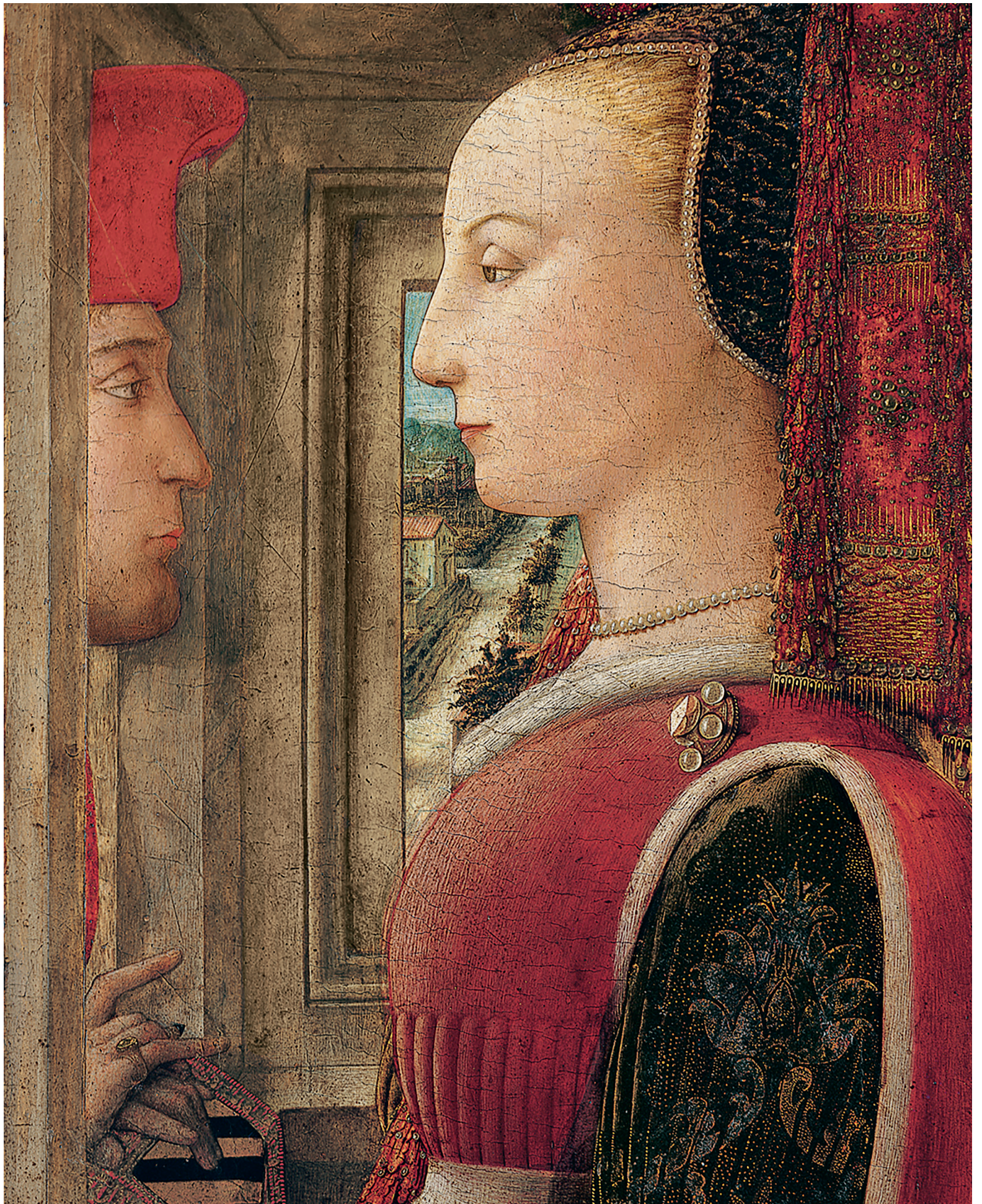


METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM

JOURNAL 51



METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM

JOURNAL 51

VOLUME 51 / 2016

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The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is published annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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Manuscripts submitted for the *Journal* and all correspondence concerning them should be sent to journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org. Guidelines for contributors are given on p. 6.

Published in association with the University of Chicago Press. Individual and institutional subscriptions are available worldwide. Please direct all subscription inquiries, back issue requests, and address changes to: University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, P. O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637-0005, USA. Phone: (877) 705-1878 (U.S. and Canada) or (773) 753-3347 (international), fax: (877) 705-1879 (U.S. and Canada) or (773) 753-0811 (international), email: subscriptions@press.uchicago.edu, website: www.journals.uchicago.edu

ISBN 978-0-226-43804-7
(University of Chicago Press)
ISSN 0077-8958 (print)
ISSN 2169-3072 (online)

Library of Congress
Catalog Card Number 68-28799

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Typefaces: Calibre, Lyon, and Harriet
Printed on Creator Silk, 150 gsm
Separations by Altamage New York
Printed and bound by Verona Libri,
Verona, Italy

Front cover illustration: Unidentified artist (Senegalese). Detail of *Portrait of a woman*, 1910s. See fig. 1, p. 180.

Back cover illustration: Dihl et Guérhard (French, 1781–ca. 1824; *Manufacture de Monsieur le duc d'Angoulême, until 1789*). Detail of *Vase with Scenes of Storm at Sea*, ca. 1797–98. See fig. 1, p. 112.

Illustration on p. 2: Fra Filippo Lippi (Italian, ca. 1406–1469). Detail of *Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement*, ca. 1440. See fig. 1, p. 64.

Illustration on pp. 8–9: Detail of the Metropolitan Vase. Guatemala or Mexico. Maya, Late Classic, 7th–8th century. See fig. 7b, p. 47.

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MANUSCRIPT GUIDELINES FOR THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL

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ABBREVIATIONS

MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*
MMJ *Metropolitan Museum Journal*

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

METROPOLITAN
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JOURNAL 51







MARY B. MOORE

Sophilos and Early Greek Narrative

Greek vases decorated during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. offer the most important visual evidence of how the Greeks envisioned all aspects of divine, heroic, and human behavior. In the first three decades of the sixth century B.C., many vase painters explored the possibilities of the Attic black-figure technique and the invention of new shapes, both large and small on which to display their skills, leading to ambitious illustrations of mythological themes, hitherto unknown in Greek vase painting.¹ The most significant vase painter was Sophilos, an imaginative artist active from about 580 to 570 B.C., or possibly a bit later.² Sophilos knew the Greek alphabet and was the first known Greek vase painter to sign his name, which appears on four of his vases. Three are dinoi that he signed as painter (Sophilos egrapsen): Athens, NMAcr., NM 15165, ex Acr. 587; Athens, NM 15499 (fig. 1); and London, BM 1971.1101.1 (fig. 2).



fig. 1 Fragment of an Attic black-figured dinos signed by Sophilos as painter, showing the chariot race at the Games for Patroklos, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, preserved H. 11¼ in. (30 cm). The National Museum, Athens (NM 15499)

The dinos is a deep bowl without a foot or handles. The fourth is a louterion—Athens, NM 15942, 15918, ex 2035, 1–2—and the signature may be as painter or potter.³ The louterion is a shallow dish with a foot and two handles. Sophilos was also the first to label many of the mythological figures, because at that time the gods and heroes had not yet acquired their identifying attributes and they were difficult to recognize without an inscription. On Athens, NM 15499 (fig. 1), he labeled the subject, the Games for Patroklos—an original, and possibly unique, solution for identifying a scene that would otherwise look like a generic chariot race. His inscriptions are not mere tags, but form integral parts of the compositions.⁴

Sophilos decorated many vases of various shapes and sizes, and his facility in adapting human figures to the respective surfaces lends credibility to the suggestion that he was a potter as well as a painter. In a lecture delivered at Oxford University on February 15, 1999, Dietrich von Bothmer proposed that “Sophilos began his career as the potter for the Gorgon Painter, in

particular of his dinos in the Louvre, E 874.”⁵ So far, however, no certain potting signature by Sophilos has survived,⁶ but it would not be surprising in the least if one appeared among future discoveries.

Sophilos’s pictorial interests differed greatly from those of his contemporaries, who specialized in animal friezes and komasts (lively padded dancers).⁷ Instead, he applied his talent to less repetitious, often rare subjects, such as the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the Departure of Amphiaraos for Thebes, and the Games for Patroklos, as well as memorable representations of old age. Sophilos gave new energy, individuality, and spirit to the silen (the mythological creature later called a satyr). He was the first artist to include recognizable architecture in his compositions and to depict the frontal face of a figure that is not a Gorgon. At least six times, Sophilos painted a frontal chariot drawn by four horses—an ambitious pictorial challenge because depicting horses frontally is far more difficult than showing them in profile.



fig. 2 Attic black-figured dinos with stand signed by Sophilos as painter, showing the procession at the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, H. with stand 28 in. (71 cm). British Museum, London (BM 1971.1101.1)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art is particularly fortunate to have two important vases attributed to Sophilos, each dating about 580 B.C. One is MMA 1977.11.2, a large, well-preserved example of the type known as a proto-volute-krater, an extremely rare shape in Attic vase painting (fig. 13); this vase will be discussed later.⁸ The other, illustrated here for the first time, is MMA 1977.193, a fragment of a dinos that depicts parts of two silens, one of them facing the viewer (fig. 3).

