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Lakonian Vase-Painting

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## LAKONIAN VASE-PAINTING

(PLATES 20-49)

### INTRODUCTION.

THE material for a study of Lakonian pottery may be roughly divided into two classes; first, the vases scattered through the museums of Europe, mostly found outside Greece, in tolerably good preservation, but covering a comparatively short period of time; secondly, the mass of pottery unearthed during the excavations of the British School at Athens in Lakonia itself. The latter consists mainly of fragments, but represents the continuous product of about four centuries, and in the sanctuary of Orthia we have the inestimable advantages offered by a well-stratified site.

Literature on the subject prior to 1926 occupies four and a half pages of notes in Pfuhl's great work,<sup>1</sup> but of this apparent wealth the bulk is formed by passing references or the publication of a few vases at a time. The chief authorities are Dugas, who has concerned himself mainly with the literary aspects as shewn by the exported vases,<sup>2</sup> and Droop, who has in addition published the material from Lakonia and given us the only connected account of the whole fabric.<sup>3</sup> My excuses for supplementing the admirable work already done in this field must be, first, the direct evidence provided by hitherto unpublished Lakonian vases, and second, the indirect evidence which can be drawn from comparison with other fabrics which have only recently been carefully studied. The scope of the present article extends from the later phases of the Geometric period down to the decomposition of the local style, roughly from 750 to 525 B.C. In approaching the material from a stylistic point of view, I have in many cases come to conclusions different from those of Droop; these are partly concerned with the question of absolute dates, on which he himself does not feel strongly,<sup>4</sup> and partly with the interpretation to be placed upon

<sup>1</sup> *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* i, 83, 120, and 229 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Articles in *R.A.* ix (1907), x (1907), xix (1912), xx (1912), xxvii (1928).

<sup>3</sup> *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia*, ed. by R. M. Dawkins, London, 1929 (hereafter referred to as *A.O.*). Pp. 52-116 recapitulate scattered articles which had previously appeared in *B.S.A.* For the vases from the Akropolis *B.S.A.* xxviii 49-81 is important, and *J.H.S.* 1910, 1-34 is an attempt to date the exported vases by comparison with evidence derived from the stratification at Sparta.

<sup>4</sup> See *J.H.S.* 1932, 303-4.

the evidence of stratification.<sup>1</sup> In addition, my preference for style as opposed to technique as a criterion of date has led me to re-shuffle the positions of many sixth-century vases, but in no case does this conflict with the spade-evidence from Orthia.<sup>2</sup>

During the Geometric period the Peloponnese had three flourishing pottery centres. In the north-east, the factories of Corinth dominated the Isthmus, spreading eastward to the island of Aegina, south to the plain of Argos, and westward along the Corinthian Gulf to Perachora and Antikyra.<sup>3</sup> At Argos there was a fabric with a rich and distinctive local character; beyond the sites in the Argolid—the Heraeum, Mycenae, Tiryns, Asine—fragments have been found as far south as Tegea.<sup>4</sup> But it appears that early in the seventh century the Argive factories closed down before the encroachment of 'Protocorinthian,' and Argive vases with Post-Geometric or Orientalising decoration are rare and isolated stragglers.<sup>5</sup> Beyond the Parnon range, Sparta lay remote; her local manufactures were in no danger of being swamped by mass-importation from Corinth. It must not be supposed, however, that sea and mountains cut her off from the fashions which succeeded each other in the rest of the Greek world. Small quantities of Protocorinthian pottery, datable in the eighth century, were discovered in company with the fragments of local make, and isolated finds shew that first Protocorinthian, then Corinthian, vases were imported throughout the seventh century. We can even infer that these imports were more numerous than their discovered remains would suggest, for from the later phases of the Geometric period onwards we find in Lakonian pottery constant echoes of the style current at the time in Corinth. These are most striking in the Geometric vases which I shall first describe. During the earlier part of the seventh century the Protocorinthian fabric adopted floral motives and an incised technique which failed to arouse emulation at Sparta, and for a time the two wares seem to part company. But in the last quarter of the century Sparta too accepted the black-figure style, and a second wave of Corinthian influence began which lasted for about the next seventy-five years. One purpose of my article will be to trace this intimate connection between the two Peloponnesian vase fabrics, and to shew that Lakonian pottery cannot be divorced from its context in early Greek art.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 128 ff. below, where this is more fully explained.

<sup>2</sup> Droop himself at times admits the necessity of using evidence of style to assist that of stratification when this is not entirely satisfactory.

<sup>3</sup> There is Protocorinthian and Corinthian from Soteriades' excavations here in the Chaironeia Museum.

<sup>4</sup> Tegea had a Geometric style of its own. The clay is soft and powdery, but yellower than the typical orange-red clay of Lakonia. See *B.C.H.* 1921, 404-414.

<sup>5</sup> For example, Waldstein *Argive Heraeum* ii 117 fig. 42; 159 fig. 93; 161 fig. 94.

The present article was undertaken at the suggestion of Mr. Humfry Payne, Director of the British School at Athens, and my obligation to him for subsequent help and advice is great; the Governing Body of St. John's College, Cambridge have been most generous in giving me financial support. I should also like to thank the staffs of all the Museums where I have studied, and others, too numerous to mention by name, without whose assistance this work would not have been possible.<sup>1</sup>

#### LATE GEOMETRIC.

With the Protogeometric and Early Geometric pottery at Sparta I do not feel competent to deal, nor do I think the mass of characterless fragments would yield much to the most patient investigator. But there are many pieces, mainly from Orthia, which I believe to be late, datable in the eighth century; of these it is possible to reconstruct the shape and decoration with a degree of certainty. It should not be imagined that the collection here illustrated is anything like complete, for most of the larger vases are so shattered as to make their reconstruction a matter for conjecture—with the dubious results seen in *A.O.* fig. 31.<sup>2</sup>

