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TWO FIKELLURA VASE PAINTERS

(PLATES 13-16)

INTRODUCTION

IN the past fifty years scholars have depended on R. M. Cook's excellent classification and study of Fikellura pottery whenever dealing with examples of this East Greek ware in their work.¹ Cook made additions and corrections to his original classification when he published the collection of Fikellura vases from the British Museum in the *Corpus Vasorum* series.² For the most part this study and classification of Fikellura remains an indispensable tool for our understanding of the style. There is little scope at present for improving Cook's organization of the many Fikellura vases decorated with floral and linear ornament. Likewise there are a fair number of vases with simple figural decoration, mostly animals and birds, which are best left in the groups to which Cook assigned them. Many of these, like the vases with floral and linear decoration, were produced quickly and often carelessly, and show little stylistic individuality. However, Fikellura vases with more careful and complex decoration, often involving scenes with human figures, can now be profitably re-examined in light of the more recent finds of Fikellura from the Black Sea area and the Ionian coast, as well as occasional pieces from Cyprus, Cyrene, and other Greek areas. These pieces help fill in gaps in our

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in addition to the standard ones:

<i>CGE</i>	<i>Les Céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est et leur diffusion en Occident</i> (Colloque, Centre Jean Bérard, Naples 1976) (Paris-Naples 1978)
Cook, <i>GPP</i>	R. M. Cook, <i>Greek Painted Pottery</i> 2nd edn. (London 1972)
<i>FP</i>	Id. 'Fikellura Pottery', <i>BSA</i> 34 (1933-4) 1-98.
Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> , <i>GGAP</i>	E. Gjerstad, Y. Calvet, M. Yon, V. Karageorgis, and J. P. Thalmann, <i>Greek Geometric and Archaic Pottery Found in Cyprus</i> (Stockholm 1977).
<i>KS</i>	<i>Kratkie Soobshcheniya</i>
<i>MIA</i>	<i>Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR</i>
<i>Histria IV</i>	P. Alexandrescu, <i>Histria IV, La Céramique grecque d'époque archaïque et classique</i> (Bucharest 1978).
<i>Samos VI, i</i>	E. Walter-Karydi, <i>Samische Gefässe des</i>

6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., *Samos VI, i* (Bonn 1973).

SGE

Soobshcheniya Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha

References to vases in Cook's catalogue (*FP* 3-53) are given simply by their group letter and number, e.g. Y12. His various groups are sometimes referred to only by their letter, e.g. Group Y.

¹ R. M. Cook, *FP* 1-98.

² Id., *CVA BM* (8) 1-13 pls. 568-81. Several other studies have appeared more recently which have had a bearing on Fikellura; these include, *Samos VI, i* (an attempt to divide East Greek pottery styles among various cities. Fikellura is given mostly to Samos and Miletus, with small amounts to Rhodes and Ephesus); D. A. Jackson, *East Greek Influence on Attic Vases* (London 1976) (studies the influence of East Greek vases, largely Fikellura, on Attic shapes and decoration); P. Dupont, 'Classification et détermination de provenance des céramiques grecques orientales archaïques d'Istros. Rapport préliminaire', *Dacia* ns 27 (1983) 19-43 (discusses laboratory results of clay analysis on pottery from Histria and elsewhere, and indicates the source of Fikellura clay to be the area of Miletus). Fikellura pottery from Histria has been published or republished in *Histria IV* nos. 155-99 (see also *Histria II* (Bucharest, 1966) nos. 388-416, xvii. 9, xix. 1). Individual pieces of Fikellura are discussed in Dimitriu, *Dacia* ns 6 (1962) 457-67; Laubscher, *AA* (1966) 488-91; Kunisch, *AA* (1972) 553-67; E. Simon and M. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen* (Munich 1976) 56-57; M. Martelli Cristofani in *CGE* 191-2; F. Boitani Visentini in *CGE* 217-19; K. Kálin, *Hefte des archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern* 5 (1979) 5-9; G. Schaus, *Classical Views* ns 2 (1983) 226-9. Occasional pieces published from recent excavations and of importance to this study are noted in the catalogue.

understanding of the development of Fikellura, bring certain vases together which formerly had been kept in separate groups, and add another named Fikellura vase painter to the limited number which have so far been identified.

Only a small number of vase painters worked in the Fikellura style. As for example with Laconian black-figure vases, where only five major and a number of minor artists have been distinguished, so in Fikellura there are several important painters of figured vases whose works are numerous and whose style influenced the output of other painters. There are also a few less important painters whose style can be discerned in only a single vase, or at best two or three, without any significant effect on Fikellura generally. In some cases attributions of vases to one Fikellura painter or another have been made with less hesitancy than the evidence may apparently warrant. These vases could have been collected in a 'Group', as Beazley defined it, that is, pieces which are closely related and may be by the same hand.³ Professor Cook used 'Groups' in both his Fikellura and Clazomenian pottery studies with profit.⁴ But it was to define better the certainty or hesitation ('probably by the painter') or uncertainty ('perhaps by the painter') about attributions that I have risked venturing away from 'Groups'. Because there were so few painters working in Fikellura and their relationships in style are much less complex than one finds in Attic work, attributions, I think, can be made with a good deal more confidence.

The two most important artists, the Altenburg Painter⁵ and the Painter of the Running Satyrs, are here examined in detail. The former helped to establish the Fikellura figure style and was important in transforming it from an animal style to a human figure one; the latter departs from the traditional themes, showing some interest in scenes of myth and special mythical beings. Both artists stretch the style to its limits in depicting complex detail and interaction of figures on their best pieces.

The Fikellura style is severely limited by the use of reservation for inner detail on the silhouette figures. Unlike black figure where the painter can easily separate overlapping figures by incising lines with a sharp point after the silhouette figures are painted, the Fikellura painter always had to be careful to preserve lines of detail and separation while painting. The difficulty of controlling the brush in order to produce two parallel lines, very close together, for details prevented the artist from attaining the same fine detail and complexity of scenes as in black figure. Incision was known, but its real possibilities were never taken advantage of, no doubt for some quite conscious reason.⁶

Added purple is used quite often but only to add colour to the scene, occasionally making little sense, as with the beards of the komasts on **12** and satyr on **58**, and the hair locks of centaurs on **57**. White is found very rarely, as on **7**, **62**, and **64**.⁷

³ See M. Robertson in *Beazley Addenda* (Oxford 1982) p. xiv, first sense of 'Group'.

⁴ Cook, *FP* 1-98; *BSA* 47 (1952) 123-52. He was careful to point out the relationship of vases within each group. Some of his groups had less cohesiveness than others.

⁵ It is unfortunate that a Corinthian vase painter is also called Altenburg Painter.

⁶ The use of incision is sparing and occurs only sporadically on Fikellura. On the Altenburg vase (no. 21) the incision is apparently modern (*JHS* 59 (1939) 149), but other vases show ancient incision clearly, as Cook's Q23, *CVA* BM (8) pp. 2, 5; *Samos* VI, i no. 145 fig. 35 pl. 16, and two vases by the Painter of the Running Satyrs, nos. 63 and 64. Another vase, Cook's C1, clearly shows use of a pointed tool to sketch the animals in the vase surface prior to painting. An amphora in Histria

(Cook's K11, *CVA* BM (8) 2; *Histria* IV no. 166 pl. 18) has incision on the komasts marching on the shoulder, but this vase is an odd one, a local Histrian imitation of Fikellura (clay analysis by Dupont, *Dacia* ns 27 (1983) 36). Another vase thought to be related to Fikellura which was found at Taranto also makes use of incision for details of the bird on each side, F. Lo Porto in *CGE* 136 pl. 69 fig. 23 left.

⁷ For further details on clay, slip, and paint, see Cook, *FP* 53-4; *CVA* BM (8) 5. An orange or orange-brown paint is used for ornament together with the normal dark-brown glaze and purple paint on a neck fragment in Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology, NA.121, and it occurs also on neck and belly sherds in Philadelphia, University Museum E147.8, E147.30.

CATALOGUE⁸

(Unless otherwise stated in the description, it is assumed the vases or fragments are amphorae.)

ALTENBURG PAINTER

Vases with animal scenes on the shoulder and/or belly

- 1 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 74.51.365a-b formerly (CP 55a-b), from Cyprus. Oinochoe. Pres. ht. 0.078 m, d. (belly) 0.142 m. Shoulder: tongues, deer (to right) attacked by sphinxes, water bird, deer (to left) attacked by griffins, water bird. Belly: alternating squares with quincunx, bull(s) (to right) attacked by lion(s).

Purple directly on the slip for the line meandering between squares; added purple on the rear leg, belly, and wings of sphinxes and griffins.

FP, 93-5 no. B1a, figs. 19-20; *Samos VI*, i no. 616 pl. 83; Gjerstad *et al.*, *GGAP* 35 no. 164 pl. 19.3-5.

PLATE 13a, b.

- 2 British Museum 88.2-8.54, from Tell Defenneh. Ht. (as made up) 0.306 m. Neck: double cable. Shoulder: tongues, A: boar (to right) attacked by panther and lion, B: deer (to left) attacked by dogs. Belly: crescents (r), dog-hare chase (to right), crescents (r).

Purple on every fourth or fifth tongue and every fourth crescent; rump, shoulder, and belly of animals except the boar which has purple crest rather than belly, and on the neck of the dogs.

FP B1 fig. 8.1 pls. 1f, 2b-c; *CVA* BM (8) pls. 568.1, 569.1-2; *Samos VI*, i no. 607 (reverse museum numbers with no. 606) pl. 81.

- 3 British Museum 88.2-8.49, from Tell Defenneh. Ht. (as made up) 0.298 m. Neck: triple cable. Shoulder: tongues, A: bull (to right) with head turned back attacked by lion and panther, deer (to left), B: goat (to right) with head turned back attacked by dogs. Belly, single cable, dog-hare chase (to right) (one hare looks back and has two ears shown), crescents (r), tongues.

Purple is hard to discern now, but can be seen certainly on some tongues on the shoulder, and on rump, shoulder, and sometimes belly of animals.

FP B2 fig. 8.1 pls. 2a, 3a-b; *CVA* BM (8) pls. 568.2, 570.1-3; *Samos VI*, i no. 606 (reverse museum numbers with no. 607 in catalogue) pl. 81.

- 4 Miletus Museum no. 1536, from Miletus. Wall fragment from a cup with splaying sides. Ht. 0.05 m. Bull (to right) attacked by feline (to right), meander cross.

IstMitt 9-10 (1959-60) 59 pl. 63.2; *Samos VI*, i no. 675 pl. 82.

- 5 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 26.199.105, from Sardis (Butler excavations). Shoulder fragment. Tongues, sphinx (to left). (The fragment has been damaged since its discovery. The sphinx is now missing its head.)

PLATE 13c.

- 6 Pythagorion Museum, from Samos. Shoulder and belly fragments. MHt. (fragment with hare) 0.052 m. Shoulder: goat(?) (to right) attacked by sphinxes(?). Belly: crescents (r), dog-hare chase (to right).

Samos VI, i no. 608 pl. 82; *Samos XIV* 142-3 fig. 221A-G (there considered to be from six different vases and apparently dated in the seventh century).

- 7 Rhodes Museum 15429, from Ialysos. Stamnos. Ht. 0.185 m, d. (belly) 0.169 m. Neck: double cable. Shoulder: procession of seven partridges (to right) both sides, the fourth one with head turned back. Belly: crescents (r), crescents (l), lotuses, and buds. Handle attachments: vertical chevrons.

FP F5; *CIRh* VIII 113 figs. 98, 102; *Samos VI*, i no. 550 pls. 68, 72; Simon and Hirmer (see n. 2 above) 56-7 pl. 34 FIG. 12.

Human figure scenes on the shoulder, animals on the belly

- 8 University College, London, from Naucratis. Shoulder and part of the belly. MPD. 0.122 m. Shoulder: winged figures (to left and right), female votary(?) (to right). Belly: single cable, head of goat (to right).

Purple on one dot of the cable; white(?) dots on hem of peplos.

FP B7 pl. 10c; *Samos VI*, i no. 614 pl. 84. A. Johnston, 'Pottery from Naucratis, An Exhibit on the Occasion of the 11th International Congress on Classical Archaeology'. 1-10 Sept. 1978. Cat. no. 62.

- 9 Histria, inv. V 19996. Shoulder and belly fragments. D. (belly) 0.242 m, MPD. of fragments D-E, 0.217 m. Shoulder: komasts. Belly: alternating strokes, meander cross (one saltire), goat-dog-hare chase (to right), crescents (r), lotuses, and buds.

Purple on hair and loincloths of komasts, and crossed chest straps on two komasts; rump and shoulder of animals; purple smudge in the crescent band.

Histria IV no. 156 pl. 15; *Samos VI*, i no. 609 pl. 83.

PLATE 13 d, e (details).

- 10 Samos K1177, from Samos. Fragments. Ht. (neck) 0.105 m, d. (mouth) c.0.160 m, MPD. (belly fragment with hare) 0.093 m. Neck: triple cable. Shoulder: komasts. Belly: dog-hare chase (to right), crescents (l.), perhaps lotus and buds. (The same lower wall fragments are shown for *Samos VI*, i pl. 15 nos. 114, 116. More likely they belong with no. 114.) *Samos VI*, i no. 116 pl. 15.

Human figure scenes on the shoulder or belly, no animal friezes
(except 15)

- 11 Samos K1026 and K1331, from Samos. Shoulder and belly fragments. (The fragments as illustrated are not all in their

⁸ Abbreviations used in the catalogue:

d.—diameter	MHt.—maximum height
Ht.—height	MPD.—maximum preserved dimension
l—curving left	MW.—maximum width
L.—length	Pres. ht.—preserved height

r—curving right W—width

Bibliographic references in the catalogue entries are limited to the most recent and most important publications of individual vases, and to the most convenient sources of illustrations (often *Samos VI*, i).

proper place.) Ht. (komast frieze) 0.058 m. Shoulder, A: naked figure (Perseus?) running (l), sharply bent legs of a second figure (to left), hooves of a horse(s) (?) (to left), B: hooded female figure (to left) looking back, naked male figure (to left) reclining(?). Belly: double volute complex, A: parts of five komasts and a flautist around a dinos stand, B: part of a structure of squared masonry, feet of a draped figure (to left); below, another scene with various filling ornaments (perhaps the fragment in the top left corner of PLATE 13f—with unidentified object on it belongs here.)

FP K3; Samos VI, i no. 108 pls. 12, 13.

PLATE 13f, FIG. A (detail, fragment with Perseus?)



FIG. A. 11, fragments with Perseus(?) figure

- 12 University Museum, Philadelphia, L-64-535, provenience unclear, likely from Rhodes. Ht. 0.396 m, d. (belly) 0.307 m. Neck: triple cable. Shoulder, A and B: tongues, four komasts (one a flautist) around a pithos. Belly: open cable, crescents (r), alternating dots, lotuses, and buds, crescents (l), tongues. Below handles: dog (to left); hare (to right).

Purple on occasional dots of the triple cable, about every sixth stroke of the broken cable, every fourth or fifth crescent in the upper band of crescents; and on the loincloth of each komast and crossed chest straps on one komast; neck and belly lines of the dog; drips of purple paint on the shoulder apparently before the tongue pattern was painted.

FP 95 no. Hg; Schaus, *Classical Views* ns 2 (1983) 227-9 pl. 1. (The Museum's records have the 'locality' of the vase as Rhodes, which may or may not mean 'provenience'.)

PLATE 14a-c.

- 13 Cyrene. Shoulder fragment. MPD. 0.190 m. Broken cable(?), three bearded komasts.

Purple for headbands, beards, and ivy branch directly over the slip; added purple on loincloths and for the crossed chest straps.

LA 13-14 (1976-7) 302 pl. 86c.

PLATE 14e.

- 14 Miletus Museum, from Miletus. Shoulder fragment. MPD. c.0.11 m. Tongues, ends of double flute (to right), komast (to left).

IstMitt 29 (1979) 105 pl. 24.5.

- 15 Leningrad, inv. no. B.400, from Berezan. Shoulder fragment. Lotus-and-bud, dot-and-billet, head of komast (to right).

Gorbukova, *SGE* 27 (1964) 38 fig. 3 left.

- 16 Oxford G121.10, from Naucratis. Shoulder fragment. MPD 0.047 m. Tongues, komast (to left).

FP H5; CVA Oxford (2) pl. 397.7.

- 17 Nicosia Museum, inv. no. 1966/X-29/2, from Amathus. Shoulder fragments. MPD. (largest fragment) c.0.125 m. Procession of partridges (to right), parts of sixteen preserved (one with head turned back), banqueters (one flautist), each side.

Purple on wings of the partridges, and hair and garments of the banqueters.

Gjerstad *et al.*, *GGAP* 36 no. 176 pl. 20.5 pp. 79-80 no. 171; Samos VI, i no. 109 pl. 13.

- 18 Oxford G121.5, from Naucratis. Shoulder fragment. MPD. 0.048 m. Five-petal lotus, man (to right) wearing serpent helmet (Busiris?).

FP K7 pl. 10d; CVA Oxford (2) pl. 397.8; Samos VI, i no. 113 pl. 14; S. el Kalza, *O Bousiris en te ellenike grammateia kai techne* (Athens 1970) 46 pl. 1a.

- 19 Cambridge 94-96, N.10, 11a, GR 52.1899 (formerly 94-96, N.11), from Naucratis. Amphoriskos? Belly fragments. MPD. 94-96, N.10, 0.027 m; 94-96, N.11a, 0.070 m; GR 52.1899, 0.096 m; est. d (belly) 0.130 m. Komasts, one of whom rides pick-a-back.

FP H1 pl. 8a; CVA Cambridge (2) pl. 497.7, 10.

An extra fragment joining GR 52.1899 is illustrated in BSA 5 (1898-9) pl. 6.12c.

PLATE 14d.

- 20 Alexandria 9526, from Naucratis. Belly fragment. Komast.

FP H4 pl. 8b.

- 21 Altenburg 191, once thought to be from Aigina. Ht. 0.310 m. Neck: triple cable. Shoulder: lotus and bud chain, ivy leaves. Belly: twelve komasts (one is a flautist) dancing around two dinoi on stands; the dinoi are placed below the handles; hook meanders, crescents (r), lotuses and buds, short tongues.

Purple on loincloths and band above the ears of the komasts; lips of the drinking cups and dinoi; apparently also on the ivy leaves and perhaps other secondary ornament.

FP J1 pls. 5, 6, 11c; CVA Altenburg (1) 16 (with bibliography), pls. 10-12; Samos VI, i no. 626 pl. 86.

- 22 Leningrad(?), from Olbia. Belly fragment. Two komasts (to left), part of handle volute.

Purple for the crossed chest straps, and on loincloths and occasional palmette leaves.

FP K4; Belin de Ballu, *Olbia* (Leiden 1972) pl. 26.1.

- 23 Alexandria 7448, from Tell Defenneh. Ht. c.0.291 m. Neck: triple cable. Shoulder: lotuses and buds, meander cross. Belly: at least two komasts with backs to each other between volutes, crescents (r), lotus and bud chain, tongues.

Purple on one of the two lines of the meander, on occasional palmette leaves and on bars of volutes.

FP J10; W. M. F. Petrie, *Tanis* II (London 1888) pl. 28.4-4a (drawing).

PLATE 14f.

- 24 Berezan, inv. no. B77-304. Fragments. L. 0.14 m. Belly: two komasts with backs to each other between volutes, crescents (r).

Kopekina, *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* no. 1 (1981) 203 fig. 10a right.