They are among the earliest preserved examples of this amusing mythological creature in Greek art.

The dinos was used for mixing wine and water at banquets (see fig. 2). It has a flat rim and a very short neck but no foot, so it requires a stand for support. Its figural and ornamental decoration is set in friezes.⁹ MMA 1977.193 comes from the shoulder of a dinos, where it sheared off from the join with the neck (see fig. 3).¹⁰ A frieze of thick tongues borders the figures

fig. 3 Fragment of an Attic black-figured dinos attributed to Sophilos showing the heads and shoulders of two silen, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, H. 2 7/8 in. (7.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Bruce P. McNall, 1977 (1977.193)



at the top of the composition; some of the tongues have a large red dot at the bottom that appears randomly applied. Below the frieze are the upper parts of two silen. The one on the left faces the viewer. His companion looks toward him, and his raised right hand and open mouth suggest he is dancing and singing. Their names are inscribed, but too little is preserved to complete either one.

This fragment has been linked with Sophilos, but without any discussion of its attribution. I believe that Sophilos painted it, and its shape supports the attribution. Based on the surviving evidence, Sophilos painted more dinoi than any other Attic black-figure artist, very likely because the form provided generous space for friezes depicting his complicated mythological subjects, such as the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis and the Games for Patroklos.¹¹ In addition to the three dinoi that Sophilos signed,¹² Sir John Beazley, the foremost authority on Athenian vases, listed four others, plus a fragmentary dinoid vessel, and Güven Bakır added a further dinos. Moreover, there is a fragment in the collection of Arthur S. Richter (fig. 11), as well as others in the Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge (Mass.) (1995.18.23), and I propose to add two more—the fragment under discussion, MMA 1977.193 (fig. 3), and Athens, Agora P 18567 (fig. 14)—making a total of thirteen, counting the dinoid.¹³ The tongue pattern on MMA 1977.193 is closest to the one on Athens, NM 15499 (fig. 1), only there, each alternate tongue is painted red.

SILENS AND SATYRS

Iconographically, the silen and the satyr look alike. Each is characterized by a face that has big, round eyes; a large snub nose and equine ears; a human body that is smooth or hairy; a horse's tail; and legs that are either human or equine.¹⁴ Which term to use when describing an unlabeled representation depends on the date of the vase on which it appears. In using the term *silen* rather than *satyr* in this article, I follow Guy Hedreen and Timothy Gantz, who noted that the earliest representations should be called “silens” because this is how they are inscribed on the François Vase by Kleitias dating about 570 B.C.¹⁵ There, in the scene of the Return of Hephaistos to Olympus (fig. 4), three silen (inscribed: ΣΙΛΗΝΟΙ) accompany Dionysos. These creatures are hoofed, but they have fully human faces and their equine ears are barely noticeable. They appear very civilized, no doubt owing to the Olympian setting. From the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. on, silen are an important part of the life of Dionysos. Modern scholarly literature focuses on this aspect of them, as well as their relation to the development of Greek drama beginning in the late sixth century B.C. and continuing well into the fourth. At some point, later than the material discussed in this article, *satyr* became the term used to describe this figure.¹⁶

The silen depicted on vases that predate the François Vase are playful, exuberant creatures who generally enjoy life, often drink too much, make music, dance enthusiastically, and pursue nymphs



fig. 4 Detail of the François Vase, an Attic black-figured volute-krater signed by Ergotimos as potter and by Kleitias as painter, showing a detail of the Return of Hephaistos to Olympos, ca. 570 B.C. Terracotta, H. 26 in. (66 cm). Museo Archeologico Etrusco, Florence (4209)

with obvious amorous intentions that are sometimes reciprocated.¹⁷ Unlike satyrs, silen are not especially threatening and they do not cause harm, but they are often pests.

THE SILENS ON MMA 1977.193

The silen at left faces the viewer. Most of his forehead and some of his hair are preserved, as well as a very long upright left ear, both eyebrows, the bridge of his nose, and a little of his left eye (fig. 3). To the right of him are the first two letters of his name and the start of the third: TP [. . .]. The silen at right faces left, with his head and shoulder in profile. He has two tall ears painted red; long incised straight hair and beard; a large, round eye; and a pronounced snub nose, its tip added in red. His open mouth reveals large incised teeth, perhaps a reference to his part-animal nature; depictions of teeth occur

most often in representations of animals, as for example, the lion on MMA 38.11.10, a fragment attributed to the Lion Painter that is probably from a neck-amphora dating about 630–620 B.C. (fig. 5).¹⁸ There is a thick red circle on this silen's cheek, a blob of red on his shoulder, and a painted red line accents the incised line defining his collarbone. His raised right hand, held horizontally, appears to the left of his forelock, with long fingers together and thumb downward; Sophilos even included the thumbnail. Six letters of the silen's name appear behind him: ΕΙΙΙΨΟΙ[. . .].¹⁹ A deep scratch cuts through his face, and beside it, in front of his mouth, there is a thick line of glaze; it is unclear what, if anything, these features represent. A partial curved form at the break to the left of this silen's beard is more intelligible. It appears to be the top of one handle of a kantharos held diagonally, indicating it is empty; if it were held horizontally, there would not be enough space for the missing letters of the frontal silen's name (fig. 6).²⁰ It would be most unusual for a silen, rather than Dionysos, to



fig. 5 Fragment of an Attic black-figured neck-amphora attributed to the Lion Painter showing the head of a lion, ca. 630–620 B.C. Terracotta, max. W. 4 in. (10.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1938 (38.11.10)



fig. 6 Reconstruction drawing of fig. 3



fig. 7 Detail of the dinos with stand in fig. 2 showing Peleus in front of his palace holding a kantharos

hold a kantharos, and if our silen does, he may be the earliest known to us. Sophilos was apparently familiar with this shape, because on the signed dinos in London (fig. 7; also see fig. 2), Peleus holds out a kantharos as he greets his guests.²¹

SOPHILOS AND SILENS

Sophilos was not the only early Attic painter who depicted silens. A few instances by contemporary artists are known, and it is possible that Sophilos saw some in the Kerameikos, the potters' quarter of ancient Athens. These silens illustrate how different painters were imagining this relatively new addition to the mythological repertoire. An engaging example, slightly earlier than those by Sophilos, occurs on a Deianeira lekythos in the manner of the Gorgon Painter dating about 590 B.C. There, a cheerful-looking silen is astride a leaping donkey, which bites the arm of a fleeing nymph. She looks as if she is trying to run out of the picture, for her feet are incised in the black glaze below the panel.²² The examples from Sophilos's time, dating about 580–570 B.C., include a trio of silens on a dinos or a krater fragment in Cortona attributed by

Enrico Parabeni to the KX Painter. The fragment preserves the upper parts of each. One silen dances, another carries a large column-krater, and the third holds out an ovoid neck-amphora.²³ On a fragmentary dinos connected with the Group of the Dresden Lekanis, the artist inserted an excited silen pursuing a nymph between a scene of komasts (revelers) frolicking around a column-krater and a representation of the Hunting of the Calydonian Boar.²⁴ An unattributed fragment, perhaps of a hydria (water jar), depicts the head and hands of a silen playing the aulos, a double-reed instrument.²⁵ In addition, silen protomes decorate three oinochoai (jugs) dating about 600 B.C. or slightly later—for example, the one at right on Agora P 24945, which has an open mouth and large incised teeth (fig. 8).²⁶

The faces of these silens appear in profile, and none of their names are inscribed. The silen at left on MMA 1977.193 (fig. 3) may be the first frontal silen in Attic black-figure, for the next one occurs about 570 B.C., on MMA 26.49—the aryballos signed by Nearchos as potter and attributed to him as painter (fig. 9).²⁷ A masturbating silen on the back of the handle looks out at the viewer and is flanked by two similar ones, in profile,

fig. 8 Attic black-figured oinochoe attributed to the Manner of the Gorgon Painter showing a lotus between the heads of two confronted silens, ca. 600 B.C. Terracotta, preserved H. 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (12.5 cm). Athens, Agora (P 24945)



fig. 9 Detail of the back of the handle of an Attic black-figured aryballos signed by Nearchos as potter and attributed to him as painter showing three silens masturbating, ca. 570 B.C. Terracotta, H. 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (7.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, the Cesnola Collection, by exchange, 1926 (26.49)

fig. 10 Fragment of an Attic black-figured dinos attributed to Sophilos showing a silen grasping a nymph, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, preserved H. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (9.1 cm). Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul (4514)

shown with open mouths and white teeth. Earlier examples of the frontal face are representations of Medusa; since her face turns all beholders to stone, it must be depicted frontally. The faces of her Gorgon sisters are also shown frontally, but they do not seem to have her special power of petrification.²⁸ Good examples occur on the name vase of the Gorgon Painter.²⁹