Until the eighth century Geometric decoration in Lakonia is feeble in the extreme; bands, lozenges, simple meanders, concentric circles<sup>3</sup> surround the vase in a monotonous 'umlaufstil' very rarely spiced by the introduction of figures. There is no trace of the 'tektonisch' influence which Schweitzer derives from the islands and the east,<sup>4</sup> no parallel for the elaborate architecture of Attic Dipylon and the Argive kraters. But in the eighth century a new movement begins; the decorative bands are vertically punctuated and a discreet use of 'metopes' becomes common. That these vases are comparatively late is shewn, partly by the occurrence of patterns which are frequent on Protocorinthian, partly by the gradual infiltration of Orientalising motives. FIG. 1 is the most elaborate example of a whole class; the step-meander points to Argos, but the birds are pure

<sup>1</sup> I am especially indebted to Professor Ernst Buschor, who gave me every help in studying the material in Samos and allowed me to publish several fragments; to Dr. Bartoccini, for permission to publish the vases at Taranto, and to Professor J. D. Beazley for photographs and advice. Photographs of vases in the British Museum, at Leipzig, at Taranto, and at Boston were kindly provided by the authorities at the Museums concerned, and Fig. 8 A and B are from negatives in the possession of the Hellenic Society.

<sup>2</sup> See also Kunze's review of *Artemis Orthia*, *Gnomon* ix 4.

<sup>3</sup> A table of motives is given in *A.M.* 1927, 51 fig. 29 (the wavy lines late). From the number of fragments, one presumes that large, unslipped vases with compass-drawn circles were made at Sparta over a long period, and were still produced after the introduction of slip for the more careful work. A similar love of circles is to be noticed in the Cretan, Boeotian, and 'Theran' Geometric styles, but I doubt if there is any conscious connection between these and Lakonian.

<sup>4</sup> *A.M.* 1918, 53 ff.

Protocorinthian, and the 'running dog' heralds the approach of the Orientalising style. On lakainai and cups, the handle-zone is regularly bounded at both ends by vertical lines, as on Protocorinthian kotylai and cups; that this correspondence is no mere coincidence is proved by two aryballoi which were deliberate copies of Protocorinthian originals.<sup>1</sup> I shall deal with these late Geometric vases according to shapes, with an added note on the scheme of decoration.

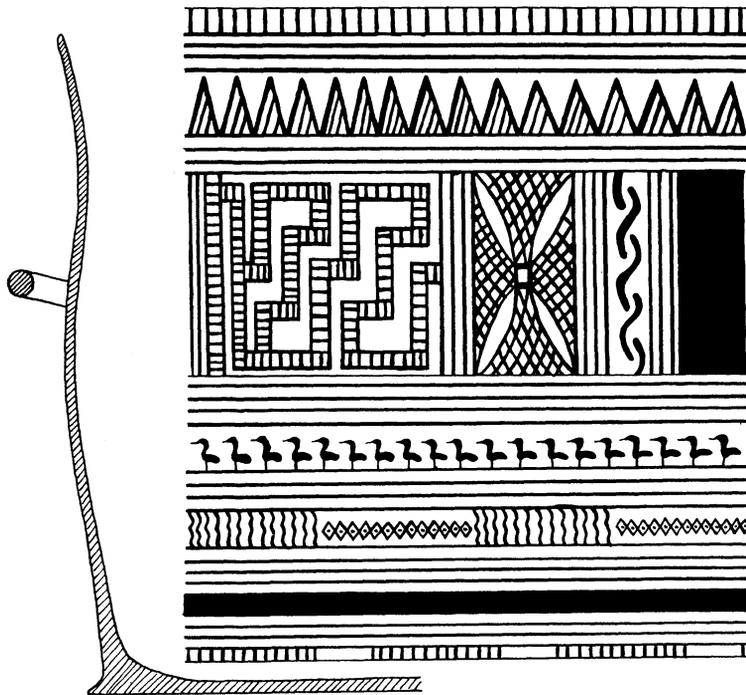


FIG. 1.—GEOMETRIC PYXIS.

A. SHAPES.

*Lakaina*. PLATE 20 *e* = FIG. 2 C-E. This shape enjoyed long popularity at Sparta, and is thus often regarded as peculiar to the fabric. But there are a few lakainai belonging to other wares.<sup>2</sup> Apparently it evolved from a cup like FIG. 2 A (*B.S.A.* xiii 125 fig. 5),<sup>3</sup> FIG. 2 B being an intermediary shape. I found no remains of a cup like the common Attic type, *J.H.S.* 1932, 273 fig. 3, which might be an alternative source.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 107, FIG. 4 and PLATE 25 *e*.

<sup>2</sup> Attic: *Boston Cat.* 274 (plate 24). Boeotian: *Würzburg Kat.* 73, plate 4; Berlin, *J.d.I.* 1888, 340 fig. 17; Florence 4316, 4319. One from Keos in Heidelberg, perhaps Boeotian.

<sup>3</sup> The foot in this drawing is a conjectural and unconvincing restoration.

Fig. 2 E is early seventh century, and shews a tendency for that outward curve of the lip which later became more marked.