- 25 Leningrad, inv. no. Ol.3921, from Olbia. Belly fragment said to be from a 'miniature' amphora; perhaps an oinochoe or even an amphoriskos. Alternating ivy leaves, part

- of cup and two fingers of komast (to right), head of woman? (to left) (hair in krobylos).
Gorbukova, *SGE* 27 (1964) 38 fig. 3 right.
- 26 Leningrad, inv. no. B62-1, from Berezan. Ht. 0.302 m. Neck: triple cable. Shoulder: pendent lotus and bud chain, ivy leaves. Belly: two facing komasts between volutes, crescents (l.), lotuses, and buds unjoined.
Purple dots on the pendent buds of the shoulder, purple on occasional ivy leaves, traces of crossed chest straps in purple on both komasts, purple headband on left komast.
Gorbukova, *SGE* 27 (1964) 35-8 figs. 1-2; *Samos* VI, i no. 627 pl. 86; X. Gorbukova and I. Saverkina, *Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Hermitage* (Leningrad 1975) cat. no. 3, colour plate.
- 27 British Museum 88.2-8.50, from Tell Defenneh. Ht. (as made up) 0.205 m. Shoulder: tongues in compartments, ivy leaves. Belly: a komast between volutes each side, on side B: looking back, crescents (r), tongues.
FP, J6; *CVA* BM (8) pls. 579.3, 581.9.
- 28 British Museum 88.2-8.51, from Tell Defenneh. Ht. (as made up) 0.210 m. Shoulder: tongues in compartments, open cable. Belly: komast between volutes each side, crescents (r), crude tongues (blobs).
FP, J7; *CVA* BM (8) pl. 579.4.
- 29 British Museum 88.2-8.51 (but does not apparently join no. 28), formerly 1924.12-1.1103, from Tell Defenneh. Belly fragment. Komast (to right) looking back (?), between volutes.
FP J8; *CVA* BM (8) pl. 576.18.
- 30 Histria Museum, inv. MIRS R 16748 (formerly B1695), from Histria. Neck: alternating squares with segment rosettes. Shoulder: tongues in compartments, ivy leaves. Belly: komast looking back between volutes each side, crescents (r).
Purple on occasional tongues and ivy leaves, and on the middle leaf of the volute palmettes.
Histria IV no. 163 pl. 17; *CVA* BM (8) 1, J10a; *Samos* VI, i no. 631 pl. 86.
- 31 Odessa(?), from Berezan. Neck(?), shoulder, and belly fragments. Neck (if it belongs): lotuses and buds unjoined. Shoulder: tongues, chevrons. Belly: komast between volutes each side, crescents (r), lotus and bud chain. (Fragment 'b' may not be from the same vase as 'a'; note the billets on the shoulder.)
Purple on loincloths, occasional leaves of palmettes and bars of volutes.
FP J9.
PLATE 15a.
- 32 ?, from Olbia. Oinochoe neck and body fragment. Neck: heads of two women facing each other. Body: winged female (to left) in centre panel, vertical bands of lines and bars at the edge.
Purple bands on the wings, headband and crossed chest straps.
V. I. Pruglo, *KS* 156 (1978) 46 fig. 4.1.
- 33 Miletus Museum, from Miletus. Shoulder fragments. MPD. (largest fragment) 0.06 m. Sphinx(?), goat. *IstMitt* 9-10 (1959-60) 60 pl. 63.3; *Samos* VI, i no. 611 pl. 82.
- 34 Sardis. P82.43; 8665. Shoulder fragment. MPD. c.0.052 m. Kneeling goat, dot-and-billet.
Purple on the shoulder of the goat.
Greenewalt, Jun., Sardis excavations preliminary report, *BASOR* supplement, forthcoming.
PLATE 15b.
- 34a Ephesus Museum. Amphoriskos. Shoulder: tongues, billets. Belly: dog-hare chase (to right), water bird, billets, crescents (r.), tongues.
- 35 British School of Archaeology, Athens, from Naucratis. Belly fragment. MPD. 0.100 m. Running goat (to right), crescents (r).
FP B9.
PLATE 15c.
- Human figure scenes on the shoulder or belly*
- 36 Leningrad, inv. no. 15848, from Berezan. Shoulder fragment. Partridge (part of a row); satyr.
Purple on the wing of the partridge and hair of the satyr.
FP K1 pl. 8e; *Samos* VI, i no. 612 pl. 84.
- 37 ?, from Berezan. Wall fragments. Komasts.
Purple apparently on loincloth.
FP J4.
PLATE 15d, e.
- 38 Oxford 1925.608b, from Naucratis. Belly fragment. MPD. 0.057 m. Two facing komasts.
FP H2; *CVA* Oxford (2) pl. 397.6.
- 39 British Museum 86.4-1.1150, from Naucratis. Belly fragment. MPD. 0.093 m. Leg of dinos stand, leg of komast, alternating dots, crescents (l.).
FP J2; *CVA* BM (8) pl. 576.15 (mistaken museum number).
- 40 University College, Dublin, V 4019, from Naucratis. Belly fragment. MPD. 0.086 m. Parts of two facing komasts.
Vickers, *JHS* 91 (1971) 116 no. 11 pl. 13k.
- 41 Vathy Museum, Samos, from Pythagorion. Belly fragment. MPD. 0.052 m. Komast (to left).
Purple on loincloth.
FP H8b; *Samos* VI, i no. 121 pl. 14.
- 42 Oxford 1925.608b, from Naucratis. Belly fragment. MPD. 0.052 m. Rump of komast (to right).
FP J5.
PLATE 15f.
- 43 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 321.14, from Naucratis. Belly fragment. MPD. 0.053 m. Parts of two komasts (to left).
FP H3; Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* i (Cambridge, Mass. 1928) no. 321.14 pl. 34.
- 44 Samos. Belly fragment. MPD. 0.026 m. Top of head and raised hand of a komast.
Samos VI, i no. 120 pl. 14.
- 45 Cambridge 94-96, N.14, from Naucratis. Belly fragment. MPD. 0.076 m. Feet of two komasts (to right), alternating strokes, crescents (r).
FP, J3; *CVA* Cambridge (2) pl. 497.11.
- 46 Histria, inv. V 1049. Belly fragment. MPD. 0.142 m. Winged female figure (to right) between volutes, alternating strokes.
Purple on hem of peplos and part of wing.
Histria IV no. 165 pl. 18; *Samos* VI, i no. 628 pl. 87.

PROBABLY BY THE ALTENBURG PAINTER

Vases with animal scenes on the shoulder and belly

- 33 Miletus Museum, from Miletus. Shoulder fragments. MPD. (largest fragment) 0.06 m. Sphinx(?), goat. *IstMitt* 9-10 (1959-60) 60 pl. 63.3; *Samos* VI, i no. 611 pl. 82.

PERHAPS BY THE ALTENBURG PAINTER

(i.e. some may be by his hand)

- 47 Kerch or Odessa(?), from Nymphaion. Neck and wall fragments. Shoulder: tongues, two attacking dogs. Belly: double row of billets, crescents (r), double row of billets, crescents (l.).

Purple apparently on rump and belly of dogs.

Sovetskaya Arkheologiya 16 (1952) 250 fig. 12.1; M. M. Chudiak, *Iz istorii Nimfeya* (Leningrad 1962) 41, pl. 34.1a-c.

CVA BM (8) pp. 1, 5, B at end.

- 48 ?, from Berezan. Shoulder fragment. Shoulder: tongues, animal frieze with sphinx (to left), dog sitting (to right) with head turned back, band of alternating strokes, unidentified decoration below.

I. Fabritsius, *Arkheologicheskaya karta Prichernomor'ya Ukrainskoy SSR* (Kiev 1951) pl. 11.5 (drawing).

- 49 Histria, inv. V 19493. Neck and shoulder fragments. Shoulder: tongues, A: goat attacked by a lion, B: dog. *Histria* II 149, no. xvii. 9 pl. 69; *Histria* IV no. 158.

- 50 Samos, from Pythagorion, now lost. Belly fragment. Ht. 0.030 m, L. 0.064 m. Crescents (r), probably animal frieze, pendent bud preserved and edge of one figure.

Purple apparently on at least one crescent.

Samos XIV 146 fig. 230c (fig. 230b and d may also belong to this vase though the latter is upside down in the photograph.); *Samos* VI, i no. 41 pl. 7.

- 51 ?, from Panticapaeum. Belly fragment. W. 0.082 m, ht. 0.069 m. Lotus and bud frieze?, komast reaching into a dinos on a stand.

Purple on loincloth and crossed chest strap, and horizontal band on the belly of the dinos.

N. A. Siderova, *MIA* 103 (1962) 126-7 fig. 9.2.

- 52 Private collection in Berkeley, California, from Miletus (Degirmentepe). Shoulder fragment. MW. 0.043 m. Tongues; forehead and raised hand of a komast (to left).

Purple on every fourth tongue.

PLATE 15g.

- 53 British Museum A1313 (61.4-25.47), from Camirus. Ht. 0.290 m, d. (belly) 0.215 m. Neck: broken meander and square with window. Shoulder: tongues, open cable. Belly: partridge between volutes each side, crescents (r), tongues.

FP J12, pl. 7b; CVA BM (8) pl. 579.1, 2.

- 54 Mykonos 12794, from Delos. Fragmentary. Belly: bird.

FP J11; Ch. Dugas, *Délos XVII* (Paris 1935) pl. 51, Vases de Fikellura. No. 8.

ATTRIBUTIONS

R. M. Cook first collected together vases with komos scenes around the belly or between volutes on the belly and attributed many of them to one artist, the Altenburg Painter, named after the best vase of this type, in Altenburg, Germany.⁹ He did not attribute all of the vases in his Altenburg Group (Group J) to the painter himself, although they follow the same pattern of decoration, since some were too fragmentary for such an attribution while others had animals or birds between volutes rather than komasts. Only J1, J6, J7, J8, J9, J10a, and eventually H9 (our 12, 21, 27-31) were assigned to his hand.¹⁰ The small fragments with komasts which Cook collected in his Cambridge Group (Group H) came from both belly and shoulder areas of amphorae. The painting was generally careless, but the komasts were observed by Cook to be 'nearest to the Altenburgers'.¹¹ Likewise from Group K, Miscellaneous Human Figures, Cook noted the similarities of K4 and K10 (23 and 69) to the Altenburg Group vases. Otherwise only the similarity of subsidiary ornament on vases from other groups with that on Altenburg Group vases (as, for example, decoration on vases in Groups G, N, and P) was noted.

One almost complete amphora (26), as well as a shoulder fragment (15) from Berezan and a belly fragment (25) from Olbia, were attributed to this painter by Gorbukova.¹² Another large belly fragment (24) from Berezan was attributed by L. V. Kopeikina to the same hand.¹³ Other pieces have been associated with the Altenburg Painter or with Group J, but not directly attributed to him. Moreover, Cook realized that 2 and 3 were done by one person¹⁴ and also that 1 and 8 were also possibly done by this artist,¹⁵ but he had little evidence to connect these vases with the Altenburg Painter.

The number of vases now assigned to the Altenburg Painter has been substantially increased.

⁹ His J1, here 21.

¹⁰ Cook, *FP* 17 n. 1, 18; CVA BM (8) 1 (J10a); H9 was noted as being by the Altenburg Painter in a personal letter to G. R. Edwards, at the University Museum, Philadelphia, 1955.

¹¹ Cook, *FP* 15.

¹² Gorbukova, *SGE* 27 (1964) 36-8.

¹³ L. V. Kopeikina, *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* no. 1 (1981) 203.

¹⁴ Cook, CVA BM (8) 6 pl. 568.2.

¹⁵ Id., *FP* 94.

New finds have helped join vases from other groups in Cook's catalogue to those in Group J, by the Altenburg Painter. Especially noteworthy are those which have both Group B and Group J figures on them (**9**, **10**, **12**). Furthermore, the vase in Philadelphia (**12**) and sherds in Cyrene, Miletus, and Leningrad (**13**, **14**, **15**) clearly show that the Altenburg Painter also put komos scenes in the shoulder zone rather than just the belly. This helps join the shoulder fragments of Group H with the Altenburg Painter which Cook otherwise kept apart.

Of great significance for our understanding of the career of this painter is the connection between the komos vases and certain vases belonging to Cook's Lion Group (Group B). This latter group is characterized by the 'use of the shoulder for the main frieze, while the belly generally bears a subsidiary animal zone'.¹⁶ Normally the shoulder has a grouping of animals, i.e. carnivores with a herbivore as victim, although one piece (**8**) has human figures on the shoulder (two of them with wings). **9** provides a strong link between the Altenburg Painter and vases of the Lion Group. The animal frieze on the belly of **9** is close to that on **2** and **3** (from the Lion Group), but with the addition of lotuses and buds on stems as fillers. The dog's ear on **9** is a simple oval and the two lines across the neck are lacking, but this may be a simple variation by the painter. The komasts on the shoulder of **9** are stiff and jerky in appearance but have the usual poses of the Altenburg Painter's figures, as well as details such as chest straps in purple, hands with two fingers and thumb shown, long feet, feet or legs overlapping, elbows pointed outward, and ill-fitting loincloths.

12 likewise demonstrates the connection between the Altenburg Painter and the Lion Group. On the shoulder of each side are four komasts of mature Altenburg Painter type, but tucked in the shoulder frieze at the base of the handles is a hare (to right) and a dog (to left). Both animals are of the type found in the Lion Group. The dog especially, though squeezed in below the handle, is very close to the dogs on **2** and **3** (Cook's B1 and B2) in pose, reserved details, and added purple enhancements. The rendering of the ear joined to double lines across the neck, details such as the belly stripe, toes of the paws and line separating the back legs, and the pose with four legs shown and one of the forelegs raised, suggest that the same painter did **12** as did **2** and **3**.

This link between the earliest and best vases of the Lion Group (and therefore among the earliest vases of the Fikellura style) and the Altenburg Painter is also supported by the human figures of Altenburg type on **8** (Cook's B7), which Cook had already noted as being closely connected to **3** by the form of the cable pattern,¹⁷ and by both the human and animal figures on **10** from Samos. The middle figure on the shoulder of **8** could be taken for an Altenburg komast if not for the wings and the pomegranate in the hand. **10** is poorly preserved but a komast of simple Altenburg Painter type is seen on the shoulder and remnants of an animal chase on the belly.

The sphinxes on **1** and **5** provide yet another link between the human and animal figure styles of this painter. The human faces of the sphinxes are typical of the Altenburg Painter, though on **1** the upper lip is a little longer than normal. The lion on this vase is the same as on **2** and **3**, the deer and griffins are as one expects for this painter, and the overall scheme of decoration with shoulder and belly zones separated by billets and an important band of secondary ornament matches the other early vases by him. The importance of the belly animal frieze on **1** and other features, such as the alternating square pattern on the belly and the odd birds in the shoulder frieze, suggest that the artist had not yet settled into his normal pattern of vase decoration and that this may be the earliest of his preserved vases.

¹⁶ Ibid. 7.

¹⁷ Ibid. 7.

The partridges on **7** are new additions to the repertory of animals on East Greek vases. They appear by themselves, used without hesitation as the primary decoration on the vase. For this reason they look out of place among the more customary animals. But the double cable on the neck and the more ovoid shape of the body are matched best by **2**, one of the earliest vases by the Altenburg Painter. The partridges are from the same covey as those on **17**.

The quality of work on **1-3** is certainly very good, reflecting the same standards as is found on the better vases with human figures by the Altenburg Painter. Other vases with animal scenes which belong to Cook's Group B tend to show the marked decline which this figure style underwent in the hands of lesser artists. The same problem is reflected in the work of Late Wild Goat painters who had difficulty in keeping their stock animal scenes fresh and lively. This perhaps was one reason why the Altenburg Painter gave up animal friezes in favour of the greater interest to be found in scenes with human figures. The human figure scenes in the Vineyard Group vases (see n. 134 below), if this Group is as early as I think, perhaps helped to lure the Altenburg Painter away from using traditional animal scenes.

The two best vases by this painter, **11** and **17**, are more carefully painted, but unfortunately are badly damaged. **11** has a worn surface and since the Second World War is missing several more pieces. It follows the earlier vases in having figured friezes on shoulder and belly separated by an important band of secondary decoration. In the upper frieze on **11** there may be a scene from myth on side A (see p. 261 below, Perseus?) and on B a banquet scene (see p. 260 below). The middle frieze of this vase has a complex but carefully rendered floral pattern and the lower frieze more jerky komasts accompanied by a flautist around a dinos with skilfully painted stand. Part of a structure (house or altar?) of squared masonry appears in this lower frieze, but it is now difficult to make it out.¹⁸ Yet another scene may have been below as witnessed by the filling ornament. Walter-Karydi associated this vase with the finely done cup **64**, attributing them both to her Gorgoneion Painter.¹⁹ A close comparison, however, of the floral bands and komos scenes reveals few real similarities between the two vases. Different painters are at work here. The komasts on **11** are typical of the Altenburg Painter with the same faces and stances as those on **21**. The flautist with one arm shown clearly and a second one suggested in outline behind is closely paralleled by that on **17**.

17, has a row of partridges on both sides of the shoulder below the neck. Below this are very carefully painted banquet scenes, with ornate rosette fillers, garments with broad sweeping folds from shoulder to ankle, and patterned couch covers. Details of the faces, the flautist, and the pose of hands with cups, again point to the Altenburg Painter.

32 is another of the odd bird-like vases from Cook's Group S. Besides the 'feathered wings' down the body, it is decorated with two facing heads on the neck and a central panel reaching to the top of the shoulder which preserves a single 'human' figure. The figure is a winged female, perhaps a 'demon' (see pp. 260-1, 275 below). The heads on the neck are found on a similar oinochoe by the Painter of the Running Satyrs, but details of the winged female as well as features of the faces on the neck are certainly those of the Altenburg Painter.

The other vases attributed to this painter need little comment here. The only other vase to stray from the standard depiction of komasts is **18** with a male figure wearing a serpent helmet. It has been suggested that this is Busiris.²⁰ Again the rendering of the face on this figure is typical of the Altenburg Painter. As long as single figures remain on the belly between volutes,

¹⁸ Cook, *FP* 18 and n. 3, no. K3. Perhaps there is even a bird to be made out faintly on one block of this structure, as on the Cambridge fragment of Chian ware cited by Cook.

¹⁹ *Samos* VI, i 22.

²⁰ Cook, *FP* 19 no. K7 (see p. 261 below).

an attribution to this painter's hand is still possible. When these disappear, as in Cook's New York Group (N), it is difficult to be sure of the artist.

Of the vases considered here as probably by the Altenburg Painter, the greater number simply are not well enough preserved or do not have enough points of comparison with other vases attributed to his hand to allow for a more certain attribution. Except for **36** with a satyr and **46** with a winged female, these vases have the usual scenes of animals or komasts. For the satyr the vertical forehead, pug-nose, and hair-line projecting over the forehead are closely comparable to the bearded komast on **11**. The partridge above the satyr, though jammed into the corner, is similar to those on **7** and **17**. The winged figure on **46** is set alone between volutes on the belly as is common for the Altenburg Painter's later vases. The figure was probably not a Gorgon but a 'demon' of some kind, like that on **32**.

47-54 are perhaps by the Altenburg Painter, but in each case there are features which leave considerable doubt as to the artist. They should all at least be products of his workshop. **47** has a typical animal scene on the shoulder but the double rows of billets and lack of a figure scene on the belly is odd.²¹ **49** also is poorly preserved but has the typical shoulder grouping. The lion's face is somewhat shorter than the lion on **2**. **53** and **54** have a partridge and water bird respectively on the belly between volutes in place of the komasts of the Altenburg Painter, but the partridge on **53** at least is slightly different from those on the earlier vases.²² **52** has only part of the head and one hand of a komast. The hand shows two fingers and a thumb and is turned away from the head, as is found several times with Altenburg komasts. The single T-filler is odd, possibly being seen on **36** also, but more common on a vase of Cook's Group B.²³

The scene of a komast beside a dinos on **51** is usual for the Altenburg Painter, but here the komast reaches into the dinos and seems to be missing his forearm. The painting of the komast is clumsy work and the dinos is an odd type for this painter.

THEMES

The Altenburg Painter normally chose themes of rather bland interest, staying with stock types for the majority of his work and showing only occasional flourishes of creativity for the best of his vases. Animal scenes are often simple processions of partridges or chases of goats, hares, and dogs. The more important scenes are usually found on the shoulder and may show a variety of herbivores (deer, boar, goat, bull) being attacked from both sides by carnivores (lions, panthers, dogs, griffins, or sphinxes). **1**, an oinochoe rather than an amphora, has such a scene on the shoulder and a second animal frieze of equal importance on the belly, lions attacking a bull. In the shoulder scene, simple water birds are added to fill space and separate groups.²⁴

7 with partridges on the shoulder would seem to fit more comfortably with **17** than with the other vases having animal scenes on the shoulder. But on **17** the partridges have become secondary ornament, whereas on **7** they are the primary decoration.

The use of a dog and a hare at the base of the handles on the shoulder of **12** is unique in Fikellura, but a similar use of animals is found in Attic.²⁵ Here on **12** the animals act

²¹ The double row of billets is found on an oinochoe also of Group B or else imitating it, but certainly not by the Altenburg Painter, *Samos VI*, i no. 602 pl. 82; and on the neck of an early amphoriskos, Cook, *FP* no. Y13 pl. 15b.

²² See p. 262 below.

²³ *Hestia* IV no. 155 pl. 14; *Samos VI*, i no. 623 pl. 85.

²⁴ Similar birds with reserved bodies are found in procession on the shoulder of BM 88.2-8.48, 1924.12-1.1048, *CVA* BM (8) pl. 577.2.

²⁵ An example is the vase by Lydos illustrated in Jackson, *op. cit.* (see n. 2 above) fig. 11 Florence 70995.

as a bridge between the two sharply divided halves of the shoulder. The use of a dinos below each handle in the komos scene of **20** likewise separates and bridges the two sides of that vase.

The most common scene with human figures is that of komasts, often holding oinochoai and drinking cups, sometimes set around a large dinos occasionally accompanied by a flute player. The komasts wear loincloths except for two naked ones holding oinochoai on **9** and **19**. On some komasts, especially those which seem jerky in appearance and often are found in narrow friezes, this loincloth is rather ill-fitting. Because such komasts appear often on the shoulder of vases, and in one case (**9**) they are found together with an animal chase still on the belly, they can be taken as an earlier type of komast by this painter. The loincloth is commonly enhanced with an added purple blob over the black paint. Komasts are shown at times with crossed straps on their chests, as on **9**, **12**, **13**, **22**, and **26**.²⁶ Sometimes these dancers are also bearded and wear fillets or head bands, for example, on **13**. As the Altenburg Painter matures full komast scenes tend to disappear from his work and are replaced by groups with four komasts on the shoulder or just one or two komasts between volutes on the belly.

The use of komasts for vase decoration continued to be popular in Attic vase-painting into the second half of the sixth century.²⁷ This is the most likely source of influence for the Fikellura scenes. Komasts as well appear in small numbers in Clazomenian or related black figure²⁸ and for a time were popular on Chian black-figure chalices.²⁹ Their appearance on Fikellura therefore is not unusual or unexpected. The costume of the komasts, with only a kind of loincloth rather than chiton, perhaps points towards a period of contact with Athenian vase-painting when the komasts were shedding the more complex costume for a simpler one, or for total nudity.

Scenes of banqueting are much less common, appearing certainly only once, on **17**, and possibly also on **11**. On side **B** of the shoulder of **11** is a figure (to left but looking back) with cloak draped over the head, presumably a woman, and a naked male figure (to left) holding a long thin object at eye-level, possibly tying a fillet around his head. It seems most likely that these are figures at a banquet.³⁰

Mythological figures occur on very few vases attributed to the Altenburg Painter. On **8** the winged figures have been called Boreads, but they may simply be 'demons'.³¹ The winged figure on **32** fills the central panel of an oinochoe. No attributes are preserved which would help identify the figure, though the krobylos may suggest it is female. It should perhaps be

²⁶ It is possible these straps represent drinking garlands (hypothymis), as mentioned in Athenaios 15.674c, d, 678d. Other Fikellura figures with these straps are on **52**; **63** (where they are apparent on one maenad, *Dacia* ns 6 (1962) 463; on the pygmies of the Rubensohn vase (*Samos* VI, i no. 613 pl. 84)); and **32**. These last two examples are the only occasions where the figures are not participants in drinking bouts and therefore the straps may not represent drinking garlands. The maenad on **63** should be an imbibor like the komasts. Single straps across the chest are usual on Chian black-figure chalices with komasts, and wreaths around the neck or on the arm are found on Attic, as *CVA* Metropolitan Museum New York (4) pl. 14.3.

²⁷ J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (London 1974) 209, bibliography p. 239. Also G. Franzius, *Tänzer und Tänze in der archaische Vasenmalerei* (Göttingen 1973) 71-9 for East Greek examples.

²⁸ Cook, *BSA* 47 (1952) no. C.II.16-18, 21, C.IV.2, D.2, D.c, F.23.

²⁹ Boardman, *Excavations in Chios 1952-1955, Greek Emporio* (Oxford 1967) 158, c.580-550 BC or later.

