The Hegesiboulos Cup

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In 1907, The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired a small Attic red-figured cup (MMA 07.286.47) with an intriguing picture on the inside depicting an old man accompanied by his shaggy dog; a symposium and a komos decorate the exterior (Figures 1–8). Alongside the stick held by the old man, the potter signed his name: ΕΓΕΣΙΒΟΛΟΣ, retrograde, and behind the man, the verb ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ (Hegesiboulos made [this]) (Figure 2). Today, some of the letters are very faint, especially those of the name.[1] The cup dates about 500 B.C.

The clay and glaze of MMA 07.286.47 are Attic, but some of the figural details connect the cup with Ionia and the Levant. The non-Greek features of the old man's face indicate he is a foreigner. The dog is a Maltese, which originated on Malta (ancient Melita), a Phoenician colony from the eighth century B.C. to the early fifth, after which it became a Carthaginian possession until 218 B.C., when the Romans took over. Items of dress and a musical instrument played by the komasts also come from the Levant. Hegesiboulos is a name known so far only in Clazomenae, an Ionian city on the west coast of Turkey. Potting details and technical features, however, link Hegesiboulos with Kachrylion, a master potter in Athens with whom Euphronios collaborated on at least two occasions.

Hegesiboulos's cup looks like the variant classified by scholars as Type B, which is recognized by the continuous curve of its profile between lip and foot (Figure 1), except for the chamfer on the top side of the foot. Our cup differs from the canonical Type B in two details: 1) the lip is offset on the inside *and* on the outside; 2) the foot is in two degrees, a narrow concave section above a convex one.[2] The inside of each handle and the handle panel are reserved. A reserved line and a black line encircle the tondo, providing a delicate transition from the black background of the figures to the solid area of coral red that reaches to the offset lip.[3] The inside and rim of the lip are black; usually the rim is reserved. Coral red was applied on the outside of the lip, below the figures on the bowl, on the stem, and on the top side of the foot except for the glazed chamfer. There is a band of glaze .6 centimeters wide on the underside of the foot; the rest of the underside is coral red, but not all the way up the stem.[4] Normally, the underside of the foot is glazed. Preliminary sketch and relief lines are used throughout for the figures.

The old man with his dog (Figures 2–4): A man wearing a red wreath and dressed in a voluminous himation stands to left holding a tall stick with incised knots in his right hand. His garment is sprinkled with dots and crosses, its border edged with a double black line and a row of dots drawn in dilute glaze. He has a long beard, a slightly receding hairline, and a prominent nose (Figure 3). Lashes enlarge his eye; lines drawn in dilute glaze indicate furrows on his forehead and a crease on his temple and cheek. His visage is that of a non-Greek.[5] A shaggy dog with short pricked ears and a pointed nose accompanies the man, who holds his pet by a slack leash in his left hand (the leash is in added red, now much flaked). Short hairs along the lower edge of the man's himation in back define the underside of the dog's tail, a long bushy one that curves upward. The dog has a ruff that stands up along its neck and shoulders and resembles the bristles of a boar, the hairs drawn in relief lines and visible only in a raking light (Figure 4).[6]

The symposium (Side A, Figures 5, 6): At the left, a woman sits to left, her feet resting on a low base, and looks back at a man and boys. Her chair has a backrest ending in the head of a swan, and its one visible leg is well turned. She holds a red branch in her right hand; her left is lowered and empty. A long chiton under a himation, both garments decorated with Xs, and a turban comprise her attire. Behind the woman, a boy with a lyre sits to right on a himation placed on the seat of his stool. The strings of the instrument are drawn in relief; the tuning knobs are red. The boy wears a red wreath but is otherwise nude. Behind him, written vertically in red letters: ΚΑΛΟΣ. Next comes the symposiast on a couch, which has an elegant leg supporting the headrest; the leg at the foot of the couch is plain and appears behind the left leg of the lyre player. Oddly, there is no mattress or pillow. The symposiast, clad in a himation from the

1. Attic red-figured cup, signed by Hegesiboulos as potter and attributed to the Hegesiboulos Painter, ca. 500 B.C. Diam. 7¼ in. (18.4 cm), W. with handles 10¼ in. (26 cm), H. 3½ in. (9 cm), H. of lip ¾ in. (2 cm), Diam. of tondo 4 in. (10 cm), Diam. of foot 3⅜ in. (8.5 cm), W. of resting surface ¼ in. (.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.286.47)

2. Tondo of the cup in Figure 1 showing an old man and his dog

3. Detail of the head of the old man in Figure 2

4. Detail of the head and neck of the dog in Figure 2

hips down, reclines to left and holds a lyre in his lowered left hand. The strings of the instrument are in relief, and the unglazed tortoiseshell sound box is incised to imitate the shields of a real shell (perhaps it was gilded).[7] He looks to right toward a nude boy and is about to fondle his genitals while the boy adjusts or puts a wreath around the man's head. The section of the wreath in front of the man's ears is red, the rest in raised clay, indicating it was gilded; much of the added red has flaked and is difficult to see except in a raking light. On the far side of the couch, a boy runs to right, looking back, and holds out an oinochoe in his right hand, probably to refill it from the wineskin beneath one handle (Figures 5, 6, 7). He wears a red wreath, and his hair is incised but does not appear to be glazed (Figure 6), so it may have been gilded (it is in the same technique as the sound box of the lyre held by the symposiast). Between the heads of the three: ΚΑΛΟΣ. The last figure in the scene on this side is a woman, similar to the first. She sits on a chair facing left holding a red wreath in both hands. The backrest of this chair also terminates in the head of a swan, but its leg is not as elaborate as that of the other chair. Behind her: Κ[ΑΛΟΣ].

The komos (Side B, Figures 7, 8): At the left, a youth to right (part of his torso is missing and filled in with plaster) plays the barbiton, its strings indicated by relief lines. His head is tilted upward and back, mouth open, indicating he is rapt in song (Figure 8). He wears a cloak over his shoulders and a turban with a red wreath around it, also slippers. Behind this youth, beneath the handle root, there is a wineskin (part of it is missing and filled in with plaster painted black). Next come two youthful revelers playing krotala (castanets), one to left, the other to right, each looking back. They are dressed alike: turban with a red wreath, a cloak over both shoulders. Between their heads: ΚΑΛ[Ο]Σ. Then come two more males, presumably youths, one holding a

5. Side A of the cup in Figure 1 showing a symposium

6. Detail of Side A of the cup in Figure 1 showing the head of a boy. Photograph: the author

7. Side B of the cup in Figure 1 showing a komos

8. Detail of Side B of the cup in Figure 1 showing the head of a singing komast. Photograph: the author

barbiton in his left hand and the plektron in his right, the other a deep handleless cup in his outstretched left hand, which, by mistake, the painter drew as a right hand. His right arm is lowered, the hand empty. The face and shoulders of both are missing and filled in with plaster. These, too, are clad like the two with krotala. Written vertically between them: Κ]ΑΛΟΣ. The last figure in the scene on this side is a youth, dressed similarly, who comes in from the right. Each youth has down on his cheek. The barbiton players and the rightmost youth carry knotted sticks, painted red and barely visible.[8] Behind the last, below the handle: ΚΑΛΟ[Σ]. The inscriptions on both sides of the cup are in added red and are very difficult to see today.[9]

THE OLD MAN AND HIS DOG

Almost all authors who have published this cup have thought the man in the tondo was not a Greek, but a foreigner (Figure 3). Adolf Furtwängler remarked on his individualized features, his thick eyelashes, and the furrows across his forehead, and that the elongated contour of his skull differs from that of a Greek, which is more rounded; he believed the old man might be a Phoenician or a Hebrew. Furtwängler thought this man was not a hunter, but a trader going to market to sell his dog, which he misidentified as a Laconian fox dog, because he did not observe the thick bushy fringe of tail behind the voluminous folds of the man's himation.[10]

In 1917, Gisela Richter simply wrote that the tondo depicts "an old man going for a walk with his dog," and John Beazley called him an "ugly old man, taking a walk with his dog."[11] In 1936, Richter described the man's features, noting, as Furtwängler did, his large hooked nose and elongated skull, concluding he "is evidently an Oriental (a Syrian, a Phoenician or a Jew)." Richter agreed with Furtwängler that the man was going to market to sell his dog, which "resembles the Melitaean breed said to come from Phoenician Malta, so we may here have a picture of a Phoenician trader."[12] Slightly earlier, Bessie Richardson gave a thoughtful description of this tondo as "representing a man with the profile of a Semite clothed in an elaborately embroidered chiton, leaning upon a knotted cane, and quietly leading a dog or possibly a porcupine,"[13] the latter highly unlikely because porcupines were never domesticated.

In 1946, Richter made an important contribution to the old man's origin in the Near East when she published an article titled "Greeks in Persia."[14] In it, she included a fragment, which had recently been acquired by the Metropolitan Museum, from a late sixth-century B.C. limestone relief sculpture of Darius I, the Achaemenid king who reigned from 521 to 480 B.C. Incised on this fragment of his foot are the bearded heads of two old men bearing a remarkable resemblance to our old man (Figures 3, 9).[15] The better-preserved head has a prominent nose, small ear, shaggy hair, beard, and mustache. Ernst Herzfeld was the first to compare the head "with the best paintings on Greek vases," but Richter went further: "the style [of the two bearded heads] is identical with that in Greek vase painting of just that period. The heads on vases of the late sixth century ([see her] fig. 27), especially that of an Oriental by the Hegesiboulos Painter (fig. 28), offer striking parallels. The Greek artist in Persia who engraved these charming designs evidently gave vent to a sudden desire to work in his own manner, untrammeled by the restrictions imposed on him. By this whim he has left us precious evidence of his presence in Persepolis."[16] This engraved head from Persepolis is a fitting reminder of the extent to which Greeks traveled in the late sixth century and of how observant they were of the physiognomic characteristics of the people around them. Richter remarked that it would be perfectly natural for Greeks, especially Ionian Greeks, to work for Persians during the years they were under Achaemenid rule (ca. 550–480 B.C.).[17] If this was the case, it would be no surprise that some Ionian artists, not wishing to work for Persians, traveled west to mainland Greece.

Unfortunately, quite a few of Richter's perceptive observations were taken lightly. In 1954, Hedwig Kenner remarked on our old man's individualized features, the furrows on his forehead, his hooked nose almost overhanging his upper lip, and the slight indentation in his cranium, but she thought he was walking a pig.[18] Presumably she did not notice the bushy tail. Two years later, Wolfgang Binsfeld designated this man a good caricature of an Athenian citizen and noted that his nose provokes ridicule.[19] A little later, Ludwig Schnitzler wrote a general article about Near Easterners on Greek vases.[20] He, too, remarked on the non-Greek features of the old man but mistook his thick lower lip for an Adam's apple or a goiter.[21] Schnitzler repeated the observations of others about the non-Greek features and the striking rendering of anatomical details, then added that the man's somewhat elongated skull and the slight indentation of the crown compare with a skull found at Byblos. Schnitzler also wondered if Hegesiboulos may have come from eastern Greece, perhaps as a metic or a slave, because the name Hegesiboulos is known in Ionia (in Clazomenae).[22] In 1967, Verena Zinserling described the old man as an Oriental, claimed he looks frail as he leans on his stick, and rather uncharitably remarked that his disheveled hair is well suited to the bristly coat of his dog, which is in strange contrast to his elegant himation.[23] In 1975, in his handbook of archaic red-figure vases, John Boardman simply called this man a "weary old Hebrew gentleman and his dog."[24] Five years later, Luca Giuliani, like Binsfeld a quarter of a century earlier, also saw comic relief in the representation of the old man, noting his disproportionate form, strangely shaped skull, sharp facial features, and large feet that result in an exaggerated, caricature-like impact.[25] Probably the most controversial interpretation is that of Robert Heidenreich, who in 1985 linked the three scenes thematically and assumed that all of the figures, not just the old man, were foreigners; that the setting was not a private Athenian house, but a brothel; and that the man with his dog was the proprietor. He misidentified the dog as a fox dog ("Fuchshund") and concluded that the man is not a product of the painter's imagination, but more likely a specific person known to him (see below).[26] Most recently, Beth Cohen wrote that the man is "an aged Semitic-looking foreigner with a knobby walking stick and a mangy dog."[27]

I agree with the authors who believe the old man is not a Greek, but I am not certain one may be more specific except to suggest he comes from the Levant. In 1927, Ernst Pfuhl remarked that nothing is easier to draw or to sculpt than an irregular profile and from there an individualized one.[28] In a way, he is correct, but his observation does not apply to the man in this cup, who truly looks like a person one might meet in real life. Nor does the term caricature apply: it means "a portrait or other artistic representation, in which the characteristic features of the original are exaggerated with ludicrous effect," and "the art of applying the grotesque to the purposes of satire, and . . . pictorial and plastic ridicule and burlesque."[29] In no way is this man a caricature, nor is he a comic rendering, as Binsfeld and Giuliani thought,[30] any more than he is grotesque. To be sure, his head seems a little large for his body, but this characteristic may be observed on figures of Greeks drawn by some contemporary artists. True caricatures are grotesque and often unappealing. A good late sixth-century example is the disheveled-looking man, with a very large head in proportion to his body, who holds his nose as he defecates, a scene painted on an unattributed disk inexplicably dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis (Figure 10).[31]

9. Fragment of a limestone relief of the foot of Darius inscribed with the heads of two old men, ca. 500 B.C. H. 3¼ in. (8.26 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1945 (45.11.17)

Representations of old men on late sixth- and early fifth-century Athenian vases, whether from the real world or from myth, are usually very dignified. Two well-known examples

10. Fragment of an unattributed Attic red-figured disk showing a man defecating and holding his nose, ca. 500 B.C. Maximum preserved dimension 1¾ in. (4.6 cm). Akropolis Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens (1073). Photograph: Graef and Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen*, vol. 2, pl. 83, no. 1073

11. Line drawing of a lost unattributed Attic red-figured amphora from Vulci showing a youth with a Maltese dog, ca. 500 B.C. Illustration: Keller, *Tierwelt*, p. 93, fig. 34

from myth make the point. One is Priam at the Departure of Hektor on an amphora in Munich signed by Euthymides. There, the king of Troy stands quietly, dressed in a voluminous himation and slippers. He looks at Hektor donning his corselet and puts his finger to his lips as if cautioning his son to be careful. Priam's forehead is bald, but what remains of his hair reaches to his shoulders in flowing locks; his beard is shorn, perhaps indicating old age.[32] In the tondo of a cup in the Louvre by the Brygos Painter, Briseis serves wine to Phoenix, who sits comfortably on a chair holding out a phiale. He wears a long chiton under an ornamented himation as well as slippers. His forehead is bald and most of his hair has turned white.[33]

12. Tondo of an Attic red-figured cup, perhaps by Euphronios, showing a boy with a Maltese dog, ca. 500 B.C. H. 3 in. (7.5 cm). Ephoreia Γ, Athens (A 5040)

The appearance of the Hegesiboulos Painter's old man is memorable, beginning with his thick hair hanging down along the nape of his neck, his full beard, and his thin mustache (Figure 3). The rendering of the individual strands of hair suggests it is a bit wiry.[34] The furrows on his forehead, the crease on his temple and cheek, and especially his large nose with its pronounced nostril as well as his full, articulated lips are not easily forgotten. His prominent eye with its "light" iris (in outline, not solid glaze) and the thick fringe of lashes are striking.[35] All of these details contrast sharply with the man's clothing, which is Greek. The lack of a chiton beneath the himation is quite common for Athenian men and youths at this time, as are the bare feet. What makes this man a foreigner is his face with its distinctive features. If his head were not preserved we would otherwise identify him as an Athenian walking his dog. Might he then be a metic who settled in Athens in the late sixth century B.C. and adopted Athenian dress and, by association, Athenian manners?[36] If so, one can easily understand that such an individualized face would fascinate an observant vase painter active during the time that witnessed the birth of democracy and an influx of foreigners.[37] In any case, this is a dignified old man who walks with measured step and expresses a seriousness of purpose that commands courtesy and respect. He is no caricature.