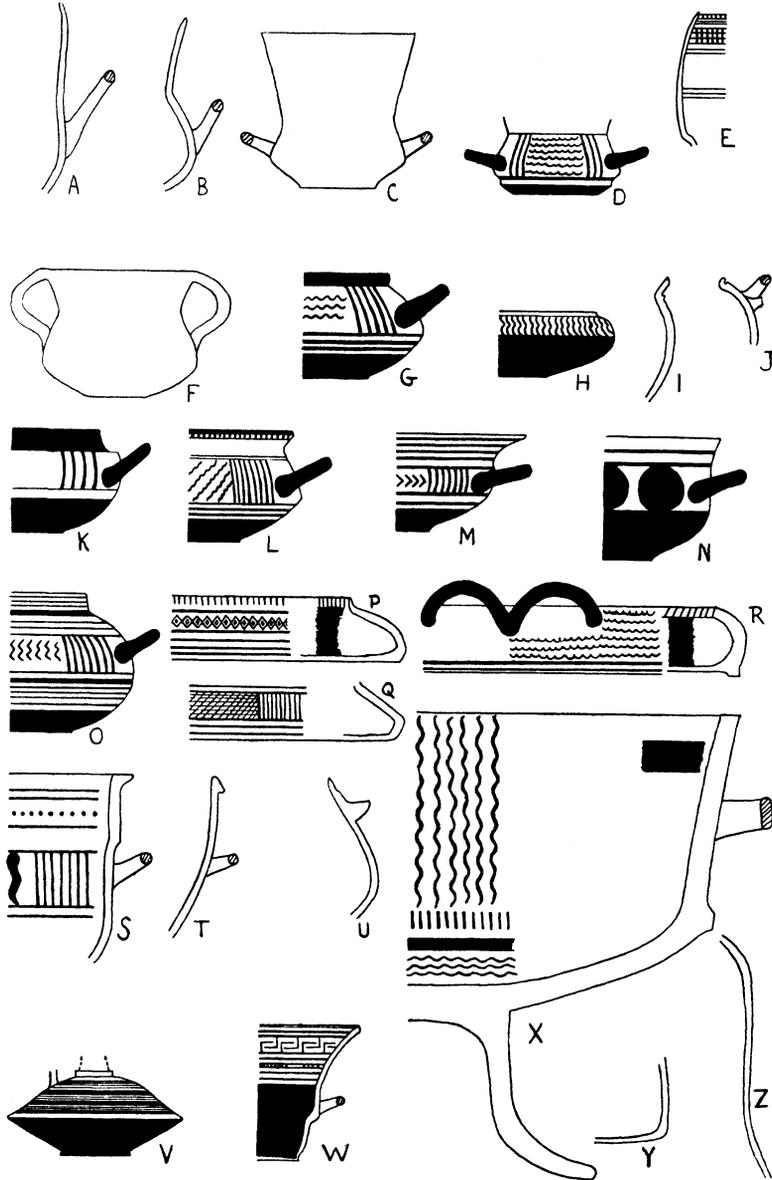


FIG. 2.—LATE GEOMETRIC SHAPES.

*Two-handed Mug.* FIG. 2 F = PLATE 20 a.

*Small Cups.* FIG. 2 M is worth comparing with a well-known Attic

type,<sup>1</sup> though it is less sharply metallic in contour. Attic examples are late (one in M. Vlastos' collection was found in a grave with a hydria of 'Analatos' style); in Lakonia the interior is always black except for the lip, which has narrow bands on slip. FIG. 2 I = PLATE 21 c, unslipped and very late; J = PLATE 21 h, also unslipped; perhaps it had a plastic bird on the handle like PLATE 21 g. The groove near the rim is a link with the local 'bird bowls' (see p. 115).

*Dishes.* FIG. 2 P, Q, R, are broad, flat dishes with an incurved rim, varnished black inside (cf. *A.O.* fig. 31 a).

*Bowls.* FIG. 2 S, a tall bowl, is fairly common and may well continue into the Transitional stage. T = *A.O.* fig. 39 s; U has pierced lugs but no handles.

*Oinochoe.* There are many tall, thin necks, often strutted, like *A.O.* fig. 31 o, but in that drawing the foot is not convincing. FIG. 2 V, of which the body survives entire, is a shape for which I know no close parallel; it is evidently an isolated example. One fragment came from a conical oinochoe, like the Protocorinthian (PLATE 20 f, unslipped). FIG. 2 Z (= PLATE 20 c) presents a problem; the interior is very rough and unpainted, the exterior slipped. No trace of a handle or neck remains, but I think it belongs to a very tall oinochoe with a foot splayed out flat.

*Kalathos.* FIG. 2 W (= PLATE 20 d) is slipped, with varnish burnt bright red. The curious bulge in the contour is a characteristic which becomes very pronounced in the 'Transitional' vases, and I do not think the shape is common in the pure Geometric style. Another fragment of identical shape is decorated with hook-spirals and check-pattern, clearly Transitional.

*Large Standed Bowl.* FIG. 2 X. These are fairly common and often attain a great size; one from Orthia, of which a good deal is preserved, must have been about seventy cm. in diameter at the lip. The rectangular ridge at the bottom of the side suggests that these vases overlap the Transitional period and link up with the Orientalising; at any rate *A.O.* fig. 41 A seems to have come from a bowl of this kind. But decoration usually consists of wavy lines, horizontal or vertical, on an unslipped surface.

*Pyxides.* Examples shaped like *A.O.* fig. 31 p are extremely common, and many shew the 'running dog' pattern which foreshadows the Orientalising style. A larger version is FIG. 1, of which the fragments permit complete reconstruction. Sometimes these have horizontal handles, as shewn, sometimes a ribbon handle running vertically down from the lip. The latter could not have had a slip-over lid, but of the numerous flat lids which remain, few have a flange to hold them in place. Perhaps this was done by pins passed through the holes always to be found near

<sup>1</sup> Pfuhl *op. cit.* i 71, *A.A.* 1913, 444 fig. 2; Würzburg *Kat.* 58 pl. 4, etc.

the edge. FIG. 2 Y (= PLATE 21 *b*) is unslipped and has a broad purple band round it; I think it very late, probably seventh century.<sup>1</sup> Similar fragments are often covered with black glaze; two painted sherds were found at Tegea. Lakonia evidently had a predilection for tall, cylindrical shapes, ranging from the pure Geometric of 'Εφημ. 1892 pl. 4, 1 and 2, down to the end of the archaic period.

*Ring-vase.* PLATE 21 *d* is the mouth of a horizontal ring-vase, square in section.<sup>2</sup> I know no other mainland examples of the horizontal shape; Protocorinthian ring-vases, though square in section, are always vertical,<sup>3</sup> and Cycladic or East-Greek specimens, when horizontal, are round in section.<sup>4</sup> There is one earlier ring-vase from Sparta,<sup>5</sup> the slipped sherd FIG. 10 A; to judge from what remains of the handle, this was vertical. The projection on the inside is hard to explain, as it suggests a tubular connection bridging the centre of the ring.

*Hydria.* PLATE 20 *b* is probably of late Geometric date, and is illustrated because nearly complete.