³⁰ Compare the far right edge of one of the fragments with banqueters, from Cyprus, no. 17, *Samos* VI, i no. 109 pl. 13. Here what looks like an arm and hand hold up an object, not likely to be a cup. Note also the banquet scene in the tomb-painting from Karaburun with a hooded woman holding fillets, *AJA* 77 (1973) pl. 44. Women with a head-dress are seen on the wall-paintings at Gordion, *From Athens to Gordion*, K. DeVries (ed.) (Philadelphia 1980), 98 fig. 5, and at Karaburun (above) in a banqueting context. For East Greek and Cypriote examples of 'veils' combined with ear-rings, see Hemelrijk, *BABesch* 38 (1963) 38-40. The poorly preserved fragment **69**, may have had a garment over the head also.

³¹ Payne suggested Artemis holding a lion and a female votary as a possibility for this vase, but the curling line in the right corner will not do for a lion's tail. Cook, *FP* 6, 68.

taken, as with the figure wearing a long chiton on **46** and another winged female figure on an Ionian Little Masters cup,³² simply as a 'demon' of unknown character.³³

It is difficult to restore the scene on the shoulder of side A on **11**. The paint was already badly flaked when the vase was found and the pieces lost since then force one to rely on earlier photographs. Quite clearly seen on the left side is a figure running to left with his back hand visible and some object between his hand and backward stretched leg. To the right of this figure is a pair of legs sharply bent to left at the ankles and knees. One guess is that this is a scene of Perseus making off with the head of Medusa (who collapses behind him) in a sack under his arm. The theme of Perseus and Medusa is not unusual in East Greek art though on other Fikellura vases there is only one figure that might be a Gorgon (**46**) and one Gorgoneion (**64**).³⁴

Another fragment (**18**) has a figure wearing a cap with a coiled snake on it, presumably an Egyptian pharaoh if this is a Uraeus or serpent helmet, most likely Busiris.³⁵ Another fragment also probably by this painter has a rather shy-looking satyr (**36**). The satyr would suit the generally tame figure style of the Altenburg Painter in contrast to the fierce figures of the Painter of the Running Satyrs. Otherwise satyrs and centaurs do not appear in the Altenburg Painter's work.

FIGURE STYLE

The animals on the Altenburg Painter's vases always appear well proportioned, lively, and alert. Whether running or walking, the animals convey a good sense of motion. In the running animals, mostly in chase scenes of goats, hares, and dogs on the belly, only one foreleg is shown, lifted well off the ground; rear legs are on the ground pushing off. Walking animals are normally found in pairs (dogs, lions, panthers, sphinxes) on the shoulder attacking some prey, with three legs on the ground, one foreleg raised. The far legs are in advance of the near legs. The panther as usual has frontal head; the lions have jaws open, once shown biting a victim; dogs have mouth closed. The victim (deer, goat, bull, boar) is depicted with thin, delicate legs, the front ones collapsing under the animal (except for the boar which meets the lion's attack). Sometimes the head is turned back, which enhances the sense of weakness in the figure.

All the animals have two reserved lines on the rear haunch, and for walking animals, a reserved line to separate the two rear legs. Lions, dogs, panthers, and deer have a reserved belly stripe; the deer are given reserved spots. Goats usually have a reserved belly, but on **34** there is only a thin reserved line at the belly. The griffins and sphinxes on **1** and **5** have the usual lion body, including a knob at the end of the tail. Near forelegs of lions, panthers, and dogs have a reserved line ending in a hook near the body, far forelegs often are set off from the

³² *Samos VI*, i no. 424a pl. 47.

³³ As Pruglo identified it, *K3* 156 (1978) 46.

³⁴ An East Greek plate, which Cook calls transitional to Fikellura, possibly shows Perseus running with a basket, Cook, *FP* 60 n. 2 pl. 19. The basket though looks too small for a Gorgon's head to fit in it and the 'wings' on his boots may simply be 'tongues' front and back. If so, this may be a hunter, as Schiering proposed, *Werkstätten orientalisierender Keramik auf Rhodos* (Berlin 1957) 106. The theme also occurs on a tomb-painting from Kızıbel, *AJA* 74 (1970) pl. 61 fig. 29, where Medusa is shown with her two offspring. A Gorgon on a plate from Rhodes is depicted as 'Mistress of Birds', *A748*, P. Arias, M. Hirmer, and B. Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* (London 1962) pl. 29.

³⁵ Cook, *FP* 19. The headpiece is an apt rendition of the

Pharaonic crown by a Greek artist, perhaps even by one who had seen Egyptian depictions of it; cf. J. Laver, *Costume in Antiquity* (London 1964) 29 no. 4. Busiris is the only Egyptian monarch to appear regularly in Greek art, in the episode with Heracles. For other vases with the Busiris myth, see F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage* 3rd edn. (Marburg 1973) 34-6. Brommer recently noted in a paper in Amsterdam (Symposium, Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam 1984, *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, abstracts), the appropriateness of the Busiris depiction for this vase found in Egypt. This may be true, but it is the only piece of Fikellura from among many found in Egypt that has an Egyptian theme, while other Fikellura vases with animal headed humans, possibly also an Egyptian theme, were found at Berezan (no. 60) and Rhodes (Cook, *FP* L3).

body by a short reserved line. A partially preserved animal at the far right of the belly of **9** appears to have a hare's hind leg but a goat's or deer's foreleg; in fact the sherd is broken off just here, but it probably showed the hare's foreleg overlapping the hind leg of a deer or goat. This overlapping is common in the dog-hare chase of **2**.

A strongly curved line delimits the shoulder of most animals. Paws are shown with two short reserved lines to denote the toes. The ears for deer, goats, and hares often curve out directly from the head rather than having a short bridge before widening, and the interior is often reserved. Lions and dogs have a kind of heart-shaped ear, although the dogs may vary from pricked up as on **2**, to laid back. There are two lines across the neck of the dogs at the throat usually joining the ear. Cook called these a collar, though it is more likely they simply mark the bend of head from neck.³⁶ These lines normally continue right into the line for the ear, including the 'v' at the centre of the ear. The boar on **2** side A has similar double lines on the neck. On **8** the dog on the belly has a simple oval ear with no lines across the throat.

The painter at times overlaps the feet of his animals in the chases on the belly, just as he sometimes does with the feet of his komasts. On two occasions in shoulder scenes he completes the extended parts of the prey animal, despite the difficulty in understanding the drawing. So, the horn of the goat on side B of **3** curves round and ends below the jaw of the right dog, and the tail of the bull on side A of the same vase ends on the ground below the lion's foreleg.

Eyes are normally quite small, except for hares', which are large and round. An iris is always shown, and sometimes a tear-duct. Eyebrows are simple straight lines above or behind the eye.

The pizzle is normally shown for goat, deer, bull, and boar and on **4** both pizzle and scrotum.

Added purple is found commonly on the rump and shoulder of the animals.

The most common bird found on these vases is the partridge, of a type quite recognizable in western Turkey still (*Alektoris graeca chukar*). It is usually drawn in procession, at times with head turned back. **53** is decorated like late vases by the Altenburg Painter but with a single partridge between volutes on the belly instead of a komast. This partridge, however, varies from the normal Altenburg type. It is a bit squatter and has a reserved area more confined to the belly than reaching to the breast. The reserved line from the neck does not meet the reserved belly area and lines across the belly are zigzags instead of chevrons. This bird is closer to ones probably not by the Altenburg Painter.³⁷ The water birds on the shoulder of **1** are little more than space fillers. The tails of these birds are rather blunt, something like the bird on **54**.

Human figures vary according to the care given them by the artist, and presumably also the stage in the artist's career when they were done. Large groups of komasts on the shoulder or the belly, as on the Altenburg vase, tend to be jerky in pose, at times carelessly rendered, and of little individual interest. As the number of komasts becomes restricted to four or two there is a tendency to arrange them symmetrically on the vase, in a calmer pose with one knee on the ground and one hand raised with a cup. A large dinos or pithos, whether on the ground or on an ornate stand, becomes a focus of attention for these komos scenes. The artist attempts

³⁶ Cook, *FP* 62 n. 10.

³⁷ These include, *ibid.* C5 (*BIABulg* 23 (1960) 241 no. 4 fig. 1.4), F3 (*CVA BM* (8) pl. 575.7), and F4; Diehl, *AA* (1964) 585-6 no. 63 fig. 42 (*Samos VI*, i no. 110 pl. 13); Wintermeyer, *Ist Mitt* 30 (1980) 160 no. 257 pl. 53. Cook, *Clazomenian Sarcophagi* (Mainz/Rhein 1981) 125 n. 114, lists other representations in East Greek art, especially on terracottas. A. Åkerström, *Die architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens* (Lund

1966) 218, notes that processing partridges are South Ionian typically. On architectural terracottas, the processions normally include partridges with their chicks, as Åkerström, figs. 35.1-2, 67.3-4 pl. 59.1. A partridge is also found on the tomb-painting at Karaburun, *AJA* 78 (1974) pl. 70 fig. 19, in close association with a cock, hen, and dog. It may be a kind of pet, or at least household animal.

one complex pose (symplegma), the pick-a-back figures on **17**. It is rather unsuccessful, perhaps partly because it is difficult to overlap figures in the reserving technique.

The faces on Altenburg Painter figures, when carefully done, are quite broad with a continuous slope from the forehead to the tip of the nose, a short upper lip, and pointed but well-proportioned chin. The eye is normally set well forward away from the hair-line. It is often large with large iris, but this can vary. An attempt is made at times to show the tear-duct. The eyebrows are straight or with slight double curve above the eye, rarely curving down at all between the eye and the bridge of the nose. The reserved line at the nostril is crook-shaped and regularly reaches out to the edge of the lip. Ears can vary in size and shape, usually being oval with a sideburn coming well down beside the ear. Beards are not common but when found they are long and pointed. Moustaches do not occur.

Arms are swung away from the body to avoid overlapping with the torso. Once, on a komast carrying an oinochoe on **19**, there appears to be a short reserved line at both armpits just as on figures of the Vineyard Group (see n. 146 below, Vineyard cup and Rubensohn vase). However, close inspection reveals that the left armpit has no reserved line at all on **19**, and the right one seems to have an accidentally reserved line rather than a deliberate one. This komast is a rare naked one, but it has a short reserved line at the waist and curved reserved line below the near raised leg just as the winged figure on **8**. Very few figures have both feet flat on the ground. Instead legs are sharply bent in a stepping or dancing pose.

Drapery by the Altenburg Painter is best seen in banquet scenes and scenes from myth. His most careful rendering is found on **17**. Here the long fine chiton is set off from the heavy himation by being left reserved. Crinkly folds falling from the gather at the shoulder are indicated by fine, thin, wavy lines down the chest. Folds of the himation are indicated by three reserved lines which begin at the shoulder, one of which ends near the waist, the other two continue down the garment to the ankle. Banqueting couches on this vase are decorated with carefully done wavy line, open cable, and broken meander patterns. Pillows have a fringe on one corner.

The flautist on **17** is draped and has long hair, suggesting the figure is female. Otherwise it is rendered like the flautists in komos scenes, with the further arm shown directly behind the nearer arm and indicated only by a careful outline. The second leg of one banqueter is rendered in the same way. Gestures of the banqueters are more subdued. The faces are of Altenburg type. The only figure facing to right is perhaps female, with long hair. The chitons on the female figures of **8** and **46** have outlined hems going up the slit in the front and a kind of belt or roll at the waist.³⁸ Loops or gathers along the sleeve are seen on **8**, and in a simple way on **17**. The hooded or veiled figure in the upper frieze of **11** has no other parallel in Fikellura or Clazomenian pottery but is found in other art from the East Greek area at this time.³⁹

The Uraeus or snake helmet worn by the figure on **18** is a special accoutrement, no doubt to identify the figure. The snake is coiled in the same way as those on **64**, but it is much less dangerous looking.

ORNAMENT

Filling ornament (FIG. 1)⁴⁰

The Altenburg Painter follows the Wild Goat tradition in regularly using filling ornament in his figured scenes. This is in contrast to the later Painter of the Running Satyrs who uses it

³⁸ For the slit in the dress, note Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems* (London 1968) 28 n. 7.

³⁹ See n. 30 above.

⁴⁰ See Cook, *FP* 69–70.

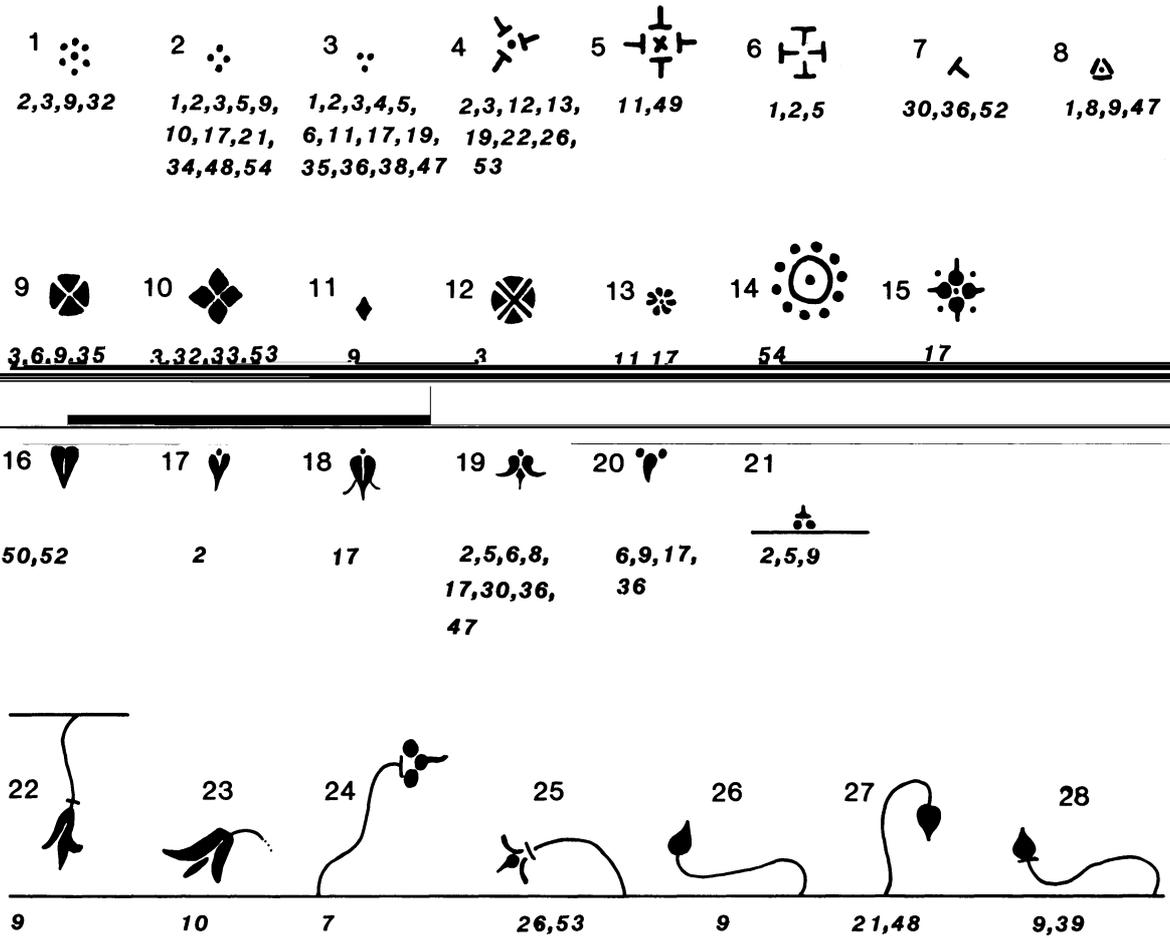


FIG. 1. Altenburg Painter. Filling ornament

rarely. Unlike the earlier tradition, however, the Altenburg Painter uses smaller ornaments and scatters them more sparsely among the figures. On his most careful vase (17), the filling ornament is neater and more varied, including seven-segment rosettes (FIG. 1.13), pendent buds with spikes (FIG. 1.18), and a four-ball ornament with spikes (FIG. 1.15).

Band decoration

Band decoration includes both dividing bands (FIG. 2)⁴¹ and what may be called primary and secondary bands (FIGS. 3-5).⁴² Single rows of billets are the most common way of separating larger zones of decoration, but in one case, a double row of billets (FIG. 2.4) is used which otherwise occurs very rarely on Fikellura.⁴³

Cable patterns are the usual primary decoration on necks of amphorae (see FIG. 3). Purple is often added to occasional dots of the cable, but it is usually faded and hard to make out.

The most typical Fikellura ornament, found on the belly of vases, is the band of crescents,

⁴¹ Cook, *FP* 71.

⁴² *Ibid.* 71-8.

⁴³ See n. 21 above.

