die Ergänzung ist hier unsicher, da bislang keine Personennamen belegt sind, die auf—παιστος ausgehen).
103. Preserved measurements of fragment k: 7.6 x 7.7 cm.
104. Preserved measurements of fragment t: 6 x 5.2 cm.
105. Preserved measurements of fragment u: 3.5 x 6.5 cm. The surface is chipped.
106. Preserved measurements of fragment v: 5.8 x 5.2 cm. The surface is abraded here and there.
107. Preserved measurements of fragment w: 3.8 cm x 3.5 cm. This is not from the same garment as the one on fragment v.
108. Preserved measurements of fragment x: 2.9 cm x 2.1 cm.
109. Preserved measurements of fragment y: 2.8 x 4.5 cm.
110. Preserved measurements of fragment aa: 8.2 x 9.4 cm.
111. See the bibliography in note 7 above.
112. For scenes of the return, see *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. “Hephaistos” (Hermay), pp. 638–39, nos. 113–28; for Hera, *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. “Hera” (Kossatz-Deissmann), pp. 693–95, nos. 306–20, pls. 423–24, and p. 695 for a brief commentary on the representations in Attic vase painting.
113. Sophilos: Athens, NMAcr. 15165, ex 587 (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 15; Carpenter 1989, p. 10); London, BM 1971.11-1.1 (Beazley 1971, p. 19, no. 16 bis; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; Williams 1983, p. 23, fig. 26). See also the grandstand in the scene of the chariot race in the games for Patroklos on Athens, NM 15499, signed by Sophilos (as in note 13 above). Kleitias: Florence 4209 (as in note 8 above; *Vaso François* 1981, fig. 83, and Torelli 2007, p. 102 below, for the wedding; *Vaso François* 1981, figs. 84, 87, 88, and Torelli 2007, pp. 106, 109, for Troilos). Obviously, in the Return of Hephaistos, if Hera is present, the location is Olympos.
114. Hedreen 1992, pp. 19–22, followed by Shapiro (1995, p. 9) in a few brief remarks. See Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1971, pp. 25–27 (I thank Elizabeth Angelicoussis for obtaining a copy of this text for me). The commentary is on *Iliad* 23.92; for the text, see *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Page 1962, p. 123, no. 234), and for the translation, see Stewart 1983, p. 56. See also *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. “Hephaistos” (Malten), vol. 8 (1913), cols. 315, 356–58. There is also a version that Hephaistos was sent to Naxos to apprentice with a metalworker named Kedalion (ibid., cols. 358–59), who taught him his craft, not only how to make arms and armor, but also vessels such as the golden amphora. Gantz (1993, p. 77) cites other objects made by Hephaistos. For Kedalion, see also *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. “Kedalion” (Gunning), vol. 11 (1922), cols. 107–9.
115. London, BM 1837.6-9.35, ex B 302 (Beazley 1956, p. 261, no. 40; Beazley 1971, p. 115, no. 40; Carpenter 1989, p. 68; *LIMC*, vol. 4 [1988], s.v. “Hephaistos” [Hermay], p. 637, no. 107). See also the fragmentary calyx-krater by or near the Talos Painter that depicts Dionysos and Hephaistos as symposiasts, Würzburg H 5708 (Beazley 1963, p. 1339, no. 5; Carpenter 1989, p. 367).
116. Hedreen 1992, p. 20.
117. Athens, NM 16258: *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. “Hephaistos” (Hermay), p. 637, no. 110, pl. 390; Hedreen 1992, pl. 7.
118. The representation on a volute-krater by Polion, an artist active in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C., combines the two scenes (Ferrara 3033, ex T 127: Beazley 1963, p. 1171, no. 1; Beazley 1971, p. 459, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 338; *LIMC*, vol. 4 [1988], s.v. “Hera” [Kossatz-Deissmann], p. 694, no. 316, pl. 423). At the right of the composition, Dionysos and Hephaistos recline on a couch, and a satyr props up Hephaistos. At the left, Hera sits on her throne looking sullen. A siren fans her and there are satyrs and nymphs about. See Froning 1971, pp. 67–75.