On the signed dinoi depicting the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis—Athens, NMAcr., NM 15165, ex Acr. 587, frag. i and London, BM 1971.1011.1 (fig. 2)—Sophilos painted two female figures looking out at the viewer.³⁰ Each plays the syrinx, or panpipe, a wind instrument fashioned from several hollow water reeds fastened together, and best illustrated with its player facing the viewer.³¹ On MMA 1977.193 (fig. 3) the lower

half of the frontal silen's face is not preserved, so we cannot determine if he played the syrinx. Probably not, because the silen or satyr usually plays the aulos (double flute), in which case he is depicted in profile (see fig. 4).³² The silen on MMA 1977.193 may simply be calling the viewer's attention to himself and his companions, for "in archaic painting the frontal face is not used haphazard."³³ In any case, this silen seems to stand quietly, unlike his companion silen with raised right hand and open mouth. He compares very well with the silen pursuing a nymph on the fragment of a krater or a dinos by Sophilos from Lindos and now in Istanbul (fig. 10).³⁴ He has a similar nose, his hands are quite large with very long fingers, and articulated fingernails on his left hand.³⁵ The main difference is that the Istanbul silen is hairy.³⁶

Two more details point to Sophilos as the painter of MMA 1977.193. One is the straight hair of the silen at right. Long hair by Sophilos is usually wavy, but a good comparison is the straight hair of a siren on a fragment found on the Akropolis.³⁷ The other detail is the red splotch that occurs on his shoulder. A similar mark appears on the shoulder of the centaur pursued by Herakles.³⁸ This odd feature seems to appear only in the work of Sophilos.

The silens on MMA 1977.193 and the one on Istanbul 4514 (figs. 3, 10) are comparable to those on a dinos fragment in the collection of Arthur S. Richter,³⁹ which preserves parts of three ithyphallic silens to right (fig. 11). The one at left holds a karchesion, a very rare two-handed drinking vessel related to the kantharos.⁴⁰ Sophilos probably saw a karchesion, and it may have interested him, because he drew it in such careful detail. He again included fingernails on the silen's left hand (see fig. 10). The middle silen, shown running, is preserved





fig. 11 Fragment of an Attic black-figured dinos attributed to Sophilos showing parts of three silens, one holding a karchesion, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, preserved H. 3¼ in. (9.4 cm). Collection of Arthur S. Richter

but for his head, most of his arms, and the lower parts of his legs, which were equine (the hock is preserved). These two silens are hairy, and the hair of their beards (just the ends) is straight. The third has a red torso but is otherwise smooth, and his legs are also equine. Between the silens at the left and at the middle is part of the latter's name: . . .]PATOΣ. J. Michael Padgett reads ΕΛΑΣΙΣΤ]ΠΑΤΟΣ (Elasistratos), I think correctly.⁴¹ The sigma is written retrograde, as in many inscriptions by Sophilos.⁴²

The silens on MMA 1977.193, Istanbul 4514, and the Richter fragment (figs. 3, 10, 11) were parts of larger compositions that very likely depicted more silens, probably nymphs, and perhaps even an image of Dionysos. What is particularly special about the silens by Sophilos is that each one has his own personality and his own identifiable, even memorable, features. It is as if the painter experimented with ways to present this new mythological creature, who would have a long and vigorous life in Greek art.

SOPHILOS AND ARCHITECTURE

Sophilos placed some of his figures in convincing architectural settings, a rare occurrence this early in Greek vase painting. Three famous examples, each on a signed dinos, are known. One is the grandstand full of enthusiastic spectators cheering at the funerary games held by the Greek hero Achilles in honor of his friend Patroklos (see fig. 1).⁴³ The other two—

fig. 12 Fragment of an Attic black-figured proto-volute-krater attributed to Sophilos showing part of a palace, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, preserved H. 3¼ in. (8.2 cm). Athens, Agora (P 13848)

London, BM 1971.1101.1 and Athens, NMAcr. 15165, ex Acr. 587—depict the palace of Peleus and Thetis.⁴⁴ On the London dinos (see figs. 2, 7), the palace is complete: two black antae and two white Doric columns flank a solid closed door and support a metope-triglyph frieze. The palace on the Akropolis fragment preserves only the right half of the door, the white column, and the lower half of the anta.⁴⁵ These are impressive compositions, to which another may be added: Athens, Agora P 13848, dating about 580 B.C. (fig. 12).⁴⁶ There, from left to right, are a bit of a door (part of two black panels and a vertical red frame), a white Doric column outlined with red, and a black anta with a simple capital. The black glaze above it is all that remains of the metope-triglyph frieze, which extended a little beyond the capital. When the original rendering was complete, it resembled Peleus's palace on the London dinos (figs. 2, 7). The rough surface at the upper right is where one root of the handle sheared off. Below is part of a swan to right, its head turned back.

I see no reason to reattribute this fragment to the circle of Sophilos, as Bakir has proposed,⁴⁷ and prefer to keep it with the painter's own work, where Beazley placed it. Although little remains of the vase, there is enough to support Beazley's attribution, not only the architecture, but also the use of color—the white applied directly on the clay ground, rather than over the black glaze as is customary, and the use of red outline.⁴⁸ Less clear, however, is the shape of the vase. The evidence for a handle rules out the dinos. Beazley suggested that “it is perhaps from a column-krater or the like.”⁴⁹ Possibly, but Sophilos did not seem to like the column-krater very much; so far, there are only four attributed to him, and they do not rank among his best work.⁵⁰ In view of Sophilos's interest in uncommon shapes, I suggest that Agora P 13848 belongs to a



proto-volute-krater like the one in the Metropolitan Museum dated about 580 B.C. (fig. 13).⁵¹

The volute-krater is the most elaborate of the kraters.⁵² The handles are its eponymous feature: each is composed of two elements, a small upright loop on the shoulder joined to a flanged strap, which rises above the rim and then curves downward, forming a volute or spiral and resting on the topside of the rim. It is quite rare in Attic black-figure, and the earliest well-preserved example is the François Vase.⁵³

MMA 1977.11.2 is the earliest preserved Attic example of the proto-volute-krater (fig. 13). The mouth, neck, body, and foot resemble these parts of a contemporary column-krater in Athens, except that the body of MMA 1977.11.2 is taller.⁵⁴ Each handle is composed of an upright loop on the shoulder that supports a flanged strap, but it rises just a bit above the rim before curving downward and terminating in a slight curl that is not

quite a volute—hence the name *proto-volute-krater*. Jasper Gaunt remarked that “the elegant curvature of the handles, and their attachment to the top of the rim rather than the edge, are quite new. . . . The final result, even if eclectic, is magnificent.”⁵⁵ The figural decoration on MMA 1977.11.2 is set in panels, whereas that on Agora P 13848 (fig. 12) is not; instead, the swan below the handle, and very likely the one below the other handle, divides the front of the vase from the back. Traces of glaze and a red line below the handle root eliminate Agora P 13848 as a column-krater, because the glaze does not extend beyond the handle root on this shape unless the decoration is set in panels, which is not the case here.⁵⁶ The little that is preserved on Agora P 13848 suggests that the area below the handle is decorative, and reinforces the possibility that this fragment comes from an open vase of a different shape, namely, a proto-volute-krater. Did Sophilos perhaps



fig. 13 Attic black-figured proto-volute-krater attributed to Sophilos showing two confronted boars, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, restored H. 19 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (49.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried Gift, 1977 (1977.11.2)

sign it as painter?⁵⁷ Admittedly, without more to go on, caution is necessary, but he may have signed as painter between the left anta and the column at the opposite side of the palace, just as he did on the London dinos (see fig. 7).

What remains of the subject on the Agora fragment strongly suggests that it was another rendering by Sophilos of the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis—not as long and all-inclusive as those on the two signed dinoi, but including Peleus, probably Iris, surely Chiron and Dionysos, and, depending on the space available, Olympians and possibly also a Muse.