We turn now to the dog (see Figures 2, 4), but first a few general remarks about dogs in ancient Greece. We do not know exactly how many breeds there were, but their basic functions were hunting, herding, and protection, probably less often serving as pets.[38] In Greek art, the hunting dog is most frequently depicted.[39] The Hegesiboulos Painter's dog is sturdy looking with a long, thick, rather flat coat and a full, bushy tail that may be held proudly aloft or curve up over its back. The head is distinctive, nose quite pointed, ears pricked and alert, paws of good size. Hair on the face and legs is short and smooth, although occasionally the legs may be lightly feathered (see Figure 14). Our dog is nicely groomed and well cared for.[40] It is no mutt. Marjorie Milne was the first scholar to identify our dog as a Maltese lapdog (Μελιταῖον κυνίδιον), Melitaion being ancient Greek for Malta.[41] The dog and the name of its breed were discovered more than 150 years ago, when an unattributed Attic red-figured amphora dating about 500 B.C. was excavated at Vulci. One side depicts a youth dressed in a himation standing with a dog and the inscription ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΕ, retrograde, the final epsilon nearly touching the dog's nose (Figure 11).[42] All of the ancient literary sources for the Maltese dog were collected by Busuttil, and they make clear these were small companion dogs that gave great pleasure to their owners.[43] The earliest preserved reference is Aesop, writing in the

13. Tondo of a fragmentary unattributed Attic black-figured cup with coral-red showing a Maltese dog, ca. 500 B.C. Maximum preserved dimension 3½ in. (8.8 cm). Agora, Athens (P 10359)

sixth century B.C., who remarked that "it was customary for people going on a voyage to take these dogs [κύνας Μελιταίους] with them for pleasure."[44] Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) and Strabo (ca. 64/63 B.C.–A.D. 21 at least) tell us that these were small dogs. "The marten is about the size of the small kind of Melitaean miniature dog [Μελιταῖον κυνίδιον]" (Aristotle), and "off Pachynus lie Melita [Malta], whence come the little dogs called Melitaean [Μελιταῖα]" (Strabo).[45] Aelian (ca. A.D. 170–235) writes that when the fourth-century B.C. Theban general Epaminondas returned home from Sparta, "his little Maltese dog [Μελιταῖον κυνίδιον] greeted him with a wag of the tail," and Athenaeus (fl. ca. A.D. 200) echoes this sentiment, saying of the Sybarites, "also Melite lap-dogs [κυνάρια Μελιταῖα]...accompany them even to the gymnasia," and a little later, "the Sybarites...took delight in Melite puppies [Μελιταίοις κυνιδίοις]."[46]

There are many representations of this dog, and since the article by Busuttil contains no photographs, I shall illustrate some that indicate this breed was a worthy little companion and just list a few of the others. In the tondo of a red-figured cup in Athens dating about 500 B.C., perhaps by Euphronios, a Maltese dog accompanies a young man who is probably about to exercise, because his sponge, strigil, and aryballos containing oil hang on the wall. The dog is spirited and playful, its luxuriant coat testimony to good care (Figure 12).[47] About the same time, an anonymous artist painted a Maltese dog in black figure on the inside of a stemless cup decorated with coral red, a miscellaneous find during the excavation of the graves on Lenormant Street in Athens in 1936. This dog has a splendid coat and a huge tail (Figure 13).[48] In the tondo of a lost unattributed cup, two Maltese dogs eagerly approach one another, ears pricked, mouths open, tails held high. A boy holds the leash of one, a man the leash of the other, each a little tightly, as if they are not sure this is a friendly encounter (Figure 14).[49] I suspect it is an amicable one. If they were about to attack, their heads and tails would be lowered and they would be crouching, ready to spring at one another. The man lays his left hand on the boy's shoulder, suggesting an amorous encounter; the boy extends his right hand defensively. The Brygos Painter drew a Maltese dog at least three times. One occurs on his

14. Line drawing of a lost unattributed Attic red-figured cup showing a man and a youth with two Maltese dogs, ca. 500 B.C. Illustration: Keller, *Tierwelt*, p. 93, fig. 35

15. Tondo of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to the Brygos Painter showing a boy and his Maltese dog, ca. 490 B.C. H. 3⅛ in. (7.8 cm). University of California, Berkeley (8.921). Photograph: *CVA*, Berkeley 1 (USA 5) (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pl. 33 (214), 1

16. Fragment of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to the Brygos Painter showing a Maltese dog gnawing on a bone, ca. 490 B.C. Maximum preserved dimension approx. 2¾ in. (7 cm). Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (585). Photograph: Veruschka Aízaga-Thomason

17. Detail of an unattributed Attic red-figured chous showing a little boy and his Maltese dog, ca. late 5th century B.C. H. 4⅜ in. (11 cm). Agora, Athens (P 20090). Photograph: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations

cup in Berkeley (Figure 15), where the dog seems to be trying to take the boy's walking stick away from him (there is damage to the cup right in front of the dog's nose, but the position of the animal's legs and his flattened ears make clear he is tugging hard). In the tondo of a cup in Brussels, a boy holds out his right hand and his dog leaps up as if expecting a treat. The third appears on a cup fragment in the Cabinet des Médailles that depicts a symposium: the dog lies on the floor next to the food table, gnawing a large bone (Figure 16).[50] A particularly charming scene occurs on an unattributed late fifth-century B.C. chous found in the Athenian Agora (Figure 17). A Maltese dog licks the chin of a little boy crawling toward him.[51]

Although ancient authors make it clear that the Maltese was a lapdog, in many of the illustrations, including the one by the Hegesiboulos Painter, the dogs are too large to be lapdogs. I think the reason for this discrepancy lies in the realm of Greek aesthetics and its emphasis on balance. If the dogs were drawn in realistic proportion to the humans they accompany, they might look too small. Enlarging them not only resulted in more pleasing compositions, but also it allowed room for the artist to depict the salient features of this little dog the Greeks and others found so endearing.[52] In spirit, the Maltese dog by the Hegesiboulos Painter is not rambunctious and playful like most of those illustrated or cited here. It may reflect the dignified temperament of its owner or it may simply be a mature dog that has outgrown playfulness and become more sedate.

18. Side A of a red-figured calyx-krater by Euphronios showing a symposium, ca. 510 B.C. Preserved H. 15⅛ in. (38.3 cm). Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich (8935)

THE SYMPOSIUM AND THE KOMOS

Much more has been written about the old man and his dog than about the scenes on the outside of the Hegesiboulos Painter's cup. Furtwängler merely described them, but he noted that all the heads are individualized.[53] Richter remarked that Side A depicts an "after-dinner scene. The meal is just over."[54] Schnitzler, whose interest was the old man and Near Easterners, simply noted that the subjects on the outside were conventional ones.[55] As we shall see, Heidenreich's interpretation of the two scenes on the outside as a brothel and the old man as the proprietor is incorrect (see below).[56]

The symposium and the komos are popular subjects in Greek vase painting in the late sixth century and the early fifth, especially in Attic red-figure.[57] Each scene on MMA 07.286.47 has peculiarities that make it distinctive, but first it would be useful to describe briefly two contemporary examples that are in marked contrast. One occurs on the fragmentary calyx-krater in Munich by Euphronios, dated about 510 B.C. The symposium is under way with everyone still well behaved (Figure 18).[58] At the left, Thodemos (ΘΟΔΕΜΟΣ), facing the viewer, reclines on a pillow sipping wine from a cup held by its stem and foot in his right hand. He has a wreath in his hair and wears a himation around his hips and right leg. A phorminx and a flute case hang on the wall. A similarly dressed symposiast, Melas (ΜΕΛΑΣ), reclines next to him, head turned to right (face missing). In front of the couch is a table with meat and cakes. Next is the flute girl, Suko (ΣΥΚΟ), dressed in a long chiton under a himation, her hair tied up by a fillet decorated with a meander pattern. Her torso and upper arms are missing. Smikros (ΣΜΙΚΡΟΣ), dressed like Thodemos, reclines to left on the second couch (part of his legs and left arm missing) and reaches out to Suko with his raised right arm and hand. The last figure is Ekphantides (ΕΚΦΑΝΤΙΔΗΣ;

19. Side A of a red-figured stamnos signed by Smikros showing a symposium, ca. 510–500 B.C. H. 14⅝ in. (37 cm). Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels (A 717)

wreathed head raised, right arm over it) singing a song of which the first words are written in front of his mouth: ΟΠΟΛΛΟΝΣΕΓΕΚΑΙΜΑΚΑΙ, retrograde.[59] In front of the couch is a table, but there is no food on it, only a drinking cup; below each table is a footstool. The subject continues on the opposite side of the krater, which shows a servant boy (feet missing), nude but for a wreath, going to get more wine. He runs to right, looking back at the symposium. There is a lamp stand with two ladles and a strainer suspended from hooks, and rising from each lamp spout is a small flame to light the room. In the middle of the composition are a standed dinos (most of the dinos with just a little of the stand) and the extended right arm of someone to the right of it dipping an oinochoe into the wine. A barbiton (sound box, start of one arm, the top of the other with a little of the crosspiece) hangs on the wall.[60]

The second symposium is the famous one on the stamnos in Brussels signed by Smikros (Figure 19).[61] At the left Choro (ΧΟΡΟ) sits near the end of the couch tying a fillet around her head. She wears a long chiton with a himation wrapped around her waist and thighs, a bracelet on each forearm. Her feet rest on a low, rectangular block. She faces Pheidiades (ΦΕΙΔΙΑΔΕΣ, retrograde), who reaches toward her with his outstretched right hand. He props himself on his left elbow against an elegant pillow and holds a cup by its stem and foot, just as Thodemos does on the Munich calyx-krater (Figure 18). Around his head is a decorative fillet, and he has a himation wrapped around his hips and legs. Next comes the flute girl, Helike (ΗΕΛΙΚΕ), standing to right, dressed in a long chiton and a himation. Her hair is tied up with a fillet. A bracelet adorns her right forearm. Smikros (ΣΜΙΚΡΟΣ) reclines on the second couch, head back, like Ekphantides (Figure 18), with right arm raised and bent over it, as he listens to the music with rapture. He is dressed similarly to Pheidiades and holds a cup in the same manner. The last two figures recline together and gaze into each other's eyes. Rode (ΡΟΔΕ, retrograde), clad in the same garments as Choro, grasps the back of the youth's head (ΑΥ . . . , retrograde), and he puts his right arm around her left shoulder. His attire is similar to that of the other two symposiasts, and he also holds a cup. Rode rests her feet on a low stool supported by feline hind legs. Each couch is very elegant, with patterned decoration on the legs and mattress frame; before each is a table laden with delicacies. The composition on the other side of the stamnos is similar to the reverse of Euphronios's krater, only better preserved.

These two symposia, similar in spirit and decorum, take many more with them. The feasting and drinking are well under way, but no one behaves in an uninhibited or drunken manner. Food, music, and drink are important components of the symposium; dancing comes later.[62] The scene on our cup illustrates advanced stages of the festivities (Figure 5). Richter was correct that "the meal is just over,"[63] because this explains the absence of a table laden with food. Richter did not link the scenes on the outside thematically, but Beazley did.[64] The participants in our symposium look a bit drunk; even the woman seated at the left has had a little more than her share of the wine, and the boy with the lyre looks as if he is not quite sure what to do with it. The pose of the boy running to fill the oinochoe with more wine is quite exaggerated, especially his extended right arm.[65] The boy on the right adjusts or puts a wreath around the head of the symposiast whose head is in the same position as one who vomits, and occasionally in such scenes, a boy offers

20. One side of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to the Ambrosios Painter showing a komos, ca. 510–500 B.C. H. 4⅛ in. (10.5 cm). Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich (2614)

comfort by putting his hands on the symposiast's head.[66] Our painter seems to have combined an allusion to this uncivilized behavior with that of another, the symposiast trying to fondle the boy's genitals. Is this the Hegesiboulos Painter's idea of bawdy humor? Nearly a century ago, Beazley remarked on "the comical spirit" of the drawing but did not elaborate.[67] Beth Cohen noted that "the figural decoration of these Athenian [late sixth-century] coral-red cups favors elite male genre imagery, especially athletes or youths at leisure," and later made a valid point when she suggested the scenes on the outside of MMA 07.286.47 "seem to parody the usual Athenian male iconography of coral-red by substituting images of Others."[68] I am not sure they are "images of Others." To me, it seems that the Hegesiboulos Painter's sense of humor extends to good-natured visual spoofs of his contemporaries.[69]

The parodic character of the symposium continues with the komasts on Side B (Figure 7). For contrast I shall describe

21. Side B of an Attic red-figured kantharos attributed to the Nikosthenes Painter showing a komos, ca. 510–500 B.C. H. 6¼ in. (15.8 cm). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (3386)

two contemporary examples. One occurs on the cup in Munich by the Ambrosios Painter that depicts a komos on both sides and dates about 510–500 B.C.[70] I illustrate just one side (Figure 20). The first komast (most of head, left shoulder missing) strides in from the left holding krotala, preceded by a youth who plays the aulos. Each wears just a cloak over his shoulders. The next komast (head, right shoulder, and upper arm missing), dressed in a himation, dances toward them but looks back (the tip of his beard overlaps his left shoulder). His right arm is raised, the hand holding a stick; in his lowered left hand he holds a barbiton. The next two komasts are youths clad only in cloaks, similar to the first two. The first runs to left, looking back, arms outstretched, his right hand holding a ribbed oinochoe, the left empty. The last komast moves to right, looking back, balancing a drinking cup in the palm of his left hand, his right outstretched. This rendering of komasts enjoying a bibulous evening may stand for many.

Much closer in spirit to our komasts are the six cavorting about on a kantharos in Saint Petersburg attributed to the Nikosthenes Painter that dates about 510–500 B.C. (Figure 21).[71] At the left, one dressed in a cloak comes in holding up a cup in his left hand that is partly overlapped by the head of a similarly clad komast who plays the aulos. Next, a komast dressed in a turban and cloak moves to right, playing the barbiton. A basket hangs in the background, suggesting this cheerful group is not yet outside. The dining is over but probably not the drinking. A lean dog squats on the ground, head raised as if to nip the buttocks of the turbaned komast.[72] The next three komasts wear only cloaks. The first strides to right looking back, right hand raised high holding a knotty stick, a cup in his left hand. The last two face each other; the one on the right plays the aulos.

By comparison with these two scenes, our merry komasts seem less inhibited (Figure 7). The food has been consumed; there is no furniture present or objects hanging on the wall to indicate an interior location. They have moved outside, perhaps to make their way home, but the drinking and dancing continue. The positions of their arms and heads suggest they are tipsy but not totally inebriated. The komast at the far left accompanies himself on the barbiton, head back, mouth open, singing with abandon (Figure 8); two others play krotala and another the barbiton (Figure 7). The party may not break up for a while, and the Hegesiboulos Painter's rendering of it exhibits the same playful spirit as his depiction of the symposium.

Two articles of clothing and one of the musical instruments on MMA 07.286.47 are not indigenous to Greece, but originate in the east, specifically Lydia and Phrygia. The single most important feature of the clothing of the two women and the six komasts is the headdress (Figures 5, 7). It is not composed of one piece of cloth that fits over the

head like a cap, such as the sakkos or the kekryphalos, but is a long strip of cloth wrapped *around* the head, then knotted to hold it *in* place. It is called a turban (a μίτρα in ancient Greek) and is well known in the east, from India to Lydia, exclusively as a male headdress. The turban first appears in Athens during the 520s B.C., worn by women in the context of the symposium or in Dionysiac settings.[73] Later, komasts took up this headdress, and it was especially popular down to the early fifth century. "The turban was preferred for the representation of the more vigorous, or at least upright, activity of the komast," and "most turbaned komasts, however, wear only a short cloak around their shoulders, leaving the body bare, and they are often booted."[74] Our komasts correspond well to this description.

The second article of clothing is the boot or, as here, the slipper that is worn by the singing komast (Figure 7), the other komasts being barefoot. Boardman offers brief remarks about boots and references to painted examples.[75] He describes the variations in height and notes that this footwear is always characterized as soft and probably pliable. Such a slipper is called a κοθόρνους in ancient Greek, and Boardman cites two passages in Herodotus where it is associated with King Kroisos of Lydia.[76] The slipper worn by our komast is the simplest type, barely covering the ankle, and may easily be slipped on and off without using one's hands.

Two stringed instruments appear on our cup. The seated youth and the symposiast each have a lyre, which is quite common on Greek vases (Figure 5).[77] More important is the instrument held by two of the komasts (Figure 7). This is the barbiton, an elegant variant of the lyre, which comes from the east and may be of Phrygian origin. Like the lyre, the barbiton has a sound box made from a tortoise shell, but its arms are longer than those of the lyre. Curving gracefully inward under the crossbar, then back toward the player, the arms are an identifying feature of the instrument.[78] Beginning about 520 B.C., the barbiton appears on Athenian vases, often in a sympotic context. Thus it enters the figural repertoire about the same time as the turban. Two of our turbaned komasts play krotala, which are more often associated with women.[79]

The eastern elements observed in the above discussion, specifically the Semitic features of the old man, the turban, the slippers, and the barbiton, are not surprising since Hegesiboulos, whose name is known in the Ionian city of Clazomenae (see above, with note 22), was active in Athens at a time when the presence of foreigners is well attested.[80] Furthermore, Persia, a threat to the Ionian cities at this time, captured Clazomenae during an offensive that probably began in 497 B.C.[81] If our Hegesiboulos was a native of Clazomenae, perhaps he emigrated to Athens to avoid the Persian conflict and seek a better life. As Boardman remarked, the presence in Athens of artists who were not Athenians "seems to argue a notable contribution by painters who were metics if not slaves in the potters' quarter, yet on terms of easy familiarity with young notables of the day."[82]

ARE THE THREE SCENES RELATED?