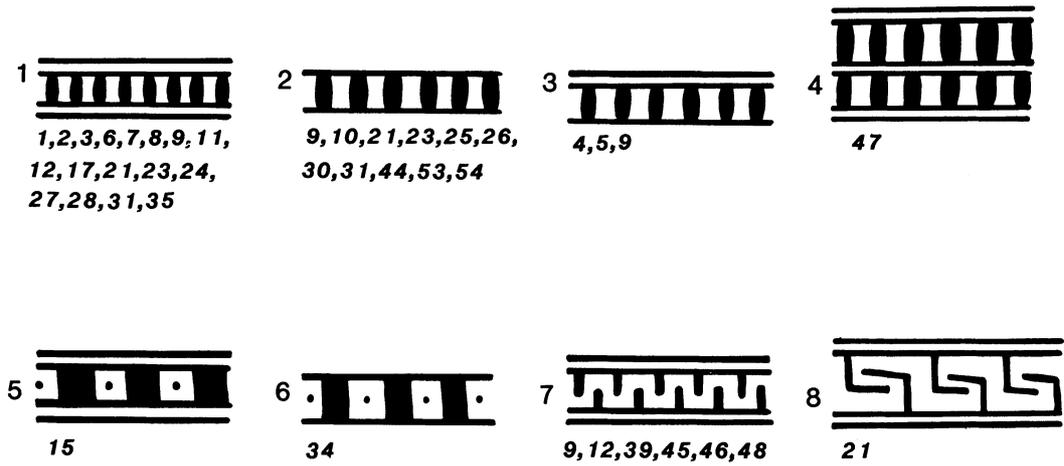


FIG. 2. Altenburg Painter. Dividing bands

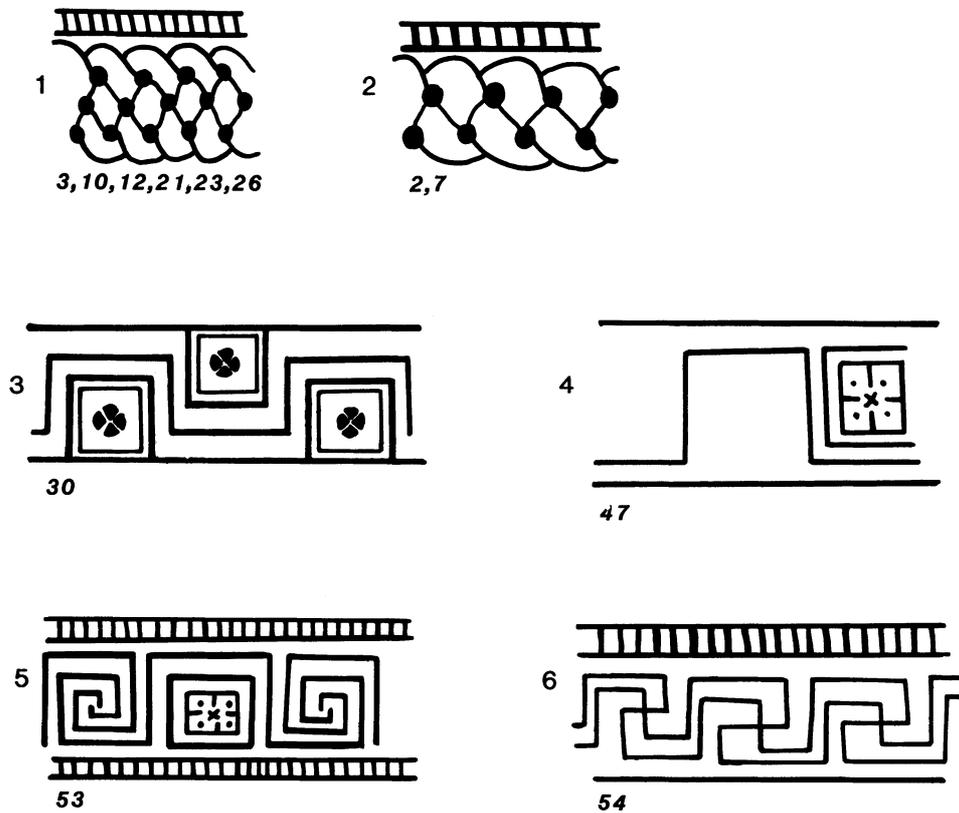


FIG. 3. Altenburg Painter. Neck decoration

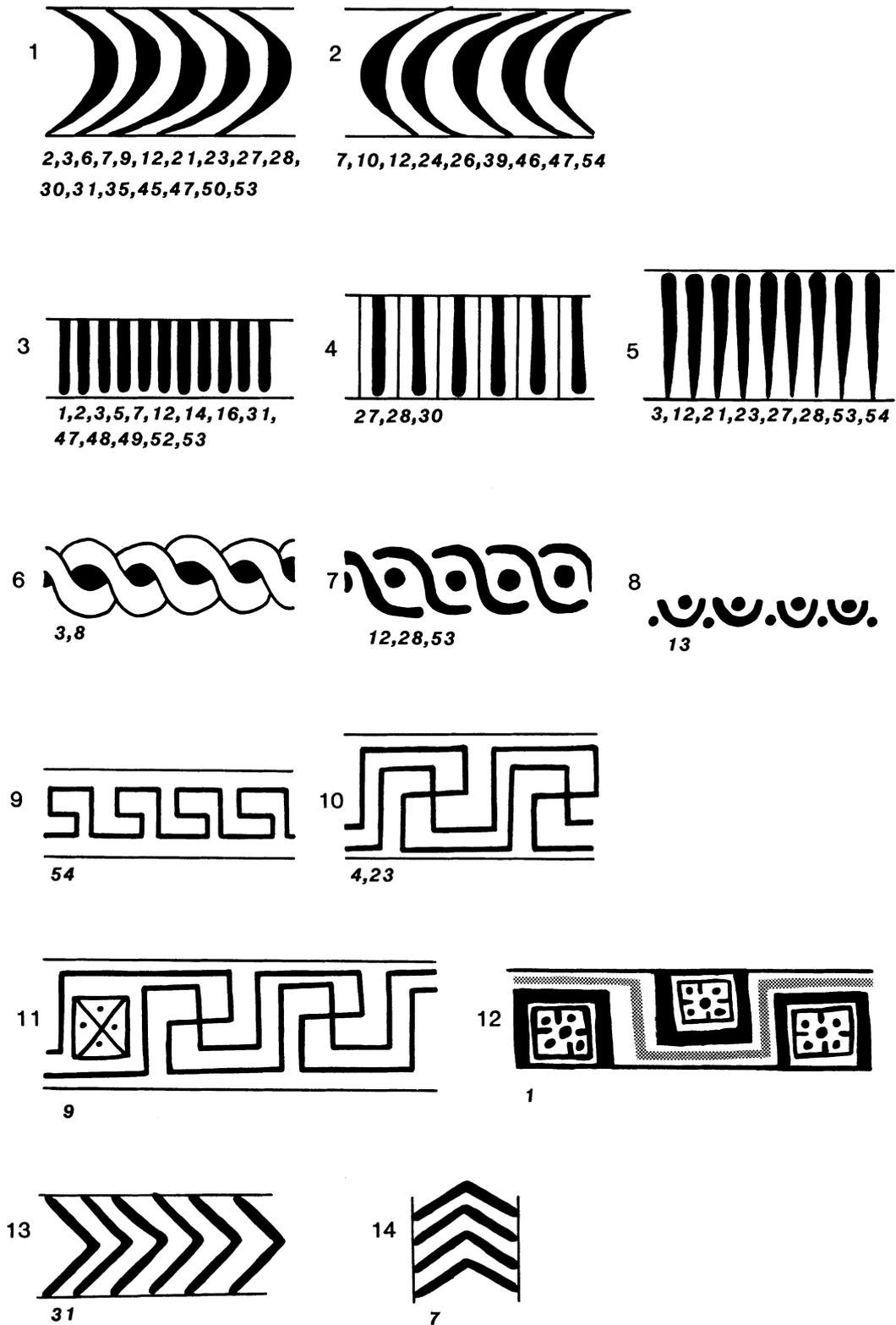


FIG. 4. Altenburg Painter. Band decoration

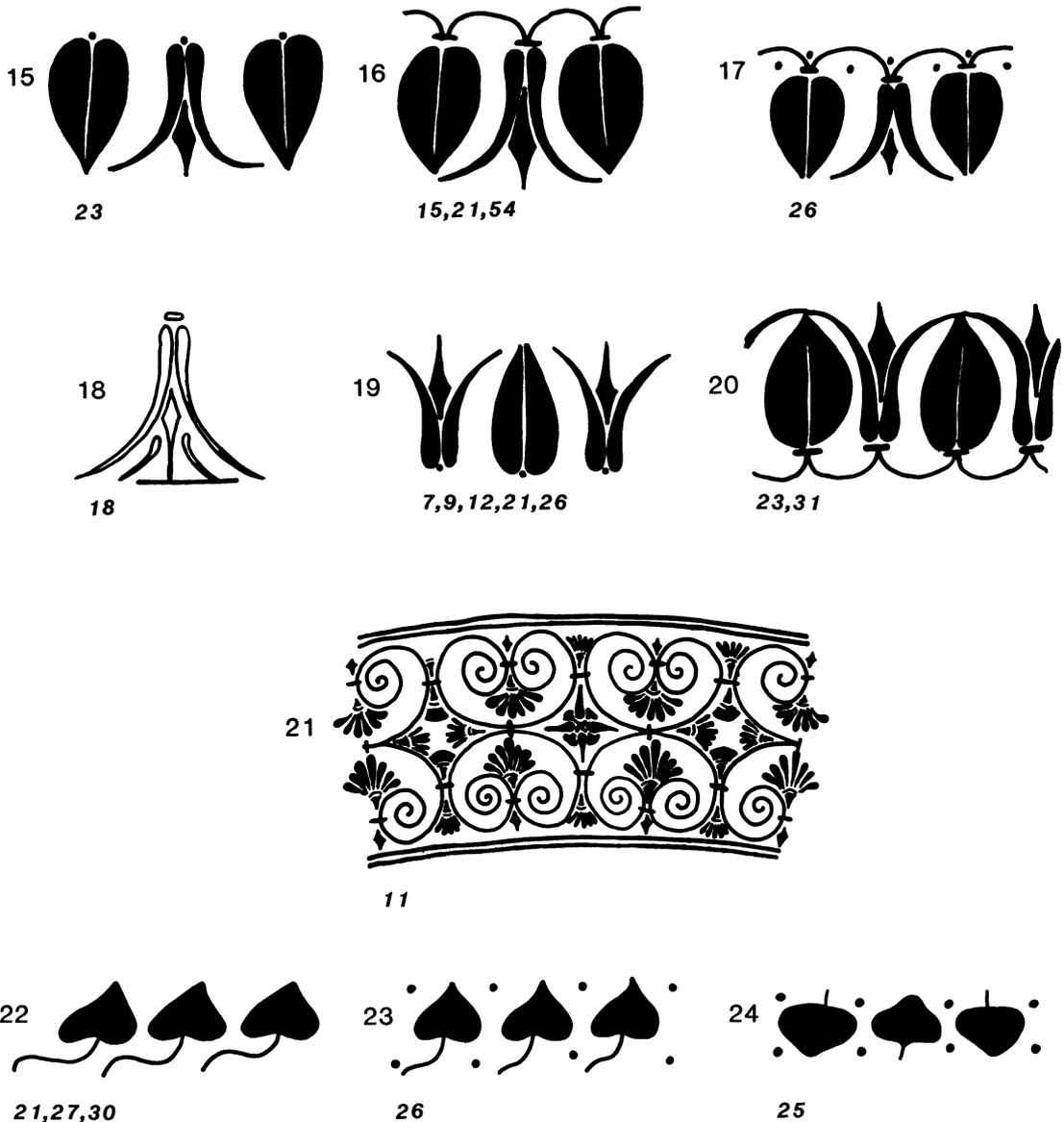


FIG. 5. Altenburg Painter. Band decoration

either curving right (FIG. 4.1) or curving left (FIG. 4.2). As with the cable and tongue patterns occasional crescents may be painted over with purple.

Tongues on the shoulder are common, but they are usually thin, crowded in, and carelessly drawn. They are revived somewhat on late vases by the Altenburg Painter when they are put in compartments (FIG. 4.4).

The single cable pattern (FIG. 4.6) occurs on early vases and becomes an open cable (FIG. 4.7) on later ones. Though only partly preserved, there seems to be a cable pattern with dots in the angles on 13 (FIG. 4.8) as is found in the Late Wild Goat style.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ See Cook, *FP* 71-2 fig. 11.3.



FIG. 6. Altenburg Painter. Handle volutes

The double volute complex (FIG. 5.21) is the most complicated floral pattern attempted by this painter.⁴⁵ Not unexpectedly it occurs on the vase with the most complex human figure scenes as well, though unfortunately poorly preserved. The artist has doubled the more common single enclosed palmette band and filled some of the lozenge-shaped spaces between volutes with a complex star ornament.

Ivy leaves (FIG. 5.22-4) appear first on the shoulder of the Altenburg amphora, although they are found on the lip of one or possibly two amphorae by other painters that have animal scenes on the shoulder.⁴⁶ The motif is appropriate with the komos scenes so common on his later vases. In each case the ivy occurs directly above komasts. A branch intruding into the left side of the komos scene on no. 13 may likewise be ivy in imitation of Attic black-figure drinking scenes with ivy which begin about this time. A small fragment with a komast (to left) in the Miletus Museum also has an ivy branch (almost vertical) on it.

On **32** vertical lines and a vertical row of bars are used to outline the central panel (as FIG. 10.3). This system of decoration is found on a group of oinochoai, Cook's Group S, which appear to imitate a bird's wings and feathers.

Handle volutes (FIG. 6)

Later vases by this painter commonly have volutes extending across the belly in both directions from the base of the handle. They are boldly, but not carefully done, probably being used as easy space fillers. The volutes appear as though they grow organically out of the handle, just as in Attic handle volute complexes, from which they are in all likelihood taken. He adds a solid lozenge filler in the angle between spiral volute and stem, or sometimes a reserved lozenge or even a little lotus on a stem (**26**). The volute on **46** must have been a little different since the spiral tendril curls in the opposite direction from normal.

VASE SHAPES⁴⁷

Amphora

This is the most common shape in the Fikellura style, and the one most often decorated by the Altenburg Painter. The shape may have gone through a short period of experimentation

⁴⁵ For volute patterns, see Cook, *FP* 79-82.

⁴⁶ Cook's D1 and E1, *FP* 74. Ivy leaves are common on the

lip of Ionian Little Masters cups and also on various Attic vases earlier than Fikellura.

⁴⁷ Id. *FP* 54-60.

before settling down to the standard wide-bodied, flat-shouldered vessel with echinoid lip, simple ring base, and three-reed handles.⁴⁸ **2**, with early animal scenes, has a narrower, ovoid body, while **3** and **34** (if **34** is from an amphora) have more rounded shoulders. However, Fikellura amphorae were often not very carefully made, and do not show much change over time.

Amphoriskos

An amphoriskos, **34a** is decorated with a dog-hare chase on the belly probably by the Altenburg Painter. The vase dates to about 540 BC. Its lower belly is quite full, similar to amphoriskoi of Cook's shape (a), for example his Y13, an early vase with decoration suiting that of the Altenburg workshop.⁴⁹

One fragment (**25**) is described as being from a 'miniature' amphora;⁵⁰ unfortunately no measurements are given for it. If it is not from a full-size amphora, it may be from an amphoriskos, though an oinochoe may be as likely. **19**, with an estimated belly diameter of only 0.130 m, seems likely to be from an amphoriskos.

The Fikellura amphoriskos appears about the same time as the Clazomenian slim amphora, which is likewise a slimmed-down version of the amphora.⁵¹ The Clazomenian examples date as early as c.540 BC. They were found in some numbers at Tell Defenneh, while Fikellura amphoriskoi were absent from this site.

Stamnos (FIG. 12)

Only two complete stamnoi have been preserved, one by the Altenburg Painter (**7**), the other by the Painter of the Running Satyrs (**63**). A third vase preserved only in two small shoulder fragments is thought to be from a stamnos.⁵² Both complete vases are rather small, like oinochoai, rising to about two-thirds the height of amphorae. The Altenburg Painter's vase has a more ovoid body compared to most amphorae, almost no necking ring, shorter neck, and straight lip. The handle is an oval ring set in another ring on the shoulder, though not free to move. The handle is no doubt copied from metal prototypes, as the shape itself may be.⁵³ This shape makes its first appearance here, not being found in Wild Goat. The body is similar in shape to the amphora, **2**, more so than the later stamnos by the Painter of the Running Satyrs, **63**. It perhaps is as early or almost as early in date as **2**.

Oinochoe

Two examples of this shape are by the Altenburg Painter, **1** and **32**. Another oinochoe belonging in Cook's Group B, not far from him was found at Miletus.⁵⁴ **1** is related to **2** in shape, with ovoid body and rounded shoulder. The similar animal friezes suggest they were made about the same time. **32** is very fragmentary, but from its decoration it should be a late example of Group S, like **59**.

⁴⁸ Jackson, *op. cit.* (see n. 2 above) 13-37, argued that the Fikellura amphora with wide shoulder and three-reed handles was the model for Attic neck amphorae which appeared early in the second half of the sixth century. His arguments are in need of further support since much Fikellura should be down-dated by a decade or so, and also since the amphora was a rare East Greek shape with very few East Greek, particularly South Ionian, antecedents. Furthermore, the ornament below the handles on Fikellura is, I think, found earlier on Attic than

Fikellura and therefore if anything probably owed its origin to Attic.

⁴⁹ Cook, *FP* 58-9 pl. 15b.

⁵⁰ X. Gorbukova, *SGE* 27 (1964) 38.

⁵¹ Cook, *BSA* 47 (1952) 130.

⁵² E. Diehl, *AA* (1964) 585-6 no. 63 fig. 42.

⁵³ Simon and Hirmer, *op. cit.* (see n. 2 above) 56.

⁵⁴ *IstMitt* 23-4 (1973: 4) no. 89 pl. 27.

One-handed cup with splaying sides

3 is a wall fragment of very narrow diameter, whose sides flare out to the lip. Examples with a simple band or two of decoration are quite common in the East Greek area,⁵⁵ but only one complete example decorated in the Fikellura style has been excavated as far as I know.⁵⁶

RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY

The earliest vases by the Altenburg Painter have figured friezes on both the shoulder and belly, both of which are filled with animals, carnivores with prey on the shoulder and dog-hare-goat chase on the belly. This is a revival of the earlier Wild Goat style animal scenes. The partridges as the sole figure decoration on **7** are new, but may be almost as early as the carnivore scenes. As interest in these animals waned, the artist changed to human figure scenes, putting such scenes on the shoulder and keeping a dog-hare-goat chase on the belly. On a more ornate vase (**11**), the shoulder is taken up with a different human figure scene on each side, a complex floral pattern in the upper belly and a komos scene for at least part of the frieze below. This no doubt was a special vase and not often repeated.

The wider zone of the belly began to attract the artist as he matured. In one case (**19**) he put a continuous frieze of komasts there and filled the shoulder with subsidiary ornament. But the effort of filling an entire belly zone with figures may have proved too time-consuming with too little variety in the figures, so that this was shortly abandoned. Instead a limited number of figures (komasts) was either put into the long panels on the shoulder, or in a zone on the belly which was delimited by long volutes growing from the base of the handles. On the Philadelphia amphora (**12**) the shoulder panels are not entirely limited by the handles. A seemingly old-fashioned dog and hare are squeezed in just below the handles on the shoulder, drawing the eye around to the other side. Komasts which appear on the shoulder of vases having an animal chase still on the belly or which appear in continuous friezes around the belly are quite different from the komasts in small groups on the shoulder or between volutes on the belly. The latter are often posed on one knee, and appear less jerky, more mature in type. The former are smaller in size, more energetic in appearance, but often not as carefully done.

The face of the winged female on **32** is of the mature or late type by the Altenburg Painter. This agrees with the appearance of the two heads painted on the neck of this vase which, with the similar oinochoe by the Painter of the Running Satyrs, **59**, should belong late in the series of these Group S vases. The filling ornament, mostly quadrant lozenges, shows little variety and is unusually obtrusive on **32**.

CATALOGUE

PAINTER OF THE RUNNING SATYRS

55 Histria, inv. V 19996. Neck and shoulder fragments. D. (base of neck) 0.105 m. Neck: triple cable. Shoulder: tongues, hand and beard of aulos player (to right), centaur (to left) with human forelegs, arm(?) of a third figure.

Purple on occasional tongues, on front hair, beards, thigh, and human genital area.

Histria IV no. 159 bis pl. 16; B. Schiffler, *Die Typologie des Kentauren in der antiken Kunst* (Frankfurt 1976) 93 no. O6

⁵⁵ See *IstMitt* 25 (1975) 43 fig. 8 or *ibid.* 29 (1979) 148 fig. 18. For examples of the shape in Chian, see Boardman, *op. cit.* (see n. 29 above), 123 nos. 284-345 162 nos. 772-4. Cups from Samos have a ring base and rounded belly, *AM* 95 (1980) 218, 220 fig. 22 nos. IV/1-4.

⁵⁶ Kiev Historical Museum, from Olbia. Ht. 0.115. F. M.

Shtitelman, *Antique Art* (Kiev 1977) no. 12 colour pl. This cup has a meander cross around the base, as **4**, but 'eyes' at pressed-in edges of the lip, and grape vine all around the middle. For a fragment with figured decoration perhaps from a cup, see *IstMitt* 29 (1979) 105 pl. 24.4.

pl. 9; *Samos VI*, i no. 609 pl. 83 (mistakenly recomposed with *Histria IV* no. 156).

PLATE 16a.

- 56 *Histria* Museum, MIRS 16755, from *Histria*. Shoulder and belly fragments. MPD. 0.195 m. Shoulder: pendent lotus and bud band, three centaurs (to left) attacking with branches (the first is wounded by two arrows in the arm and one in the rump; the second has tree roots(?) in front of its face; the third is missing its hind legs at the edge of the shoulder panel. A water bird stretches below each centaur. Meander. Belly: woman(?) (to right), pomegranate tree. (Another fragment with a bulrush(?) (*Histria IV* pl. 16, bottom centre) cannot now be located.)

Purple on front hair, on long lock below the ear, moustache (of two of the centaurs), and horse shoulder of the centaurs, also streams of blood from wounds, stems of branches and pomegranates, and two folds of the woman's himation. Two holes drilled in the largest fragment are apparently ancient.

Histria IV no. 160 pl. 16; Schiffler (see 55 above) 93-4 no. O7; *Samos VI*, i no. 111 pl. 14.

- 57 *Samos K* (now lost). Shoulder fragment. Pendent lotus and bud band, centaur or satyr (to left), two fingers of second figure behind.

Purple on central petal of lotus, perhaps on bud, on front hair, and on moustache of centaur or satyr.

FP K6; *Samos VI*, i no. 112 pl. 14.

- 58 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 321.15, from Naucratis. Shoulder fragment. L. 0.049 m. Pendent lotus and bud chain, alternating strokes, head of woman(?) (to right) with castanets(?).

Purple dots on buds.

FP K5 pl. 8c.

- 59 Leningrad, O1 1914.N224, from Olbia. Oinochoe neck and shoulder fragment. Neck: heads of two women facing a lotus with volute stem. Shoulder: pendent lotus and bud chain with dots along the chain, open cable, head of a komast(?) (to right) in central panel, flanked by vertical bands of strokes, horizontal bars, horizontal wide bars, alternate dots, horizontal bars.

FP S12 fig. 6; *Samos VI*, i no. 600 pl. 87; A. Kocybala, *Greek Colonization on the North Shore of the Black Sea in the Archaic Period*. University of Pennsylvania, Ph.D. dissertation 1978 (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan) p. 268 n. 430 fig. 35.

PLATE 16b.

- 60 Odessa, from Berezan. Shoulder and belly fragment. Winged dog-headed man (to right) looking back while climbing volute and palmette complex.

FP K9; I. Fabritsius (see 48 above) 59 fig. 18 (sketch of entire fragment); *Samos VI*, i no. 639 pl. 87.

- 61 ?, from Olbia (temenos) (O/59 no. 2531). Shoulder fragment. MPD. c.0.105 m. Pendent bud chain (every second one joined), lion (to left) looking back.

E. I. Levi, in *Ol'viya, Temenos i Agora* (Moscow-Leningrad 1964) 157, 160 fig. 29.

- 62 Alexandria 9323, from Naucratis. Shoulder and upper belly fragment. Pendent bud chain, woman(?) (to left), edge of volute.

Purple on hem of sleeve, white dot rosettes.

FP K8 pl. 10e.

- 63 National History Museum, Bucharest, formerly *Histria* MIRS 16751 (V 10002). Stamnos. Ht. 0.210 m, d.

(mouth) 0.090 m, d. (belly) 0.190 m. Neck: chevron band on the lip, quintuple cable. Belly: pendent bud chain, side A: satyr chasing maenad (to right), B: satyr chasing maenad (to left). Maenads have head turned back. Volute and palmette below each handle.

Purple on buds, palmettes, front hair, beard, long tresses (on satyrs) below ear, and crossed chest strap (on side A maenad?) Incision for some details.

Dimitriu, *Dacia* NS 6 (1962) 457-67; *Samos VI*, i no. 640 pls. 83, 88; *Histria IV* no. 175 pl. 19.

- 64 *Samos*. Fragmentary cup. D. c.0.250-0.270 m; d. (tondo) 0.095 m. Interior: band of dolphins (to left), band of winged 'demons' (to left), Gorgoneion in the tondo, dot-and-billet between each band. Exterior: lip: floral-volute band; handle zone: naked komasts both sides with volute patterns near handles, alternate square pattern, floral-volute band, tongues.

Purple on mouth and ear-ring of Gorgoneion, white dots on snakes, purple on hair, shoulder, and lower wing of 'demons', on hair of komasts, and occasional tongues. Incision for hair of Gorgoneion, eye and mouth of snakes. It appears from the photograph that the nostril of the komast on the exterior may also be incised.

FP X1; *Samos VI*, i 22 no. 335 fig. 27 pl. 40.

PLATE 16c, d.

- 65 *Samos*. Belly fragments. MPD. 0.050 m, 0.044 m. Two cloaked figures (to right), one naked figure (to left).

Trace of purple (?) on one garment. *Samos VI*, i no. 117 pl. 15.

PLATE 16e.

- 66 Rhodes 12396, from Camirus (Makri Langoni). Amphoriskos. Ht. 0.322 m, d. (rim) 0.068 m, d. (belly) 0.145 m. Neck: quadruple cable. Shoulder: pendent bud chain, eight-segment rosettes. Belly, side A: seated bearded banqueter (to right) holding very long rhyton; side B: standing warrior (to right). Volute and palmette complex below each handle; two black bands with thin purple one between on lower belly.

FP Y12 pl. 12; *Samos VI*, i no. 555 pls. 71-2; D. A. Jackson, *East Greek Influence on Attic Vases* (London 1976) 48-50 fig. 24.

- 67 Rhodes 15387, from Ialysos. Amphoriskos, missing the base. Pres. ht. 0.316 m, d. (rim) 0.065 m, d. (belly) 0.142 m. Decoration as 66 except belly side A: stag (to left) with head turned back, side B: stag (to left).

FP Y12a; *CIRh VIII* figs. 83-5; *Samos VI*, i no. 556 pl. 72.

- 68 Miletus Museum, from Miletus. Belly fragment. L. 0.066 m, w. 0.054 m. Head of a man carrying a hydria (to right). *IstMitt* 9-10 (1959-60) 60 pl. 64.1; G. Kleiner, *Die Ruinen von Milet* 14 fig. 13; *Samos VI*, i no. 676 pl. 87.