SOPHILOS AND REPRESENTATIONS OF OLD AGE

Sophilos was the first Attic vase painter to depict old age. Two fragments illustrate his ability to portray this stage of life convincingly.⁵⁸

One appears on a fragment of a dinos found in the Athenian Agora, P 18567, dating about 580 B.C. (fig. 14).⁵⁹ At the left of the fragment is the lower neck and mane, the chest, part of the forelegs (but not the hind legs), and the tail of the left-hand trace horse (from the charioteer's vantage) of a frontal chariot team. The horse is white with red outline and the position of its incised black mane indicates its head was turned to the viewer's right. Next is an old man preserved to about hip level and probably sitting on the ground. Dressed in a cloak, he holds his right hand over part of his face and

fig. 14 Fragment of an Attic black-figured dinos attributed to Sophilos showing part of a frontal chariot horse and an old man grieving, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, max. dimension 4 3/8 in. (11.1 cm). Athens, Agora (P 18567)



bows his head in grief. His receding hair and beard were white (now flaked). Written above his head, next to the horse is . . .] XOΣ, retrograde but for the sigma (one unit remains, and traces of the other two indicate the sigma was not written retrograde).⁶⁰ Behind the old man is part of a female figure, including some of her cloak with a red border and her chiton incised with vertical wavy lines. Between them is a bit of red that may be the letters of another inscription, but not enough is preserved to be certain. Beazley described the scene: “Warrior leaving home (part of a frontal chariot; to the right of it, an old man showing grief, and the middle of another person).”⁶¹ He did not include the inscription, which is the key to identifying the subject.

The frontal chariot and details of drawing are sufficient evidence to attribute this fragment to Sophilos himself. The frontal chariot first appears in the work of the Gorgon Painter—one vase by the painter himself, and another in his manner. Two other examples are attributed to the KX Painter, and one is by the Anagyrous Painter.⁶² In addition to the frontal chariot on Agora P 18567, there are five other examples by Sophilos (some quite fragmentary but clearly depicting this subject, a recently invented composition that clearly interested him): Louvre E 873; Cambridge, FitzMus. GR 128.1899, ex N 128; Louvre C 12251; London, B 103.14.1-2; and Agora P 21572.⁶³ The hairs of the horse's tail on Agora P 18567 are drawn in a herringbone pattern, a rare style of tail that also appears on Louvre E 873 and Louvre C 12251, but not as well drawn. Fragment b of Agora P 21572 preserves the forelegs and tails of the right-hand pole and trace horses, and part of the chariot wheel and axle. The painter did not include the hind legs, which are also omitted on Louvre E 873 and Louvre C 12251, thus strengthening the attribution of Agora P 18567 to Sophilos. Cambridge, FitzMus. GR 128.1899, ex N 128 preserves the chests and parts of the forelegs of the left-hand pole and trace horses. The hind legs are also omitted, but the hairs of the tail are straight, not arranged in a herringbone pattern. Very little remains of the frontal chariot on London, B 103.14.1—just the upper parts of the right-hand pole and trace horses. The attribution of Agora P 18567 to Sophilos is confirmed by other features: the application of white directly on the surface of the clay rather than over the black glaze, and the use of a red line, here accenting the contours of the horse and the old man's beard.⁶⁴ On the man's shoulder there is also a splotch of red, which occurs on the neck of the silen at right on MMA 1977.193 (see fig. 3) and on the shoulder of a centaur on Athens, NM 15942, 15918, ex 2035, 1-2.⁶⁵



fig. 15 Drawing of the obverse of a Corinthian black-figured column-krater by the Amphiaraos Painter once in Berlin (F 1655), showing the Departure of Amphiaraos, ca. 570 B.C. Terracotta, H. 18¼ in. (46.4 cm)

The subject of this scene is of considerable interest. The key lies in the old man and the letters of the inscription. In 1986, I tentatively suggested that the subject might be the death of Antilochos or his departure for the battle in which he is slain by Memnon, on the basis of the preserved letters of the inscription naming him.⁶⁶ Ann Brownlee has persuasively argued that the subject “is more likely the departure of Amphiaraos” and that the inscription names Amphilochos, his younger son. She is silent about the identity of the old man, but he may be Halimedes, a seer (see below).⁶⁷ This is a rather complicated Theban myth that culminates in the campaign of the Seven Against Thebes by the Argives.⁶⁸ Central to this myth is the dispute between Polyneikes and his brother Eteocles over which one would rule Thebes. Pertinent to the representations of the Departure of Amphiaraos, who was a seer, is the famous gold necklace given to his wife, Eriphyle, by Polyneikes so that she would bribe her husband to join the attack. Amphiaraos saw her take the necklace and tried to warn the Argives not to join the assault, but Eriphyle forced him to participate, even though he, as a seer, knew he would die in the attack.⁶⁹

Representations of the Departure of Amphiaraos for Thebes are very few, and all of them are later than Agora P 18567.⁷⁰ Two illustrations are close in date to the Agora fragment, however. One is the name vase of the Amphiaraos Painter—Berlin, F 1655, a Late Corinthian column-krater dating about 570 B.C. (fig. 15).⁷¹ All the names are inscribed. At the far left, Eriphyle stands in the palace holding the necklace,

which is very large. In front of her is Damoanasa, with a child on her shoulder, probably Amphilochos. Next are Ainippa, Eurudika, and the older son, Alkmaeon, beseeching Amphiaraos not to leave, but his father’s left foot is already in the chariot, ready to mount it. Baton stands in the vehicle holding the reins and a staff. A woman named Leotis appears alongside the next building, facing Baton. The last two figures are Hippotion and the seer, Halimedes, who sits on the ground with his right hand to his head, fully aware of what the future holds.⁷²

The second representation relevant to Agora P 18567 occurs on a Tyrrhenian neck-amphora dating about 560 B.C. and attributed to the Castellani Painter by Dietrich von Bothmer (fig. 16).⁷³ At the right are five shrouded women mourners gesturing and, to their left, a stooped, white-haired old man, probably a seer, with his right hand to his forehead. Farther left, a chariot is drawn by four horses, which step out smartly, guided by Baton. A Boeotian shield emblazoned with heads of a goat and a satyr hangs down his back. Standing on the far side of the chariot are three more mourning women and another white-haired old man, whose raised left hand almost touches Baton’s chin. The rest of the composition is difficult to read. Next is a short, stocky woman to left, with her left arm extended, facing a pleading boy, who is Alkmaeon. Between these two, with his helmet crest protruding above the panel, Amphiaraos strides to right, looking back and extending his right arm to Alkmaeon. The last figures are a woman to right, followed by another holding Amphilochos on

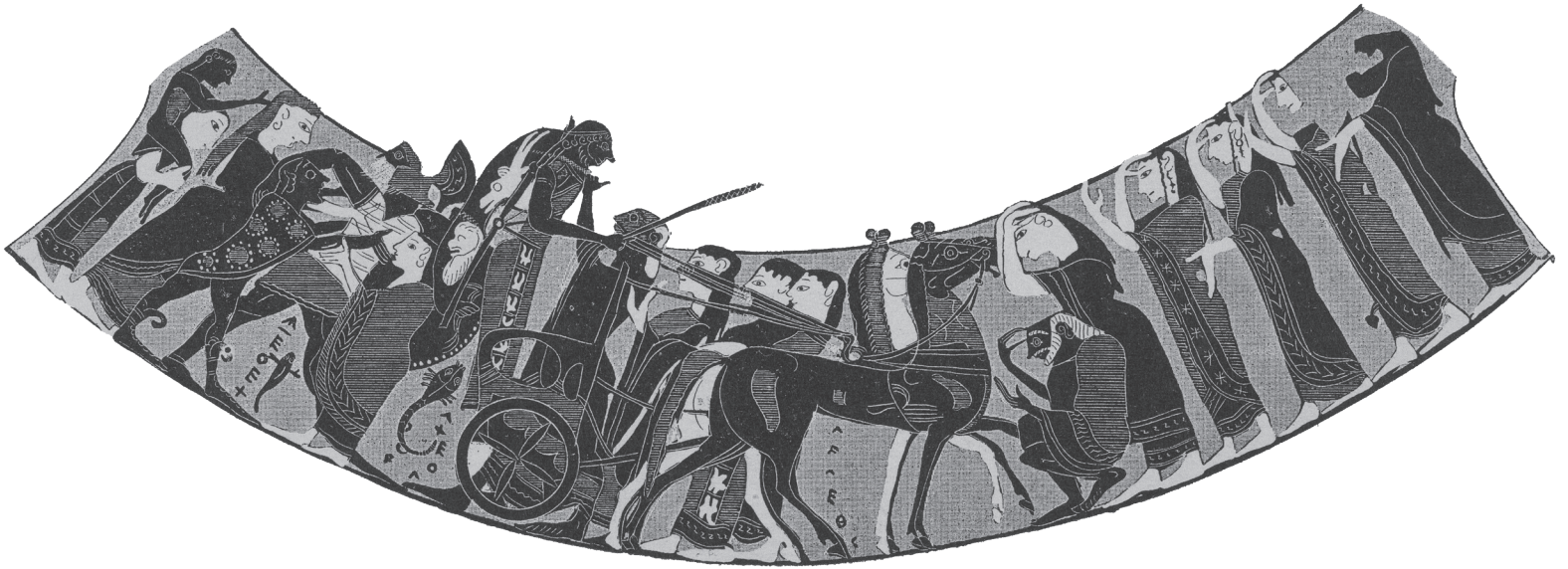


fig. 16 Drawing of the obverse of an Attic black-figured neck-amphora attributed to the Castellani Painter showing the Departure of Amphiaraos, ca. 560 B.C. Terracotta, H. 20 1/8 in. (51 cm). Museo Archeologico Etrusco, Florence (3773), and Antikenmuseum, Berlin (1711)