Heidenreich's idea that the three scenes on MMA 07.286.47 are thematically linked requires discussion. Interconnection of the three subjects on one cup is fairly rare, and when it occurs, the continuity is obvious. When Beazley believed subjects on a vase were related, he punctuated his descriptions with a semicolon; otherwise, he used a period.[83] This is how he described our cup on four occasions: 1) without punctuation, the linkage understood: "an ugly old man, taking a walk with his dog (I) meets (A) a band of young men who have come from (B) a merry party"; 2) with punctuation: "I, Greis. A, Gelage. B, Komos"; 3) with punctuation: "I, old m. A, symposion; B, komos"; 4) with punctuation: "I, old man taking a walk. A, symposion; B, komos."[84] In other words, Beazley initially considered the three scenes related, then changed his mind and concluded that the tondo scene is a separate subject from the two on the outside, which he believed were linked thematically. I think Beazley's second reading is correct.

After describing our cup, Heidenreich offers his interpretation of the scenes on the outside, which he thinks take place in a brothel with the old man its proprietor, a role he says non-Athenians frequently assumed.[85] He notes the brothel keeper (πορνοβοσκός) is a popular person of Attic comedy, for he appears in a fragment of a play by Myrtilos and in two plays by Aristophanes.[86] The extant fragment by Myrtilos comes from an unnamed play; the pertinent passage is: "ὁ δ' ἀνάπηρος πορνοβοσκὸς καταφαγᾶς (a gluttonous trollop-jobber [brothel keeper] with a gammy leg).[87] In *Knights*, which took first prize at the Lenaia in 424 B.C., Aristophanes (ca. 457–385 B.C.) gives these lines to the Sausage Seller: "Now here's the oracle about the fleet for you, so you should pay very close attention to it.... 'Scion of Aegeus, ponder the fox-dog [κυναλώπηξ] lest he beguile you; he is treacherous, swift of foot, a wily trickster, and very crafty.' Do you get that one?" Demos replies: " The fox-dog is Philostratos" (Φιλόστρατος ἡ κυναλώπηξ).[88] His profession is not specified here, but scholia to this passage refer to a "Philostratos fox-dog" (Φιλόστρατος κυναλώπηξ) and "Philostratos... brothel-keeper" (Φιλόστρατος... πορνοβοσκός). The characteristic features usually ascribed to Philostratos in several lines perhaps justify the term "fox dog," which is used as a disparaging nickname, and Heidenreich suggests that perhaps ownership of a fox dog would contribute to the application of such a nickname.[89] In *Lysistrata* (957), performed in 411 B.C., Kenesias demands that "Fox Dog" (Κυναλώπηξ) procure him a woman, because his wife, Myrrhine, has run away: "Is Fox Dog out there anywhere?"

Philostratos is not named with the epithet "fox dog," but Heidenreich thinks this was clearly the playwright's intention.[90]

Heidenreich's interpretation of the old man in the tondo of the Hegesiboulos Painter's cup as a brothel keeper, a πορνοβοσκός, really hinges on his identification of the dog's breed as a fox dog, which occurs in the title of his article "Spaziergänger mit Fuchshund." This reading of the tondo is problematic. To begin with, Heidenreich does not describe the dog, nor does he say how he identifies its breed as a fox dog, a cross that is genetically impossible,[91] nor does he cite parallels for the dog but simply says it protects the old man.[92] Heidenreich remarks that all authors who describe the dog, except Richter, call it a fox dog.[93] This is misleading because nearly all authors who have dealt with this cup simply call the animal a dog.[94] Heidenreich is rather dismissive of Richter, even though she describes the dog and he does not: "the dog with its pointed nose and turned-up tail resembles the Melitaean breed said to come from Phoenician Malta."[95] Furthermore, leaping ahead almost a hundred years to three passages in Attic comedy that use "fox dog" as an unflattering nickname for a brothel keeper and linking this bit of lewdness with our dignified old man is contrived. In *Knights* (1069), the Sausage Seller's description of the dog does not in the least apply to the Maltese dog. Nor does Xenophon's (ca. 428/427–ca. 354 B.C.): "the Vulpine [ἀλωπεκίδες] is a hybrid between the dog and the fox: hence the name.... They are small, hook-nosed, grey-eyed, blinking, ungainly, stiff, weak, thin-coated, lanky, ill-proportioned, cowardly, dull-scented, unsound in the feet."[96]

The old man with his pet dog is a foreigner, probably from the Levant, perhaps even a Phoenician, given the dog's breed. He looks to me as if he is a real person seen through the eyes of an observant vase painter who may have been fascinated by his foreign features. One might even suggest that the rendering of him by the Hegesiboulos Painter is the closest a vase painter of his time could come to a true portrait. The outside of this cup has a much less serious quality to it, the symposium and the komos, light-hearted gatherings that were popular subjects with Athenian vase painters in the late sixth century and the early fifth. It is unusual, however, for the two subjects to appear on the same vase. As Boardman noted: "the *komos* is very seldom depicted at the symposion, but must be thought to take place either later, en route to another party as is often implied by the wine gear being carried, or in an adjacent room or courtyard, probably where the crater was set."[97] I think this is what the Hegesiboulos Painter depicted, a symposium followed by a komos on the same evening. What is unusual is that he has given these two scenes a wry touch, especially the faces of the participants. Inscribing "kalos" next to such figures adds a humorous accent, since it is highly unlikely any contemporary would consider these cheerful merrymakers "kalos." Today, we call this a "send-up," a play on well-known subjects.

THE POTTER HEGESIBOULOS AND THE HEGESIBOULOS PAINTER

It is now time to look for other vases by the Hegesiboulos Painter, but first a few words about potting, painting, and signatures. Hegesiboulos signed the cup as potter, ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ (made), but this does not mean he was the painter. He may have been, but without more to go on it is safer to think he was not. Reference to a painter by his given name requires a painting signature, the name followed by ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ (painted). Occasionally, a double signature on a vase confirms that potter and painter are one, Exekias being a prime example. Or there may be a signed collaboration, Euxitheos and Euphronios or Kachrylion and Euphronios. Two other signature possibilities exist. A vase may be signed by painter only, such as the stamnos in Brussels by Smikros (Figure 19), or by potter only and in this case the scholarly convention is to name the painter after the potter.[98] MMA 07.286.47 belongs in the latter category, hence the Hegesiboulos Painter. Before we consider other works that may be by this artist, it is important to look at vases from the workshop of Kachrylion, a better-known contemporary of Hegesiboulos, who was particularly interested in special techniques and slips. This will shed light on connections not only between the two potters, but also between them and the painters they employed, specifically Euphronios and the Hegesiboulos Painter. Slips and special techniques, as well as ornamental patterns, were likely chosen by the potter because they enhance the shapes they decorate, but the painter, who was more adept with a brush than the potter, was probably responsible for their application.[99]

The last quarter of the sixth century B.C. was a time of great experimentation in the Athenian potters' quarters. Red-figure was invented, perhaps by the Andokides Painter, and white-ground as a surface for figures became popular, particularly among painters specializing in lekythoi. Other experiments that deserve mention are Six's technique, which depicts polychromatic figures (with or without incision) against the black glaze, and coral red, the one most pertinent to this article.[100] Coral red begins with Exekias, who may be its inventor, for the earliest preserved appearance occurs in the tondo of his famous cup in Munich of about 530 B.C. that he signed as potter on the side of the foot.[101] The black figures of Dionysos sailing in his boat and the dolphins accompanying him are not painted *on top* of the coral red; rather the coral red was painted *around* them. More than a decade later, the innovative and experimental

Psiax decorated the earliest known cup to have the figures placed on top of the coral-red ground on both the inside and the outside.[102] Figures on this small cup (diameter 22.5 cm) are few: the inside depicts Herakles with one of the man-eating mares of Diomedes, a son of Ares, the horse incorrectly drawn as a stallion; on each side of the exterior is a single flying figure, Hermes on one side and Perseus on the other, an excerpt from the pursuit by the Gorgons. There are no ground lines.

Euphronios collaborated with Kachrylion on the splendid cup in Munich signed by each artist on the side of the foot.[103] A broad band of coral red surrounds a small tondo depicting a horseman. Elsewhere on the cup, coral red covers the underside of the foot as well as the inside of the stem. A newcomer to the coral-red oeuvre of Euphronios is Agora P 32344, a cup dating about 510 B.C., which was found in the upper level of a deep well excavated in the 1994 and 1995 seasons.[104] Preserved is a little more than half of the bowl, all of one handle, and about half of the torus foot, which has a chamfer on the top side. The diameter of the bowl is 19.1 centimeters, only slightly more than that of MMA 07.286.47, which measures 18.4 centimeters. The lip is offset, but on the inside only. Coral red covers the outside of the cup except for the handle panel, and the underside of the foot has coral red surrounded by a black line just as on our cup. Particularly relevant to MMA 07.286.47 is the allocation of black glaze and coral red on the inside. A fairly broad band of coral red surrounds the tondo, which preserves part of a seated male draped in a himation and holding a knobby walking stick. Black glaze covers both the inside of the lip and its rim, just as it does on our cup. The only difference is that the black glaze of the tondo is flush with the coral red; there are no encircling lines for a transition between the two. Otherwise, the general character of the inside of Agora P 32344 is strikingly similar to that of MMA 07.286.47. Given this as well as the small size of each cup, the similar appearance of the inside, and the decoration of the underside of the foot, it is tempting to ask if the Agora cup might have been potted by Hegesiboulos. Cohen wrote that "according to Kathleen M. Lynch, the cup's shape may have been an early example of a fluid Type B rather than a Type C cup," an important observation, because MMA 07.286.47 is not a canonical Type B cup, nor is it a Type C, since it lacks the distinctive ring between the stem and the foot.[105]

The cup of uncertain type in Malibu attributed to Euphronios by Joan R. Mertens adds another dimension to the artistic achievements of Euphronios: the drawing is in black-figure and in outline on white-ground, a new use of both techniques for this painter. The cup's estimated diameter (approximately 22.6 cm) is a little larger than Agora P 32344 (19.15 cm), but it shares with it four features: the lip is offset on the inside only; except for the reserved handle panels, the outside is undecorated, though covered in black glaze, not coral red; lip and rim are glazed, forming a frame for the figures; it was mended in antiquity, indicating it was a valued possession, just as the Agora cups were.[106]

22. Detail of an Attic white-ground mug attributed to the Hegesiboulos Painter showing a youth with a money bag, ca. 500 B.C. Present H. 3⅛ in. (8 cm). Museo Nazionale, Palermo (2139). Photograph: Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik*, pl. 33.2

The foregoing observations about coral red and white-ground link Hegesiboulos with the workshop of Kachrylion and Euphronios. In *Colors of Clay*, Cohen suggested "that the potter Hegesiboulos . . . is likely to have been a shopmate or partner of Euphronios," and perhaps by extension the potter Kachrylion, with whom Euphronios collaborated and who was a master of the application of coral red.[107] Later in the same volume, Dyfri Williams remarked that "the potting of the New York cup suggests that Hegesiboulos I [MMA 07.286.47] learned his craft alongside Euphronios and from the potter Kachrylion." Williams continued, "we are now, however, beginning to learn more about this potter thanks to the appearance of two mugs that also bear the remains of his signature, both from Sicily. One has a white slip outside, the other, not only a white slip outside, but also most remarkably a coral red slip inside." The former is Palermo 2139 (Figure 22), which dates about 500 B.C.; the latter is in a London private collection and is thus far unpublished.[108] These are important vases, because they provide new information about Hegesiboulos, namely that he also used white-ground, demonstrating his flexibility and willingness to try new techniques. The unpublished vase is the more important of the two because of the innovative use of both coral red and white-ground on the same vase, which seems to be a very early (the earliest?) application of the two techniques on one vase, though it is well known in the Sotades Workshop, painters active in the second quarter of the fifth century B.C.[109] This use of white-ground and coral red is, of course, a potting connection, and Williams noted that Hegesiboulos was "clearly

23. Fragment of the outside of an Attic red-figured cup-skyphos attributed to the Hegesiboulos Painter showing a reclining komast, ca. 500 B.C. Preserved H. ⅞ in. (2.2 cm). Akropolis Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens (538)

experienced in his use of slips, while also producing, not only cups and mugs, but perhaps also a small stemless cup or cup-kotyle, if he was the potter of the Akropolis fragment attributed by Ernst Langlotz to the same painter as the New York cup" (Figures 23, 24), and he suggested that "the figured style of the Hegesiboulos Painter has clear connections with the late works of Euphronios as a painter and the Proto-Panaetian Group" (for the latter, see below).[110]

There is one more detail that offers a link between the Hegesiboulos Painter and Euphronios, and perhaps also Kachrylion. Following the lead of Beth Cohen, in the description of the symposium I suggested that the hair of the running youth and the tortoiseshell sound box of the lyre may have been gilded because the surface is textured and unglazed, as is part of the symposiast's wreath, which is in raised clay (see above and note 7; Figures 5, 6). Euphronios gilded details of his large cup dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis,[111] which today is quite fragmentary, with large missing pieces restored in plaster and painted. The outside depicts the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis. In front of Athena, who stands at the far right of the main side, Euphronios signed his name: [ΕΥΫΦΡΟΝ]ΙΟΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ. The unglazed added clay used for the forelocks of Hera and Athena, the bracelets worn by Athena and Thetis, and the phiale held by Hephaistos would have been gilded.[112] When complete, this cup must have been very impressive, and it is tempting to ask if Kachrylion was its potter. In addition to an interest in slips, both Euphronios and the Hegesiboulos Painter tried their hands at applying gold leaf over raised clay, which must have required the delicate touch of a painter rather than the strong hands of a potter, though one may not rule out a metalsmith (see note 7).

24. Reconstruction drawing of the komast shown in Figure 23. Drawing: the author

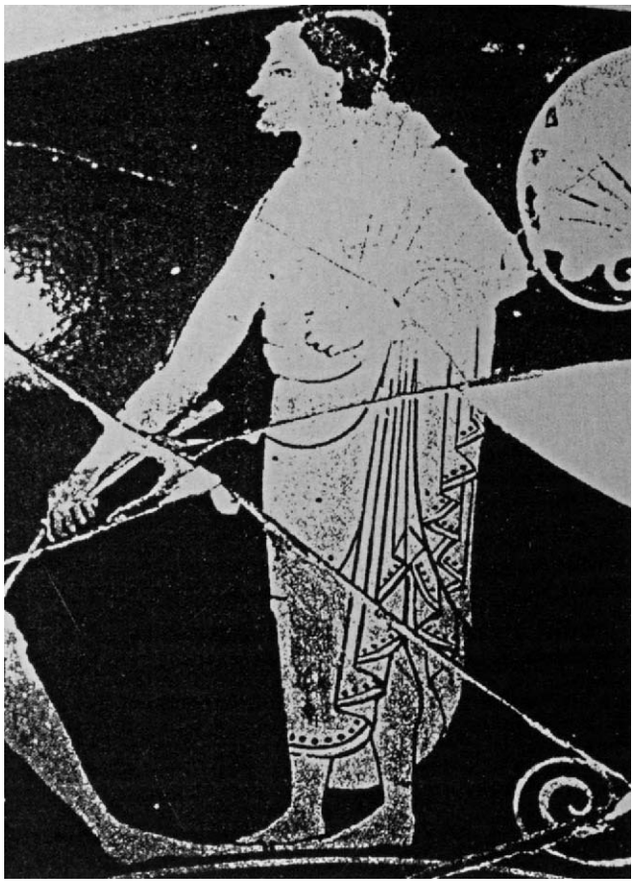
Euphronios was more experienced than previously realized in the use of white-ground, coral red, and even black-figure on white-ground. If my suggestion that Agora P 32344 may have been potted by Hegesiboulos has any validity, it means that Euphronios collaborated with him on at least one occasion. And, as we shall see, the Hegesiboulos Painter is very likely the artist who decorated Palermo 2139. Much of this is speculative, but perhaps in time, new discoveries will produce confirming evidence.