#### B. DECORATION.

First, a note on technique will be in place. Slip was introduced quite early in Geometric times, but though regularly used on the better vases was by no means universal. Thus 'Εφημ. 1892 pl. 4, 2 is unslipped, though in every way a careful and excellent piece of work. The slip on Geometric fragments is thin, greyish, and easy to rub off, this being due to the very low temperature of firing. If slip was dispensed with, a much higher temperature was possible and the clay came out hard, the varnish shot with an iridescent gleam of green. At the very end of the Geometric period there came a fashion for omitting the slip and firing the clay hard; the vases treated in this way have a very distinctive style of decoration, and to them I shall refer as 'unslipped linear' ware.

When Protocorinthian influence first made itself felt, most of the vases were slipped. FIG. 3 shews most of the patterns in vogue<sup>6</sup>; it will be seen that except for the circular motives, these are extremely simple. Some of the circles recall the Theran and Cretan Geometric styles, but I

<sup>1</sup> The fragment is upside-down in the photograph.

<sup>2</sup> Slipped. On the upper surface, cross-hatching; on the side, a simple unhatched meander. The fragment is broken off close behind the neck, on which is no trace of a handle.

<sup>3</sup> Johansen *Les Vases Sicyoniens* 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Délos* x. pls. xvi, xvii.

<sup>5</sup> Later evidence for the shape: Transitional, *B.S.A.* xxviii 56 fig. 3 *i* and *k* (these are from the same vase, the rays being on the inner, the cable on the outer surface of the ring). Sixth century; p. 197.

<sup>6</sup> FIG. 3, third in second row, appears also on PLATE 21 *e*.

doubt if there is any connection between them beyond that of date; far more prominent is the Protocorinthian fashion for metopes with isolated motives floating in a blank space. In narrow bands we find groups of

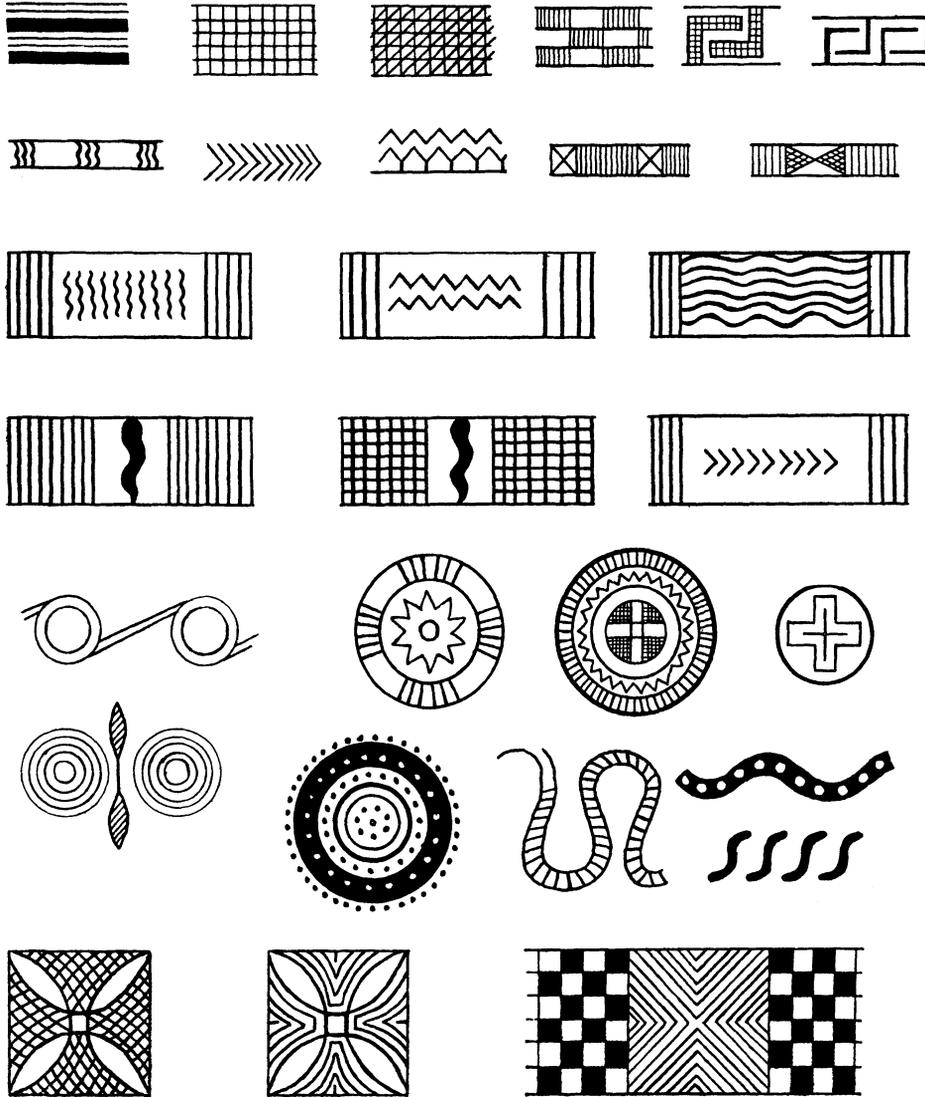


FIG. 3.—LATE GEOMETRIC PATTERNS.

vertical lines alternating with a blank square or rectangular space; the latter was sometimes partly filled with a 'dumb-bell' or cross, but sometimes left open. This is the germ of that feeling for tonal quality, the

alternation of dark and light, which reaches fuller expression in the check-pattern of the 'Transitional' stage.

The decoration of the large pyxis, FIG. 1, has already been mentioned as shewing Argive, Protocorinthian, and Orientalising features; the 'running dog' and fine, unhatched hook-meander (FIG. 2 w) are the first motives to appear from the Orientalising repertory, and often occur on vases where the remaining ornament is strictly Geometric.