her shoulders. Eriphyle is noticeably absent: the next-to-last woman, who should be Eriphyle, does not hold the necklace, an essential detail in any representation of this myth.⁷⁴ On Berlin F 1655, for example, Eriphyle not only holds a huge necklace, but also makes the bridal gesture of holding her cloak away from her face (see *fig. 15*).⁷⁵

On Agora P 18567 (see *fig. 14*), Sophilos would have had plenty of room for an all-inclusive representation of the Departure of Amphiaraos. The frontal chariot would probably have been in the center on the front, and its four horses would have taken up quite a bit of space. The seer was seated on the ground, probably in a position similar to that of Halimedes on Berlin F 1655 (see *fig. 15*) only more upright. The slant of his back suggests he sits (compare the stooped seer on Florence 3773, and Berlin 1711 [see *fig. 16*], where the seer's back is completely vertical). The woman behind the seer on Agora P 18567 would be the nurse holding Amphilochos.⁷⁶ There might have been a building behind these figures to close this part of the composition, just as the palace of Peleus performs this function on London, BM 1971.1101.1 (see *fig. 2*). It is impossible to say if Amphiaraos was in the chariot, but Baton surely was. Perhaps Amphiaraos stood to the left of the chariot, facing the figures seeing him off, as he does on Florence 3773 and Berlin 1711 (see *fig. 16*). These would have included Alkmaeon, women, and Eriphyle with the necklace, though probably not standing within a palace as on Berlin F 1655 (see *fig. 15*), because such a structure

would have interrupted the composition.⁷⁷ It would not have been too difficult to fill out the rest of the composition with a complement of figures. The main participants in the myth would have been on the front of the dinos, and the lesser ones on the sides and back, as on the London dinos depicting the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis (see *fig. 2*).⁷⁸

The second illustration of old age by Sophilos appears on the fragment of a round-bodied hydria in the Maidstone Museum and Bently Art Gallery in Kent that probably dates about 580 B.C. (*fig. 17*).⁷⁹ The scene



fig. 17 Fragment of an Attic black round-bodied hydria attributed to Sophilos depicting Nereus, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, preserved H. 3 in. (7.6 cm). Maidstone Museum and Bently Art Gallery, Kent (A40)

depicted Herakles and Nereus (the Old Man of the Sea), with Hermes.⁸⁰ John Boardman was the first to connect this fragment with Sophilos, but he stopped short of a firm attribution: “The technique of red and white here employed on Nereus’ hair and beard is reminiscent of Sophilos. The drawing might be his, but seems more controlled and the head is quite unlike that on his column crater.”⁸¹

At the left of the fragment is the face of Nereus to right. His hair and long beard are white, with the contours and locks indicated by red lines. His face is painted red, his brow is furrowed, and he has a prominent nose. Around his head is a thin, incised fillet. His left arm is raised, perhaps in a gesture of greeting; what remains are the forearm and the hand with very long, straight fingers, typical of Sophilos. I am not certain what the three white lines around Nereus’ wrist or the slightly curved line along his forearm represent—they do not look like clothing or any recognizable adornment.⁸² Nothing is preserved of Herakles, and of Hermes there is very little (the tip of his beard at the right break; part of the entwined serpent finial of his kerykeion and some of its shaft; and, at the lower break, a bit of the fingers of the god’s right hand grasping it).⁸³ Nereus’s face contrasts completely with an earlier representation of him that Sophilos painted on Athens, NM 12587; there, Nereus is depicted in vigorous maturity, holding a serpent in his right hand.⁸⁴

CONCLUSION

Sophilos was the most important Greek vase painter during the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. He initiated and developed many of the technical and narrative possibilities of Attic black figure, especially mythological representations. He was the first known Greek artist who signed his name as painter, and he was the first to label many of the figures in several of his very ambitious representations. Sophilos was particularly skilled in creating unusual compositions of interacting human figures and adapting them to many different shapes, large and small, which may indicate that he was also a potter.⁸⁵ Sophilos’s originality extended particularly to new subjects that interested him, such as the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the Games for Patroklos, the Departure of Amphiaraos for Thebes, and playful silens, to name just four. He tried out new pictorial forms, such as the frontal face of a figure that was not a Gorgon and dignified, sensitive representations of old age; and he also met the complex challenge of depicting the frontal chariot team. In some of his compositions, he included architecture so detailed that one may easily recognize the individual parts of actual buildings he may have seen in Athens. Sophilos’s pictorial imagination and his capacity to create new and interesting compositions inspired Kleitias, Nearchos, the Castellani and Prometheus Painters, and other Attic painters of the next generation.