The authors who published MMA 07.286.47 took little interest in the artist because they were concerned with the old man and less so with the symposium and the komos. Furtwängler remarked that our cup possesses such a distinctive style that it would not be difficult to recognize other vases by the same painter; he first linked it with the painter who decorated cups praising Epilykos (ΕΠΙΛΥΚΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ), an artist later recognized as Skythes; and he decided that the painter of the Epilykos cups also decorated our cup.[113] Ernst Langlotz suggested that a small fragment of a cup-skyphos, Akropolis 538, depicting a symposiast lying on the "ground," not on a couch, was by the Hegesiboulos Painter and denied the authorship of Skythes (Figure 23).[114] Richter characterized the drawing on our cup as "by a deft, able hand and the style highly individual. The figures are not the usual impersonal types, but appear to be sketched from life, in a lively, comical spirit"; and "the painter with whom our artist has much in common, both in temperament and in the types of his figures, is Skythes. . . . But the two artists are only related, not identical, for the renderings of the individual forms differ." "The only other work convincingly attributed so far to the painter of our kylix is a fragment in Athens with a reclining reveler, whose draperies, black anatomical markings, and castanets connect him with the figures on our vase" (Figure 23).[115] There is, however, one interesting comparison with Skythes that does not seem to have been noticed. This is the border of the himation worn by the old man, which is defined by a double line accompanied by a row of dots for accent (Figure 2). As far as I know, this is a very rare border, but I have found one parallel; it occurs on the himation worn by the trainer on a fragmentary cup in the Villa Giulia of about 510–500 B.C. signed by Skythes (Figure 25).[116]

More recently, there have been two other suggested attributions to the Hegesiboulos Painter. Beth Cohen wondered if the figures on Side B of the neck of the Arezzo volute-krater by Euphronios "might be early work of the Hegesiboulos Painter."[117] Comparison of the figures on the outside of MMA 07.286.47 with those on the neck of the volute-krater shows that the drawing on both vases is somewhat unrefined with the heads a little large for their bodies, but there, I think, the similarities cease. The figures on the volute-krater are variations on a type; they are not as individualized as those on our cup.

The Palermo mug mentioned above offers better parallels. It depicts three youths, each dressed in a himation and holding a money bag. The left one moves to left, looking back and carrying a knotted stick. The other two face one another, each with a similar stick. In addition, the right youth wears a wreath. His profile deviates from the Greek norm, and Wehgartner noted that his mouth is open and his teeth show (Figure 22).[118] She also remarked on the use of relief line instead of dilute glaze for the anatomy of the figures and observed several similarities in the drawing on the mug with that of the old man on our cup, in particular the large head with emphasis on the back of it, the prominent nose and fleshy lips, the treatment of the muscles of the torso, the drawing of the arms, and the use of relief line for the interior drawing. The youth's large eye is another comparison with the old man (Figures 3, 22). On the other hand, Wehgartner noticed differences, such as the rendering of the elbows, ears, and drapery folds. She attributed the mug to the Hegesiboulos Painter, though with some reservation.[119] Wehgartner not only provided specific criteria for attributing the mug and the cup to the same artist, but also thought the drawing on our cup shows some influence of the Pioneers, especially the painter's attention to detail and his use of relief line. While I acknowledge Wehgartner's caution in opting for a firm attribution, I believe the Hegesiboulos Painter decorated the Palermo mug. Wehgartner was quite certain, however, that the fragment from the Athenian Akropolis was not by him.[120] I disagree with this conclusion.

The Akropolis fragment is difficult to read because so little is preserved (Figures 23, 24). A man reclines to right, leaning against a pillow (the plain area with yellowish wash next to his right shoulder and upper arm). In his right hand he holds a krotalon and presumably held one in his left as well. The ends of a taenia appear to the right and left of the krotalon just below the break, and the vertical folds of his drapery indicate the cloak was suspended over his outstretched left arm. The man's chest is hairy and his torso bare; at the right break is the start of each thigh. On the far left is part of something that looks like a carelessly folded garment (a cloak?) placed on the ground (Figure 23). It might also be an empty wineskin, and if so, it would recall the full one partly preserved behind the singing komast on our cup



25. Detail of Side B of an Attic red-figured cup signed by Skythes showing a trainer, ca. 510–500 B.C. H. 3 in. (7.5 cm). Villa Giulia, Rome (27402). Photograph: Bothmer Archive

(Figure 7). As Langlotz observed, there is no mattress on Akropolis 538, just as on MMA 07.286.47 (Figure 5); the absence of a kline is probably due to lack of vertical space (a cup-skyphos is a shallow vessel; see note 114). Like our komasts, the man wears a cloak, not a himation as one would expect, and it is unusual for a man to play krotala, for more often women use them. As we have seen, two of our komasts play krotala (Figure 7).[121] On both our cup and the fragment, the relief line is rather bold and heavy compared with its use by contemporary painters, where there is a better balance between thick glaze and dilute. Three lines define the border of the cloak similar to those of the symposiast (Figure 5) and the krotala players (Figure 7). For the thin, elongated arm of the Akropolis symposiast, compare the left arm of the seated woman at the far left in Figure 5. In other words, iconographic and stylistic details deviate from the Athenian norm for this subject, and this was the reason Langlotz concluded that the artist of Akropolis 538 was not an Athenian. That Hegesiboulos is not an Athenian name, but one known from Clazomenae, might mean that he favored working with a painter who came from Ionia and preferred non-Athenian conventions.[122] Furthermore, our cup and the Palermo mug are small vases; the size of the Akropolis fragment (preserved height 2.2 cm) in relation to what remains of the figures indicates that it too was a small vase. I believe the three vases are by the Hegesiboulos Painter.

26. Detail of the tondo of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to a painter of the Proto-Panaetian Group showing the head of a man in a scene of lovemaking, ca. 510–500 B.C. Diam. 9 in. (22.7 cm). British Museum, London (1865.11-18.46, ex E 816). Photograph: courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

27. Detail of the tondo of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to Onesimos, showing the head of a man propositioning a woman, ca. 500–490 B.C. Diam. 13¼ in. (33.6 cm). British Museum, London (1836.2-24.25, ex E 44). Photograph: courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

THE HEGESIBOULOS PAINTER AND SOME OTHERS

For youths or men, not women, playing krotala, see examples by Euphronios, Phintias, Euthymides, and the Ambrosios Painter; see also Euphronios for the bristles of a boar comparable with the standing ruff of the old man's dog.[123] The spirit of our komos compares with the one by the Ambrosios Painter on his cup in Munich (Figure 20) and finds even better company with the komos on the kantharos in Saint Petersburg by the Nikosthenes Painter (Figure 21). The first authors to publish MMA 07.286.47 considered Skythes to be its painter, but subsequent scholars disagreed with this attribution and so do I, even though the border of the old man's himation offers a striking stylistic parallel with that of the trainer on Skythes' cup in the Villa Giulia (Figure 25). All of these comparisons, with the exception of the last, are iconographical, but each artist is contemporary with the Hegesiboulos Painter, and, together with many others, they form the creative environment of the potters' quarter in Athens during the late sixth century B.C. and the opening years of the fifth.

In 1936, Richter noted how lively and individualized the figures are on MMA 07.286.47, almost as if they were "sketched from life,"[124] and this remark brings me to the Proto-Panaetian Group of painters, artists active in the

28. Tondo of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to Onesimos, showing a trainer with a tablet and stylus, ca. 500–490 B.C. Diam. 9½ in. (24 cm). Lost, formerly Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (3139). Photograph: Verena Zinserling, "Physiognomische Studien in der spätarchaischen und klassischen Vasenmalerei," in *Die griechische Vase*, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock 7/8 (Rostock, 1967), pl. 130, fig. 4

Athenian Kerameikos in the late sixth century and the early fifth. Williams did not go into detail when he suggested linking the Hegesiboulos Painter, the workshop of Euphronios and Kachrylion, and the Proto-Panaetian Group. The idea that the painter who worked for Hegesiboulos saw what was being created in the workshop of Euphronios and Kachrylion, especially the cups decorated by an anonymous group of painters assembled by Beazley under the title "Proto-Panaetian," is an attractive one. Their vases are closely related to the early work of Onesimos, the famous and prolific vase painter who collaborated with Euphronios when he ceased painting and turned to potting.[125]

In *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (1942), Beazley distinguished a Proto-Panaetian Group, the Panaitios Painter, and Onesimos. The kalos name, Panaitios, gives the group and the painter their names. Earlier, Furtwängler suggested that the cups bearing the kalos name were the early work of Onesimos, and he was the first to see that the Euphronios *egrapsen* vases were not by the same artist as those signed *epoiesen*. In *ARV*[2] (1963), Beazley accepted Furtwängler's attribution of the Panaitios kalos cups as the early work of Onesimos, but he retained a Proto-Panaetian Group, admitting that the cups "differ a good deal among themselves, and it is hard to arrange them, as one might have expected to do, in a chronological sequence. If they are all his [the Panaitios Painter], he oscillated considerably before settling down. This is conceivable in an adventurous young man; but one cannot assume it. The question remains difficult, and the expression 'the Proto-Panaetian Group' had better be retained."[126] Beazley cautiously divided the Proto-Panaetian Painters into two groups: "in the first, the cups that seem specially akin to early Onesimos ('Panaitios Painter'); in the second, various cups that seem somewhat less near him: but the division is perhaps rather arbitrary."[127] In this somewhat eclectic group of painters, there are scarcely a dozen vases, all cups, but among them are a few with figures that are quite individualized, and they bear comparison with those on MMA 07.286.47.[128] All may be dated about 500 B.C.

Some of the cups in the Proto-Panaetian circle and early works by Onesimos depict figures with individualized facial features such as we see on MMA 07.286.47 (Figure 3) and on Palermo 2139 (Figure 22) by the Hegesiboulos Painter. For instance, the lover in the tondo of London, BM 1865.11-18.46, ex E 816, by a Proto-Panaetian Painter, has a pointed nose, wrinkles on his forehead, and a short scruffy beard (Figure 26).[129] In the tondo of Louvre G 25, a man vomits. He has a slightly receding hairline, a prominent nose, a thin mustache and beard, an open mouth, and a distinct paunch. A sad-looking hunting dog accompanies him.[130] The aulos player leaning against a full wineskin in the tondo of Boston, MFA 01.8018 prompted Beazley to remark that "the meagre beard and moustache are touches of naturalism like the thinning of the hair at the temples, the projection of the Adam's apple, the unlovely forehead and nose, the wild eye and farouche look." A man with a non-Greek profile and an extremely long beard reclines against a colorful pillow on one side of Munich 2636; in his outstretched right hand he holds a large vessel.[131] Memorable is the man propositioning a woman on Onesimos's famous early cup in London signed by Euphronios as potter (Figure 27).[132] He has a deeply receding hairline, a lined forehead, a nose with a very irregular contour, and a short, fringed beard. In the tondo of Berlin 3139, also an early work, Onesimos painted a trainer with a stylus and tablet; he is balding and has an irregular profile as well as a somewhat shaggy beard (Figure 28).[133]

Attic red-figured vase painters working during these immensely creative years around 500 B.C. produced some of the most remarkable images that have come down to us. Many of these artists were quite prolific; others, like the Hegesiboulos Painter, less so. To judge from MMA 07.286.47, Palermo 2139, and Akropolis 538, he seems to have been most comfortable decorating small shapes associated with drinking. His drawing is rather bold, if at times a bit unrefined, but his figures have distinct personalities, the youth on Palermo 2139 being a good example. His lively symposiasts and komasts on MMA 07.286.47 suggest he had a keen sense of humor and the ability to spoof some of his contemporaries. The Hegesiboulos Painter's figures are not repetitious types, but instead look as if they have life breathed into them, especially the old man on our cup, who illustrates the painter's perception and awareness of the individual features that characterize the differences between people, especially non-Greeks. The Hegesiboulos Painter is a memorable artist who was very much in harmony with his time, a keen observer of the world around him, and possessed of a talent that allowed him to record some of what he saw in daily life.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABV
John D. Beazley. *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, 1956.

*Addenda*²
Thomas H. Carpenter, comp., with Thomas Mannack and Melanie Mendonça. *Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV² and Paralipomena*. 2nd ed. Oxford, 1989.

*ARV*²
John D. Beazley. *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. 2nd ed. Oxford, 1963.

Beazley, *VA*
John D. Beazley. *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums*. Cambridge, Mass., 1918.

Boardman, "Booners"
John Boardman. "Booners: Part 2, The Boon Companions." In *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 3, edited by Jiří Frel and Marion True, pp. 47–70. Occasional Papers on Antiquities 2. Malibu, 1986.

Boardman, *History*
John Boardman. *The History of Greek Vases: Potters, Painters and Pictures*. London, 2001.

Busuttil, "Maltese Dog"
J. Busuttil. "The Maltese Dog." *Greece and Rome*, 2nd ser., 16, no. 2 (October 1969), pp. 205–8.

CAH 4
The Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. 4, *Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c. 525–479 B.C.* 2nd ed. Edited by John Boardman et al. Cambridge, 1988.

Cohen, *Colors of Clay*
Beth Cohen et al. *The Colors of Clay: Special Techniques in Athenian Vases*. Exh. cat., Getty Villa, Malibu. Los Angeles, 2006.

CVA
Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum

Euphronios der Maler
Euphronios der Maler: Eine Ausstellung in der Sonderausstellungshalle der Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem 20.3–26.5.1991. Edited by E. Goemann et al. Milan, 1991.

Euphronios peintre
Euphronios peintre: Actes de la journée d'étude organisée par l'École du Louvre et le Département des Antiquités Grecques, Étrusques et Romaines du Musée du Louvre, 10 octobre 1990. Edited by Martine Denoyelle. Paris, 1992.

Furtwängler and Reichhold
Adolf Furtwängler and Karl Reichhold. *Griechische Vasenmalerei: Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder*. 3 vols. Vol. 2, with contributions by Friedrich Hauser. Vol. 3, with contributions by Ernst Buschor, Carl Watzinger, and Robert Zahn. Munich, 1904–32.

Graef and Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen*
Botho Graef and Ernst Langlotz. *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1925–33.

Heidenreich
Robert Heidenreich. "Spaziergänger mit Fuchshund." *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1985, pp. 581–86.

Keller, *Tierwelt*
Otto Keller. *Die antike Tierwelt*. Vol. 1. Leipzig, 1909.

Kunst der Schale
Kunst der Schale, Kultur des Trinkens. Exh. cat., Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich. Edited by Klaus Vierneisel and Bert Kaeser. Munich, 1990.

LIMC
Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae. Edited by John Boardman et al. 9 vols. in 18 parts. Zürich, 1981–99.

Maas and Snyder
Martha Maas and Jane McIntosh Snyder. *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece*. New Haven, 1989.

OCD
The Oxford Classical Dictionary. 3rd ed. Edited by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth. Oxford, 2003.

Paralipomena
John D. Beazley. *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, 1971.

Price, "Anacreontic Vases"
Sarah D. Price. "Anacreontic Vases Reconsidered." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 31 (1990), pp. 132–75.

Richter and Hall
Gisela M. A. Richter, with drawings by Lindsley F. Hall. *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New Haven and London, 1936.

Schnitzler, "Vorderasiaten"
Ludwig Schnitzler. "Darstellungen von Vorderasiaten auf griechischen Vasen." *Zeitschrift der deutschen morganländischen Gesellschaft* 108 (1958), pp. 54–65.

Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik*
Irma Wehgartner. *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik: Maltechniken, Werkstätten, Formen, Verwendung*. Mainz, 1983.

NOTES

1. The cup was badly burned in antiquity, perhaps on a funeral pyre, and the coral red was so discolored that for a long time it went unrecognized. In 1955, Sir John Beazley wrote to Dietrich von Bothmer asking if by chance coral red was used on the lip of the cup. This query prompted a reexamination of the cup, which revealed the presence of coral red in the areas described below, and when the cup was refired in the Metropolitan Museum's Conservation Department, the coral red returned to its original metallic red. See Dietrich von Bothmer in Marie Farnsworth and Harriet Wisely, "Fifth Century Intentional Red Glaze," *American Journal of Archaeology* 62 (1958), p. 173, appendix.