PROBABLY BY THE PAINTER OF THE
RUNNING SATYRS

- 69 Izmir(?), from Miletus. Belly fragment. Ornatly dressed woman (to right).

Bericht über d. VI. Internationalen Kongress für Archäologie 1939 (Berlin 1940) pl. 25 bottom right; *CVA BM* (8) 2 K.12.

- 70 Oxford G 120.33, from Naucratis. Shoulder and belly fragment. MPD. 0.090 m. Shoulder: pendent bud chain, billets. Belly: woman's head (to left) with hair streaming back.



FIG. B. 73, Louvre AM.1362

Purple on one bud.

FP K10; *CVA* Oxford (2) pl. 395-53.

- 71 Smyrna 469, from Didyma. Oinochoe shoulder fragment. Woman(?) (to right), vertical band of bars, long bars. *FP* S8 pl. 8*d*; *CVA* BM (8) p. 3; *Samos* VI, i no. 601 pl. 85.

PERHAPS BY THE PAINTER OF THE
RUNNING SATYRS

- 72 Samos, from Pythagorion. Belly fragment. Ht. 0.070 m, l. 0.067 m. Naked komast (to right) jumping over a dinos; tendril of handle volute.

Purple on rump of komast.

R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Das Kastro Tigani, Samos* XIV (Bonn 1974) 146 fig. 234A.

- 73 Louvre AM.1362, from Naucratis. Belly fragment. Head and torso of a komast(?) (to right), arm of second komast(?). *CVA* BM (8) 1 no. J5a.

FIG. B

- 74 Miletus, exc. no. 63 S 73. Shoulder fragment. Ht. 0.067 m. L. 0.065 m. Pendent bud chain (every second one joined), part of unknown figure decoration. *IstMitt* 23-4 (1973-4) 109 no. 125 pl. 30.

ATTRIBUTIONS

The hand of this painter has only recently been distinguished⁵⁷ and a name given to him from the typical satyrs running after maenads on **63**. His two amphoriskoi (**66** and **67**) were long ago recognized by R. M. Cook as being by the same hand.⁵⁸ He also suggested that other amphoriskoi with rosettes on the shoulder but only diagonal decoration on the belly were from the same workshop.⁵⁹ More recently P. Alexandrescu noted that **63** came from the same workshop as the amphoriskoi,⁶⁰ while B. Schiffler believed that the stamnos and shoulder fragments of **56** should be by the same artist.⁶¹ All four of these vases are in fact by the same hand. As evidence that **56** and **63** were painted by the same artist as **66** and **67**, one can

⁵⁷ A group of six vases by this painter was first discussed by the author in a paper in New Orleans, 1980, see *AJA* 85 (1981) 216-17 (abstract). Since then eight more vases have been attributed to his hand, and several others are probably by him.

⁵⁸ Cook, *FP* 48 nos. Y12 and Y12a.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 48 n. 2 nos. Y16, Y18, Y19, Y24.

⁶⁰ *Histria* IV 55 no. 175.

⁶¹ B. Schiffler, *Die Typologie des Kentauren in der antiken Kunst* (Frankfurt 1976) 94 no. O.7.

observe the similarities between the horse part of the centaurs on **56** and the deer on **67**, in the pose of the forelegs, the thick fetlocks, and rounded rumps. Also the eyebrows of all the figures always curve right around the top of the eye (even for the banqueter on **66** though hardly visible in the photograph). The handle ornaments of **63**, **66**, and **67** are closely comparable, with a notable double arc at the base of the palmette leaves. All these vases convey the same fine quality workmanship and lively personality of the artist, distinct from the Altenburg Painter, his predecessor in the Fikellura figure style.

Another vase by the same painter, **64**, was attributed to a proposed Gorgoneion Painter, along with **11**. The attribution of these to one hand cannot be accepted (see p. 258 above).

To the core group of four vases, other pieces can be added on the basis of figure style and decoration. The face of the centaur on **55** and centaur or satyr on **57** have the same distinctive features as those on **56** and **63**. Inner details, particularly of the legs and genital area of figures on **60** and **64**, are found likewise on figures of **55** and **63**.

64, a very unusual cup, is divided into narrow bands of decoration with among other things processions of winged 'demons' and dolphins, and a Gorgoneion in the tondo. The use of incision for some details here can also be found on **63**. The individual lotus flowers with long spiral tendrils seen in the exterior floral band of this cup can be compared with the similar lotus on the neck of **59**.

61 is a little more problematical since it shows a lion in the earlier animal style. But the pendent bud chain and presumably free field decoration, the careful brushwork and the pose of the beast, much like the dog-headed man on **60**, as well as the distinctive eyebrow well down the front of the eye, support the attribution. Details of the cloaked figures on **65** are found on the banqueter of **66**. The rendering of the heads on **58**, **59**, **62**, and **68**, together with the choice of secondary ornament, help in attributing these pieces also to this painter.

The two facing heads on the neck of **59** remind one of the similar heads on the oinochoe by the Altenburg Painter (**32**), but the hand is certainly different.

Not enough is left of **70** and **71** to be sure of an attribution. Both fragments have figures with a krobylos. On **70** the strands of hair continue back almost to where the hair is gathered up on the head, as on **62** and **63**. The figure on **71** has its far shoulder separated from the torso by a reserved line, a characteristic feature of this artist's style.

72-4 have even less to go on, but show some details found on other vases by the Painter of the Running Satyrs, either in rendering of the human figure (**72** and **73**) or in ornament (**74**).

THEMES

Characteristic of this painter is his search for the novel. For the most part he ignores the themes used by the Altenburg Painter, such as animal friezes and komos scenes, and when he does paint them, they are generally in new and different ways. This may be partly because he came after the Altenburg Painter, at a time when these themes were no longer popular, but partly also because of his greater interest in mythical creatures and more individual human figures.

Komasts are rare on his vases, being found on the cup **64** and on a vase possibly by him **72**. Both were likely produced early in his career. Another vase, **59**, may also have a komast on the belly with raised drinking cup. The komasts of **59**(?) and **64** are in conventional poses, though all but the flute player on **64** are naked (see p. 260 above for naked komasts). The figure on **72** is likewise naked, but instead of the normal Altenburg komasts who tamely kneel or at most prance about, this komast leaps over a dinos set on the ground.

Only the cup **64** has an entire frieze of animals, in this case, dolphins. These represent a new species for Fikellura, though they appear in other vase-painting styles at this time, including the Ionian Little Masters cups.⁶² Other animals appear singly on his vases. The lion on **61** owes some debt to the lions of the Altenburg Painter, but it stands by itself in the field, likely on or close to the handle volute, with head turned back, much like the winged dog-headed man on **60**.⁶³

Water birds appear on **56** but only as fillers below the legs of the centaurs. They are simply done and have little interest except as elements of 'landscape'. The stags on either side of the amphoriskos **67** go back to the earlier animal style also. They are no longer part of a group though, the victims of dogs or griffins; instead they are nobly antlered, free spirits in open spaces.

Of greater interest to this painter are figures with partly animal, partly human form. These include centaurs, satyrs, a winged dog-headed man, winged 'demons', and a Gorgoneion. The centaurs on **56** are attacking with branches some now missing adversary, no doubt Herakles. In return they are being shot at with arrows, three of which have hit the lead centaur but not felled him. Blood streams from the wounds. A fourth arrow has struck the ground between the centaurs. This may be a scene of Heracles' adventure with Pholos, depicted in a similar way on a Caeretan hydria.⁶⁴

The other vase which certainly has centaurs, **55** (**57** preserves only the face of a similar creature, but it could be either a centaur or satyr), shows the brighter side of these beings. One centaur(?), now mostly missing, is playing the double aulos while a second listens intently. The rural setting is given by a single small tree in the background. Unlike the centaurs on **56** which have horses' forelegs, on **57** the figure has human legs with the body of the horse awkwardly attached behind. This is an older type, but one which is found still in the second half of the century.⁶⁵ Though now badly preserved at the edge of the fragment, the human genitals were once clearly represented.

The satyrs on **63** have horses' ears, tails, and hooves, and the same semi-human faces with long moustaches and beards as the centaurs. They are naked, as are the maenads, but do not exhibit sexual excitement, nor do they give evidence of having been drinking.

Just as fierce-looking as the centaurs and satyrs is the winged dog-headed man climbing the handle volute complex on **60**. This creature, who snarls as he draws his sword from its sheath, finds no parallel in Greek vase-painting that I know of. Human figures with animal heads do occur occasionally, and one with a hare's head is found on a Fikellura vase by the Running Man painter, Cook's L3. It is possible that these figures are influenced by representations of Egyptian deities though Greek myth and religion had figures of their own with animal heads and human bodies.⁶⁶ A number of Archaic Greek gems perhaps by East Greek artists have men with dogs' heads, carrying weapons, swords, and spears.⁶⁷ None has wings, though other man-monsters are given them.⁶⁸ The most important dog- or jackal-headed Egyptian deity was Anubis, a god of the dead, often black-skinned with bushy tail when shown as a jackal. But he is not depicted with wings or a sword.⁶⁹ Neither the wings nor sword are likely to

⁶² *Samos VI*, i nos. 443, 447, 476, 484. The dolphins on her no. 476 at least represent the Tyrrhenian pirates being changed by Dionysus since some still have human legs.

⁶³ Another amphora shoulder fragment with pendent buds, a handle volute of Altenburg Group type, and deer in the field with two filling ornaments, is not by the same painter as no. 61, but must be close in date, *MIA* 50 (1956) 43 fig. 8.

⁶⁴ Hirschmann collection, H. P. Isler, *Jdl* 98 (1983) 23-8,

31-5 figs. 10, 14-15, with bibliography.

⁶⁵ For East Greek centaurs, see Schiffler, *op. cit.* (see n. 61 above) 91-106, catalogue pp. 285-92.

⁶⁶ P. Bruneau, *BCH* 86 (1962) 217-20.

⁶⁷ Boardman, *op. cit.* (see n. 38 above) nos. 293, 578-9, 589, see pp. 105, 154.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* nos. 354, 575.

⁶⁹ *Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology* (London 1959) colour pl. opposite p. 36 (sixth century BC papyrus).

come from Hermes either, the Greek counterpart of Anubis, later synthesized in the god Hermanubis.⁷⁰ It is probably better to regard the Fikellura figure as another nameless 'demon' of the East Greek world.

The position of the winged creature suggests it is not the central focus for the vase as a whole. Climbing the handle volute it is off-centre and away from the main field of decoration.⁷¹

Figures with wings on heels and back are seen also on **64**. Such 'demons' on Laconian vases may be associated with the dead, as C. M. Stibbe argued, whether as guides for the soul or servers of the dead.⁷² Stibbe thought **64** was clearly influenced by vases of the Laconian Naucratis Painter.⁷³ He pointed out the frieze of komasts on the outside wall, and the dot-and-billet pattern on the inside as Laconian inspired. He also thought that the unusual use of incision may owe something to Laconian influence.⁷⁴ But the feature which was of greater importance to his Laconian connection was the winged 'demons' in a band around the tondo of the cup. The figures around **64** are indeed very similar to the Laconian examples, even having wings which grow from the chest.⁷⁵ On the other hand, all the features on **64** which Stibbe compares to Laconian can also be paralleled on other Fikellura vases or at least in East Greek art.⁷⁶ Stibbe suggested that these winged figures in Archaic art should be taken as Eroses, in the early Greek view of these beings as 'demons' both of love and of death.⁷⁷ But on the Fikellura cup they hold no special objects in their hands and are not closely associated with any other figures. They are represented as male beings, though two similar 'demons' on vases connected with the Altenburg Painter, **32** and **46**, seem to be female from their krobylos and long chiton respectively.

The Gorgoneion in the tondo of **64** is the only one to appear in Fikellura.⁷⁸ Typical for East Greek Gorgoneia at this time is the wreath of snakes around the head.⁷⁹ The ear-ring or ear-plug seems odd on such a monster, but it occurs rather commonly on East Greek depictions of this being.⁸⁰

The range of human figure types on vases by the Painter of the Running Satyrs is as great as that of the Altenburg Painter. Komasts together with an aulos player are found on **64** and likely on **59**.⁸¹ These add nothing new to what the Altenburg Painter had done, though the later painter apparently preferred nude komasts to ones with loincloths. Only the aulos player may have a loincloth on **64**, although the vase is damaged just here. Perhaps also by the

⁷⁰ What are called 'Waffentänzer', two youths with swords and scabbards arranged beside a pithos, are seen on the back of a Caeretan hydria, Isler, *JdI* 98 (1983) 27-8, 37-8 figs. 11, 16-17. See also *StEtr* 41 (1973) pl. 116a. Their pose is reminiscent of the Fikellura figure.

⁷¹ A vase in Cook's Running Man Group, L16 (*CVA* BM (8) pl. 574.2), also has figures set off-centre above the volute.

⁷² C. M. Stibbe, *Meded* ns 1 (1974) 20-1 n. 27, points out a possible Egyptian origin even for these 'demons' who seem to be equated with sirens on Laconian vases.

⁷³ Id., *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Amsterdam 1972) 46 n. 1.

⁷⁴ In fact, the komasts are common types from the tradition of the Altenburg Painter, the dot-and-billet is not uncommon for Fikellura, and not common at all in Laconian exactly this way, nor is the use of incision new to East Greece or somehow to be connected with Laconian. If a Laconian connection is to be found, the volute-palmette complex beside the handle on the exterior of no. 64 is new for Fikellura and comparable to the common handle palmettes on Laconian cups. These palmettes though may have been transmitted indirectly by

way of the Ionian Little Masters cups which have somewhat similar handle palmettes.

⁷⁵ As id., *Meded* ns 1 (1974) pls. 5.2, 6.2.

⁷⁶ See n. 74 above. The winged 'demons' are paralleled on the tomb-painting at Kızıbel, *AJA* 77 (1973) pl. 43, *CRAI* (1979) 481.

⁷⁷ Stibbe, *Meded* ns 1 (1974) 19-31, esp. 24-25, 29.

⁷⁸ For Walter-Karydi's comments on it, see *Samos* VI, i 36-7 and references to other East Greek Gorgoneia, id., n. 125; also Cook, *CVA* BM (8) 34-5 and for Clazomenian sarcophagi, Cook, op. cit. (see n. 37 above) 124-5.

⁷⁹ See Cook, *CVA* BM (8) 34-5 (text to pl. 601.6).

⁸⁰ As J. Ducat, *Les Vases plastiques rhodiens archaïques en terre cuite* (Paris 1966) pl. 8.2; *IstMitt* 9-10 (1959-60) pl. 68.1; Åkerström, op. cit. (see n. 37 above), pls. 30.3, 53.2.

⁸¹ Three other oinochoai belonging to Cook's Group S have human figures in the belly panel. They are, from Samos, J. Boehlau, *Aus ionische und italische Nekropolen* (Leipzig 1898) pl. 3.5a; from Didyma, *IstMitt* 13-14 (1963-4) 47 pl. 12.2 no. 25e, f (mistakenly dated mid-seventh century); and from Olbia, **32**.

Painter of the Running Satyrs are **72** and **73** with komasts. The latter shows a unique scene with a komast, also naked, leaping over a pithos.

Banqueters, or at least what reasonably may be taken as banqueters, are a bit more common than komasts. The most famous of these figures has usually been taken for Dionysus, on the amphoriskos **66**. Beazley suggested that together with the hoplite on the other side, who might be Ares, the painter may have in mind an extract from the Return of Hephaistos.⁸² One might suspect such solitary figures on Attic vases at least to be gods, but there are no specifically divine features in either representation on **66** to lend support to their being identified as gods here. One should have expected at least a figure of Hephaistos if this were alluding to the Return of Hephaistos. Otherwise the artist is probably being too cryptic for his customer. Nor, it should be noted, do Fikellura painters depict gods at all on any other vase.⁸³ Some scenes are likely myths of Herakles (Busiris, centaurs), but otherwise only winged beings occur, certainly none of the Olympians. Instead of Ares and Dionysus, the two figures on **66** are more likely representations of two different aspects of a Greek citizen's life, fighting and banqueting. Since this vase was eventually placed in a tomb, the idea of a reminder of these two facets of life would seem appropriate. The wall-paintings from tombs at Karaburun and Kızıbel tend to support this interpretation. On the main wall at Karaburun is shown what is probably the owner of the tomb reclining at a banquet while on adjoining walls is the apparent tomb owner defeating a Greek enemy in one scene and being led away in a procession in another. At Kızıbel in the main frieze of the west wall, a warrior's departure is placed closely beside a now much perished banqueting scene.⁸⁴

Other figures perhaps from banqueting scenes are seen on **56** (taking place out of doors), **58** (dancer with castanets (properly 'krotala')), **62** (though the hair streaming back from the krobylos may indicate quick motion), and **69**. The woman on **69** is the most ornately dressed figure in Fikellura painting, with carefully drawn folds on himation and chiton, loops along the sleeve, and ornaments covering the chiton, as well as ornate ear-rings and long locks of hair with individual strands, and perhaps a veil over the back of the head. Unfortunately, most of the paint flaked away leaving only a shadow of the original decoration.

A number of other figures complete the artist's repertory. Women seem to be popular with him. Besides the ones mentioned in banqueting scenes, there are maenads being chased by satyrs on **63**. These are very unusual in being depicted in the nude. Pubic hair is indicated but the artist did not attempt to render the breasts. On **59** two women's heads are painted on the neck facing toward a lotus flower. The front hair of both is painted over with bars, which on other vases is usually highlighted in purple paint.⁸⁵ The figure on **70** seems to be female with a prominent bust, though this is not entirely certain.⁸⁶

The standing figures on **65**, two cloaked and one naked, are tantalizing but little can be

⁸² Cook, *FP* 48.

⁸³ A Boeotian imitation of Fikellura has a figure of Dionysus which *ibid.* 96, notes may be modelled on an actual Fikellura vase.

⁸⁴ For these tombs, see M. Mellink, *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique* (Paris 1980) 15-20; *CRAI* (1979) 476-96 (pp. 481, 483 for the warrior-banqueter association); *RA* (1976) 21-34. It is worth remarking on the number of similarities between the wall-paintings in these tombs near Elmall and figures or scenes on Fikellura pottery. Among the similarities are the banqueter-warrior figures closely associated together, the winged 'demon', the hooded woman, the Gorgon, the dog

and partridge, and such details as the banqueter's ear-ring and phiale, the segment rosettes, pillows with a fringe at the corners. These comparisons to some extent are expected, but they are important in showing just how close the similarities may be between vase-painting and wall-painting of neighbouring regions.

⁸⁵ Cf. the heads on **32**, by the Altenburg Painter.

⁸⁶ Cook, *CVA BM* (8) 17, sets out the evidence for similar figures with busts being male on Clazomenian pottery. He concludes that this Fikellura figure may also be male, *ibid.* 3 no. S8. There are, however, no comparable figures with 'busts' that are certainly male in the Fikellura style.

gotten from them. The hydria bearer on the fragment **68** may be from a banquet or ritual scene. It is another unique figure by this painter. Finally, the warrior in full armour on **66** has already been discussed. Noteworthy is the shield apron between the lower edge of the shield and the top of the greaves which appears in East Greek black figure by about 540 BC, but only in Attic *c.* 500 BC.⁸⁷ Its appearance here is closer to the latter date.

FIGURE STYLE

The strong personality of the painter comes through in his figure style. His figures show strength and liveliness. He delighted in animals with powerful bodies, usually in motion, and faces which can appear vicious or hard. His part human, part animal figures are especially full of character, bringing out the animal side of the otherwise human beings. It is only his fully human figures which are milder in character, perhaps because the artist lacked scope or interest in conveying a stronger human type.

Among the animals, the dolphin (**64**) is shown diving back into the sea. It is well proportioned, with rounded head, rather long snout, dorsal rising almost straight up from the back, and a wavy line along the side of the body giving a feeling of the sea it swims in.

The snakes growing out of the Gorgon's hair on **64** have broad bodies, each coiled around once unlike the snake on **18** by the Altenburg Painter which has thin body and two coils. The snakes on the Samos cup also have heads separated from the body by a curving line, large round eye, and for those with jaws open, an upper and lower set of teeth rather than fangs. The jaw is outlined on these snakes much like the jaw of the lion on **61** and the dog-headed man on **60**. The snakes are given spots in added colour and some details of the head are done in incision.

The lion on **61** has a long slender body and is shown with head turned back. It has an upper and lower row of long teeth rather than prominent canine teeth. As is normal for this painter the eyebrow curves right around the top of the eye.

The stags on the amphoriskos **67** vary from one side to the other, as one comes to expect from this painter. The first stag is running with head turned back and raised tail; the other is shown on one knee with lowered tail and head forward. The body of each is quite stocky and powerful; the legs, however, are short and delicate, though with thick fetlocks. Both have tall thick antlers. Spots on the body are reserved with a dot in the middle of each, like the spots on the wing of the dog-headed man.

Birds are used as fillers below the centaurs on **56**. Their long necks stretch straight out horizontally. The reserved area on the body is filled with zigzags like the belly of partridges.

The horse bodies of the centaurs have slim bellies but well-rounded rumps. The rendering of the legs and their pose can be compared with those of the stags on **67**. The horse genitals of one of the centaurs is preserved. A short reserved line at the root of the tail is also found on the centaur of **55** which otherwise varies in having an entire human body to which a horse torso and rear legs are attached at the waist.

The heads of centaurs and satyrs show their semi-human nature. The forehead is concave and ends in a beetled brow. A small pug-nose pokes out above a long, thick moustache. Hair and beards are very long; the latter may be divided into individual strands. Hair at the front of the head, wavy strands down the shoulder, and moustaches are usually done in added purple. The eyes are quite small, with long curving eyebrows above; ears can be either pointed

⁸⁷ Id., *FP* 48 n. 1; *CVA* BM (8) 54.

like a horse's (56, 57, 63) or rounded like a human's (55). The satyrs on 63 also have equine feet, which is usual in East Greek art.

The dog-headed man on 60 has a set of fierce-looking teeth but like the lion, without prominent canine teeth. The tongue appears to stick out, again like the lion. The wings growing from the chest and heels of this creature are more carefully depicted but comparable still to those on the 'demons' of 64. The arm drawing the sword only appears below the wing on 61 rather than over top of the wings as on 64.