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NOTES

- 1 The basic references for Attic black-figured vase painters during this time are Beazley 1986, chap. 2: “Early Black-figure and the C Painter,” pp. 12–20; Boardman 1974 (1991), pp. 9–19; and Alexandridou 2011, *passim*.
- 2 For Sophilos, see especially Beazley 1956, pp. 37–43; Beazley 1971, pp. 18–19; Carpenter 1989, pp. 10–12; also the monograph by Bakir 1981. For other bibliography pertinent to this article, see Béquignon 1933, pp. 43–66; Beazley 1986, pp. 16–18; Williams 1983, pp. 9–34; Brownlee 1988, pp. 80–87; Immerwahr 1990, pp. 21–22; Brownlee 1995, pp. 363–72; La Genière 1995, pp. 35–43; Baurain-Rebillard 1999, pp. 155–62; Kilmer and Develin 2001, pp. 9–43; Sourvinou-Inwood 2008, pp. 128–131; Gex 2010, pp. 26–33; and Moore 2016.
- 3 Athens, NMAcr., NM 15165, ex Acr. 587, ΣΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 15; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; Bakir 1981, pp. 64–65, A.2, pls. 3–5, figs. 5–9); Athens, NM 15499, from Pharsalos, ΣΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΜΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 16; Beazley 1971, p. 18, no. 16; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; Bakir 1981, p. 65, A.3, pls. 6, 7, figs. 10–14; Alexandridou 2011, fig. 41; Moore 2016 [see note 2 above]); London, BM 1971.1101.1, ΣΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΜΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ (Beazley 1971, p. 19, no. 16*bis*; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; Bakir 1981, p. 64, A.1, pls. 1, 2, figs. 1–4; Williams 1983, pp. 9–34; Oakley 2013, p. 28, fig. 2); Athens, NM 15942, 15918, ex 2035, 1-2, ΣΟΦΙΛΟΣ . ΜΕ[.....]ΣΕΝ from Menidi (Beazley 1956, p. 42, no. 36 and p. 40, no. 21; Beazley 1971, p. 18, no. 21; Carpenter 1989, p. 11; Bakir 1981, pp. 68–69, A.20, pls. 8–10, figs. 15–20; for the signature, see Bakir 1981, pp. 6–7, and 68. It is not certain if this is a potting or a painting signature, because essential letters are not preserved. For this to be a potting inscription, the missing letters would have to be ΠΟΙΕ (e]poie[sen, made); and, for painting, ΓΡΑΦ ΜΕ[ΓΡΑΦ[ΣΕΝ, painted). See also *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), s.v. “Kentauroi et Kentaurides” (M. Leventopoulou), p. 692, no. 242, pl. 443.
- 4 See the remarks by Anthony Snodgrass concerning the interplay of word and image, especially “But there are very few places where the two come so close together as in the painted inscriptions on Greek vases. . . . The word can actually become a *part* of the image” (Snodgrass 2000, p. 22).
- 5 See Gaunt 2002, p. 36n19. For Louvre E 874, the name vase of the Gorgon Painter, an artist active from about 600 to 580 B.C., see Beazley 1956, p. 8, no. 1; Beazley 1971, p. 6, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 2. As a painter, Sophilos may have been a pupil of the Gorgon Painter (see Williams 1985, p. 28).
- 6 See note 3 above, specifically the discussion of Athens, NM 15942, 15918, ex 2035, 1-2, which may have had a potting signature by Sophilos.
- 7 For a brief description, see Beazley 1986, p. 18. For a full account of the subject, see Seeberg 1971.
- 8 Gaunt (2013, p. 75) notes that the general appearance of this krater has imitations in Sicily. See note 51 below.
- 9 For a general discussion of the dinos as it evolves in black figure, see Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 33–35; Brownlee 1988, *passim*, especially pp. 80–82; very briefly, Padgett 2003, p. 236.
- 10 MMA 1977.193 (*MMA Annual Report 1976–1977*, p. 53; Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 78n50, 80n58; Brownlee 1995, p. 371n27; Padgett 2003, p. 238n10). The surface has abraded here and there. Some of the glaze on the outside is quite thin in places, and there is a noticeable diagonal scratch on the face of the right silen. On the inside of the fragment, the glaze is rather thick and smooth, and there is a thin horizontal red line painted 0.09 cm. below the line that borders the tongues on the outside.
- 11 See, especially, the discussion of Sophilos and his compositions on dinoi in Brownlee 1988, pp. 80–82. The earliest well-preserved Attic black-figured dinos is the name vase of the Gorgon Painter, Louvre E 874, dating about 600 B.C. (see note 5 above). It depicts two scenes in the frieze: Perseus and the Gorgons flanked by chariots, and a fight between two unnamed hoplites. The next two dinoi are slightly later, dating ca. 590–570 B.C. One is connected with the Group of the Dresden Lekanis, Athens, Agora P 334, which also depicts multiple scenes (Beazley 1956, p. 23; Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 178–79, no. 610, pl. 58, 2; Carpenter 1989, p. 7; for the subjects, see below). The other is a fragment depicting a panther and a boar that may be by the KX Painter, London, BM 88.61.588 (Beazley 1956, p. 27, no. 2).
- 12 See note 3 above.
- 13 Some of them were noted in Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 33–34, 34n4; I include the full list here, exclusive of the three signed vases (see note 3 above). Louvre E 873 (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 12; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; Bakir 1981, p. 65, A.4, pls. 46–48, figs. 83–88). London, B 100 and B 601.26 (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 13; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; Bakir 1981, p. 72, B.1, pls. 66–70, figs. 131–38; reattributed to the Circle of Sophilos). Cambridge, FitzMus. GR 128.1899, ex N 128 (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 14; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; Bakir 1981, p. 66, A.6, pl. 65, fig. 129). Herakleion (Beazley 1971, p. 18, no. 14*bis*; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; Bakir 1981, p. 72, B.2, pls. 80, 81, figs. 158–60; reattributed to the Circle of Sophilos; I prefer to retain Beazley’s attribution). Bakir added London, B 103.14.1-2 to Sophilos (Bakir 1981, p. 66, A. 7, pl. 64, fig. 123). Athens, NMAcr. Acr. 585, a-b, the dinoid vessel (Beazley 1956, p. 40, nos. 17, 18; Beazley 1971, p. 18, nos. 17, 18; Carpenter 1989, p. 11; Bakir [1981, p. 68, A.17, pls. 35, 36, figs. 64, 65, 67, 68] recognized that these two fragments are from the same vase). The fragment in the Richter collection is published by Padgett 2003, pp. 236–38, with discussion of the attribution; see also Hedreen 1992, p. 74; Isler-Kerényi 2004, pp. 16–17, fig. 8; Isler-Kerényi (2007, p. 67n8) mistakenly gives Istanbul 4514 as the accession number of fig. 37: this is the Richter fragment; Lissarrague 2013, pp. 42–43, fig. 16; MMA 1977.193 and Athens, Agora P 18567. For Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Art Museums 1995.18.23 and its attribution, see Paul 1997, pp. 11–14 and p. 23, no. 1, pl. 46.
- 14 For silens and satyrs, see Hedreen 1992, *passim*; Hedreen, 1994, *passim*; *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), s.v. “Silenoi” (E. Simon), pp. 1108–33; Padgett 2003, pp. 27–46; Isler-Kerényi 2004, especially chap. 1, pp. 7–18: “The First Satyrs”; Lissarrague 2013. For good discussions of the ancient literary references, see Carpenter 1986, pp. 76–79, and Gantz 1993, pp. 135–39. For the names of silens and satyrs, see Kossatz-Deißmann 1991, *passim*; Lissarrague 2013, chap. 3, pp. 39–52: “Noms de satyres, le nom.” For the possible pre-Greek antecedents of the Greek satyr, see the introduction by Othmar Keel to Isler-Kerényi 2004, pp. VII–X.
- 15 Hedreen 1992, pp. 9, 74, 96n70, 162–63, for later use of the names silen and satyr; Gantz 1993, pp. 135–38; Hedreen 1994, p. 47n1; also Isler-Kerényi 2004, p. 2. For the François Vase, Florence 4209, signed by Ergotimos as potter and by Kleitias as painter, see Beazley 1956 p. 76, no. 1; Beazley 1971, p. 29, no. 1; Beazley 1986, pp. 24–34; Carpenter 1989, p. 21; Gaunt 2002, pp. 40–51; Moore 2011, pp. 1–13; most recently, Shapiro, Iozzo, and Lezzi-Hafter 2013, pl. 30 (signatures).
- 16 See Hedreen 1992, p. 9; also see Gantz 1993 (see notes 14 and 15 above) for a discussion of the terminology.