   The basic bibliography for this cup is: *ARV*², p. 175, —; *Paralipomena*, p. 339; *Addenda*², p. 184. The important discussions are the following: Furtwängler in Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, pp. 178–85 and pl. 93, 2; Richter and Hall, pp. 24–26, no. 10 and pls. 9, 10, 179; Schnitzler, "Vorderasiaten," pp. 54–56 and pl. 1, 1; Verena Zinserling, "Physiognomische Studien in der spätarchaischen und klassischen Vasenmalerei," in *Die griechische Vase*, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock 7/8 (Rostock, 1967), p. 572 and pl. 128, fig. 2; Luca Giuliani and Hans-Georg Severin, *Bildniskunst von der archaischen Zeit bis in die Spätantike*, Sonderdruck aus *150 Jahre Preussische Museen, Bilder vom Menschen in der Kunst des Abendlandes* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 57–58, no. 10; Heidenreich, pp. 581–86.
2. For cups, the basic study is Hansjörg Bloesch, *Formen attischer Schalen von Exekias bis zum Ende des strengen Stils* (Bern, 1940); for Type B cups, see pp. 41–110. Our cup does not appear in Bloesch, probably because it is not true to a specific type. See also the brief remarks about Type B cups in Mary B. Moore, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 30, *Attic Red-Figured and White-Ground Pottery* (Princeton, N.J., 1997), pp. 68–71, and p. 68 n. 8, for others with offset lips. Cohen (*Colors of Clay*, p. 50, fig. 8, caption) calls our cup a Type C, which it cannot be because it lacks the fillet between the stem and foot. For Type C cups, see Moore, *Athenian Agora*, vol. 30, pp. 71–73, with bibliography, especially Bloesch, *Formen attischer Schalen von Exekias*, pp. 111–36.
3. Coral red is a special glaze that fires a metallic red and was used as a background for the figures. This technique was often difficult to control, which probably explains why it had a fairly short period of production and why there are not too many examples. For coral red, see the new study by Beth Cohen, "Coral-red Gloss: Potters, Painters and Painter-Potters," in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 44–70, including nos. 7–14. For the application of coral red to cups of this period, see ibid., pp. 48–50, especially p. 50, fig. 48, for MMA 07.286.47. Cohen notes (p. 48) that sometimes in the application of this glaze, "the coral-red zone has been applied slightly out of kilter, so that its inner perimeter overlaps the tondo's perimeter" (see Figure 2). For an example on which the glaze of the tondo background is juxtaposed with the coral red surrounding it, see the cup in Basel attributed by Herbert Cahn to Skythes, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS 458 (*Addenda*², p. 394, *sub* Epilykos kalos; Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 57, no. 10, fig. 8.1). For the attribution, see Vera Slehoferova, *CVA*, Basel 2 (Schweiz 6) (Bern, 1984), p. 15.
4. Best observed in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 50, fig. 8. For coral red covering the entire inside of the stem, see Munich 8704, ex 2620, signed by Kachrylion as potter and by Euphronios as painter (*ARV*², p. 16, no. 17; *Paralipomena*, p. 322, no. 17; *Addenda*², p. 153; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 41; Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 58, fig. 8.2). Cohen (ibid., p. 47) notes that this "embellishment—visible when the cup is drained at a drinking party or hung in storage—... becomes common." For more discussion of coral red, see below.
5. Usually the human profile in Greek art of the archaic and classical periods is defined by a continuous line from the top of the forehead to the tip of the nose, interrupted only slightly at the bridge; mouth and chin are nicely proportioned and the whole ensemble is quite neat and tidy. For the Greek profile, see the brief article by Elizabeth A. Moignard, "Grecian Profiles," in *Periplous: Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology Presented to Sir John Boardman*, ed. G. R. Tsetskhladze, A. J. N. W. Prag, and A. M. Snodgrass (London, 2000), pp. 198–204, with bibliography.

   Deviations from this arrangement occur first in the world of subhumans and monsters, in particular gorgons and satyrs, also centaurs, except for Chiron, the teacher of Achilles and other heroes. For gorgons, see *LIMC*, vol. 4, pp. 285–330, s.vv. "Gorgo, Gorgones" (Ingrid Krauskopf); "literary sources" (Stefan-Christian Dahlinger). For satyrs, see *LIMC*, vol. 8, pp. 1108–13, s.v. "Silenoi" (Erika Simon). For centaurs, see *LIMC*, vol. 8, pp. 671–721, s.v. "Kentauroi et Kentaurides" (Thomas Senglin et al.). For Chiron, see *LIMC*, vol. 3, pp. 237–48, s.v. "Cheiron" (Madeleine Gisler-Huwiler). For the general categories of unusual facial features in the human world, see Wulf Raeck, *Zum Barbarenbild in der Kunst Athens im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Bonn, 1981), pp. 38, 246 n. 155, with bibliography.
6. Compare the painted bristles of the boar used as a shield device for Geryon on Munich 8704, ex 2620, by Euphronios (see note 4 above). There the bristles seem to be drawn in coral red, a most unusual use of this technique, as emphasized in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 49, and fig. 6 for a good detail in color.
7. See Beth Cohen, "Bubbles = Baubles, Bangles and Beads: Added Clay in Athenian Vase Painting and Its Significance," in *Greek Vases: Images, Contexts and Controversies. Proceedings of the Conference Sponsored by the Center for the Ancient Mediterranean at Columbia University, 23–24 March 2002*, ed. Clemente Marconi (Leiden and Boston, 2004), pp. 60–61, n. 23: "Here [MMA 07.286.47] in the exotic symposium on its exterior added-clay relief detailed with incision, which was probably originally gilt, is employed, for example, on the tortoise-shell sound box of a lyre and the hair of the jug-bearing youth." For decorative gilding on clay, see Susan Lansing-Maisch, "Technical Studies of Some Attic Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum," in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 11–15. See also the remarks by Cohen in her catalogue entry to the covered cup in Boston, MFA 00.356, in *Colors of Clay*, pp. 125–27. She suggested to me orally that metalsmiths might have applied the gold leaf.
8. Best seen in Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, pl. 93, 2. The stick of the first barbiton player appears next to the arm of his instrument and the folds of his himation; that of the second barbiton player between the folds of his himation; the last figure, on the far right, carries his in his left hand. Richter and Hall (p. 25) call these "knotted sticks."
9. For a good illustration (actually a drawing), see the one in Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, pl. 93, 2.
10. Ibid., pp. 179–80: "ein lakonischer Fuchshund, eine ἀλωπεκίς sein kann," and "leider ist der Schwanz verdeckt." For descriptions of a fox dog by Aristophanes and Xenophon, see below. Our dog bears no resemblance to a fox dog.
11. Gisela M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection* (New York: MMA, 1917), p. 105; Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection*: (New York: MMA, 1927), p. 124; Beazley, *VA*, p. 22.
12. Richter and Hall, pp. 24–25. For Phoenicians on Malta from the late eighth century on, see the brief discussion by Glenn Markoe,

The Phoenicians (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000), pp. 179–80; also *OCD*, p. 954, s.v. "Melita" (Edward Togo Salmon, John Boardman, and T. W. Potter). For the breed of dog and its origin on Malta, see the discussion below.

13. Bessie E. Richardson, *Old Age among the Ancient Greeks: The Greek Portrayal of Old Age in Literature, Art, and Inscriptions with a Study of the Duration of Life among the Ancient Greeks on the Basis of Inscriptional Evidence* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 108.
14. Gisela M. A. Richter, "Greeks in Persia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 50 (1946), pp. 15–30. I wish to thank Joan R. Mertens for alerting me to this article and to the relief fragment (see note 15 below).
15. MMA 45.11.17, ex coll. Ernst Herzfeld. In addition to the two human heads, there is the head of a lion. Preserved dimensions 8.26 by 15.24 cm. Bibliography: Ernst E. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* (London, 1935), pp. 73–74, pl. 10; Richter, "Greeks in Persia" (as in note 14 above), pp. 28, 29, fig. 26; Gisela M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 63, 299 n. 78, and pl. 45e. See, most recently, John Boardman, *Persia and the West: An Archaeological Investigation of the Genesis of Achaemenid Art* (London, 2000), pp. 131–32, fig. 4.3, and p. 240 n. 29, with bibliography. When the fragment came to the Museum, it entered the Greek and Roman collection; in 1953, it was transferred to the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art. The fragment was originally part of a large relief sculpture of Darius I placed in the west entrance to the area north of his palace at Persepolis. The heads were incised before the polished stone was covered with purple paint, a feature first noticed by Herzfeld, who also said that the fragment came from Persepolis (*Archaeological History of Iran*, pp. 73–74).
16. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, p. 74; Richter, "Greeks in Persia" (as in note 14 above), p. 28. In 2000, Boardman chimed in, with regard to the painting of the surface, that "perhaps a painter would have been more ready to paint over one of his own doodles than a sculptor to deface his own carving" (*Persia and the West*, as in note 15 above, p. 132). I am not sure I would call these heads "doodles."
17. Richter, "Greeks in Persia" (as in note 14 above), p. 28.
18. Hedwig Kenner, *Das Theater und der Realismus in der griechischen Kunst* (Vienna, 1954), pp. 14, 15 fig. 1 caption: "Greis mit Schwein." This identification is probably based on the scene in the tondo of Vienna 3691, a cup by the Epidromos Painter dated about 510 B.C. (*ARV*^{2}, p. 118, no. 8: "I, Hermes leading a dog disguised as a pig to sacrifice"; *Addenda*^{2}, p. 174).
19. See Wolfgang Binsfeld, "Grylloi: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Karikatur," Inaugural Dissertation, Cologne, 1956, pp. 11–12: "Der sog. Orientale mit der Hakennase auf der Hegesibulosschale trägt Himation und wieder den Stab. Hier handelt es sich also sicher um einen attischen Bürger, der freilich gut karikiert ist.... Alle Nasen, die vom Idealtypus abwichen, waren lächerlich." I wish to thank Robyn Fleming, Librarian for Interlibrary Loan Services of the Watson Library, Metropolitan Museum, for obtaining a copy of this dissertation for me.
20. Schnitzler, "Vorderasiaten."
21. Ibid., p. 55: "Auf seinem Hals, bei dem der Adamsapfel oder gar ein Kropf hervortritt, sitzt ein gänzlich ungriechischer Kopf, der den Mann, wie man schon längst erkannte, als Orientalen kennzeichnet."
22. Ibid., pp. 57–58, n. 2, for the name, and pl. 8, fig. 17, for the skull. This is the skull of a child about six years of age. See Henri V. Vallois, "Note sur les ossements humains de la Nécropole énéolithique de Byblos," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 1 (1937), p. 26 and pl. 7, lower right, where in the caption the head is described as "déformé"; thus, the comparison may not be apt.

    For the name Hegesiboulos, see Wilhelm Pape with Gustav Eduard Benseler, *Dr. W. Pape's Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Braunschweig, 1884), p. 452, s.v. "Ἡγησίβουλος," the father of Anaxagoras, the last famous philosopher of the Ionian school, who lived in Athens for much of his life after the Persian Wars (see *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 1 [Stuttgart, 1894], cols. 2076–77, s.v. "Anaxagoras" [E. Wellmann]; Gisela M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* [London, 1965], vol. 1, p. 108). For Hegesiboulos, see also *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 7, col. 2608, s.v. "Hegesibulos" (R. Leonard). Furtwängler (Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, p. 180) thought that the third from the last letter of the name was an Ionic lambda, but Richter (Richter and Hall, p. 25, n. 3) saw that "the lambda has the usual form L not Δ as Furtwängler thought. He must have mistaken a discoloration of the surface for the third stroke.... The absence of the initial H in our inscription suggests that the maker of our vase was also an Ionian."

    Mention should be made here of a second cup signed by Hegesiboulos as potter (Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, p. 180), Brussels A 891 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 771, no. 2; *Addenda*^{2}, p. 287; most recently, Dyfri Williams, in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 308–9, no. 94). The cup was made by a later potter, perhaps a descendant of our man, who was a member of the Sotades Workshop (Williams in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 296–97).

    For a good facsimile of the two signatures, see Joseph C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases Signed by or Attributed to the Various Masters of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.* (Cambridge, Mass., 1919), vol. 2, pp. 9, 10. Boardman (*History*, p. 144) deals briefly with foreign potters and painters in Athens: "Ionia was probably an important source to judge from the various features of painting, shapes and technique introduced in the mid-sixth century and later."
23. Zinserling, "Physiognomische Studien" (as in note 1 above), p. 572: "in dem gebrechlich vorwärtstastenden den Alten, dessen struppiges Haar zu dem borstigen Fell seines Begleiters wohl paßt, aber in seltsamem Gegensatz zu dem uppig schmiegsamen Mantel steht, erkannt man einen Orientalen." In 1980, without citing Zinserling, Giuliani (in Giuliani and Severin, *Bildniskunst* [as in note 1 above], p. 57), drew the same conclusion (see note 25 below).
24. John Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period, a Handbook* (London, 1975), p. 62. Metzler, in his study of the origins of portraiture described the old man, noting his highly individualized features ("höchst individuellen Gesichtes") and simply called him a portrait of a barbarian ("Dessen Fremdheit ist der Anlaß gewesen, in ihm das Bild eines Barbaren zu sehen," with reference to Schnitzler, "Vorderasiaten," pp. 54ff.); Dieter Metzler, *Porträt und Gesellschaft: Über die Entstehung des griechischen Porträts in der Klassik* (Münster, 1971), p. 84.
25. Luca Giuliani in Giuliani and Severin, *Bildniskunst* (as in note 1 above), pp. 57–58: "Ähnlich humoristisch ist offenbar auch das Innenbild zu verstehen: Herr und Hund. Komisch sind bei dem Alten die eigenartig disproportionierte Gestalt mit den riesigen Füßen, der seltsam geformte Schädel und die scharfen Gesichtszüge. Mit kleinen Schritten kommt er einher und mit gesenktem Kopf. Die ganze Haltung und das struppige Haar finden beim Hund eine auffällige und in ihrer karikierenden Wirkung wohl auch beabsichtige Entsprechung. Das Bild ist so lebendig, daß man darin gern die überspitzte Charakterisierung eines stadt-

bekannten Sonderlings erblicken und nach Namen und Identität des Dargestellten fragen möchte: Jedenfalls scheint die Frage hier näher zu liegen als im Fall der Smikros-Bilder. . . . Der Spaziergänger mit Hund gehört demgegenüber auf eine ganz andere Ebene; geschildert wird nicht ein bestimmtes, für den damaligen Betrachter erkennbares und identifizierbares Individuum, sondern ein allgemeiner komischer Typus." Martin Robertson also thought that "the old man taking his dog for a walk . . . really does look like an intended caricature." He then compares him with the man on the Akropolis disk (Figure 10). See Martin Robertson, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 38; for the disk, see note 31 below.

26. Heidenreich, pp. 582–85.
27. Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 50, 296, fig. 3.
28. Ernst Pfuhl, *Die Anfänge der griechischen Bildniskunst: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Individualität* (Munich, 1927), p. 18: "Nichts ist leichter, als ein unregelmäßiges und daher individuell wirkendes Profil zu zeichnen oder auch plastisch zu bilden."
29. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d ed., s.v. "caricature, *n.*"; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (1910–11), vol. 5, p. 331, s.v. "caricature" (Marion H. Spielmann).
30. See notes 19 and 25 above.
31. Akropolis 1073 (Graef and Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen*, vol. 2, pl. 83). Langlotz (ibid., p. 97) suggested this fragment is probably by the Hegesiboulos Painter, which does not seem likely to me. See also Metzler, *Porträt und Gesellschaft* (as in note 24 above), p. 87 and fig. 3, who discussed this fragment and called the figure a caricature but remarked that his "Schädelform verbindet ihn mit dem Manne der Hegesiboulos-Schale," but he stopped short of calling our old man a caricature. For the Akropolis disk and other examples, see Zinserling, "Physiognomische Studien" (as in note 1 above), pl. 128, figs. 3–5. One of these may be dated about 500 B.C.: Boston, MFA 10.216, compared by Beazley with the Thaliarchos Painter (*ARV*², p. 81, —). This seems to show a similar figure; the more offensive section is not preserved.
32. Euthymides: Munich 2307 (*ARV*², p. 26, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 323, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 155; for the shorn hair to indicate old age, see Heide Mommsen, *Exekias*, vol. 1, *Die Grabtafeln*, Kerameus 11 [Mainz, 1997], p. 31 and n. 269).
33. The Brygos Painter: Louvre G 152 (*ARV*², p. 369, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 365, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 224).
34. For long straight hair, if uncombed looking, see Antaios on Louvre G 103 by Euphronios (*ARV*², p. 14, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 322, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 152; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 3). For wavy hair, see these two figures by Euphronios: Syko on Munich 8935 (*ARV*², p. 1619, 3 *bis*; *Paralipomena*, p. 322, no. 3 *bis*; *Addenda*², p. 152; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 5; here Figure 18) and the youthful discus thrower on Louvre Cp 11071 (*ARV*², p. 15, no. 10; *Addenda*², p. 153; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 22).
35. Furrows on the foreheads of mortals are rather rare, but an early well-known mythological example occurs on Nereus in the procession of deities at the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the François Vase by Kleitias (*ABV*, p. 76, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 29, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 21; for a good 1:1 drawing, see Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 1, pl. 1; Mauro Cristofani et al., *Materiali per servire alla storia del Vaso François*, Bollettino d'arte, serie speciale 1 [Rome, 1981], fig. 77; *LIMC*, vol. 6, p. 832, no. 95, s.v. "Nereus" [Maria Pipili]). Usually Nereus is human only from the waist up, the rest of him transformed into a fish's tail with fins. For similar furrows, see also Priam in the Ambush of Troilos (Cristofani et al., *Materiali*, fig. 87). Eyelashes seem to occur for the first time on the slain figure of Priam on Louvre F 29, the amphora signed by Lydos that shows the Iliupersis (*ABV*, p. 109, no. 21; *Paralipomena*, p. 44, no. 21; *Addenda*², p. 30). Priam's eye is closed, and his face and eyelid are in accessory red, the latter fringed with incised lashes. This detail is not visible in the published illustrations known to me; I observed it in Bothmer's color photograph. A "light" eye (blue or green?) combined with thick lashes appears first in the work of the Pioneers Euphronios and Phintias. For a good example, see Herakles, Athena, and Kyknos on the calyx-krater signed by Euphronios in the Levy-White Collection, once on loan to the Metropolitan Museum, L.1999.36.1 (*Euphronios der Maler*, no. 6, esp. photographs pp. 107, 111). On a small fragment of a calyx-krater, Basel, Cahn H.C. 498, Euphronios painted this type of eye on a youth, which may be the earliest preserved example for a mortal (*Euphronios der Maler*, no. 10).
36. Metics were foreigners (and free persons) who were allowed to live in the host country for a short time or even permanently, and in Athens, "metic-status probably owes its formal origins to [the reform of] *Cleisthenes (2) [in the last decade of the 6th century B.C.] after whom the presence of metics was recognized in law and could develop in its details at both city and local (*deme) level" (*OCD*, p. 969). For metics, see *OCD*, p. 969, s.v. "metics" (David Whitehead), with bibliography, especially Whitehead, "Immigrant Communities in the Classical Polis: Some Principles for a Synoptic Treatment," *L'antiquité classique* 53 (1984), pp. 47–59; also Robert Garland, *Daily Life of the Ancient Greeks* (Westport, Conn., 1998), pp. 74–75. For the reform of Kleisthenes, see *OCD*, p. 344, s.v. "Cleisthenes (2)" (Theodore J. Cadeux and P. J. Rhodes), with bibliography; also Martin Ostwald, "The Reform of the Athenian State by Cleisthenes," *CAH* 4, chap. 5, pp. 303–46. Schnitzler ("Vorderasiaten," p. 58) raised the possibility that the old man might be a metic or even a slave.
37. In general appearance, he brings to mind the later philosopher portrait type, an old or elderly man, dressed in a himation and sometimes sandals, who often leans on a stick. Compare, for example, the philosopher from the west wall of Room H of the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale (for a good color photograph, see Bernard Andreae, "Reconstruktion des grossen Oecus der Villa des P. Fannius Synistor in Boscoreale," in *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji und des anderen vom Vesuvausbruch 79. n. Chr. verschütteten Städten*, ed. Bernard Andreae and Helmut Kyrieleis [Recklinghausen (Bongers), 1975], fig. 70). He has a slightly receding hairline, deep-set eyes, and a prominent nose and wears a himation and sandals. He leans on a knobby stick so that his left hand displays a prominent signet ring. He does not correspond to a known portrait type, thus his identity has never been established. See the brief remarks by Roland R. R. Smith, "Spear-Won Land at Boscoreale: On the Royal Paintings of a Roman Villa," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7 (1994), p. 112, with bibliography.
38. Basic bibliography: Otto Keller, "Hunderassen im Altertum," *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes im Wien* 8 (1905), pp. 242–69; Keller, *Tierwelt*, pp. 91–151; Denison B. Hull, *Hounds and Hunting in Ancient Greece* (Chicago, 1964), passim, esp. pp. 29–38 for Greek breeds; Maria Zlotogorska, *Darstellungen von Hunden auf griechischen Grabreliefs: Von der Archaik bis in die römische Kaiserzeit*, Antiquates 12 (Hamburg, 1997).
39. For a particularly handsome hunting dog, see the one on Boston, MFA 13.198, by the Pan Painter that dates about 470–460 B.C., somewhat later than the Hegesiboulos Painter's cup (*ARV*², p. 557, no. 113; *Paralipomena*, p. 387, no. 113; *Addenda*², p. 259).
40. It is not mangy, pace Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 50. Mange is a skin disease caused by mites. Its symptoms are inflammation to the