Human bodies are depicted with considerable inner detail, like figures in black figure. Calves often are shown by a curved line on the lower leg, knees by short lines above and below the patella, thighs by two vertical lines, the rump by a semicircle. The genital area is always rendered in detail including a reserved line for the hip rising from the upper leg. The winged demons on 64, the winged dog-headed man on 60, and the centaur with human legs on 55 also have genitals clearly represented. So common is this on his figures that even komasts are shown without loincloths, which for the Altenburg Painter was quite unusual. It is possible the runner on the name vase of the Running Man Painter (Cook's LI) took the idea of exposed genitals from this painter. Even the maenads on 63 have the genital area indicated.

One other distinguishing feature on the bodies of this painter's human figures is the rendering of the far shoulder. This is done by a reserved line from the neck to the armpit of the far arm. Examples include figures on 62, 64, 68, 71, and 73. Human faces by this artist are quite distinctive when carefully done. The eyebrow curves right around the top of the long, narrow eye; the outside corner of the eye usually ends close to the line of the hair; a reserved line on the nose is almost circular and does not extend to the edge of the lip; the open mouth curves down slightly producing a prominent lower lip. Women are usually shown with ear-rings; in one case a male banqueter also has a simple loop ear-ring (66).⁸⁸ A separate band at the front of the hair is common on both male and female figures. Men's hair is often long, while women's is tied up in a krobylos but with the ends streaming out behind.⁸⁹

Garments are carefully rendered. As with the Altenburg Painter there is usually a long chiton below with sleeves to the elbow and himation wrapped around one arm over top. The dress of the woman on 69 is particularly ornate. On 65 and 66 the legs are outlined below the chiton and even details for the knees are added.

The hoplite on 66 is unique in Fikellura, but as is normal for the Painter of the Running Satyrs, the details are finely rendered. The shield device is a thirteen-legged stylized octapus. The spear looks very thin and on the lower end has a knob. The helmet crest has long tails at both ends. The shield apron is a new addition to hoplite armour.

One final observation concerning the rhyton held by the banqueter on 66, in Cook's drawing of this figure⁹⁰ it appears that the vessel ends just below the hand of the man and that a fold of the himation curves down below this. In fact, the artist's love of long sinuous lines is seen here again. The rhyton does not end at the banqueter's hand, but continues down well below, so that what may appear to be a fold of the garment is actually the long narrow end of the vessel.

⁸⁸ Women with ear-rings are found commonly on vases of the Urla Group in Clazomenian pottery, though isolated examples from the earlier Tübingen and Petrie Groups are also known, id., *BSA* 47 (1952) 133 n. 49. The ear-rings are made of two parts, a semicircular upper part with three drop-lets, and a circular lower part with cross-and-dots pattern. Cf. ear-rings on women in wall-paintings from Gordion, *From Athens to Gordion* (see n. 30 above) 97-8 figs. 3, 5, 6. For Greek

ear-rings and ear caps, J. M. Hemelrijk, *BABesch* 38 (1963) 28-50; F. Brein, *AnatSt* 32 (1982) 89-92; Hemelrijk, *Caeretan Hydriai* (Mainz/Rhein 1984) 172-3, pl. 141a, c, and esp. p. 173 nn. 649-50 for men's ear-rings.

⁸⁹ For the krobylos, see Hemelrijk, op. cit. (see n. 35 above), 176. On Caeretan hydriai the krobylos is found only on men.

⁹⁰ Cook, *FP* pl. 12a.

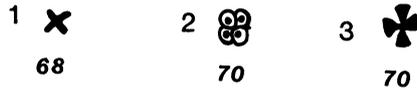


FIG. 7. Painter of the Running Satyrs. Filling ornament

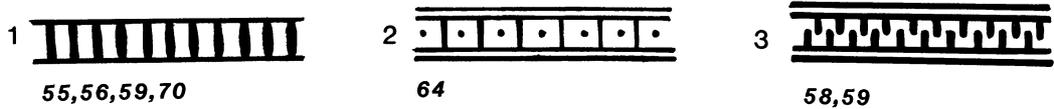


FIG. 8. Painter of the Running Satyrs. Dividing bands

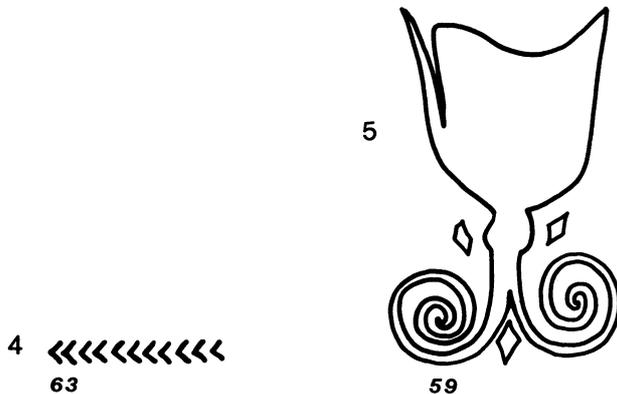
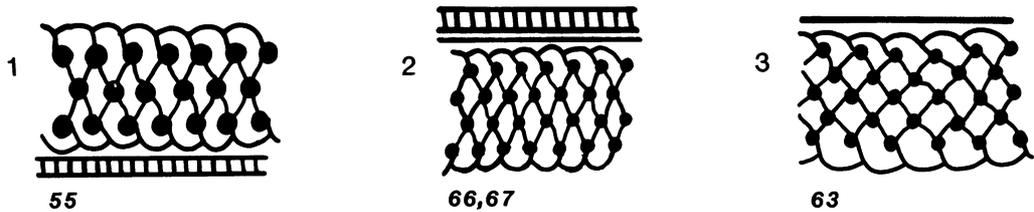


FIG. 9. Painter of the Running Satyrs. Neck decoration

ORNAMENT

Filling ornament (FIG. 7)

The Painter of the Running Satyrs rarely, if ever, uses filling ornaments. On **68** the simple 'x' (FIG. 7.1) may be decoration for a garment or some other object in the scene rather than a filling ornament. The other two ornaments (FIG. 7.2-3) are found on a single fragment which is probably but not certainly by this painter.

Band decoration

As with the Altenburg Painter, there are both dividing bands (FIG. 8), and primary and secondary bands (FIGS. 9-10). The earliest vase by the Painter of the Running Satyrs (**55**) still has a triple cable on the neck (FIG. 9.1), but later vases elaborate the pattern further to a quadruple (FIG. 9.2) and quintuple cable (FIG. 9.3). At the same time the pattern deteriorates to look more like a net than a cable design.

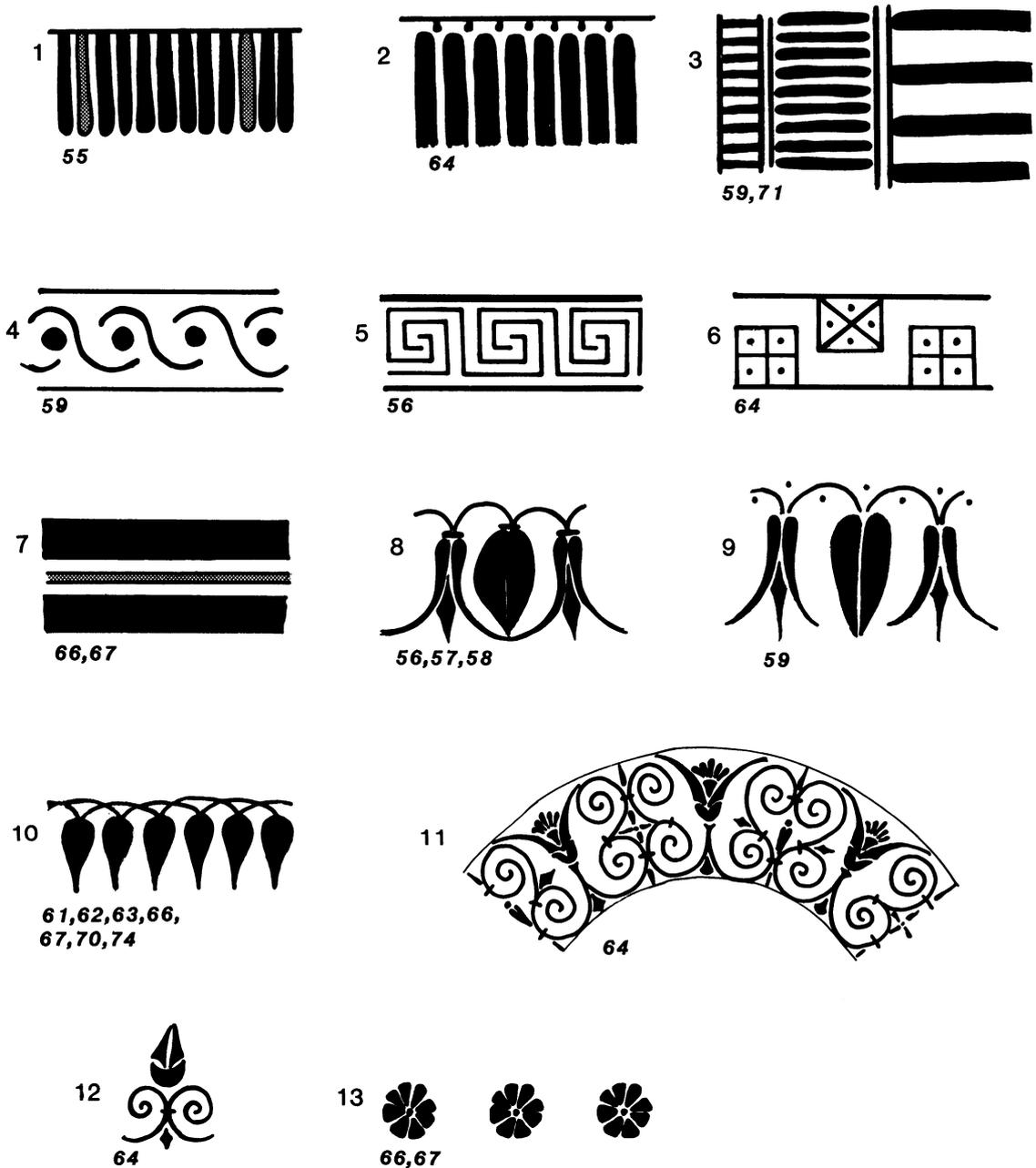


FIG. 10. Painter of the Running Satyrs. Band decoration

The same early vase (55) has the more traditional ornament on the upper shoulder, a band of tongues (FIG. 10.1). This painter, however, soon changed this and began to decorate the shoulder with floral chains, at first lotuses and buds (FIG. 10.8-9) but later just simple buds with every other one joined (FIG. 10.10).

Noticeably absent are any bands of crescents.

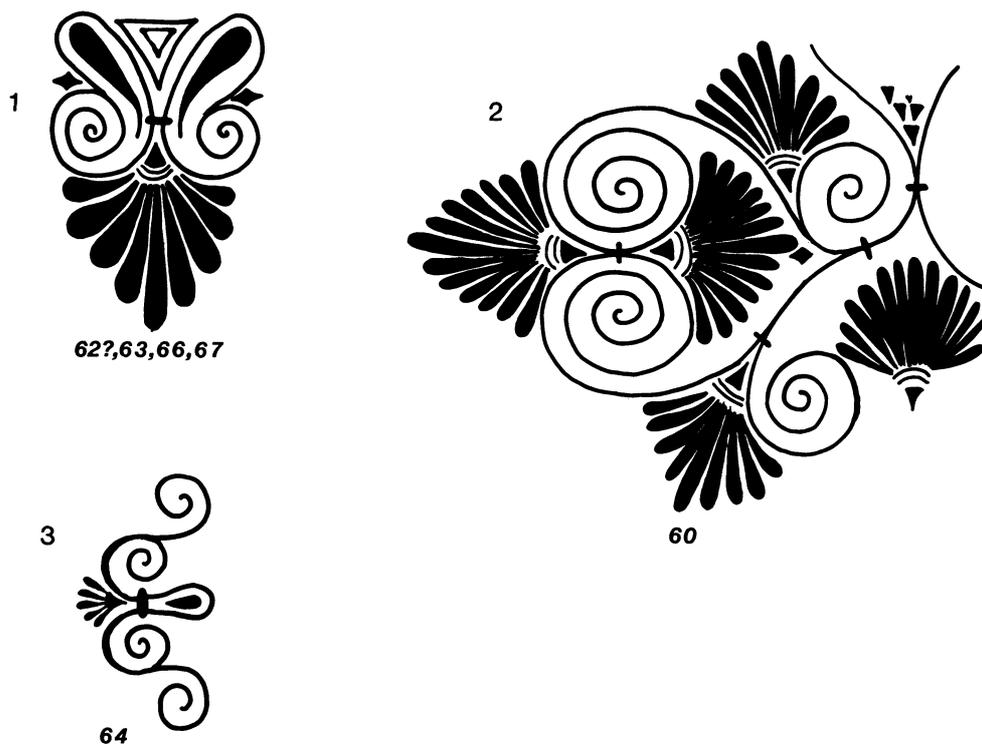


FIG. 11. Painter of the Running Satyrs. Handle volutes

Handle volutes (FIG. 11)

The most common handle decoration (FIG. 11.1) is a finely done palmette with volutes ornament. It is an abbreviated form taken from the Altenburg Painter's workshop on whose vases the volutes spread across the belly. The Running Man Painter used handle ornaments similar to this, but not so carefully rendered. The double bars at the base of the palmettes (FIG. 11.1) are distinctive on vases by the Painter of the Running Satyrs. The volute complex on an amphora in Odessa (FIG. 11.2) must be influenced by the elaborate florals on Attic neck-amphorae.

VASE SHAPES

Amphora

As is expected the amphora is the most common shape painted by this artist. Unfortunately, no complete or nearly complete example by him is preserved. **56** and **57** both have a broad, flat shoulder curving sharply to the belly.

Amphoriskos

Two well-preserved amphoriskoi were decorated by this painter, **66** and **67**. They are both quite large and have three reed handles. They belong in Cook's 'a' category for the shape.⁹¹ Dating for Fikellura amphoriskoi is not very secure. Besides **66** and **67** which must come from

⁹¹ Cook, *FP* 58-9.

the end of the sixth century, only Cook's Y16 comes from a fairly good context, perhaps c.520–510.⁹² Y13, which by its decoration Cook put not long after the mid-century, should be brought down at least a decade when a similar meander was used by the Altenburg Painter (on 9). Thus Fikellura amphoriskoi appear at about the same time as the slim amphorae of the Clazomenian Petrie Painter (see p. 269 above). Cook thought his category 'a' was the earliest stage in the development of the Fikellura shape, but 66 and 67 are in fact late. Perhaps they were specially made vases which by their size alone seem early. The narrow lower wall and base support the later date.

Stamnos

63 is the only other complete vase of this shape besides 7 by the Altenburg Painter. Notable changes are the thickened lip, broader neck which tapers upward, fuller belly, and simple loop handle set on the shoulder. It is slightly taller and broader overall.

Oinochoe

Both examples (59 and 71) are fragmentary, and from the decoration, quite early in the artist's career. From photographs neither the shoulder nor the lip of 59 appears to be as sharply set off from the neck as earlier oinochoai of Group S.

Cup

The shape of 64 is as odd for Fikellura as the decoration. The normal Fikellura cup has a low ring base and short offset lip. This vase, however, originally had a stemmed foot and a wide lip like Ionian Little Masters cups. (The fragment with lotus bud and tendrils I take to be from the lip.) It was perhaps made especially for dedication in the Samian Heraion.

RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY

The Painter of the Running Satyrs has limited contact with the Altenburg Painter and his workshop. Only in the komasts of his cup 64 and in the Group S oinochoai are there substantial similarities. It seems possible that this painter belongs to a different workshop tradition.⁹³

The early vases by the Painter of the Running Satyrs continue to use narrow bands or friezes of decoration. 64 may be as early as any vase assigned to his hand. It is a unique stemmed cup whose interior bands of decoration find no parallels on other Fikellura vases. The komasts on the exterior as well as the complex floral band seem still to be in touch with work of the Altenburg Painter. The oinochoe 59 as well as the oinochoe fragment 71 should come at the end of Cook's Group S. 59 still has a komast in the belly panel (as does Cook's S7 it seems) and so is perhaps as early as the cup. Like the Group S oinochoe by the Altenburg Painter 32 there are two large facing heads painted on the neck, providing further evidence of contact between the two artists. The woman on 71 has a krobylos but unlike figures on later vases the hair does not stream back in separate strands from the head. The two late vases by the Altenburg Painter 25 and 32 are the first Fikellura vases to have figures with a krobylos.

The amphorae, 55–8, were also divided into quite narrow bands of decoration with a figured

⁹² It was found with an amphora by the Euphiletos Painter. For advice on the dates of Attic vases found in contexts with Fikellura pottery, I am deeply indebted to Mary Moore.

⁹³ Perhaps the earlier vases of Cook's Group S, his Group E and G, and possibly also his C1 and C2 are examples of the

same workshop style. In these vases figures and florals tend to be neat, if sometimes oddly clumsy, and small; bands of ornament are narrow, at times crowded. Processions of water birds on the shoulder are common, and the use of scale pattern occurs occasionally.

scene on the shoulder and another, probably of equal importance, on the belly. Only 56, however, preserved part of the belly scene.

It is difficult to say why this painter moved away from the narrow zones of decoration and began using free field decoration. Certainly Attic vases had used a larger field for figured decoration for a long time, but retained a baseline for the figures by using bands of decoration on the lower wall. The handle volute was introduced to divide these larger scenes on the belly rather than have them run right around the vase. It may have been the Running Man Painter who began using an entirely free field, giving him freedom for his large, vigorous but careless figures. The Altenburg Painter had moved to broader zones of decoration on the belly consisting usually of a single figure between large handle volutes. The Painter of the Running Satyrs moved in this direction also, at first perhaps with a very complex handle volute and palmette complex, as on 60, after the manner of Attic vases, but then adopting the simplified version (as on 63, 66–7) used also by the Running Man Painter and his group.⁹⁴ The latest vases by the Painter of the Running Satyrs, the amphoriskoi 66–7, have broad bands on the lower body, but these are only to limit the tall narrow field of this vase shape; the figures are set free in space well above the bands.

SOURCE

R. M. Cook discussed the question of the home of Fikellura pottery with some misgivings, realizing that the evidence from excavations and find-spots was inconclusive in pinpointing the location of its production.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, if a home were to be proposed, Samos and Rhodes were the two best candidates; the former since finds of Fikellura there were somewhat earlier and finer in quality, the latter because Fikellura was more numerous and some types were found almost exclusively there.

M. Lambrino argued for Miletus as the source on the basis of the finds from Histria and other Black Sea colonies of Miletus, and also on motifs of the Fikellura style.⁹⁶ Finds from Miletus itself, however, were never sufficient to support this idea.

The possibility that Fikellura was a 'koine' style, like Wild Goat, was considered by Cook, and more recently was supported by E. Walter-Karydi in her study of the sixth-century fine wares from Samos.⁹⁷ She assigned Fikellura vases of different types mainly to Samos and Miletus, but also to Rhodes and Ephesus. But as Cook noted, there is a certain unity in the style, and its rather sudden appearance suggests that one city had priority in developing it.

The question of the source of Fikellura, or at least its most important production centre, has recently been resolved in favour of Miletus according to the results of clay analysis of Fikellura vases. P. Dupont's study of the clay from vases found at Histria and Naucratis as well as samples taken from Rhodes, Samos, Miletus, and other East Greek areas, has pointed to the lower Meander valley, that is, the area of Miletus, as the source of the clay used in most of the Fikellura samples tested.⁹⁸ Results from analysis of all the various types of Fikellura vases are not yet available, but Fikellura style vases made locally at Histria at least may be better called 'imitation'. This is the only significant group of Fikellura style pottery so far detected to have been made of non-Milesian clay. Although some of the pieces made from local clay at Histria looked like Fikellura from Miletus, other samples looked odd or what one may call provincial.

⁹⁴ Chronologically it is not plausible that Attic took the handle volute ornament from Fikellura, as Jackson, *op. cit.* (see n. 2 above), 23–5, would have it.

⁹⁵ Cook, *FP* 91–2; *GPP*, 134.

⁹⁶ M. Lambrino, *Les Vases archaïques d'Histria* (Bucharest

1938) 311, 314–17.

⁹⁷ Cook, *FP* 92; *GPP* 134; *Samos VI*, i *passim*.

⁹⁸ Dupont, *Dacia* NS 27 (1983) 19–43 (preliminary report; detailed results are forthcoming).

Dupont's results have been supported by analyses carried out by R. Jones of the Fitch Laboratory of the British School in Athens. Jones's work would seem to exclude Rhodes from being a producer of Fikellura pottery, or at least a significant one.⁹⁹

Excavations at Miletus during the past quarter century have tended to corroborate the results from clay analysis. Slowly the quantity and types of Fikellura vases known from this leading East Greek city have increased, including several new vase shapes (dinos, tall cup, plate with handle, small closed vase). These new shapes are presumably ones made for a local market and not in demand as export wares.

The distribution pattern of Fikellura is as one would expect for pottery exported from Miletus. The largest concentrations of this ware have come from Samos, a close neighbour to Miletus, Rhodes, on the sea route southwards, Egypt, where Miletus helped to found the trading colony of Naucratis, and the Black Sea, which was surrounded by colonies planted by Miletus.

The present stylistic study of two major Fikellura painters joins together vases from many of Cook's groups and indicates they must have been made in one city. The Altenburg Painter's work includes vases from Cook's Groups B, F, H, J, K, and S; the Painter of the Running Satyrs' work from Groups K, L, X, Y, and perhaps J. The similarities between the two artists, though not numerous, I think are enough to suggest quite strongly that they were working in the same centre of production. Vases from a number of Cook's other groups are closely related to works by these two painters and must have been made in the same place; these include Groups L, M, N, O, P, T, and W. Vases from some other groups can also be drawn into this orbit on purely stylistic grounds. It is therefore evident from a stylistic viewpoint that a single centre for the manufacture of Fikellura is very likely. Clay analysis has already pointed to the same conclusion and has indicated Miletus as that centre.

DATING

The dates proposed by Cook for his various groups of Fikellura vases have not been seriously questioned. Very few new Fikellura pieces have been found in closely datable contexts. Nor has there been a significant altering of dates for finds associated with the vases that Cook studied.¹⁰⁰ Thus till now there has not been a need to re-examine the dating for Fikellura pottery. Nevertheless in the past few decades some new information has become available which pertains to this dating. This together with the relative chronology proposed for the works of the two painters here makes some adjustments to Cook's dates necessary.