- 17 Nymphs should not be confused with maenads. Nymphs are linked with nature, they inhabit forests and meadows, they were the nurses of Dionysos, and they honored the god willingly. See Hesiod, *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 260–85 (Evelyn-White 1914, p. 425). Maenads were actual women who, when induced to a state of madness, were forced to worship Dionysos. A maenad often wears a feline skin over her chiton, and carries a snake as well as a thyrsos, an ivy-tipped rod. For good discussions of nymphs and maenads, see especially Hedreen 1994; *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), s.v. “Nymphai” (M. Halm-Tisserant and G. Siebert), pp. 891–902; *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), s.v. “Mainades” (I. Krauskopf and E. Simon) pp. 780–803.
- 18 MMA 38.11.10 (Beazley 1956, p. 2, no. 4; Carpenter 1989, p. 1). For the shape, see Athens, NM 16392 by the Lion Painter (Beazley 1956, p. 2, no. 2; Carpenter 1989, p. 1). A good early example of teeth is the lion head of a Chimaera by the Nettos Painter, Kerameikos inv. 154 (Beazley 1956, p. 3, no. 3; Beazley 1971, p. 3, no. 9). For horses: Athens, NM 353, the name vase of the Piraeus Painter (Beazley 1956, p. 2,--; Beazley 1971, p. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 1; best viewed in the drawing in Couve 1897, pl. 6); Athens, Kerameikos inv. 658 by the Piraeus Painter (Beazley 1956, p. 3; Beazley 1971, p. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 1).
- 19 For the names of silens and satyrs, see note 14 above. The third letter of the first name is probably an epsilon, because what remains of the left unit is too vertical to be an alpha (see the fragment in the collection of Arthur S. Richter [fig. 11 in this article]: the alpha following the rho). The second name is more complete, but it does not seem to have a parallel. The fourth letter is a koppa. For the koppa, see Jeffery 1961, pp. 33–34: “The use of *qoppa* (i.e. the guttural *k* before the vowels *o* and *u*) was widespread among the local scripts; only Lakonia and Phokis apparently lacked it altogether (pp. 100, 183). After the middle of the sixth century it gradually fell out of use.”
- 20 The kantharos is a vessel for drinking wine, and in Attic pottery it has a long history going back to the Protogeometric period, ca. 1100–900 B.C. The basic study is still Courbin 1953. In Attic black figure, the earliest example seems to be the one in Athens dating about 600 B.C. that was found in the cemetery at Vari and attributed by Ahlberg-Cornell to the Anagyrous Painter (Athens, NM 19174; Courbin 1953, p. 334, fig. 15 and p. 323n2 for the excavation report; Ahlberg-Cornell 1981, passim, pl. 27; Alexandridou 2011, fig. 15).
- 21 By the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., the kantharos is associated almost exclusively with Dionysos. One of the earliest representations of him holding one, also diagonally, occurs on Louvre E 860, attributed to a painter from the Tyrrhenian Group and dating ca. 565–550 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 103, no. 111; Carpenter 1989, p. 27; *LIMC*, vol. 3 [1986], s.v. “Dionysos” [C. Gasparri and A. Veneri], p. 482, no. 713, pl. 382).
- 22 Formerly in the Albright-Knox Art Gallery in Buffalo, G 600 (Beazley 1956, p. 12, no. 22; Beazley 1971, p. 8, no. 22; Carpenter 1989, p. 3; Hedreen 1992, p. 133; sale cat. Sotheby’s, New York, June 7, 2007, pp. 48–49, lot 33, with excellent photographs).
- 23 Paribeni 1972, pp. 391–92, pl. 64, a; Hedreen 1992, p. 74 and pl. 25; Isler-Kerényi 2004, p. 17, fig. 9 (line drawing).
- 24 Athens, Agora P 334 (see note 11 above).
- 25 London, B 103.16 and London, University College (Carpenter 1986, p. 91, pl. 18 B: mispoised). For the aulos, see Bundrick 2005, pp. 34–42.
- 26 These oinochoai are attributed to a painter working in the manner of the Gorgon Painter: Athens, Agora P 24945 shows a facing pair (Beazley 1971, p. 8, no. 1*bis*; Carpenter 1989, p. 3; Alexandridou 2011, p. 129, no. 253, fig. 10). The next two depict just a single head: Berlin, Humbolt-Universität, Winckelmann-Institut D 384, dated in the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 10, 3; Mertens 1993, p. 8, fig. 9); Gravisca inv. 73/5766, 73/5880 (Iacobazzi 2004, p. 23, fig. 1: 600–590 B.C.).
- 27 Beazley 1956, p. 83, no. 4; Beazley 1971, p. 30, no. 4; Carpenter 1989, p. 23; Mertens 2010, p. 64. For frontal faces in Attic vase painting, see Korshak 1987. For satyrs, see pp. 5–11 and p. 45 for a list of examples slightly later than the one by Nearchos, which Korshak dates ca. 560 B.C. (p. 45, no. 1).
- 28 For the Gorgoneion (the head) and the Gorgons, see *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. “Gorgo, Gorgones” (I. Krauskopf), pp. 285–330, especially 305–30 for the Gorgons themselves. The earliest preserved Gorgons in Attic vase painting are those on the famous Protoattic amphora found at Eleusis, dating about 670 B.C. See *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), p. 313, no. 312, pl. 184, and especially Mylonas 1957, pls. 10–14 and pl. B.
- 29 See note 5 above.
- 30 See note 3 above. The figure on the Athens dinos is a nymph (Bakir 1981, pl. 5, fig. 9); the one on the London dinos is a Muse (Williams 1983, p. 26, fig. 31).
- 31 For the origin of the syrinx, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I, 689–721 (Miller 1984, p. 53). For a full account of the panpipe and the syrinx, see Haas 1985, passim; more briefly, Bundrick 2005, p. 42.
- 32 For the aulos, see note 25 above.
- 33 Beazley (1986, p. 26), remarking on Dionysos in the scene of the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the François Vase by Kleitias, where the god looks out at the viewer (see note 15 above; for a good illustration, see Shapiro, Iozzo, and Lezzi-Hafter 2013, pl. 30). For satyrs and the syrinx, see Haas 1985, pp. 64–65. The few examples mentioned by her are fifth century B.C. and later.
- 34 Istanbul 4514 (Beazley 1956, p. 42, no. 37; Carpenter 1989, p. 11; Bakir 1981, p. 71, A.35, pl. 35, fig. 66).
- 35 See also the fingernails on the left hand of Zeus on the signed dinos found on the Akropolis, Athens, NMAcr., NM 15165, ex Acr. 587 (see note 3 above). For a good detail, see Bakir 1981, pl. 4, fig. 6.
- 36 Hedreen (1992, p. 126) suggested he is a performer and two lines on each wrist of this silen separate a hairy body stocking from his smooth skin.
- 37 Athens, NMAcr. Acr. 757 (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 10; Bakir 1981, p. 66, A.10, pl. 24, fig. 45). See also the mourner on the pinax in the Vlastos collection in Athens (Beazley 1956, p. 42, no. 38; Carpenter 1989, p. 11; Bakir 1981, p. 69, A.23, pl. 37, fig. 69).
- 38 Athens, NM 15942, 15918, ex 2035, 1-2; see note 3 above.
- 39 See note 13 above.
- 40 For the karchesion, see the comprehensive article by Love (1964), which brings together all of the literary references and the known find spots; more briefly, Boardman 1979; also Dusenbery 1998, pp. 743–44. Most of the known examples come from excavations in northern and eastern Greece. Of importance in our context is a small Attic fragment of a karchesion in black glaze that was found in a well in the Athenian Agora (P 26203), with its contents dated in the first half of the sixth century B.C. See Sparkes and Talcott 1970, p. 280, no. 624, pl. 27; for the well, see p. 396, Deposit O 7:9, ca. 580–565 B.C.: “Dumped filling with considerable early black-figure.” On Athens, NM 640, a skyphos by the KX Painter dating about 580 B.C., a komast holds a karchesion, but it is not nearly as detailed as the one on the Richter fragment. See Beazley 1956, p. 26, no. 21; Carpenter 1989, p. 7. This skyphos was once attributed to Sophilos by