Perhaps contemporary with the 'Transitional' vases about the end of the eighth century and continuing down to the rise of the full Orientalising style, are the 'unslipped linear' vases. Typical specimens are shewn on PLATE 21 *a-c, f, h*; plain lines or parallel zigzags, sometimes a rough check-pattern, and a row of dots along the lip form the usual repertory. The varnish is thinned and brushwork very hasty; apparently the decoration was not intended to have any intrinsic interest of its own. It would seem to be another experiment in tone values, with solid black varnish at one

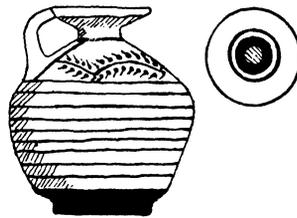


FIG. 4.—LATE GEOMETRIC OR TRANSITIONAL ARYBALLOS (cf. pp. 102, 112).

end of the scale, bare clay at the other, and the linear decorations a kind of pencil shading between the two. The shapes so treated are mainly small bowls (PLATE 21 *c*), lakainai (FIG. 2 *e*), tall pyxides (PLATE 21 *f* is a fragment with rough check-pattern and panelled surface), and large standed bowls (FIG. 2 *x*).<sup>1</sup>

#### TRANSITIONAL.

In Lakonia, true Geometric regards the surface of a vase as a space which must be filled with unbroken bands of ornament. But in the late Geometric with which I have just been dealing, I hinted at a new conception of decoration where ornament alternates with empty space. It was not long before this rhythmic alternation, filling and space, developed into a fashion where tonal contrast, dark against light, was the effect desired. Schweitzer, in *A.M.* 1918, 116 ff., finely distinguishes this

<sup>1</sup> Closely similar vases were being made at Argos about the same time, viz. *Argive Heraeum* ii pl. LVI 6-10 and p. 117 fig. 42; *Tiryns* i pl. 19, 1-4, p. 145; Schweitzer, *A.M.* 1918, 88 ff. That they are very late is shewn by the use of outline technique for the heads and hair of the figures and by the stalk-rosette on *Argive Heraeum* ii pl. LVI 10.

'malerisch' treatment from the preceding 'tektonisch' style, where patterns depend for emphasis upon their size and arrangement, and all have approximately the same tonal value, produced where necessary by hatching. On the fragments under consideration, the attempt to set off clear light spaces against solid patches of black leads to the abandonment of hatching in the triangles and meanders; the check-pattern becomes so popular as to be a hall-mark of the style, and an analogous idea lies behind the alternate parallel bands of dark and light, equal in width, to be seen, for example, on *A.O.* fig. 38 β. The new importance attached to tonal values leads to a marked improvement in the slip, which is much thicker and whiter than on most Geometric vases, and in the black varnish, thickly laid on and never over-fired. Sometimes, as on the krater PLATE 22 *b* there is no slip, but the clay is fine and of a brilliant orange colour.

As usual, the absence of complete vases makes a survey of shapes difficult, but FIG. 5 shews a selection of fragments with the patterns drawn beside them.<sup>1</sup>

#### A. SHAPES.

*Small bowls* like FIG. 5 A are very common, the interior being varnished or covered with plain white slip. One bears a frieze of rudimentary pomegranates, and a most unusual motive of two interlocking snakes<sup>2</sup> is found on the larger bowl, FIG. 5 B (PLATE 24 *h*).

The low *pyxis* on FIG. 5 E<sup>3</sup> appears to be an isolated specimen of a shape very common at Corinth.<sup>4</sup> FIG. 5 F, G shew the successors of the tall pyxides with Geometric decoration, while C and D provide evidence for the existence of a *pyxis* with a full, rounded body.

The *lakaina* bowl of FIG. 5 H (PLATE 24 *j*) already shews the filled triangles treated as rays, and lip fragments from others are decorated with the check pattern. FIG. 5 J is a two-handled cup of related shape.

*Conical Oinochoai.* FIG. 5 K, L (= PLATE 23 *c*) and M<sup>5</sup> illustrate the popularity of broken contours in the Transitional period, a purely local development of the Protocorinthian shape copied by the fragment on PLATE 20 *f*.

*Oinochoe.* FIG. 5 O is a small neck with a flat, cushioned lip. A very large trefoil-lipped oinochoe, with a curious auxiliary handle at the front,

<sup>1</sup> Profiles to right, the whole right half of the vase being shewn when possible. The outside decoration is drawn to the right of the fragment, the inside to the left.

<sup>2</sup> Though simple dotted snakes are a commonplace in Protocorinthian—see Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens* pl. V 1.

<sup>3</sup> Fragments in the British Museum and Cambridge (*C.V.A. Cambridge* i, III D, pl. 3, no. 117). There is no slip, but the technique of the vase is excellent.

<sup>4</sup> Johansen *op. cit.* 30–31.

<sup>5</sup> In Oxford, badly worn, but shewing traces of a 'running dog' pattern round the body.

is shewn in *A.O.* fig. 36. The neck has a pronounced convex bulge; plastic snakes attached to a handle occur on several other fragments to be