Cook dated his earliest vases (1 and 2, his B1 and B2) to about 560 BC, noting the close similarity of the figure style to that on Ionian Little Masters cup fragments which Kunze dated c.565 BC.¹⁰¹ A date around 560 BC seemed to suit well since it allowed enough time for the

⁹⁹ R. E. Jones, 'An Analytical Study of Some Eighth to Fifth Century B.C. "Rhodian" Pottery and Terracottas', *Greek and Cypriot Pottery* (Athens 1986) chs. 3 part E and 8.

¹⁰⁰ Cook himself, however, altered proposed dates for a few of the British Museum vases when he published them in *CVA BM* (8). For his L1 and L4 (*ibid.* pl. 571. 1, 2) after the grave group for L1 was reconstituted from Biliotti's notes, he suggested a date in the third quarter of the sixth century rather than 550-540 BC. For some fragments without figured decoration which could belong in the Altenburg Group (*ibid.*, pl. 576.16, 17a, 17b, 19) he suggested the third quarter also rather than his earlier 550-540 for this group. For his D2 (*ibid.*, pl. 576.8) again he suggested the third quarter rather than 540-530 BC, and for F1 (*ibid.*, pl. 577.1) the third quarter

rather than 550-535 BC. For his O3 (*ibid.*, pl. 580.2) he proposed the last third of the century instead of the middle of the second half.

Note R. J. Hopper, *BSA* 44 (1949) 171-3 nn. 40-3, for the perils of relying on the *Clara Rhodos* tomb groups for dating Fikellura and other wares associated with Attic and Corinthian vases. The grave groups have been examined again recently by Ch. Gates in his dissertation, *Burials at Ialysos and Kameiros (Rhodes) in the mid-Achaic Period, ca. 625-525 BC* (University of Pennsylvania 1979; University Microfilms International, 7919458).

¹⁰¹ Cook, *FP* 7; E. Kunze, *AthMitt* 59 (1934) 83, 85-6 nos. 1-2; *Samos VI*, i nos. 420, 422 pl. 47.

development of the style and it perhaps also helped narrow the puzzling chronological gap between the beginning of Fikellura and the end of Middle Wild Goat (c.600) to which Fikellura seemed closely related. The Ionian Lip cup fragments, however, as well as the well-known Vineyard cup which is comparable to Attic Siana or early Lip cups but decorated in the Fikellura manner, are now generally considered to date to c.550 BC rather than 565 BC.¹⁰² This in itself suggests a need to lower the date of early Fikellura since the Ionian cups were the main support used by Cook for the upper dating of his first major group. The question of date for early Fikellura vases, particularly those of the Altenburg Painter, therefore needs to be re-examined.

The stamnos **7** (Cook's F₅), came from a grave with three Attic vases of about the mid-sixth century or a bit later.¹⁰³ This vase, however, with a procession of partridges on the shoulder, may be an early one by the Altenburg Painter since it has a double cable on the neck rather than the usual triple cable, and is rather ovoid in shape, like **2**. The double rather than triple cable is not due simply to the neck of this vase being low, since the other well-preserved stamnos (**63**) has no less than a quintuple cable. From the find context of **7** a date in the 540's seems most likely for it.

Not by the Altenburg Painter but certainly decorated with Group B animals is a small cup found by the North Gate of the Heraion.¹⁰⁴ According to Cook's dating for Group B, it would appear to belong c.560-550 BC. But it was found in a deposit associated with the second construction phase or early use of the new gate building and this construction phase was dated by the excavators c.550-540 BC. If this dating can be trusted, it supports a slightly lower date for the group.

A very significant piece is **34**, a shoulder fragment found at Sardis below a massive fall or dump of partly burnt mudbrick belonging to a colossal Lydian structure, apparently a fortification, 20 m thick at the base and still preserved to a height of 8 m. This Fikellura fragment was found together with a sherd from a Little Masters cup dated by the excavator c.550 BC.¹⁰⁵ From the same context in a deposit of kitchen pottery were found two Attic vases, one a komast cup by the Vienna Komast painter and the other a band skyphos, both of which have been dated to about the mid-sixth century. A mid-sixth-century date is therefore suggested for the wall destruction.¹⁰⁶ The context is an important one since it may be associated with a chronologically fixed date, the capture of Sardis by Cyrus. This has normally been dated 547/546 BC, but it now appears to be less precisely known, though still likely falling in the middle years of the 540's.¹⁰⁷ There seems to be no other good explanation for such a massive wall collapse and destruction at just this time. The Fikellura fragment seems to be very early, with both an early animal scene and a somewhat rounded shoulder like the ovoid-shaped amphora **2**.

There is some evidence from other sources that a slight lowering of dates for the earlier vases is warranted. Cook suggested that the Altenburg Painter's vases decorated with komasts on the belly should be dated in the 540's, and he noted in his *BSA* article that contemporary with these were amphorae by the Running Man Painter (Group L_{1-5a}). (Cook modified his dates for vases of Group L in *CVA BM* (8), see n. 100 above). Of some significance for both these

¹⁰² Cook, *GPP* 130.

¹⁰³ *ClRh* VIII grave 10 pp. 112-28 figs. 98-112 pl. 5; Simon and Hirmer, op. cit. (see n. 2 above), 56, c.540 BC; Gates, op. cit. (see n. 100 above) 146-7, second to third quarter of the sixth century; M. Moore (pers. comm.) mid-sixth to third quarter of the sixth century. For the Merrythought cup, see N. Ramage, *AJA* 87 (1983) 454.

¹⁰⁴ H. P. Isler, *Samos IV* (Bonn 1978) 62 no. 131 pls. 48-9.

¹⁰⁵ C. Greenewalt, Jun., A. Ramage, D. Sullivan, K. Nayir, and A. Tulga, *BASOR* 249 (1983) 6.

¹⁰⁶ Preliminary discussion of his material, Ramage, *AJA* 89 (1985) 347.

¹⁰⁷ *CAH* 2nd edn. vol. 3.3, 401-2.

painters as well as the Painter of the Running Satyrs are the finds from Tell Defenneh. Cook argued that this was a Greek garrison overrun by the Persians when they invaded Egypt in 525 BC and that it therefore provides a firm absolute date (*ante quem*) for the finds, especially for the pottery found in rooms 18 and 29 of the fortress.¹⁰⁸

Vases by the Altenburg Painter himself occur with some frequency at Tell Defenneh and there are some vases which show influence from his workshop, including two from Cook's Group N. But no vases by the Running Man Painter were found there, nor were any vases with free field decoration like those of Group L, or even of Group O, the Volute Free Group, nor were there any vases of the Würzburg Group (Group M) which Cook¹⁰⁹ noted as having similar dogs to those in Group L, nor did any vases by the Painter of the Running Satyrs occur, who also occasionally used free field decoration. It seems unlikely that this is an accident of discovery, although the deposit was not large, nor is it easily explained by suggesting that merchants in Miletus who traded in Egypt bought only from the Altenburg Painter's workshop. The most reasonable explanation is that the Altenburg Painter was largely working before 525 BC, the Running Man Painter and the Painter of the Running Satyrs largely after that date.

Cook noted the similarities in decoration between vases of his Group J (Altenburg Group) and Group N (New York Group).¹¹⁰ Vases of the latter group simply omit the komast or komasts from the belly area between handle volutes which are found on the Altenburg Painter's vases. Otherwise the style of decoration is very close. Cook's N₃ and N_{5b} were found at Tell Defenneh, while N₂ was found with an Attic black-figure cup of the late third quarter of the century, or perhaps a bit later,¹¹¹ and N₄ with an Attic black-figure amphora of 530–520 and a cup probably of 540–530.¹¹² Group N is therefore dated late in the third quarter of the sixth century. This suits the proposed date for the destruction at Tell Defenneh without any difficulty. But it leaves a gap of about ten years between the Altenburg Group vases, dated by Cook 550–540 BC, and those of Group N, perhaps 535–525 BC or a bit later. In fact Cook's J₆, J₇, J₈, J₁₀ (23, 27–9) are the latest Fikellura figured vases at Tell Defenneh and among the latest vases by the Altenburg Painter. If merchants reached Tell Defenneh at somewhat regular intervals, it does not seem reasonable that the latest figured vases should arrive fifteen years before the site destruction and four of them should still be together in the two rooms of the fortress. Rather it is likely these vases should be down-dated to 535–525 BC, overlapping in date with the unfigured vases of Group N. This would also then allow more time in the third quarter of the sixth century for changes in the Altenburg Painter's vase decoration, from the early vases with animal friezes or komast scenes together with animal friezes, to the later vases having only komasts.

Yet another piece of evidence may be cited to support the proposed lower dates. In one of the few real similarities between Clazomenian and Fikellura vases, Cook compared the komasts on a Clazomenian askos, his D₂, to Fikellura komasts on vases which he dated to the 540's.¹¹³ The similarities, particularly to the Altenburg vase (21), are striking, right down to the little bud on a stem placed beside the spout of the askos, perhaps in imitation of the bud beside the dinos on either side of the Altenburg vase. But Cook dated the askos to 540–530 BC, having in mind the absolute date of 525 for Tell Defenneh. This is a decade later than he dated his Fikellura comparisons, for which the date from Tell Defenneh was never fully taken into account.

¹⁰⁸ Cook, *CVA* BM (8) 59–60.

¹⁰⁹ *Id.*, *FP* 24.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* 29.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 29, suggested before 530 BC.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, suggested 540–520 BC for the Attic cup.

¹¹³ Cook, *BSA* 47 (1952) 134–5. Another askos, very similar

to D₂ in shape, has a dog on one shoulder and hare on the other, reminiscent of the dog-hare chases of the Altenburg Painter. See I. Fabritsius, *Arkheologicheskaya karta Prichernomor'ya Ukrainskoy SSR* (Kiev 1951) pl. 7.4a–b.

It seems evident, therefore, that the Altenburg Painter's career began sometime around 550 BC. It probably ended no later than c.525 BC, based on the finds from Tell Defenneh.

From the evidence available it seems clear that Cook's Running Man Group (Group L) should also be lowered in date, from the third to the fourth quarter of the sixth century. The importance of Tell Defenneh for this has already been mentioned. Also the context of L1, the name vase of this group, has been reconstructed since Cook's original Fikellura article was published, by using Biliotti's notes. The grave at Camirus which contained L1 also held an Attic black-figure lekythos of c.525–500 and a glass oinochoe.¹¹⁴ Other contexts for vases of Group L include, for L10, a cup of the early Red-figure period, for L11, a black-glaze cup possibly of the late sixth century,¹¹⁵ and for L12, several vases the latest of which may be c.520–510 BC.¹¹⁶ This evidence, though not entirely conclusive, does indicate a need to lower the dates of Group L vases, probably by as much as a quarter century to 525–500 BC.

A concomitant lowering of dates should be made for the Würzburg Group which has a comparable animal style to the Running Man Group. It was originally dated by Cook c.535–525 BC. The same applies for the Volute Free Group, where free field decoration is again used.¹¹⁷ Lower dates for the Running Man and the Volute Free Groups are consistent with dating evidence for the vases by the Painter of the Running Satyrs, who is the only other painter to use free field decoration.

No vases by the Painter of the Running Satyrs were found at Tell Defenneh, which suggests that he may have begun working after 525 BC. As Cook notes, however, 'the pattern of frequency (at Tell Defenneh)—both of wares and of painters—argues that the painted pottery was the stock of a few merchants, too few to provide an average sample of current production, and these merchants need not have called regularly'.¹¹⁸ It is also possible, though perhaps not likely, that this painter was busy decorating shapes other than amphorae early in his career, while only amphorae in the Fikellura style were imported to Tell Defenneh. In any case, the continued use of narrow zones of decoration and the evident influence, though limited, from the Altenburg Painter, does suggest some overlap in their careers. The Painter of the Running Satyrs may therefore have begun his work before the end of the third quarter of the sixth century.

Unfortunately, none of the vases from this painter's early career come from datable contexts. The two later amphoriskoi (66 and 67), however, do. The former, with banqueter and warrior figures, was found in a grave containing an Attic cup dating to the early fifth or possibly very late sixth century.¹¹⁹ Cook's remarks on the appearance of the shield apron on this vase and on Attic vases accord with this date.¹²⁰ The clumsy form of the apron here is more likely due to the artist's inexperience in rendering it than to an early date for its appearance.

The amphoriskos with a stag on each side (67) was also found with Attic, in this case eight black-figure vases which date to the early fifth century.¹²¹ Two other vases, a fragmentary amphora and a stamnos (56 and 63), though not from such a narrowly dated context, should at least be mentioned. They come from a stratum dated by the excavators to the second half of

¹¹⁴ Cook, *CVA BM* (8) 6 pl. 571.1.

¹¹⁵ Id., *FP* 24, suggested late in the third quarter for the black glaze cup.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., suggested the end of the sixth to beginning of the fifth century for the context of L12.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 29–30, Group O (Volute Free Group). One vase from this group (O1) was found with Attic vases as late as 450 BC and another (O5) with Attic of the late sixth to early fifth century (Cook, 525–500 BC). The Attic cup found with O2

may be dated closer to 500 BC than to before 530 BC, the date Cook proposed after advice from Payne.

¹¹⁸ Cook, *CVA BM* (8) 60.

¹¹⁹ Id., *FP* 48 no. Y12, 'last quarter of the sixth century'. Y16 is from a grave with Attic which Cook dated about 530 BC, but this should probably be lowered to 520–510 BC.

¹²⁰ Id., *FP* 48.

¹²¹ Ibid. no. Y12a, 'c.520 BC'.

the sixth century, but which contained an Attic skyphos of the CHC Group of the early fifth century.¹²²

It appears then that the works of this painter reach at least to the end of the century if not a bit later. It is doubtful that they extend much beyond c.500 BC despite the Attic pottery found with 66 and 67. Since Miletus suffered disastrous results in the Ionian Revolt, being entirely destroyed in 494 BC, it is not very likely that any Fikellura was produced after this date; 494 BC should be a firm absolute date, a *terminus ante quem*, for the Fikellura style as a whole.

For a painter whose works are preserved in such small numbers, a career spanning c.530–500 might seem too long. It is possible he started a bit later but evidence is poor here. Anyway Fikellura vases simply were not as popular as Attic ones, nor did they find a market in Etruria where a high percentage of Attic vases were preserved. Therefore one must be careful when comparing numbers of vases by Fikellura artists with those of known Attic painters. It seems true that the export of East Greek pottery was declining in the second half of the sixth century, and by the time of the Painter of the Running Satyrs there was little overseas demand left. It therefore may be wiser to consider only the number of vases by each painter found in the East Greek area in order to estimate the painter's production.¹²³ A glance at the distribution of Altenburg Painter vases shows that perhaps thirteen were found in the East Greek area, while about ten by the Painter of the Running Satyrs came from there. The latter painter by this reckoning is hardly less prolific. Certainly there is a considerable variety of vase decoration by the Painter of the Running Satyrs, which supports the idea of a lengthy career. Until more secure dating evidence is available for his earlier vases, it seems best to maintain a date in the late third quarter of the century for the start of his career.

ORIGIN OF FIKELLURA POTTERY

The question of the origin of Fikellura pottery presents an interesting puzzle, one that was recognized and clearly stated by R. M. Cook in his 1934 article on this ware.¹²⁴ Briefly, Fikellura shows direct influence from Wild Goat style pottery, but strangely not so much from Late Wild Goat, which was its immediate predecessor in the East Greek area, but from Middle Wild Goat II pottery. This latter type from evidence on overseas sites at least ended as a pottery style half a century earlier than Fikellura began. The problem then is, why did Fikellura revert back to the tradition of Middle Wild Goat pottery rather than continue the development of Late Wild Goat or look for contemporary models outside the East Greek area?

Recently new information bearing on the problem was published by P. Dupont. After analysing clay from a substantial sample of Archaic East Greek wares, Dupont concluded that most Middle Wild Goat and Fikellura pottery was produced in Miletus. Late Wild Goat, however, was not made in Miletus but further north in Ionia, likely around Clazomenae.¹²⁵ It is logical to suppose therefore that Fikellura vase painters in Miletus drew on the tradition of Middle Wild Goat II pottery rather than Late Wild Goat because the former was native to Miletus and the latter was not. This is only part of the answer though. There is still a significant chronological gap, as well as a notable stylistic gap between Middle Wild Goat II and Fikellura pottery which needs explaining.

Cook acknowledged the difficulty and offered some explanation for bridging the gap, suggesting, for example, that the older Middle Wild Goat II may have lingered on beside Late Wild Goat, and regarding a plate from Camirus and a dish from Samos as transitional pieces

¹²² Dimitriu and Coja, *Dacia* NS 2 (1958) 85 fig. 4.1; Dimitriu, *Dacia* NS 6 (1962) 466–7 n. 39.

¹²³ I owe this idea to R. M. Cook.

¹²⁴ Cook, *FP* 90–1.

¹²⁵ Dupont, *Dacia* NS 27 (1983) 37.

to the Fikellura style.¹²⁶ He also allowed the Vathy Lion Fragment (his A1) as a piece of early Fikellura (dated perhaps c.565–560 BC) though its connection to Fikellura is tenuous. Other scholars have made different suggestions, but along the same lines, looking for possible forerunners (Proto- and Early Fikellura) or stretching the dates of Middle Wild Goat II and Fikellura in order to bring them into contact with each other.¹²⁷ None of these suggestions has been very satisfactory. The vases supposed to be Proto- or Early Fikellura do not, in fact, fit very well as transitional pieces between Middle Wild Goat II and Fikellura. As well, the lengthened dates for Middle Wild Goat II and Fikellura are not convincing. Middle Wild Goat II pottery appears to have ended by about 600 BC, at least according to the evidence from overseas sites (see p. 291 below). The beginning of Fikellura should, it seems, be lowered in date to c.550 BC, as was discussed above (pp. 284–6).

The stylistic gap between Middle Wild Goat II and Fikellura is not a small one, despite the obvious relations between the two. The earliest Fikellura vases are decorated in a well-developed animal style which is related to Wild Goat with some noteworthy changes. The typical processions of goats and deer are almost entirely lacking.¹²⁸ Dog and hare chases continue with little change from Middle Wild Goat, though, as with all figured scenes, the filling ornaments are smaller and more sparse. The groups of carnivores attacking herbivores have changed somewhat from Middle Wild Goat. The victim always stands between two attackers and dogs are added to the list of carnivores now. The herbivore is more commonly a goat or deer. This may be taken from Corinthian black-figure vases, though this influence may have come by way of Late Wild Goat.¹²⁹

Bands of crescents and several floral patterns, such as volutes, are new in Fikellura compared to Middle Wild Goat. A significant difference in Fikellura figured scenes is the use of silhouettes with reserved details almost entirely rather than outline and painted details for certain parts of figures. In this it is influenced by black figure where figures are likewise silhouettes entirely except for incised details.¹³⁰ Heads especially but also wings and paws of animals are normally drawn in outline in Middle Wild Goat (and also Late Wild Goat where reserving is used),

¹²⁶ Cook, *FP* 60, 91.

¹²⁷ W. Schiering, *op. cit.* (see n. 34 above) 11, dates his late style of the Camirus Group (comparable to Cook's Early-Middle Wild Goat) 610–560 BC, overlapping and influencing the early stages of Fikellura.

Ch. Kardara, *Rhodiaké Angeiographia* (Athens 1963) 197–8, calls two vases Proto-Fikellura, which, however, are identified as very early in Wild Goat by Cook, *Gnomon* (1965) 505. Kardara also points to her Group B of the Sub-Camiran style as a kind of Proto-Fikellura, dating c.590–570 BC, it seems. J. Hayes in *Excavations at Tocra 1963–1965, The Archaic Deposits I* (Oxford 1966) 42, argued that Tocra no. 586 was a pre-Fikellura vase, dated to the 580's, even though it came from Deposit III, after c.565 BC. The date of this vase is difficult to estimate. Except for the added red and white, and odd floral, it is not so different from normal Fikellura. Hayes may be right in suggesting an early date for it, though it could also be an odd piece of Fikellura or even an imitation. C. Greenewalt, Jun., 'Fikellura and "Early Fikellura" Pottery from Sardis', *CSCA* 4 (1971) 153–80. Some name other than 'Early Fikellura' would have been better for this somewhat odd group of vases.

Walter-Karydi, *Samos VI*, i 2, 33, like Schiering, sees a kind of Middle Wild Goat style continuing through the first half of the sixth century until Fikellura appeared.

W. Moon and L. Berge, *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections* (Chicago 1979) 29 no. 18, suggests the vase in In-

diana is 'Early Fikellura' c.580 BC. This is another of the 'provincial' looking vases from Caria; see p. 290 n. 132 below. Dupont, *Dacia NS* 27 (1983) 38 n. 45, regards two fragments from Histria, several from Miletus, and one in Bodrum as forerunners of Fikellura and also thinks Middle Wild Goat may have continued after c.600 BC. The two fragments from Histria he mentions could be Middle Wild Goat, the one from Bodrum, found in the village of Turgut, in the area of Yagatan, seems to me to be another piece imitating the Fikellura style. Dupont, *ibid.*, noted that Schiering regarded a plate fragment from Miletus (*IstMitt* 23–4 (1973–4) no. 93 pl. 27) as being a possible transitional piece to Fikellura from the first half of the sixth century. Cook instead suggested it may be Fikellura, which seems to be confirmed when the fragment is joined to another piece from Miletus, *ibid.* 25 (1975) pl. 11.55. The plate is a new shape for Fikellura.

¹²⁸ Cook's C1 is an exception, but stylistically its deer and goat procession is also some distance from Wild Goat style processions. Cook's Group R vases (*FP* 37–9) may be earlier, though their relation to the main series of Fikellura is hard to establish.

¹²⁹ A late East Greek black-figure plate from Old Smyrna (*Samos VI*, i no. 988 pl. 124) has a collapsing goat which reflects the most common pose of herbivores on Fikellura vases.

¹³⁰ Cook, *FP* 60.

while in Fikellura only silhouettes are found, except for some birds' wings. This is a more difficult style, particularly for complex representations like lions' heads or folds of cloaks since the painter had to be skilful in leaving the numerous fine details reserved.