skin, itching, and hair loss. See the *New Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th ed., vol. 7, p. 772, s.v. "mange."

41. Richter and Hall, p. 25, and note 12 above. The most detailed discussion of the breed is Busuttil, "Maltese Dog." More briefly, Keller, "Hunderassen im Altertum" (as in note 38 above), pp. 243–46; Keller, *Tierwelt*, pp. 93–94; Zlotogorska, *Darstellungen von Hunden* (as in note 38 above), pp. 71–72, 115–17, and pls. 13–17. Hull (*Hounds and Hunting* [as in note 38 above], p. 35), whose interest was hunting dogs, is quite dismissive: "One [breed] we can disregard, the little Melitaean table-dog, was never used for hunting anything at any time." The modern Greek word for Maltese is Μαλτέζος.
42. Leopold Schmidt, *Annali dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologia*, n.s., 9 (1852), pp. 345–48, pl. T, below. There, the inscription was misread μὴ αἰτεῖν, meaning that the youth tells the man on the other side that he should not beg (see Paul Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht* [Gütersloh, 1894], pp. 88–89, no. 60, p. 88 n. 4). A hunting hound sits before that man. Today, the whereabouts of this amphora are unknown; the *Annali* reference does not appear in Beazley's *ARV*².
43. Busuttil, "Maltese Dog," passim.
44. Ibid., p. 205, n. 7, reference to *Aesopica*, with a commentary and historical essay by Ben Edwin Perry (Urbana, Ill., 1952), p. 349, no. 73.
45. Aristotle *History of Animals* 8(9).612b, ed. and trans. D. M. Balme, Loeb Classical Library, Aristotle vol. 11 (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), p. 251. Strabo *Geography* 6.2.11, trans. Horace Leonard Jones, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 3 (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1961), p. 103.
46. Aelian *Historical Miscellany* 13.42, ed. and trans. N. G. Wilson, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), p. 447. Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 12.518–19, trans. Charles Burton Gulik, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 5 (London and New York, 1933), p. 337.
47. Athens, Ephoreia Γ΄ Α 5040. See Eleutheria Papoutsaki-Serbeti, "Ἐρυθρόμορφη κύλικα ἀπὸ τὴν ὁδὸ Λέκκα," Στήλη. Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος (Athens, 1980), pp. 321–27, pls. 146–47. See also note 106 below. Compare the charming Maltese dog running beside a youth in the tondo of a cup by Makron, Munich 2674 (*ARV*², p. 479, no. 326; *Addenda*², p. 247; Norbert Kunisch, *Makron*, Kerameus 10 [Mainz, 1997], p. 186, no. 244, pl. 81).
48. Agora P 10359. The finds from this excavation are stored in the Agora, even though the graves are located outside the Agora grid. For the graves, see Cedric Boulter, "Graves in Lenormant Street, Athens," *Hesperia* 32 (1963), pp. 113–37, and p. 129, no. 1, for this cup; also, Eugene Vanderpool, "The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft," *Hesperia* 15 (1946), pl. 38, *sub* no. 52. See also note 106 below.
49. The whereabouts of this cup are unknown, and it is not in Beazley. See Keller, *Tierwelt*, p. 93, who follows Roulez that the dogs are about to fight, and fig. 35; Joseph Roulez, *Choix de vases peints du Musée d'Antiquités de Leyde* (Ghent, 1854), p. 70, n. 13: "les deux épagneuls que font combattre. . . ."
50. Berkeley 8.921 (*ARV*², p. 377, no. 96). Brussels R 350 (*ARV*², p. 377, no. 99). Cabinet des Médailles 585 (*ARV*², p. 372, no. 28; *Addenda*², p. 225). For others by the Brygos Painter, see note 51 below: the Astarita Collection.
51. Agora P 20090. See Moore, *Athenian Agora*, vol. 30 (as in note 2 above), p. 246, no. 735, pl. 77. The Maltese dog is often associated with children, especially on the small choes connected with the Anthesteria, the oldest festival honoring Dionysos, which took place in the spring. On the second day of the festival, small children were given presents, including choes. See ibid., p. 41 and nn. 17, 18. For depictions of Maltese dogs on these small vessels, see Gerard van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* (Leiden, 1951), passim, especially p. 47 for the breed and the contexts in which it appears on these vessels. Add: Athens, Kerameikos A 15272, a chous attributed to a painter from the Group of Athens 12144 and dating ca. 430–420 (*Athens—Sparta*, ed. Nikolaos Kaltsas [New York, 2006], p. 275, no. 162), where the dog participates in a children's ball game; Yale, University Art Gallery 1993.46.25 (*CVA*, Yale 1 [USA 38]). See the brief remarks about the breed by Hilde Rühfel, *Das Kind in der griechischen Kunst: Von minoisch-mykenischen Zeit bis zum Hellenismus* (Mainz, 1984), pp. 166–68; Rühfel, *Kinderleben im klassischen Athen: Bilder auf klassischen Vasen* (Mainz, 1984), pp. 142, 166. Sometimes the dog just sits or stands quietly like the dog on our cup. Here are some examples. The dog sits: three cup fragments by Onesimos—Heidelberg 54 (*ARV*², p. 328, no. 116); Athens, Akropolis 205, where the dog may be lying down (*ARV*², p. 329, no. 133); and Bryn Mawr P-935, P-931, P-246, P-986 (*ARV*², p. 324, nos. 71, 72; *Addenda*², pp. 215–16). The dog stands quietly: a stamnos by the Berlin Painter in a British private collection (*ARV*², p. 207, no. 143; *Addenda*², p. 194); a cup in Boston, MFA 10.193, decorated by a painter somewhat akin to Douris (*ARV*², p. 1567, no. 12); a hydria by the Triptolemos Painter in Berlin 2178 (*ARV*² p. 362, no. 24). The Maltese dog accompanying two youthful wrestlers on a red-figured aryballos that may be by Douris looks up at a strigil, sponge, and aryballos hanging on the wall so that one sees the underside of its muzzle. As far as I know this is a unique representation. The vase was found in the excavation of Tomb 1099 during construction of the new subway in Athens; see *Athens, the City beneath the City: Antiquities from the Metropolitan Railway Excavations* (New York, 2001), p. 309, no. 311 (Effie Baziotopoulou-Valavani). A very playful Maltese dog jumps up against a boy with a go-cart on a fourth-century B.C. Attic gravestone inscribed Philokrates. It is now in Palermo N.I. 1545. See Zlotogorska, *Darstellungen von Hunden* (as in note 38 above), p. 157, no. 89, pl. 14. Skythes used one of these dogs as a shield device in a scene that depicts a footrace in armor: Louvre G 76 (*ARV*², p. 84, no. 16; *Addenda*², p. 170); so did the Dokimasia Painter in a composition in which a warrior stands before a flaming altar: Saint Petersburg B. 1539 (*ARV*², p. 413, no. 19; *CVA*, Saint Petersburg 5 [Russia 12], pl. 36 [575], 1). Add the peculiar cup in Vienna (3691) by the Epidromos Painter that shows in its tondo Hermes leading a dog disguised as a pig (see note 18 above). I have not seen the examples in the Astarita Collection by the Brygos Painter, Naples, Astarita 3 (*ARV*², p. 375, no. 63), and Naples, Astarita 274 (*ARV*², p. 375, no. 67).
52. See the remarks by Hull along this line (*Hounds and Hunting* [as in note 38 above], pp. 31–32): "Paintings are helpful in judging the size of hounds, because we can at least see hounds together with human beings; and yet even vase paintings are not reliable gauges, because artists frequently alter the scale of the figure for artistic purposes or in order to cram several figures into a small space."
53. Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, p. 179: "Schon die Figuren dieser Aussenseiten zeigen Köpfe von merkwürdig individuellem Gepräge."
54. Richter and Hall, p. 25.
55. Schnitzler, "Vorderasiaten," p. 55: "Während auf seiner Außenseite ein konventionelles Thema (Abb 2.), Zecher und Hetären, das Feld beherrschen. . . ."
56. Heidenreich, p. 584.
57. See *ARV*², pp. 2–481, passim.
58. Munich 8935 (see note 34 above; Berthild Gossel-Raeck, "Das Symposion—ein Beispiel," in *Kunst der Schale*, pp. 216–21).
59. For the interpretation of this inscription, see Emily Vermeule, "Fragments of a Symposion by Euphronios," *Antike Kunst* 8 (1965),

pp. 38–39, with bibliography. Vermeule (ibid., p. 35) thought Smikros was blocking one pipe of the flute to stifle the music so the singer in back of him could be heard more clearly: "Smikros . . . is trying to hush the noise of the flute-girl by stopping the end of her lower pipe with one hand." This is unlikely, because the very end of the pipe overlaps the fleshy part of Smikros's hand. If he were truly blocking the sound of the pipe, his hand would be in profile. See also Dieter Ohly, who does not think Smikros blocks the sound of the instrument; Ohly, "Berichte der staatlichen Kunstsammlungen: Neuerwerbungen," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 22 (1971), p. 229: "Smikros . . . mit freudiger Geste sich der musizierenden Hetäre zuwendet"; and p. 235, n. 13: "Der Vermutung, daß Smikros mit der Rechten das eine Rohr der Flöte zum Gaudium zuhält, kann ich mich nicht anschließen."

60. Boardman (*History*, p. 251) remarks: "from depictions it seems that the craters were normally kept in a vestibule adjacent to the symposium room (*andron*—'men's room') or a courtyard." This, as well as the space available, would explain this division on the Munich krater and on the Brussels stamnos (see note 61 below).
61. Brussels A 717 (*ARV*², p. 20, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 322, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 154); for all of Side B, see Vermeule, "Fragments of a Symposion" (as in note 59 above), pl. 14, 2.
62. See Ezio Pellizer, "Outlines of a Morphology of Sympotic Entertainment," in *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion*, ed. Oswyn Murray (Oxford, 1994), pp. 177–84. See also Berthild Gossel-Raeck, "Bilder vom Symposion," in *Kunst der Schale*, pp. 222–27; and Friedrich W. Hamdorf, "Musik und Symposium," in *Kunst der Schale*, pp. 238–46.
63. See note 54 above.
64. See below, "Are the Three Scenes Related?"
65. For boys and youths as wine-pourers at banquets, see Jan Bremmer, "Adolescents, *Symposion*, and Pederasty," in *Sympotica* (as in note 62 above), pp. 137–40.
66. For scenes of komasts or symposiasts vomiting, which occur almost exclusively on late archaic red-figured drinking cups, see Mary B. Moore, *CVA*, Malibu 8 (USA 33) (Malibu, 1998), pp. 28–29, with bibliography. A good example with a reclining symposiast occurs in the tondo of a cup in Copenhagen once attributed to the Brygos Painter, but now tentatively given to the Dokimasia Painter: Copenhagen, National Museum 3880 (*ARV*², p. 373, no. 36; *Paralipomena*, p. 366, no. 36; *Addenda*², p. 225; *Paralipomena*, p. 372, no. 11 *ter*). There, the symposiast's head is frontal. For a scene with a girl, see Vatican, no no., by Douris (*ARV*², p. 427, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 374, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 235; Diana Buitron-Oliver, *Douris: A Master-Painter of Athenian Red-Figure Vases*, Kerameus 9 [Mainz, 1995], pp. 72–73, no. 8, pl. 5). On a cup by Makron in the Metropolitan Museum, 20.246, the girl averts her head (*ARV*², p. 467, no. 118; *Paralipomena*, p. 378, no. 118; *Addenda*², p. 245; Kunisch, *Makron* [as in note 47 above], p. 201, no. 377, pl. 130). The head of the symposiast is missing, but the action is clear; see Richter and Hall, p. 76 and pl. 53, far right. When there is no symposium furniture present, the scene is probably out-of-doors. A good example occurs in the tondo of a cup in Malibu, 86.AE.283, by Onesimos (*Paralipomena*, p. 360, no. 74 *ter*; *CVA*, Malibu 8 [USA 33], pl. 413 [1690], 1). Another is the boy comforted by a girl in the tondo of the Brygos Painter's cup in Würzburg, 479 (*ARV*², p. 372, no. 32; *Paralipomena*, p. 366, no. 32; *Addenda*², p. 225). In the komos on one side of this cup, the third reveler from the left and the one on the far right also vomit.
67. Beazley, *VA*, p. 22.
68. Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 49, 50.
69. For inscriptions on vases that seem to spoof artists, in particular Smikros, see Dyfri Williams, "Euphronios' Contemporary Companions and Followers," in *Euphronios peintre*, pp. 91–92, with reference to Louvre G 110 by Euphronios (*ARV*², p. 14, no. 3; *Paralipomena*, p. 322, no. 3; *Addenda*², p. 152; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 2). See Martine Denoyelle in *Euphronios der Maler*, p. 76, for the playful inscription on Side B of this krater: ΕΥΦΡΟΝ[ΙΟΣ] ΕΓΡ[Α]ΦΣΕΝ[Τ]ΑΔΕ (Euphronios painted these things!), and Denoyelle, "Autour du cratère en calice Louvre G 110 signé par Euphronios," in *Euphronios peintre*, p. 57: the inscription designates "soit l'ensemble de la scène, soit plus précisément une ou plusieurs des audacieuses études anatomiques qui la composant. Il est étonnant de le trouver sur un vase, et dans un type d'inscription, une signature, offrant habituellment la formule 'un tel *egraphsen*,' sans aucun complément." See also the famous boast by Euthymides on Munich 2307: ΗΟΣΟΥΔΕΠΟΤΕΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ (as never Euphronios!), probably referring to the komast drawn in three-quarter view from the back (*ARV*², p. 26, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 323, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 155). "Euthymides was a friend of Phintias and I dare say of Euphronios, for I read the inscription on the Munich amphora (no. 1) as a gay challenge to a comrade, not (with Pottier, Perrot, and others) as a cry of senile jealousy" (*ARV*², p. 26). For more recent readings, see Moore, *Athenian Agora*, vol. 30 (as in note 2 above), pp. 86–87, n. 12.
70. Munich 2614 (*ARV*², p. 173, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 338, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 184; *Kunst der Schale*, p. 301, fig. 49.7a–b).
71. Saint Petersburg 3386 (*ARV*², p. 127, no. 29; Anna K. Peredolskaya, *Krasnofigurnye attischeskie vazy* [Saint Petersburg, 1967], pl. 9, 2; *Addenda*², p. 176).
72. But for its raised head, the dog is reminiscent of the defecating dog beneath each handle of the Amasis Painter's cup in Boston, MFA 10.651 (*ABV*, p. 157, no. 86; *Paralipomena*, p. 65, no. 86; *Addenda*², p. 46). For a good photograph, see *CVA*, Boston 2 (USA 19), pl. 101 (935), 3–4, especially the latter. Compare also the squatting dog behind a maenad on Louvre G 68, a cup near in style to the Thalia Painter (*ARV*², p. 113, —). I know this detail from Bothmer's photograph. This dog is also beneath one handle.
73. The most concise discussion is by Boardman, "Booners," pp. 50–56. For its origins in the east as a man's headdress, see p. 51 and p. 50, n. 86, with bibliography. Variations of its appearance in both the Near East and Greece are illustrated in line drawings on pp. 66–67, figs. 30, 31. For the turban as an article of female dress and its contexts, see pp. 52–53, n. 99, for examples. For the ancient literary sources and name of this headdress, see pp. 55–56. More briefly: Boardman, "Material Culture," *CAH* 4, chap. 7c, p. 430, for the turban, slippers, and barbiton. When a man is dressed in a turban and a long chiton, as well as slippers, and holds a barbiton, the subject is called "Anacreontic" after the famous Ionian poet who lived a life of luxury at the court of Polycrates, the Samian tyrant who was murdered in 522 B.C., after which Anakreon accepted the invitation of the Peisistratids to take up residence in Athens (see ibid.). Boardman's focus is on the "Anacreontic" aspects of his "booners." More recently and in greater length, see Price, "Anacreontic Vases," pp. 132–75, esp. pp. 139–43, for the costume. Price suggests (p. 172) that many "Anacreontic" scenes with their effeminate-looking participants may have a satiric connotation, specifically that "the appearance of the Ionian lyric poet, as a comic type, on the Getty kyathos and Psiax Plate probably coincides with the fall of the tyranny at Athens in 510. His turban, boots, and long false beard emphasize his foreign origins; his feminine-looking attire completes the picture. At the outset, the dramatic performance in question is likely to have been a satire of a familiar favorite under the unpopular Pisistratid tyranny. Early