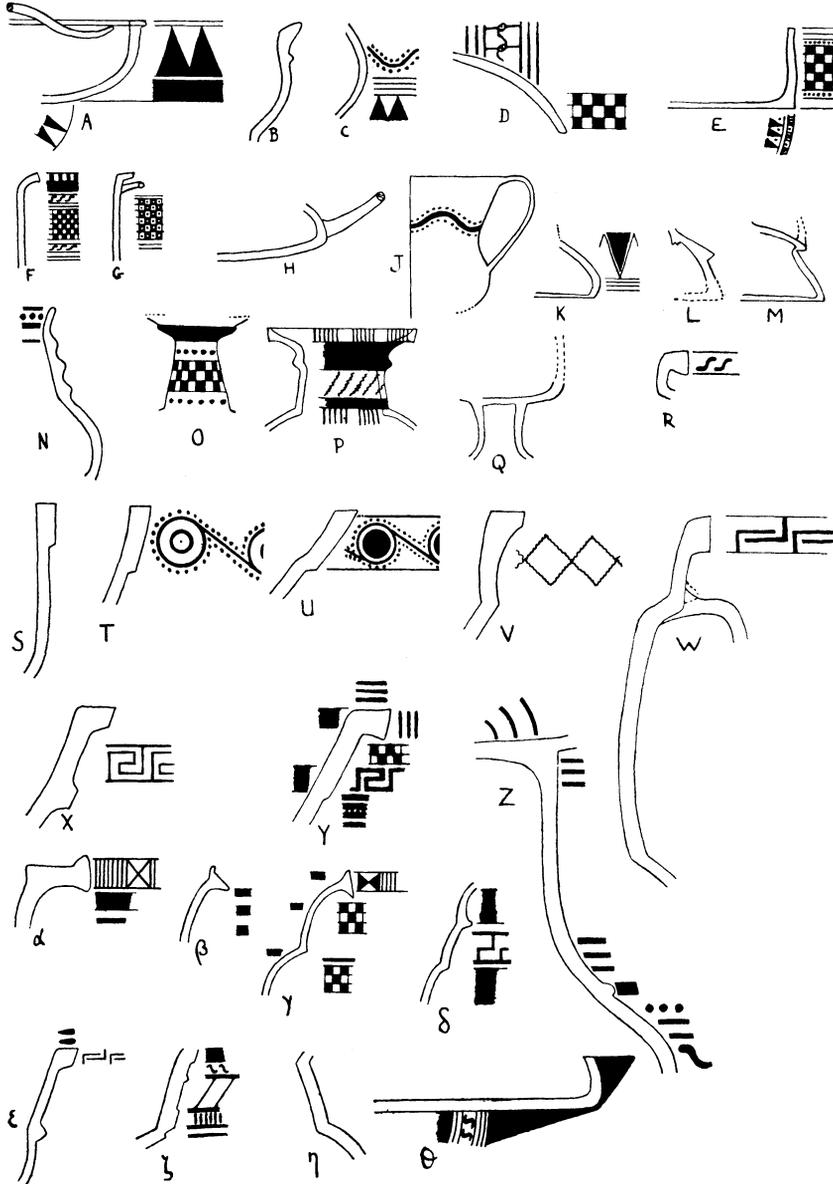


FIG. 5.—TRANSITIONAL SHAPES.

dated about this time, and a natural comparison is with Attic hydriai of the Analatos group. But here is no ornament that can be definitely

called 'Orientalising,' though the startling prominence given to patterns on neck and shoulder, by a heavy use of black against a white field, is a treatment quite alien to true Geometric.

*Hydria*(?). FIG. 5 P is drawn from a neck of which only one side is preserved, without trace of a handle; it probably belongs to a hydria. Sharply contrasting curves in the profile, as on the kalathoi.

*Chalice*. FIG. 5 Q (= PLATE 24 p) is from a cylindrical open pot on a high foot, a shape which, with several variants, persists well down into the archaic period. Decoration on the body was a complicated series of meanders executed in thin wavy lines; the fragments PLATE 24 l, o were no doubt from similar vases.<sup>1</sup> From Samos there are many East Greek examples,<sup>2</sup> but I do not know if any can be dated as early as this.

*Plates*. So far as I know, there are no purely Geometric plates, but fragments bearing a Transitional stamp are very common, and at least one has the Orientalising tongue-pattern (FIG. 6 E). The shape differs from that commonest in Protocorinthian, where a steep, straight lip forms a sharp angle with the bottom and a raised ring surrounds the edge of the base;<sup>3</sup> typical examples are shewn on FIG. 6<sup>4</sup> and PLATE 22 c. FIG. 6 E is represented by one sherd only; the centre of B is missing. Other published pieces are *A.O.* figs. 33, 38 s, w, h. Wavy lines in vertical, diagonal or herring-bone formation round a central star or rosette form the principal motives of decoration.

*Krater*. PLATE 22 b is a small strap-handled krater,<sup>5</sup> from Orthia or the Heröon. It is unslipped, with a slightly raised flange round the lip. The decoration dates it to the early Transitional period, but fragmentary handles were found which might belong to earlier vases. The neck is very high, differing from that of the Argive and Protocorinthian kraters, but evidence is entirely lacking to shew a Lakonian local type developing through the seventh century to the common column-kraters of the sixth. The shape must have become obsolete until its resurrection in a new form.

*Krateriskos*. *B.S.A.* xxviii 54 fig. 2 is not an aryballos, for it had no handle and the mouth is too wide to be corked. But it belongs here, and FIG. 5 R shews a fragment from a larger specimen with 'running dog' on the lip.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Note the dots of added white paint on the meanders.

<sup>2</sup> Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. VI, 1. Fragments were apparently found with the monstrous Lakonian pot mentioned on p. 136 below, dating from the early sixth century.

<sup>3</sup> *Arg. Her.* ii 141-2 figs. 76-82 shew a series of Protocorinthian plates, and fig. 82 is not far removed from the Lakonian form. There are many Protocorinthian plate fragments from Perachora, some of new shapes; vertical wavy lines, black triangles, and a pointed leaf-rosette are features of the decoration.

<sup>4</sup> FIG. 6 c shews respectively the upper and under surfaces of the same plate.

<sup>5</sup> A handle from a similar vase is published in *C.V.A. Cambridge* i, III D, pl. 3, no. 10.

<sup>6</sup> FIG. 11 w is a Lakonian II fragment, evidently of the same shape, found at the Menelaion.

*Open Bowls.* FIG. 5 s (= PLATE 23 f). Dancing women in a frieze, with long girdles hanging from the waist, bear to Argive Geometric<sup>1</sup> a