R. M. Cook recently returned to the problem of the origin of Fikellura pottery, proposing another possible candidate as a link between Fikellura and Middle Wild Goat.¹³¹ He remarked on a group of vases which appeared on the art market during the past fifteen years or so, allegedly with a provenance in Caria, somewhere close to Mylasa.¹³² A number of these vases have characteristics of both the Middle Wild Goat and Fikellura styles. For example, dogs' heads and paws are in silhouette, and bands of crescents are well-established subsidiary decoration. Goats' heads, however, are in outline, and there is heavy filling ornament and pendent rays as are found typically in Middle Wild Goat.

Cook notes that in our present ignorance of the pottery of Miletus from the first half of the sixth century, it is worthwhile considering whether these vases from Caria may, in fact, be 'closely dependent on or even the actual products of Miletus' and not just peculiar products of a provincial school, as they first seem. The figures on these vases are stiff and awkward, the dogs sometimes 'fly' above the groundline, as if supported by the filling ornaments, some of the filling ornaments are novel, like wooden copies of ornaments in Wild Goat. It is therefore a little difficult to believe that these strange figured scenes could be products of a Greek hand, especially one trained in the Middle Wild Goat tradition, no matter how much Miletus may have withdrawn from the mainstream of Greek culture in the first half of the sixth century. They are not just careless products of a hasty hand, but works of a painter (or painters) unattuned to the Wild Goat style. Clay analysis should settle the issue of the home of these vases. But until such tests are done it is probably better to regard them as belonging to a provincial school, as the first impression suggests.

Finds from Miletus itself and Didyma published in the last twenty-five years have not included any fragments of this apparently provincial school, nor has any real transitional stage between Middle Wild Goat and Fikellura been evident. Indeed, a general poverty of fine wares during the first half of the sixth century is clear. About seventy new pieces of Early and Middle Wild Goat pottery have been published in excavation reports for Miletus and Didyma during the last twenty-five years or so, and about forty new pieces of Fikellura.¹³³ But only about nineteen pieces of pottery of all wares (excluding black-glaze and coarse-ware fragments) can be assigned to the first half of the sixth century.¹³⁴ Of these, three are Attic, two Corinthian, one Laconian, one an East Greek plastic aryballos and the rest are perhaps Late Wild Goat, but only three of these are certainly so, being of the simple floral type. There is one fragmentary vase, however, which shows features perhaps imitated by some of the vases from Caria.¹³⁵ It is decorated with heavy filling ornament, including a bold floral, and a rather well done group of framed tongues, as well as occasional dot rosettes, scattered in an animal scene. It could be

¹³¹ I am grateful to R. M. Cook for allowing me to read a draft of his article which is to appear in *Festschrift Akurgal*. W. Moon (in Moon and Berge, op. cit. (see n. 127 above)) was on the same track as Cook in calling the Carian vase in Bloomington 'Early Fikellura'.

¹³² Examples are found in Moon and Berge, op. cit. (see n. 127 above) nos. 11, 18; P. Gercke, *Funde aus der Antike, Sammlung Paul Dierichs, Kassel* (Kassel 1981) nos. 1-35; *Archaeologica Traiectina* 14 (1980) 74-9 pls. 15-17. In this last article, the vases are considered to be local products of a Carian workshop. Cook gives a list of known vases of this type in his *Festschrift Akurgal* article, see n. 131 above. A couple of vases apparently

of the same type were reported by Y. Boysal in excavations at Stratonikeia, Caria, in 1983.

¹³³ Excavation reports for both sites have been published in *IstMitt* beginning with vols. 9-10 (1959-60).

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* pls. 82.2 (East Greek plastic aryballos), 86.1, 2 (Attic); 13-14 (1963-4) pl. 24.1b; 18 (1968) pl. 36.2; 21 (1971) pl. 7.56, 85-87; 22 (1972) pl. 21.6 bottom; 23-4 (1973-4) pl. 32.140, 143 (Corinthian), 32.141 (Laconian), 32.144 (Attic); 25 (1975) 54 fig. 25 no. 56 pl. 11; 29 (1979) 150 fig. 21 pls. 39.4, 40.5; 30 (1980) pl. 51.19, perhaps also pl. 51.17.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* 23-4 (1973-4) pl. 26.78.

a vase made in Miletus after c.600 BC, though as with the Carian vases, dating is not secure and some late seventh-century parallels for the decoration can be found.

A vase from Tocra has been argued to be a piece of early Fikellura, though it was found in a deposit dated c.565–515 BC.¹³⁶ The narrow bands of dots, the floral band at the base of the wall, and especially the use of added red and white on the enclosed palmettes are quite odd for Fikellura, and are argued by John Hayes to have better parallels in Late Wild Goat. He dated the piece to the 580's. If it is contemporary with Late Wild Goat, and this is by no means sure, it would seem to be a Proto-Fikellura piece.

There is at least some reason for not attempting to bridge the stylistic and chronological gap between Middle Wild Goat and Fikellura by supposing that Middle Wild Goat II lingered on through the first half of the sixth century at Miletus.¹³⁷ Late Wild Goat from North Ionia shows a noticeable degeneration of the style. It would be odd if painters at Miletus were able to resist this degeneration through the first half of the century, and even odder if these painters were able to resist, continue to produce vases of the quality of Middle Wild Goat II, yet lose overseas markets to the clumsier North Ionian style. That Middle Wild Goat did disappear overseas by c.600 BC is seen by such sites as Tell Sukas and the Cyrene Demeter Sanctuary which have almost exclusively Late Wild Goat pottery.¹³⁸ Yet until 600 BC Middle Wild Goat pottery was actively traded along the eastern Mediterranean coasts. Sites like Al Mina and Meşad Hāshavyahu where Greek occupation declines or ends in the late seventh century have a good amount of Middle Wild Goat and little or no Late Wild Goat.¹³⁹

The evidence for there being Milesian fine-ware pottery of the first half of the sixth century seems then to consist of a group of vases from Caria possibly reflecting output at Miletus and perhaps one vase produced at the city itself (I omit the Tocra vase.). This is meagre indeed. It may show some deterioration of the Middle Wild Goat style, but there is hardly enough evidence to make a judgement. The drastic change in Miletus' vase industry, as seen in the loss of export markets, not to mention a seeming decline in the home market as well, must have been caused by something other than customer taste. Two reasons have already been proposed for this change. P. Dupont suggested that the decline was exacerbated by the prolonged and bitter civil conflict in Miletus mentioned by Herodotus, though at no specified time in the sixth century.¹⁴⁰ Presumably the commercial fortunes of the city would have suffered and so the pottery industry.¹⁴¹ R. M. Cook supplemented Dupont's suggestion by noting the possible effects of the colonization efforts of Miletus just at this time.¹⁴² The drop in population at home may have led to a concomitant reduction in manufacture and trade. It is hard to judge the effect of either of these events on Miletus's pottery industry, but since factors in the decline have been sought, it is worthwhile mentioning also the twelve-year war of

¹³⁶ Boardman and Hayes, *op. cit.* (see n. 127 above).

¹³⁷ Nor is a continuous development necessary. The sudden appearance of Merrythought cups again in the fifth century, a hundred years after the first series of these cups appeared, shows how potters could revert to an older type, Ramage, *AJA* 87 (1983) 454. Certain Attic painters in the first half of the fifth century are known for their archaizing style, deliberate attempts to imitate an earlier way of painting.

¹³⁸ Both come into their own after c.600 BC. For Tell Sukas, see G. Ploug, *Sukas II* (Copenhagen 1973) 43–69 nos. 150–309; for the Sanctuary of Demeter, Cyrene, see Schaus, *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya, Final Reports*, Vol. II: *The East Greek, Island, and Laconian Pottery* (Philadelphia 1985) 49–72 nos. 267–445 *passim*.

¹³⁹ For Meşad Hāshavyahu, J. Naveh, *IEJ* 12 (1962) 97, 110–13 figs. 9–10 pls. 9–10; for dating, see Cook, *BSA* 64 (1969) 14; for Al Mina, Robertson, *JHS* 60 (1940) 8, 10, 12–14, 16 fig. 5 pls. 1–3. Robertson (p. 8) differentiates 'Rhodian A' and 'Rhodian B' and these types in general conform to Middle and Late Wild Goat respectively, but none of the pieces he notes as 'Rhodian B' appears to me to be clearly Late Wild Goat.

¹⁴⁰ Dupont, *Dacia* ns 27 (1983) 40; Hdt. 5.28–9.

¹⁴¹ This seems possible though the circumstances of the fighting would have to have a direct bearing on the potters and about this we have no information. Even so, it does not easily explain the sudden appearance of Fikellura.

¹⁴² Forthcoming, see n. 130 above.

attrition against Miletus by Lydia at the end of the seventh century.¹⁴³ This war probably affected the city economically and may have led to an exodus of some vase makers.

There is one further point which may help explain the re-emergence of the industry at Miletus about 550 BC and the sudden flourishing of the Fikellura style. About the middle of the sixth century, certain East Greek painters seem to have imitated Attic Siana and Lip cups. These painters are the so-called Ionian Little Masters. They painted a small series of fine cups, some of which used reservation for details of figures.¹⁴⁴ Cook commented on the similarity of the figures on these Ionian cups to Fikellura, observing that the bearded pygmy on the Rubensohn vase was not far removed from the Vineyard cup man and that 'the same workshops must sometimes have made both these wares'.¹⁴⁵ Clearly the drawing style of the Vineyard cup painter is closely echoed on a number of Fikellura vases, so that despite the different requirements for cup painting, these vases should probably be brought together and recognized as a group.¹⁴⁶ Several other cup fragments have lions and deer which are remarkably similar to those by the Altenburg Painter though done with a finer brush.¹⁴⁷

Only a small number of these Ionian cups are known, but since fragments of four of them were found in Samos, this seems to be a likely home for them.¹⁴⁸ The fabric is very fine, approaching Attic even in colour and therefore not very similar to the pinkish-brown, very micaceous clay of normal Fikellura.¹⁴⁹ The Ionian cups were short-lived; the Fikellura vases once begun continue for half a century. If the cups were not made at Miletus but at Samos or some other site nearby, then one possible conclusion is that sometime around 550, possibly a bit earlier, the painters (no more than two) who did the cups in reserving style moved to Miletus and contributed to the sudden blossoming of the Fikellura style. What had been a moribund industry at Miletus for fifty years was soon rejuvenated by painters of merit combining traditional themes and ornament with a new creative spirit.

There is of course the possibility that the Ionian Little Masters' figure style was merely copied by painters at Miletus. But because there seems to be two different hands at Miletus, the Altenburg Painter and the painter of the Rubensohn vase, with styles reflected closely on different Ionian Little Masters cups, it seems more likely that it is not just a question of copying. Other possibilities, that the Fikellura painters made brief forays into Ionian cup painting or that Ionian cup painters briefly copied Fikellura figure styles, seem even less probable.

¹⁴³ Hdt. 1.17-22. Herodotus' dates for the Lydian kings would place Alyattes' reign at 617-560 BC. The war spanned the last six years of Sadyattes' reign and the first six years of Alyattes', suggesting an end to it around 611 BC. Herodotus' dates, however, do not agree with Eusebius (609 BC for Alyattes' accession) or the Parian Chronicle (apparently 605-604 BC), and by using Herodotus' chronology for the Lydian kings one arrives at too high a date for Gyges' reign (716-679 BC). Assyrian annals put his death at about 652 BC. The problem is discussed at length by H. Kaletsch, *Historia* 7 (1958) 1-47. Kaletsch (p. 47) suggests a date around 607 BC for Alyattes' accession and an end to the war with Miletus about 602 BC.

¹⁴⁴ Cook, *GPP* 129-30; *Samos* VI, i no. 449 pl. 53, nos. 419-22 pls. 46-7; *CGE* pl. 91.7 Cook, *FP* 60 nn. 2-3, noted two vases which are transitional to this style, the 'Perseus' plate from Camirus and a large dish from Samos, *Samos* VI, i no. 190 pl. 24 and no. 1121 pl. 136, respectively. The Ionian Little Masters cups in black figure are related, but by other painters.

¹⁴⁵ Cook, *FP* 3; *GPP* 134; 'The Fikellura painters . . . have much in common with the Ionian Little Masters; which bor-

rowed from the other is not clear, but perhaps they were sometimes the same individuals.'

¹⁴⁶ These include the following: Vineyard cup, Louvre F68, *Samos* VI, i no. 419 pls. 13, 46 *Samos* K1420 and K1513, *ibid.* no. 424 pls. 8, 47 Münster, Archaeology Seminar, *ibid.* no. 613 pl. 84 Miletus 68 S AI, *IstMitt* 29 (1979) 152 no. 64 pl. 41.4 Perhaps also, a vase once in the art market, *Samos* VI, i no. 615 pl. 84.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* nos. 420-2 pl. 47; *CGE* pl. 91.7.

¹⁴⁸ *Samos* VI, i nos. 420-2, 424 pl. 47. Two others came from Italy, *ibid.* no. 419 pls. 13, 46 (Vineyard cup) and *CGE* pl. 91.7; and one from Naucratis, *Samos* VI, i no. 449 pl. 53. Cook, *GPP* 130 noted others from Aegina, Apollonia Pontica, and perhaps Perachora.

¹⁴⁹ The clay for the cups is no doubt highly refined, which can change its appearance. Clay analysis of the figured vases could decide whether they were made on Samos or Miletus or somewhere else. Dupont's analysis has suggested that some of the 'de luxe' Ionian cups were made of Samian clay, though Miletus also produced some Ionian cups, *Dacia* ns 27 (1983) 33-4.

DISTRIBUTION

ALTENBURG PAINTER

East Greece: Miletus 4, 14, 33, 52; Samos 6, 10, 11, 41, 44, 50;
Rhodes (Ialysos) 7, 12?, (Camirus) 53; Ephesus 34a
Lydia: Sardis 5, 34
Delos 54
Aigina(?) 21
Cyprus (Amathus) 1, 17
Egypt: Tell Defenneh 2, 3, 24, 27, 28, 29; Naucratis 8, 16, 18,
19, 20, 35, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45

Libya: Cyrene 13
Black Sea: Histria 9, 30, 46, 49; Berezan 15, 23, 25, 31, 36, 37,
48; Olbia 22, 26, 32; Nymphaion 47; Panticapaion 51

PAINTER OF THE RUNNING SATYRS

East Greece: Miletus 68, 69, 74; Didyma 71; Samos 57, 64,
65, 72; Rhodes (Ialysos) 67, (Camirus) 66
Egypt: Naucratis 58, 62, 70, 73
Black Sea: Histria 55, 56, 63; Olbia 59, 61; Berezan 60

IMITATIONS OF FIKELLURA

At Histria there was a considerable local production of Fikellura style pottery. Thirteen of the sixty-two examples of Fikellura from Histria tested by Dupont proved to be made of local clay.¹⁵⁰ What is interesting is the lack of cohesiveness within the group. Dupont noticed that the imitation was of various Fikellura types, spread over a considerable period and done by several hands.¹⁵¹ In some instances the imitation is obvious,¹⁵² in others it is very close to the real thing and impossible to detect without analysis of the clay.¹⁵³ The long distance to bring pottery from Miletus, the irregularity of shipments perhaps, and the local demand for this ware no doubt spurred local manufacture at Histria.

Closer to Miletus are several vases which imitate or else are influenced by Fikellura. These, as mentioned above (p. 290), may be from a local workshop in Caria, though this awaits results from clay analysis.¹⁵⁴ Together with these vases are a few which seem to be true Fikellura.¹⁵⁵ It is possible, however, that they are simply better imitations, as at Histria. The olpe in the Dierichs Collection (see n. 150) imitates decoration by the Altenburg Painter c.535-525 BC, the amphora of the same collection imitates the free field figures of the Running Man Painter c.520-510 BC, and the oinochoe has decoration similar to Cook's amphorae of Group P, Volute Zone Group. There is a Fikellura amphoriskos in the New York Metropolitan Museum (accession no. 65.73.2) said to be from Düver in Turkey which also looks suspiciously like an imitation rather than true Fikellura. A few other pieces of Fikellura have come from the region of Caria, including fragments from Labraunda.¹⁵⁶ It is difficult to tell whether these are also imitations or not. The fragmentary bowl in the Bodrum Museum mentioned by Dupont (see n. 127 above) is possibly another Carian imitation of Fikellura from early in the second half of the century. Worth mentioning are two other odd vases, one in the Ephesus Museum and the other in the Pergamon Museum. The former is a large round-mouth oinochoe, decorated with a chevron pattern on the neck and two bands of crescents (r) on the belly separated by meander hooks. The latter is an oinochoe with decoration influenced by that on vases of Cook's Louvre Group (Group S). A double row of bars runs vertically down the belly on either side of a panel filled with three palmettes, one on top of the other.

Some imitations of Fikellura were obviously sporadic, possibly just whimsical, undertakings. Thus the Boeotian example of a handleless cup with flat base is one of a kind,

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. 36 fig. 15; these include the following seven published pieces, *Histria* II nos. 394, 404; *Histria* IV nos. 80, 166, 185, 194, 198.

¹⁵¹ Dupont, *Dacia* ns 27 (1983) 36.

¹⁵² *Histria* IV no. 166 pl. 18.

¹⁵³ Ibid. no. 185 pl. 20.

¹⁵⁴ *Archaeologica Traiectina* 14 (1980) 76 pl. 17b-c; Gercke,

op. cit. (see n. 132 above) nos. 3 (amphora), 9 (olpe), 32 (oinochoe).

¹⁵⁵ *Archaeologica Traiectina* 14 (1980) 74, 79 pl. 16c-d (the same vase in *Samos* VI, i no. 602 pl. 82); Gercke, op. cit. (see n. 132 above) nos. 30-1.

¹⁵⁶ J. J. Jully, *Archaic Pottery, Labraunda* ii. 3 (Stockholm 1981) 12 nos. 33-8 pl. 2.

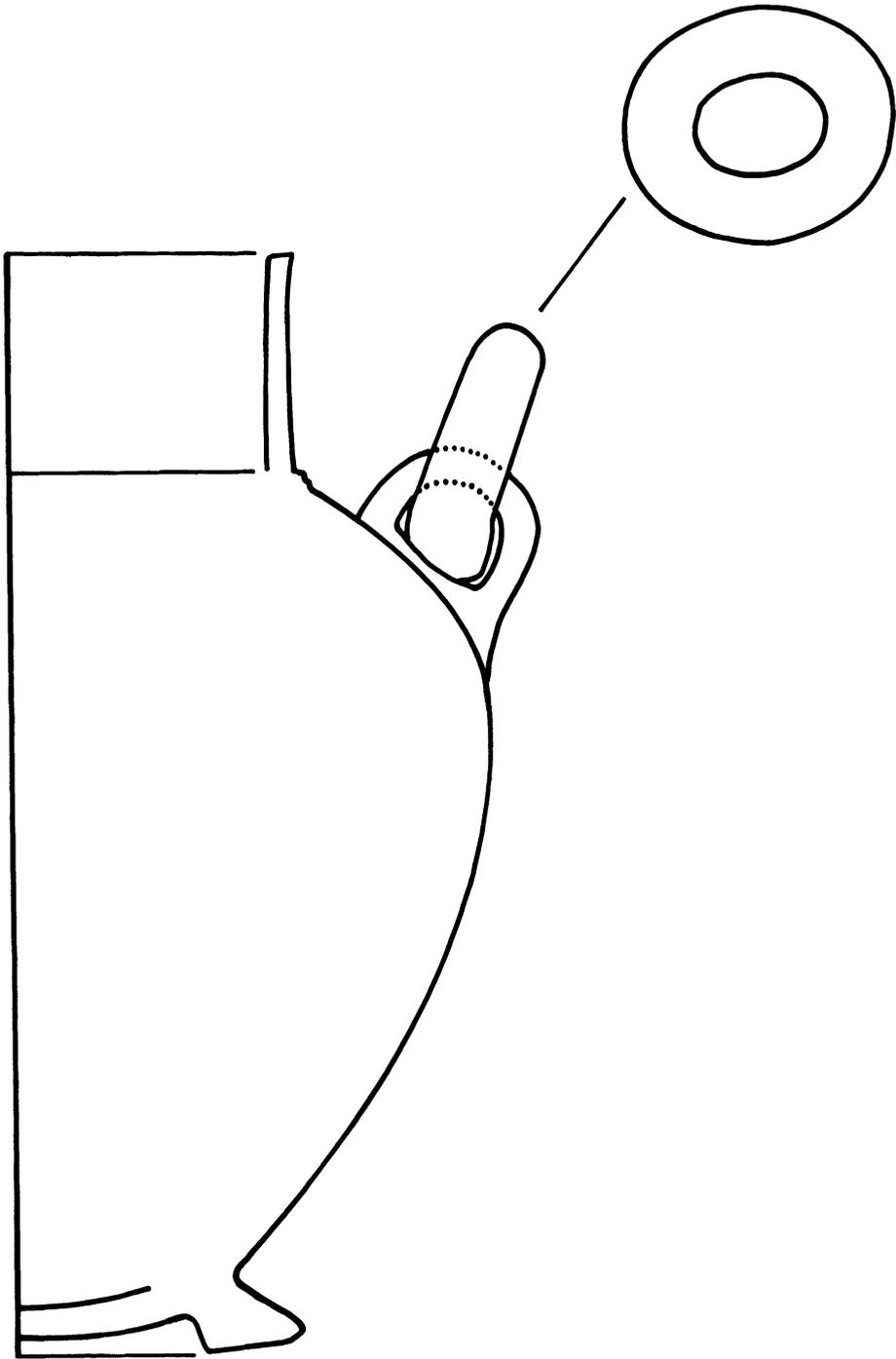


FIG. 12. Stamnos by the Altenburg Painter. 7

imitating a komast scene of the Altenburg Painter, but with many innovations and some Attic influence.¹⁵⁷

Finally, the published drawing of an amphora from Nisyros makes one think of an imitation.¹⁵⁸ The spots on the deer and the partly cut-off animals are still odd, but most of the other unusual features are explained by the mis-assembling of the vase from fragments.¹⁵⁹

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¹⁵⁷ Athens 418, Cook, *FP* 95-6 fig. 21; P. Wolters, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben i* (Berlin 1940) 125 pl. 35.1-3.

¹⁵⁸ *CIRh* VI/VII, 504 fig. 32.

¹⁵⁹ Cook, *FP* 25 n. 1 no. M10.