119. Basic bibliography: Hesiod, *Theogony*, 286–92; Evelyn-White 1914, p. 101: “Him [Geryon] mighty Heracles slew in sea-girt Erythea by his shambling oxen on that day when he drove the wide-browed oxen to holy Tiryns, and had crossed the ford of Ocean and killed Orthus and Eurytion the herdsman.” See also *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), s.v. “Herakles” (Boardman), pp. 73–80, 84–85 for commentary; Gantz 1993, pp. 402–8.
120. London, BM 65.7-20.17, ex A 587 (*LIMC*, vol. 5 [1990], s.v. “Herakles” [Boardman], p. 74, no. 2462); Samos, Vathy B 2518, a bronze pectoral—part of a horse’s harness (*ibid.*, pp. 75 [drawing], 76 no. 2476). For the latter, see Brize 1985, especially pp. 55–59, for a description.
121. See *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), s.v. “Herakles” (Boardman), p. 80, nos. 2533–35a. No. 2533 is the lost throne of Apollo at Amyklai by Bathykles, whose dates are uncertain but thought to be around the middle of the sixth century B.C. The throne and its figural decoration are best known from the description by Pausanias, who remarked that “Herakles is driving off the cows of Geryones” (*Description of Greece* III.18.13; Jones and Ormerod 1926, p. 117); for Bathykles, see the commentary to *Description of Greece* III.18.9 by Frazer (1913, p. 351), who conjectured that the artist “would have flourished about 550 B.C.” Pausanias implied that no other figures were present. The gender of the animals in this labor is usually considered male by the vase painters. The next two listed in *LIMC* (vol. 5, [1990], s.v. “Herakles” [Boardman], p. 80, nos. 2534, 2535) are late-sixth century B.C. and very different from the one on MMA 1997.388. On these, Herakles appears in a panel with just one or two bovines, though on one a cow suckles a calf (no. 2535, Boulogne 476 by a Painter from the Leagros Group; Beazley 1956, p. 377, no. 245; Beazley 1971, p. 163, no. 245; *LIMC*, vol. 5, [1990], s.v. “Herakles” [Boardman], pl. 90). On the last (no. 2535a, London, BM E 104 by the Painter of London E 105, dating ca. 430–410 B.C.), the hero drives three cows, one of which looks around (Beazley 1963, p. 1293, no. 1; *LIMC*, vol. 5, [1990], s.v. “Herakles” [Boardman], pl. 91). One may add the unattributed Attic black-figured plate in Heidelberg from the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. that depicts on its rim an unidentified youth driving ten bulls (Heidelberg 68/2: CVA, Heidelberg 4 [Deutschland 31], pl. 64 [1503], 1, 3). The composition on MMA 1997.388 was probably similar.
122. Preserved measurements of fragment c: length at outer edge 20 cm; height of figures 8 cm. The plate sheared off from the mouth, which is not preserved. There is a red line around the edge of the plate continuing on to the side. Much of the accessory red and white is flaked.
123. Normally the handle plate contains very simple decoration, often a floral one, sometimes a Gorgoneion, as on MMA 31.11.11, or a feline. Fragment c of MMA 1997.388 is most unusual in depicting a war chariot. See Moore and Philippides 1986, p. 24.
124. Sophilos: London, BM 1971.11-1.1 (as in note 69 above); for illustrations, see Williams 1983, p. 25, fig. 29, p. 26, fig. 31, and p. 27, fig. 33, respectively; Hirayama 2010, fig. 21e, f, h; Athens, NM 15499 (as in note 13 above). Kleitias: Florence 4209 (as in note 8 above); for illustrations, see *Vaso François* 1981, fig. 70 for Hippothoon’s chariot team, and figs. 75, 77, 78, 80, 81 for white horses in the wedding scene.
125. As in note 3 above.
126. See Beazley 1956, pp. 105–13; Beazley 1971, pp. 43–46; Carpenter 1989, pp. 29–32. His signature as painter is known from two vases—the big fragmentary dinos from the Akropolis, Athens, NMAcr. 607 (as in note 99 above); the signature is incised on the rim (see Beazley 1986, pl. 34, 1); and Louvre F 29, an amphora

(Beazley 1956, p. 109, no. 21; Beazley 1971, p. 44, no. 21; Carpenter 1989, p. 30): Lydos painted the inscription in the space between Neoptolemos and Priam collapsed on the altar (Beazley 1986, pl. 33, 2, 3).

127. Munich 1681 (Beazley 1956, p. 108, no. 12; Carpenter 1989, p. 29); Berlin, Univ. no number (Beazley 1956, p. 108, no. 15; Carpenter 1989, p. 30); Louvre E 868 (Beazley 1956, p. 110, no. 30; Carpenter 1989, p. 30).
128. For the Akropolis dinos, Athens, NMAcr. 607, see note 99 above. Add Berlin 1685 (Beazley 1956, p. 109, no. 24; Carpenter 1989, p. 30); London, BM 1848.6-19.5 ex B 148 (Beazley 1956, p. 109, no. 29; Beazley 1971, p. 44, no. 29; Carpenter 1989, p. 30); Athens, NMAcr. 2424 (Beazley 1956, p. 111, no. 52; Carpenter 1989, p. 31); Athens, Kerameikos 1687 (Beazley 1956, p. 113, no. 81; Beazley 1971, p. 45, no. 81; Carpenter 1989, p. 32).
129. Heide Mommsen in a conversation with Joan R. Mertens; Kreuzer 2009, p. 149.
130. See particularly Athens, NMAcr. 607 (as in note 99 above), best observed in Graef and Langlotz 1925–33, vol. 2, pls. 33–35; Athens, NM 507 (Beazley 1956, p. 112, no. 56; Beazley 1971, p. 44, no. 56; Carpenter 1989, p. 31).
131. For Little-Master Cups, see Moore and Philippides 1986, p. 64, with bibliography, especially Beazley 1932, pp. 167–204, 167–85 for lip-cups.

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