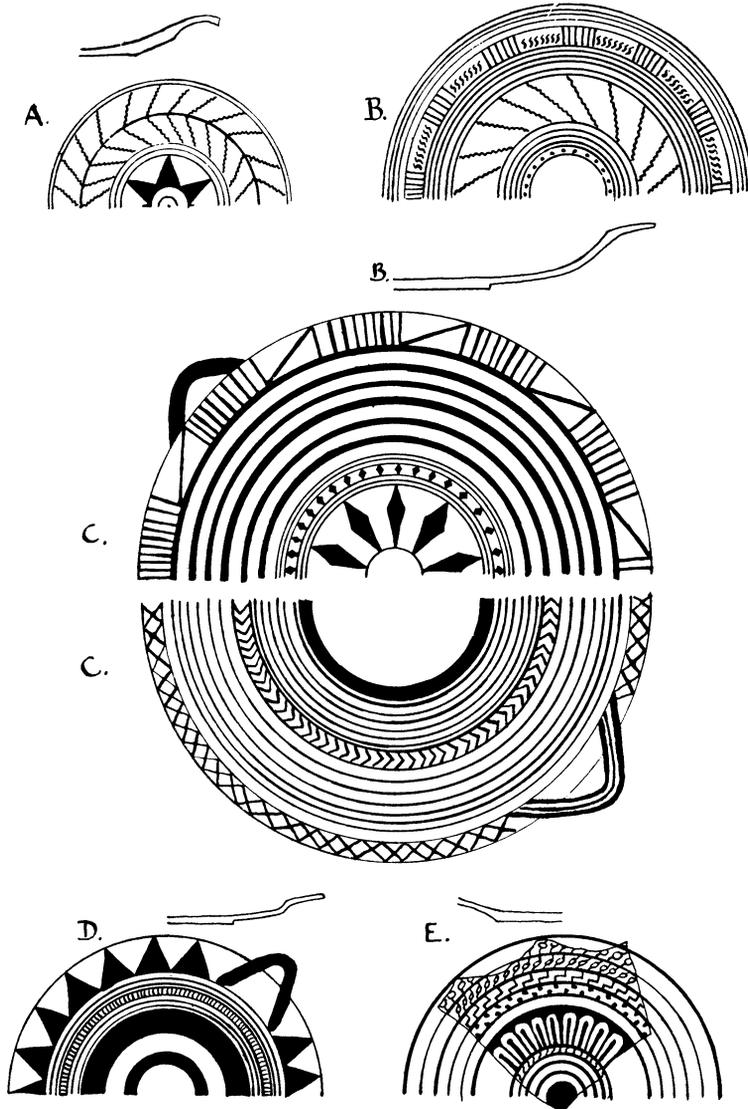


FIG. 6.—TRANSITIONAL PLATES.

resemblance too close to be purely fortuitous. Evidently no Argive sherds were found at Sparta, but they occur at Tegea and no doubt some of the strap-handled kraters penetrated further. *A.O.* fig. 37 *d, e* may be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Arg. Her.* ii pl. LVII 15-18.

contemporary, though the scale is too small to permit hatching for the dress. Filled triangles and circular black blobs on PLATE 23 *f* connect the piece with *A.O.* fig. 36; both come early in the transitional period. Some of the other bowl-lips drawn, FIG. 5 T, U, V, X, Y, may be as late as the seventh century; a notable feature is the painting of broad black bands on the slipped interior. FIG. 5 Z, a huge, tall stand, probably supported an open bowl, not a krater, because of the concentric circles painted inside at the top.

*Amphora.* FIG. 5 W is an amphora-neck of equally generous proportions,<sup>1</sup> which bore a bold check-pattern; bosses to imitate rivets on either side of the handle shew the incipient influence of metal work.

*Kalathos.* This is very common. Small ones usually have unpierced sides and a sharp kink in profile (FIG. 5 β, γ, δ, ε);<sup>2</sup> larger ones have slots or triangular openings in successive stories separated by a bold horizontal ridge (FIG. 5 ζ).

*Aryballos.* FIG. 4<sup>3</sup> and PLATE 25 *e* shew two aryballoi which should be added to Johansen's list of imitations of Protocorinthian.<sup>4</sup> The second (unslipped) has incised fishes copied literally from vases like Johansen *op. cit.* 53 fig. 31, and pl. IV, 3 and 7, even down to the incised markings on the fish, for incision is unheard of at Sparta for almost a century after this aryballos was made.<sup>5</sup> Below the neck is a step-pattern, and round the edge of the shoulder a black band divided by incision into squares; the body shews with horizontal lines as in normal Protocorinthian aryballoi.

*Other shapes.* FIG. 5 N, α, η, θ. The sherd α perhaps belonged to a large pyxis with a flat lid. PLATE η (= 23 *d*) is varnished inside. I have no idea to what shape this belongs, unless to a wide-mouthed oinochoe with a heavy, chequered dewlap. θ is slipped inside, *ca.* 38 cm. in diameter, and too thin towards the middle for a lid; probably a dish. N, in Oxford, has a badly worn check-pattern on the outside; inside varnished except the lip. PLATE 24 *a* is an amphora- or hydria-neck, PLATE 24 *b* a dish or plate, PLATE 24 *c* part of a large double handle of which all that remains rested flat against the side of a vase.

#### B. PATTERNS.

Most of the patterns collected here on FIG. 5, but the ornament of the late Geometric style naturally survives and is often used on the same vase as the new patterns. At the other end definitely Orientalising

<sup>1</sup> *Ca.* 35 cm. in diameter at lip.

<sup>2</sup> And the fragment *C.V.A. Cambridge* i, III D, pl. 3, no. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Ht. 4.5 cm. Usual Lakonian clay, slipped. Part of lip restored in the drawing. The dots are not meant to be leaves, their shape being due to careless brushwork.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* 173 f.

<sup>5</sup> *B.S.A.* xxviii 52 fig. 1 *g* is not Geometric, but a careless, unslipped piece of the archaic period. It may belong to the second half of the sixth century.

motives creep in, and the boundaries of the Transitional phase should not be too rigidly defined either in date or style. However, it is reasonable to place vases of this hybrid character in the last quarter of the eighth century, overlapping into the seventh. Kunze has shewn that the so-called 'running dog' is a simplification of the cable or guilloche,<sup>1</sup> and both are well represented on Lakonian fragments. The circles joined by tangents on PLATE 24 *d, e* are interesting by reason of their technique, reserved on a black ground. It is not necessary to press the resemblances to Cretan Geometric too far, with a view to discovering Cretan influence; rather, an imitation of embossed metal-work may have been in the potter's mind, the parts in relief being indicated by reserved slip against a black background. The use of dots in rows is very characteristic, either as a boundary to the ornament along the lip of a vase or fringing the pattern itself (FIG. 5 *c, e, n, o, z*), and this may also be metallic in origin; it links up with the 'dot and square' which is almost universal on the lip of the Lakonian I

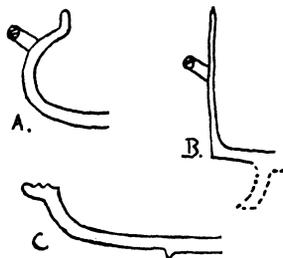


FIG. 7.—TRANSITIONAL, LAKONIAN I AND II SHAPES.

vases. The way in which black triangles developed into rays is clear from their first appearance as a corona on plates and on the lakaina base, PLATE 24 *j*, but a superstitious distrust of empty space survives from Geometric times and often a star or diamond is inserted between the rays (cf. also PLATE 23 *c*). PLATE 25 *b, c* shew two careless fragments with unique motives; *c* has evidently a triangle surmounted by a hooked T, very frequent in Rhodian and Samian Geometric.<sup>2</sup> The use of overlaid white paint is apparently confined to the latest phase of Geometric and to the Transitional style:<sup>3</sup> PLATE 24 *k* is the base, perhaps of an oinochoe, where the rays are done in this way, and the meanders of PLATE 24 *o* are covered with rows of white dots.