- Semni Papaspyridi-Karusu (1937, pp. 123, 133, no. 19, "Zweite Periode [Strenger Stil], pls. 57, 2 and 58). For the Kantharos, see note 20 above.
- 41 Padgett 2003, pp. 237, 238n5; for the name, see also Kossatz-Deißmann 1991, p. 152. Lissarrague (2013, p. 43) reads the final letter as an N, thus]PATON.
- 42 See Immerwahr 1990, p. 21: "The sigmas vary in direction."
- 43 See note 3 above.
- 44 See note 3 above.
- 45 For a good detail, see Bakir 1981, pl. 3, fig. 5c.
- 46 See Beazley 1956, p. 41, no. 26; Carpenter 1989, p. 11. Bakir demoted this piece to the circle of Sophilos (Bakir 1981, pp. 72 and 74, B.18, pl. 83, fig. 170). The fragment is glazed on the inside, and thus comes from an open vase.
- 47 See note 46 above.
- 48 See Beazley 1986, p. 18: the use of a red line in this manner "is found only in works by Sophilos and on five fragments that are close to him." For its use elsewhere, see Moore and Philippides 1986, p. 154, no. 419.
- 49 Beazley 1956, p. 41.
- 50 Louvre C 12251 (Beazley 1956, p. 40, no. 23; Beazley 1971, p. 18, no. 23 [not C 11251 as elsewhere; corrected here]; Bakir 1981, p. 74, B.13, pl. 82, figs. 165–68; Carpenter 1989, p. 11). Athens, NM 12587 (Beazley 1956, p. 40, no. 24; Beazley 1971, p. 18, no. 24; Carpenter 1989, p. 11; Bakir 1981, p. 67, A.15, pl. 18, figs. 33, 34). Aigina 1775A (Beazley 1956, p. 41, no. 25; Carpenter 1989, p. 11; Bakir 1981, pp. 73–74, B.12, pls. 76–78, figs. 148–53). Louvre CA 1750 (Beazley 1971, p. 19, no. 24*bis*; Carpenter 1989, p. 11; Bakir 1981, pp. 67–68, A.16, pl. 63, fig. 121. Bakir demotes two of these to the Circle of Sophilos: B.12 and B.13, believing just A.15 and A.16 are by Sophilos himself).
- 51 MMA 1977.11.2. See Bothmer 1986, *passim*, but especially pp. 108–10; Moore and Philippides 1986, p. 78n50; Gaunt 2002, pp. 36–40 and pl. 9; Gaunt 2013, pp. 74–75, fig. 10.
- 52 For a detailed study, see Gaunt 2002; briefly, Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 25–26.
- 53 Florence 4209 (see note 15 above).
- 54 Compare Athens, NM 12587 by Sophilos (see note 50 above).
- 55 Gaunt 2002, p. 40 and particularly his detailed discussion (see note 51 above). For a profile drawing of the handle, see Bothmer 1986, p. 111, fig. 5 (upside down).
- 56 See Aigina 1775A, where the glaze on the handles extends into the area of glaze that frames each panel (see note 50 above).
- 57 Gaunt (2002, p. 40) proposes that Sophilos might be "both potter and painter of MMA 1977.11.2." For the possibility that Sophilos was the potter of the Menidi louterion, Athens, NM 15942, 15918, ex 2035, 1-2, see note 3 above; Gaunt 2002 p. 39 and n. 27.
- 58 For the subject, see Matheson 2009, *passim*, with copious bibliography.
- 59 Beazley 1956, p. 43, no. 4; Bakir 1981, p. 75, B.19, pl. 83, fig. 171: "Umkreis des Sophilos"; Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 322–23, no. 1912, pl. 121 (there, included with "open vases, shape uncertain"). Beazley, referring to Agora P 18567 and four others with red outline, remarked that "the drawing of the figures is much like Sophilos, and the hand may be his." I agree.
- 60 See Immerwahr 1990, p. 21 (above note 42).
- 61 See note 59 above.
- 62 See Ahlberg-Cornell 1981, pp. 100–101; for a general discussion of frontal chariots in early Attic black figure, pp. 100–109. The Gorgon Painter: Athens, NMAcr. Acr. 474 (Beazley 1956, p. 8, no. 2; Carpenter 1989, p. 2); Manner of the Gorgon Painter: Athens, NMAcr. Acr. 759 (Beazley 1956, p. 12, no. 31; Carpenter 1989, p. 4). The KX Painter: Rhodes 6747 (Beazley 1956, p. 24, no. 2); Cambridge, FitzMus. GR 131.1894, ex N 131.71, joining London, B 601.14 (Beazley 1956, p. 26, no. 29; Carpenter 1989, p. 8). The Anagyrous Painter: Athens, NM 19174 (Ahlberg-Cornell 1981, *passim*).
- 63 Louvre E 873 (see note 13 above); Cambridge, FitzMus. GR 128.1899, ex N 128 (see note 13 above); Louvre C 12251 (see note 50 above); London, B 103.14.1-2, added by Bakir (Bakir 1981, p. 66, A.7, pl. 64, fig. 123); Agora P 21572, two fragments of an olpe or an oinochoe (Moore and Philippides 1986, p. 201, no. 778, pl. 73).
- 64 See note 48 above.
- 65 See note 3 above.
- 66 Moore and Philippides 1986 (see note 59 above). See Gantz 1993, p. 622, for the death of Antilochos with ancient references, especially Homer, *The Odyssey* 4, 186–88 (Lattimore 1967, p. 70; *LIMC*, vol. 1 [1981], s.v. "Antilochos I" [A. Kossatz-Deissmann], pp. 830–38).
- 67 Brownlee 1995, p. 366, also p. 370nn15–18; see also Brownlee 1993.
- 68 For a full account, including all the ancient literary references, see Gantz 1993, p. 318 and especially pp. 467–510, also the useful genealogy charts on pp. 818–19: "Table 15: The Line of Kadmos" and "Table 16: The Line of Talaos," the father-in-law of Amphiaraios. For Amphiaraios, see *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), pp. 691–713 (I. Krauskopf); most recently, the monograph by Sineux 2007.
- 69 See Gantz 1993, pp. 510–19. Homer mentions Eriphyle's deceitful behavior twice: *The Odyssey* 11, 326–27: "and Eriphyle the hateful, who accepted precious gold for the life of her own dear husband" (Lattimore 1967, p. 176); *The Odyssey* 15, 246–47: "[Amphiaraios] never came to the doorsill of old age, but perished in Thebes, because his wife had been bribed with presents" (Lattimore 1967, p. 231).
- 70 See *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), s.v. "Amphiaraios" (I. Krauskopf), pp. 691–713, pp. 694–95, nos. 7–16 for the Greek examples; Sineux 2007, pp. 38–45. Amphilochos: *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), s.v. "Amphilochos" (I. Krauskopf), pp. 713–17; Alkmaion: *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), s.v. "Alkmaion" (I. Krauskopf), pp. 546–52; briefly, Serneels-Hofstetter 1992, pp. 152–62.
- 71 See Amyx 1988, p. 263, cat. no. 1; *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), s.v. "Amphiaraios" (I. Krauskopf), p. 694, no. 7, pl. 555.
- 72 For Halimedes, see *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. "Halimedes" (I. Krauskopf), pp. 408–9. In her commentary (p. 409), Krauskopf notes that some scholars have doubted the identification of Halimedes as a seer because Amphiaraios himself was a seer and the scene would hardly need a second. That may be the case, but the presence of another seer, especially one who is so visually expressive, reinforces the terrible disaster that will soon take place. Other authors have thought Halimedes is a slave or a pedagogue, but Krauskopf refutes these identifications, because a slave would not be so well dressed or hold a staff, and pedagogues do not appear in archaic art. Moreover, if Halimedes were a pedagogue, he should be closer to the two children.
- 73 Florence 3773 and Berlin 1711 (Beazley 1956, p. 95, no. 8; Beazley 1971, pp. 34 and 36, no. 8; Carpenter 1989, p. 25). The inscriptions are nonsense ones.
- 74 See Thiersch 1899, pp. 59–60: "Eriphyle scheint auf unserer Vase überhaupt nicht dargestellt zu sein, wenigstens ist sie durch kein Attribut gekennzeichnet." Krauskopf (*LIMC*, vol. 1 [1981], s.v. "Amphiaraios," p. 694, no. 9, pl. 556), however, identifies this woman as Eriphyle, as does Serneels-Hofstetter (1992, p. 161), who does not cite Krauskopf, but thinks the woman's

- position behind Alkmaeon identifies her as Eriphyle. I agree with Thiersch that this woman is unlikely to be Eriphyle, because of the omission of the necklace. One arm of this woman is extended above the outstretched arms of Alkmaeon, and if her hand held the necklace, it would be plainly visible.
- 75 For a very similar figure of Eriphyle, see the scene on the fragmentary lid of a lekane found on the Akropolis dating ca. 570–560 B.C. and attributed to the C Painter, Athens, NMAcr, Acr. 2112 (Beazley 1956, p. 58, no. 120; Carpenter 1989, p. 16; good illustration: *LIMC*, vol. 1 [1981], s.v. “Amphiaraios” [I. Krauskopf], p. 694, no. 8, pl. 556). On a Tyrrhenian neck-amphora, Basel, Cahn H.C. 921, attributed to the Archippe Painter by Dietrich von Bothmer and dating about 560 B.C., Eriphyle (inscribed) stands to right facing the departing chariot and holding out the necklace, which is inscribed HOP[M]OΣ (necklace). Oikles (inscribed), the father of Amphiaraios, rushes toward Baton (inscribed) and Amphiaraios, who stand in the chariot. See *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), p. 694, no. 10, pl. 556; for the attribution, see Krauskopf 1980, p. 115; Kreuzer 1992, pp. 37–38, no. 28.
- 76 See Johnston 1989, p. 267: “The position of the preserved letters of the name on 1912 [Agora P 18567] does not suggest that it can refer to any figure on the ground.” His point is that the letters of a vertically or diagonally written inscription should not begin above the head of the figure it names.
- 77 On a fragment of a Tyrrhenian neck-amphora, dating about 570–560 B.C., the Prometheus Painter depicted a scene of the departure of Amphiaraios with a frontal chariot, to the right of which is Eriphyle, with her name inscribed (Oxford G 137.53: Beazley 1956, p. 96, no. 11; Carpenter 1989, p. 25; Brownlee 1993, p. 328). Preserved are part of the chest and the legs of a pole and a trace horse, EPIΦVΛE, retrograde, a little of Eriphyle’s chiton and feet, as well as some of the necklace at the upper break. The attribution is by Dietrich von Bothmer (CVA, Metropolitan Museum of Art 4 [USA 16], p. 3). For a good photograph, see Krauskopf 1980, pl. 24, 3.
- 78 Williams 1983, p. 18, fig. 15, for the first side view; p. 19, fig. 17, for the back view, and p. 20, fig. 19, for the second side view.
- 79 Boardman 1958, p. 8; also, p. 7, pl. 2, fig. 1; Bakir 1981, p. 71, A. 36. pl. 64, fig. 126. See also Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, p. 7, no. 3, p. 14 and p. 109, fig. 3 (cropped at the right); *LIMC*, vol. 6 (1992), s.v. “Nereus” (M. Pipili), p. 826, no. 21.
- 80 For Nereus, see *LIMC*, vol. 6 (1992), s.v. “Nereus” (M. Pipili), pp. 824–37; Mommsen 2014, pp. 58–59. For Nereus designated as the Old Man of the Sea, see Hesiod, *Theogony* 233: “And men call him the Old Man because he is trusty and gentle and does not forget the laws of righteousness, but thinks just and kindly thoughts” (Evelyn-White 1914, p. 97).
- 81 Boardman 1958, p. 8.
- 82 It somewhat resembles the lines on the wrists of the silen on Istanbul 4514 (fig. 10), which Hedreen thought might be the end of the sleeve of a hairy stocking worn by an actor performing the role of a silen (see note 36 above). There is a pair of incised lines on the left wrist of Okeanos on London, BM 1971.1101.1 (see note 2 above and Williams 1983, p. 27, fig. 34).
- 83 Ahlberg-Cornell (1984, p. 16) did not realize that her photograph cropped the detail of Hermes’s beard and thought Nereus “holds a sceptre.”
- 84 See note 50 above. For a good detail, see Bakir 1981, pl. 22, fig. 42.
- 85 See notes 3 and 57 above.

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