performances may have included more than one version of the literary burlesque with political overtones." (The hydria on Price's pl. 3a, formerly in a Swedish private collection, is now MMA 1988.11.3; see Mary B. Moore, "Hoplites, Horses, and a Comic Chorus," *MMJ* 41 [2006], pp. 33–57). Our komasts are not "Anacreontic" because they are nude but for their cloaks; they do not wear long flowing chitons. See also Nicola Hoesch, "Männer im Luxusgewand," in *Kunst der Schale*, pp. 276–79.

74. Boardman, "Booners," p. 54 and n. 109, for examples, including MMA 07.286.47. Add Saint Petersburg 3386 (Figure 21, and see note 71 above).
75. Boardman, "Booners," p. 61; briefly, Price, "Anacreontic Vases," p. 140.
76. Herodotus *Histories* 1.155 (trans. A. D. Godley, Loeb Classical Library, Herodotus vol. 1 [Cambridge, Mass., 1966], p. 197), where Kroisos says: "Send, I say, and forbid them [the Lydians] to possess weapons of war, and command them to wear tunics under their cloaks and buskins [κοθόρνους] on their feet"; and 6.125 (trans. A. D. Godley, Loeb Classical Library, Herodotus vol. 3 [Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1982], p. 279), when Alkmaeon, the son of Megakles, visits King Kroisos, who offers him as much gold as he could carry away on his person, Alcmaeon "donned a wide tunic, leaving a deep fold in it, and shod himself with the most spacious buskins [κοθόρνους] that he could find."
77. See Maas and Snyder, pp. 79–112, with bibliography.
78. For the barbiton, see ibid., pp. 113–38. For its Phrygian origin, see ibid., pp. 113, 235 n. 1, esp. Jane M. Snyder, "The *Barbitos* in the Classical Period," *Classical Journal* 67 (1972), pp. 331–40 for the literary sources and the use of the instrument, p. 332 for the Asiatic origin of the word, and pp. 335–36 for the pitch, especially p. 336, where she writes that "the most that can be said is that the *barbitos* probably had a lower range and perhaps a more mellow sound than the standard, short-armed lyre did." Maas and Snyder (pp. 124–28) also give a detailed description of the construction of the barbiton. Not only do the arms curve inward at the top, but "they also curve forward somewhat, with the result that the strings will stand away from the soundbox at a sharper angle than would otherwise be the case" (p. 125). For the arms in profile view, see the barbiton player on Brussels A 3091, a stamnos attributed to the Kleophon Painter (*ARV*², p. 1144, no. 9; *Paralipomena*, p. 456, no. 9; *Addenda*², p. 334; Maas and Snyder, p. 138, fig. 22). For the barbiton, see also, more briefly, Boardman, "Booners," pp. 62–64.
79. See Price, "Anacreontic Vases," p. 144, especially n. 32, where she notes that "they [krotala] are usually played by women, muses, maenads and courtesans." In her text, she refers to Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 14.636c–d (trans. Charles Burton Gulick, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 6 [Cambridge, Mass., 1980], p. 435), who writes: "of these [castanets] Dicaearchus speaks in his *History of Greece*, saying that they were a certain kind of instrument which were once extraordinarily popular for women to dance and sing to, and whenever one rattled them with the fingers they produced a ringing sound." Athenaeus uses the word κρέμβαλα instead of κρόταλα, but the two seem to be interchangeable; see Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 993 and 998, respectively, where each is translated as "castanets." Dicaearchus was a pupil of Aristotle and a prolific writer active about 320–300 B.C.; see *OCD*, p. 464, s.v. "Dicaearchus" (C. B. R. Pelling). Herodotus (*Histories* 2.60 [trans. as in note 76 above], vol. 1, p. 347), commenting on a festival of Artemis that took place in Egypt, writes: "some of the women make a noise with rattles [κρόταλα]."
80. Boardman, "Material Culture," *CAH* 4, chap. 7c, pp. 426–30, for a discussion of the artistic and literary ambience in Athens during the last years of tyranny and the first years of democracy down to the Persian invasion. More briefly, Boardman, *Persia and the West* (as in note 15 above), pp. 210–11. The antecedents of foreign luxury goods and dress in Athens are well documented by Margaret C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century B.C.: A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge, 1997), passim, especially part 2, "Perserie," chaps. 6–8.
81. See Oswyn Murray, "The Ionian Revolt," *CAH* 4, chap. 8, p. 484.
82. Boardman, "Material Culture," *CAH* 4, chap. 7c, p. 429; Boardman, *History*, pp. 81–82, 144–45, 150–52.
83. *ARV*², p. xlvi: "A semicolon between the subjects on a vase implies that they are connected in one way or another; otherwise I put a full stop." Here are a few cups contemporary with the one by the Hegesiboulos Painter that have related subjects both on the inside and on the outside. The Thalia Painter, Berlin 3251 (*ARV*², p. 113, no. 7; *Addenda*², p. 173): "I, love-making; A–B, love-making." Apollodorus, Louvre G 139–140 (*ARV*², p. 120, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 175): "I, symposion (youth reclining, playing kottabos); A–B, symposion." Pamphaios, potter, London, BM 1907.10-20.1 (*ARV*², p. 129, no. 21): "I, warrior running; A–B, warriors running." The Epeleios Painter, Bryn Mawr P 96 (*ARV*², p. 147, no. 18; *Addenda*², p. 179): "I, youth leaning on a stick; A, man and youths; B, youths." Related to the Epeleios Painter, MMA 41.162.128 (*ARV*², p. 152, no. 4): "I, discus-thrower; A–B, athletes." The Painter of Berlin 2268, name vase (*ARV*², p. 153, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 180): "I, jumper; A–B, athletes." Here are some slightly later, well-known examples. Four by Onesimos—Louvre G 104 and Florence PD 321 (*ARV*², p. 318, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 358, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 214): "I, Theseus and Amphitrite, with Athena; A–B, deeds of Theseus: A, Skiron, Procrustes; B, Kerkyon, bull"; Boston, MFA 01.8020 (*ARV*², p. 321, no. 22; *Paralipomena*, p. 359, no. 22; *Addenda*², p. 215): "I, discus-thrower; A–B, athletes: A, jumpers; B, discus-thrower and jumper"; Louvre G 105 (*ARV*², p. 324, no. 60; *Paralipomena*, p. 359, no. 60; *Addenda*², p. 215): "I, horseman; A–B, horsemen"; Boston, MFA 95.27 (*ARV*², p. 325, no. 76; *Addenda*², p. 216): "I, komos; A–B, komos." Five by the Brygos Painter—Louvre G 152 (*ARV*², p. 369, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 365, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 224): "I, Phoinix served with wine by Briseis; A–B, Iliupersis"; Tarquinia RC 6846 (*ARV*², p. 369, no. 4; *Paralipomena*, p. 365, no. 4; *Addenda*², p. 224): "I, Phoinix served with wine by Briseis; A, Paris returning to his father's house after the judgment; B, fight: Achilles and Memnon"; Munich 2645 (*ARV*², p. 371, 15; *Paralipomena*, p. 365, 15; *Addenda*², p. 225): "I, white ground, maenad; A–B, Dionysos with maenads and satyrs"; London, BM 1848.6-19.7, ex E 68 (*ARV*², p. 371, 24; *Paralipomena*, pp. 365 and 367, no. 24; *Addenda*², p. 225; *CVA*, London 9 [Great Britain 17], pls. 58–59 [834–35]): "I, symposion (youth reclining and girl dancing); A–B, symposia"; Würzburg 479 (see note 66 above): "I, komos (youth vomiting, assisted by a girl); A–B, komos." Two by Douris—Vienna 3695 (*ARV*², p. 429, no. 26; *Paralipomena*, p. 374, no. 26; *Addenda*², p. 236; Buitron-Oliver, *Douris* [as in note 66 above], pl. 26): "The armour of Achilles: I, Odysseus and Neoptolemos; A, Ajax and Odysseus quarrelling; B, the vote"; Louvre G 115 (*ARV*², p. 434, no. 74; *Paralipomena*, p. 375, no. 74; *Addenda*², p. 237; Buitron-Oliver, *Douris*, pl. 71): "I, Eos with the body of Memnon; A–B, fights: A, Menelaos and Paris; B, Ajax and Hector." On all of these, as well as those not cited, it is obvious that the subjects are related.
84. 1) Beazley, *VA*, p. 22; 2) John D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* (Tübingen, 1925), p. 42; 3) Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1942), p. 77; 4) *ARV*², p. 175.
85. Heidenreich, p. 584: "Es is bekannt, daß aus Kleinasien und den Ländern des Orients Hetären und ihre männlichen Gegenstücke

nach Athen gekommen sind. Solche aus Thrakien, Phönikien und Syrien sollen besonders beliebt gewesen sein. Aus Jonien soll es regelrechte Importe gegeben haben." He cites *Der kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike auf der Grundlage von Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1964), col. 929, s.v. "Bordelle" (Walter H. Gross). Gross does not specify numbers, only geographical distribution.

86. "Dieser scheint eine beliebte Komödienfigur gewesen zu sein" (Heidenreich, p. 585). Do three appearances constitute "beliebte"?
87. See John M. Edwards, ed. and trans., *The Fragments of Attic Comedy after Meineke, Bergk, and Kock*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1957), pp. 476–77. For Myrtilos (dates unknown), see *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 16 (Stuttgart, 1935), cols. 1165–66, s.v. "Myrtilos" (Alfred Körte). See also *OCD*, p. 1017, s.v. "Myrtilus" (Kenneth J. Dover). About all we know about him is that he won first prize at the Lenaia in 427 B.C., a festival in honor of Dionysos celebrated in Athens on the 12th of Gamelion (January–February); see *OCD*, p. 843, s.v. "Lenaea" (Richard A. S. Seaford).
88. Aristophanes *Knights* 1064–69, trans. Jeffrey Henderson, Loeb Classical Library, Aristophanes vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), pp. 361, 363.
89. Heidenreich, pp. 584–85 and nn. 16–19.
90. Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 952–58, trans. Jeffrey Henderson, Loeb Classical Library, Aristophanes vol. 3 (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), pp. 399–401. Heidenreich, p. 585. Henderson remarks (p. 401n. 88, to *Lysistrata* 957) that Κυναλώπηξ is "the nickname of the pimp or brothel keeper Philostratus." The word Κυναλώπηξ means "*a mongrel between dog and fox*, nickname of a πορνοβοσκός [brothel keeper]"; see Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* (as in note 79 above), p. 1010.
91. See Keller, *Tierwelt*, p. 121; earlier, Keller, "Hunderassen im Altertum" (as in note 38 above), pp. 252–53.
92. Heidenreich, p. 581: "Eher hat der Alte den Hund zu seinem Schutze mitgenommen."
93. Ibid., p. 581, n. 4: "Daß es ein solcher [Fuchshund] ist, nehmen alle Betrachter des Bildes mit Ausnahme von Richter-Hall (s. o. Anm. 1) an."
94. See above. Furtwängler (Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, p. 180) called it "ein lakonischer Fuchshund," but presumably he was working from photographs, and in these it is difficult to see the fringe of the tail. Keller (*Tierwelt*, p. 425, n. 85) cites Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, p. 179, which illustrates the tondo of MMA 07.286.47 and calls the dog a "Fuchs."
95. Richter and Hall, p. 25 and n. 2: "Furtwängler's theory [Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, p. 180] that the dog is an ἀλωπεκίς, a 'Laconian fox-dog,' does not hold, since its tail (which is so close to the man's himation that Furtwängler overlooked it) does not hang down as in dogs of that breed. This interesting comment I owe to M. J. Milne."
96. Xenophon *On Hunting* 3.1–2 in *Scripta Minora*, trans. E. C. Marchant, Loeb Classical Library, Xenophon vol. 7 (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1968), p. 377.
97. Boardman, *History*, p. 222.
98. For Exekias's double signatures, see John D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*, rev. ed. (Berkeley, 1986), p. 58. Add a new double signature by him: Heide Mommsen, "Das Tritonabenteuer bei Exekias," in *Essays in Honor of Dietrich von Bothmer*, ed. Andrew J. Clark and Jasper Gaunt with Benedicte Gilman (Amsterdam, 2002), pp. 225–32. For Exekias's signatures, see Heidi Mommsen, "Beobachtungen zu den Exekias-Signaturen," *Metis: Revue d'anthropologie du monde grec ancien* (Philologie-Histoire-Archéologie) 13 (1998), pp. 39–49. For Euxitheos and Euphronios, see the calyx-krater once MMA 1972.11.10 (*Addenda*², pp. 396, 404, 405; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 4). For Kachrylion and Euphronios, see Munich 8704, ex 2620 (see note 4 above). For Onesimos, see *ARV*², pp. 318–30; *Paralipomena*, pp. 358–61; *Addenda*², pp. 214–17. For Euphronios as potter, see Louvre G 105, signed by Onesimos as painter, his only signature known so far (see note 83 above; *ARV*², p. 1645, for the history of this signature). For the reason why Euphronios switched to potting, see Jody Maxmin, "Euphronios *EPOIESEN*: Portrait of the Artist as a Presbyopic Potter," *Greece and Rome* 21 (1974), pp. 178–80; Jody Maxmin and Michael F. Marmor, "Euphronios: A Presbyope in Ancient Athens?" in *The Eye of the Artist*, ed. Michael F. Marmor, M.D., and James G. Ravin, M.D. (Saint Louis, 1997), pp. 48–57. For Euphronios becoming a potter, see Dyfri Williams, "Euphronios: vom Maler zum Töpfer," in *Euphronios der Maler*, pp. 47–51. For the Brussels stamnos, see note 61 above. The most lucid discussion of the Athenian potters' quarter is still John D. Beazley, *Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens* (London, 1946). For a discussion of the types of signatures, see ibid., pp. 33–37; more recently, Dyfri Williams, "Potter, Painter and Purchaser," in *Culture et cité: L'avènement d'Athénes à l'époque archaïque. Actes du colloque international organisé à l'Université libre de Bruxelles du 25 au 27 avril 1991 par l'Institut des hautes études de Belgique et la Fondation Archéologique de l'U.L.B.*, ed. Annie Verbanck-Piérard and Didier Viviers (Brussels, 1995), pp. 139–60.
99. Beazley briefly addressed the issue of who might be responsible for the ornament and seemed to favor it being the painter's option when he wrote: "it might be thought that the pattern-work on the vase—borders, neck-palmettes, handle-palmettes—could be delegated to a subordinate. Sometimes it may have been: but this was not the rule. A distinctive style of figurework is commonly accompanied by a distinctive set of patterns, executed in a distinctive way. This might mean no more than that the figure-artist had a well-trained pattern-man at his disposal and ready to work to his orders. But there are vases of which the pattern and floral work is so closely interwoven with the figures that it seems unnatural to parcel them between different hands" (Beazley, *Potter and Painter* [as in note 98 above], pp. 30–31). Much later, Martin Robertson noted: "we saw [p. 24] how Euphronios made the calyx-krater into a major red-figure shape and developed red-figure ornament on it as something with an importance of its own alongside the figure work, much as in black-figure picture and ornament had been developed together on the 'light' neck-amphora. Another new shape on which pattern and figures are combined in the same way is the stamnos"; Robertson, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 33.
100. For the invention of red-figure and the Andokides Painter, see Moore, *Athenian Agora*, vol. 30 (as in note 2 above), pp. 81–83; also the remarks by Beth Cohen, "The Literate Potter: A Tradition of Incised Signatures on Attic Vases," *MMJ* 26 (1991), pp. 59–60. For white-ground, see Joan R. Mertens, "Attic White Ground: Potter and Painter," in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 186–93, with bibliography. For Six's technique, see Cohen, "Six's Technique: Black Ground," in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 72–80, with bibliography; add W. D. J. Van de Put, *CVA*, Amsterdam 3 (Netherlands 9) (Amsterdam, 2006), pp. 62–65. For coral red, see note 3 above.
101. Munich 2044 (*ABV*, p. 146, no. 21; *Paralipomena*, p. 60, no. 21; *Addenda*², p. 41). For Exekias as the inventor of coral red, see Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 45–46.
102. Saint Petersburg B 9270 (*ABV*, p. 294, no. 22; *Paralipomena*, p. 128, no. 22; *Addenda*², p. 77; Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 54–56, no. 7). There is coral red on the rim and on the entire bowl inside

and out, except for the reserved handle panels. Coral red also decorates the stem and the side of the foot. The top side and underside of the foot are black, the resting surface reserved; on the bottom of the bowl, there is a small black nipple within two red concentric circles.

103. Munich 8704, ex 2620 (see note 4 above). For other cups with coral red that are associated with Kachrylion, see *Euphronios der Maler*, nos. 36–38, 41, 46; Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 48–49; earlier, Beth Cohen, "Observations on Coral-Red," *Marsyas* 15 (1970–71), pp. 4–8. For other references, especially with regard to painters who collaborated with Kachrylion, see *ARV*^{2}, pp. 107–9; *Paralipomena*, p. 509; *Addenda*^{2}, p. 173.
104. Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 62–63; John McK. Camp, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora 1994 and 1995," *Hesperia* 65 (1996), pp. 242–52, esp. pp. 245–53 for the pottery, and p. 252, no. 36, for the cup. This cup was mended in antiquity. Much of the coral red has flaked. The attribution to Euphronios is by Christopher Pfaff. The well and its contents will be published by Kathleen M. Lynch in a forthcoming supplement to *Hesperia*.
105. Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 62. Cohen goes on to write that "the tondo of an even more fragmentary coral-red cup, Agora P 33221, found in the same fill as this one [P 32344], preserves part of a jumper with *haltēres* [jumping weights] beside a diskos suspended in a sack. Lynch suggests that both cups, which had been broken and mended in antiquity, were prized possessions of the owner of a Late Archaic private house associated with the well in which they were found." For cups Type C, see note 2 above.
106. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.313: Joan R. Mertens, "A White-Ground Cup by Euphronios," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 76 (1972), pp. 271–81; *CVA*, Malibu 8 (USA 33), pl. 463 (1740). For the Agora cups as prized possessions, see note 105 above.

    Athens, Ephoreia Γ A 5040 (Figure 12), attributed to Euphronios by Eleutheria Papoutsaki-Serbeti ("Ἐρυυρόμορφη κύλικα ἀπὸ τὴν ὁδὸ Λέκκα" [as in note 47 above], pp. 321–27, pls. 146–47), belongs in this discussion. This is a small cup Type C (diam. 22.3 cm). One handle and the foot are lost. A broad band of coral red surrounds the small tondo. The lip is offset on the inside and the outside; it and the rim are glazed. Coral red covers the bowl except for the handle panel. The stem and fillet are glazed. Papoutsaki-Serbeti did not connect this cup with a potter, and to judge by the photographs (ibid., pl. 146, β–γ), the potting does not compare favorably with that of Kachrylion or Hegesiboulos: it is not crisp enough.

    The small fragmentary stemless cup, Agora P 10359 (Figure 13, and note 48 above) needs to be included in this group. The offset lip is glazed on the inside, as is the rim. On the inside, the black Maltese dog and its ground line are painted over the coral red and the outside is covered with coral red but for the handle panel. Two concentric circles decorate the underside of the base. Maximum preserved dimension of the largest fragment is 8.8 cm. The shaggy coat of the dog bears some resemblance to our dog, but it is not by the Hegesiboulos Painter. This charming little cup appears to be a singleton.
107. Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 50.
108. Dyfri Williams, "The Sotades Tomb," in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 296, for the quotations, and p. 298, n. 19, for the two mugs. For Palermo 2139, see Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik*, pp. 99–101, pl. 33, 1–2; preserved height 8 cm. The name is next to the handle (pl. 33, 1): ΕΓΕΣΙΒ[ΟΛΟΣ]. The spacing between the six preserved letters and the area needed for the remaining four suggest that the final letters may have been closer together than the others or else two of them might have been written horizontally above the ground line. One wonders where the verb ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ appeared, perhaps vertically along the left side of the handle as a pendant. If so, one might imagine in the section missing today, between the verb and the individualized youth, there was a pair similar to the one preserved to the right of the handle. This would result in a nicely balanced composition similar to those on the outside of MMA 07.286.47 (Figures 5, 7). Williams is silent about the two signatures. One would like to know what remains of the one on the London mug and if it is similar to the one on Palermo 2139, also what the figures look like.
109. Williams, "Sotades Tomb," in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 296.
110. Ibid.
111. Athens, N.M. 15212, ex Akrop. 176 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 17, no. 18; *Addenda*^{2}, p. 153; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 44). Reconstructed diameter 44.5 cm.
112. For good color photographs of Thetis's bracelet and Hera's forelocks, see *Euphronios der Maler*, pp. 209–10. For gilding, see Cohen, "Bubbles" (as in note 7 above), pp. 60–61, n. 23; and esp. Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 116, n. 11, for the raised clay. The earliest preserved use of added clay for gilding appears on a cup attributed to Psiax by Dietrich von Bothmer, Malibu 86.AE.278 (Cohen, "Bubbles," pp. 60–61, with bibliography, who writes on p. 60, n. 23: "This Psiacian embellishment was adopted on the coral-red cup of ca. 500 B.C., potted by Hegesiboulos," and on p. 61: the "shared use of once-gilt added-clay relief strengthens the evidence that Psiax must have been the teacher of Euphronios"). The pomegranates held by one of the Horai on the Sosias Painter's name vase were also gilded, another early use of this technique: Berlin 2278 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 21, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 323, no. 1; *Addenda*^{2}, p. 154). Adolf Furtwängler noted that the pomegranates were in raised clay ("die thongr. ausgespart, dann mit einer dicken Schicht feinen gelbroten Thons in Relief bedeckt und wie es scheint hellrot bemalt sind"), but Karl Reichhold seems to be the first to recognize that the pomegranates were gilded ("Die Granatäpfel mit Ton in Relief dargestellt und vergoldet"); Furtwängler, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1885), p. 554; Reichhold in Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 3, p. 22. Adolf Greifenhagen (*CVA*, Berlin 2 [Deutschland 21] [Munich, 1962], p. 8) added that the leaves of the pomegranate branch were also gilded.
113. Furtwängler in Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, p. 182: "unsere Hegesibulos-Schale hat, obwohl sie die epiktetische Typik benutz, doch einen so angeprägten stark persönlichen Stil, dass es nicht schwer ist, diesen wieder zu erkennen, wenn er sich anderswo findet." For Skythes and his identity as the painter of vases inscribed Epilykos kalos as well as others, see *ARV*^{2}, pp. 82–85, especially the introductory remarks, p. 82. Also for Skythes, see *Paralipomena*, p. 329; *Addenda*^{2}, pp. 169–70. For comparisons of our cup with the Epilykos kalos cups, see Furtwängler in Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, pp. 182–84, especially p. 184, where he writes: "Der Maler unserer aus Hegesibulos' Atelier hervorgegangenen Schale, Taf. 93, war aber aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach kein anderer als Epilykos, der in die Werkstatt jenes Töpfers übergegangen sein wird und nun mit dessen Namen signierte." For Epilykos kalos, see H. Alan Shapiro, "Epilykos Kalos," *Hesperia* 52 (1983), pp. 305–10.
114. Akropolis 538 (Langlotz in Graef and Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen*, vol. 2, p. 48 and pl. 41; for a discussion, see below and note 122). In *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters* (as in note 84 above), p. 77, Beazley wrote: "Langlotz (Acr., p. 48) is probably right in connecting with this painter [the Hegesiboulos Painter] a fragment which I had ascribed to Skythes (Att.V. [*Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* (Tübingen, 1925)] 42 no. 31)." Beazley maintained the connection in *ARV*^{2}, p. 175. For the cup-skyphos, see

Moore, *Athenian Agora*, vol. 30 (as in note 2 above), p. 66.

115. Richter and Hall, pp. 25–26; for the attribution, see Langlotz in Graef and Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen*, vol. 2, p. 148.
116. Rome, Villa Giulia 27402: *ARV*², p. 82, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 169. Borders of garments at this time normally consist of just a single or double line, occasionally a triple one or a black band (see Figures 14, 15, 20, 23).
117. Arezzo 1465 (*ARV*², p. 15, no. 6; *Paralipomena*, p. 322, no. 6; *Addenda*², p. 152; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 13, ill. p. 135; for the quotation, see Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 53, n. 40). Martin Robertson, *Art of Vase-Painting* (as in note 25 above), p. 301, n. 20, noted that Paolo Mingazzini thought Side B of the neck was by Smikros; Mingazzini, "Spigolature Vascolari," *Annuario della Scuola Archeologia di Atene*, n.s., 29–30 (1967–68), pp. 335–39. Williams (in *Euphronios peintre*, p. 92) suggests that the decorator of Brussels A 723, an artist from the Proto-Panaetian Group, painted Side B of the Arezzo krater. For Brussels A 723, see *ARV*², p. 317, 15; *Addenda*², p. 214; for a good illustration, see Sally R. Roberts, "The Stoa Gutter Well, a Late Deposit in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 55 (1986), p. 62, pl. 16.
118. Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik*, p. 206, n. 18. For the entire scene, see ibid., pl. 33, 1–2.
119. Ibid., p. 101: "Deshalb und aufgrund der geringen Vergleichsmöglichtkeiten, die eine fragmentierte Tasse und eine einzige Schale, noch dazu in unterschiedlicher Technik bemalt, miteinander bieten, möchte ich die Tasse nur unter Vorbehalt dem Hegesibulosmaler zuschreiben, obwohl beide Werke in auffälliger Weise aus dem Rahmen, der in jener Zeit auf Schalen und kleineren Gefäßen üblichen Darstellungsart fallen, sich in ihnen ein ähnlich geartetes Temperament und ein gleicher Gestaltungswille offenbaren und die Grundzüge der Zeichnung sehr ähnlich sind."
120. Ibid., p. 206, n. 21: "das Akropolisfragment (Anm. 20) bietet keine über die New Yorker Schale hinausgehenden Vergleichsmöglichkeiten."
121. For men playing krotala on vases contemporary with the Hegesiboulos Painter, here are five I have found. The left komast on Side B of the Arezzo volute-krater by Euphronios (see note 117 above). Two komasts in the panel of Munich 2422, a shouldered hydria by Phintias (*ARV*², p. 24, no. 8; *Addenda*², p. 155). The left komast on the shoulder of Bonn 70, a kalpis by Euthymides (*ARV*², p. 28, 12; *Addenda*², p. 156). The komast in the tondo of Cambridge 68.49.186, ex 71, a cup signed by Kachrylion as potter and attributed to the Hermaios Painter (*ARV*², p. 111, no. 14; *Addenda*², p. 173); Williams (in *Euphronios peintre*, p. 82) convincingly reattributed this cup to Euphronios and believes it to be a very early work. The left komast on Munich 2614 by the Ambrosios Painter (Figure 20, and note 70 above).
122. Langlotz in Graef and Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen,* vol. 2, p. 48: "All das läßt vermuten, daß der Zeichner kein Attiker war. Seine Hand ist u.a. auf der Hegesibulosschale in New York . . . wiederzukennen." Beazley (*Attische Vasenmaler* and *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, as in note 84 above) was a bit circumspect, agreeing to a connection of Akropolis 538 with the Hegesiboulos Painter, but not to a firm attribution. For the name, see note 22 above. For non-Athenian names, see the brief discussion by Boardman, *History*, p. 144.
123. See note 121 above for the youths or men playing krotala and note 6 above for the boar's bristles.
124. Richter and Hall, p. 25.
125. See note 83 above: Louvre G 105.
126. For the first edition of *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, see note 84 above, p. 209, with bibliography, especially Furtwängler in Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, p. 134 for Panaitios kalos, and p. 177 for the painting and potting signatures of Euphronios; also *ARV*², pp. 313–14 for a summary, and for the quotation by Beazley, p. 314. See also the brief remarks about the group by Dyfri Williams, *CVA*, London 9 (Great Britain 17) (London, 1993), p. 22.
127. *ARV*², p. 315–17; the quotation is on p. 315.
128. Dyfri Williams reattributed four of these cups to the early work of Onesimos, "The Ilioupersis Cup in Berlin and the Vatican," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 18 (1976), pp. 9–23. The cups are: London, BM 1892.7-18.7 and 1924.7-18.1, ex E 46 (*ARV*², p. 315, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 213; *CVA*, London 9 [Great Britain 17], pp. 15–16 and pls. 2, 3 [779, 780]); Louvre G 77 (*ARV*², p. 316, no. 2); Basel, Cahn 116 (*ARV*², p. 316, no. 3; *Addenda*², p. 213); and Freiburg S 220, ex Leipzig T. 558, and Greifswald 275 (*ARV*², p. 317, 12; *Addenda*², p. 214). In his *CVA* (London 9 [Great Britain 17], pp. 16–18, pls. 4, 5), Williams moved a fifth cup from the Proto-Panaetian Group to early Onesimos, London, BM 1836.2-24.101, ex E 45 (p. 17, the cup "is in fact an early work of Onesimos himself"). See Williams, "The Ilioupersis Cup," pp. 18, 22, for a brief discussion of the attribution.

    For the early work of Onesimos, see Brian A. Sparkes, "Aspects of Onesimos," in *Greek Art: Archaic into Classical; A Symposium Held at the University of Cincinnati, April 2–3, 1982*, ed. Cedric G. Boulter (Leiden, 1985), pp. 18–39.
129. London, BM 1865.11-18.46, ex E 816: *ARV*², p. 315, —, no. 2: near the Eleusis Painter; *Addenda*², p. 213; *CVA*, London 9 (Great Britain 17), pl. 11 (787); on p. 22, Williams adds six cups to create a new painter he names the Painter of London E 816, who belongs to the general sphere of the Proto-Panaetian Group.
130. Louvre G 25 (*ARV*², p. 316, no. 5; *Addenda*², p. 214).
131. For the quotation, see Beazley in L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, pt. 2 (Boston, 1934), p. 25; *ARV*², p. 317, no. 9; *Addenda*², p. 214. Munich 2636 (*ARV*², p. 317, no. 16; *Addenda*², p. 214). For the true Greek profile, see note 5 above.
132. London, BM 1836.2-24.25, ex E 44 (*ARV*², p. 318, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 358, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 214; *CVA*, London 9 [Great Britain 17], pl. 9 [785], 2).
133. Berlin 3139 (*ARV*², p. 321, no. 23; *Addenda*², p. 215). In this context, one would like to know what the face of the symposiast on Akropolis 538 looked like; when I made the reconstruction drawing (Figure 24), I thought it would be imprudent to speculate, so I opted for a generic type.