Vases with human or animal figures were certainly produced—cf. *A.O.* fig. 40 *m*, *B.S.A.* xxviii 57 fig. 4—but I shall treat of them when discussing the early Orientalising style.

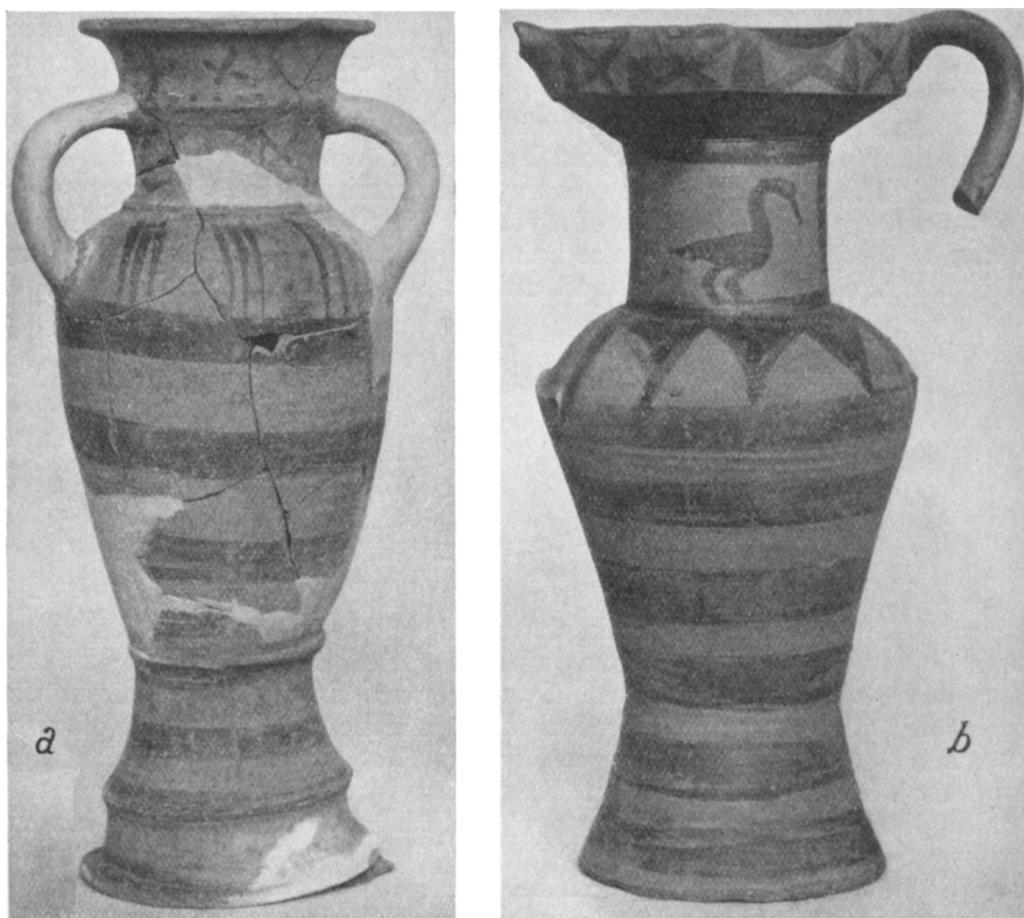
Three small groups should be classed with the Transitional vases and

<sup>1</sup> *Kretische Bronzereliefs* 93.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *A.M.* 1929, 18 fig. 10 (Samian); *Cl. Rh.* iii fig. 76; *B.C.H.* 1912, 501 figs. 7, 8 (Rhodian).

<sup>3</sup> See also *A.O.* 56.

probably belong to the turn of the eighth century. The first is represented by only a few sherds, illustrated on *PLATE 22 a*. Except the last two in the second and the last in the third row, these are unslipped, rather thick, burnt to a hard orange-brown, and varnished inside; they belong to small bowls like *FIG. 7 A*. The last two sherds in the second row come from a



*FIG. 8.*—TRANSITIONAL COARSE POTTERY.

lakaina with rays round the base, and are slipped; the last in the third row is made of white clay and may be a flat lakaina base. I know no parallel for the form of decoration, but they are clearly local.

The second group is represented by four vases,<sup>1</sup> two being illustrated

<sup>1</sup> The other two are like *FIG. 8 B*, one unslipped and unpainted. Ht. of *FIG. 8 A*, 20 cm.; of *B*, 32 cm. Coarse household ware, but interesting for the shapes; no provenance is recorded.

on FIG. 8 A, B; the second had three handles. They are mentioned by von Massow in *A.M.* 1927, 60; compare the bird with *A.O.* fig. 40 *m*, and the broad bands with those common inside the large open bowls.

The third group is that of the 'Bird Bowls.' On *A.O.* fig. 85 *c* is a fragment with the usual Lakonian clay and slip. Droop rightly took this to be a local imitation of a common East-Greek class,<sup>1</sup> but when he assumes that *A.O.* fig. 85 *b* and fig. 40, *l* (= our FIG. 9 B, c) is actually East-Greek, this is not so certain. The clay is quite white, very fine, and rather soft—in fact, the same kind of clay as was used for slip in Lakonia.<sup>2</sup> There must have been at least three birds on each side of the vase, and the lower part of the bowl was painted black. The bowl FIG. 9 A permits of complete restoration; unlike the East-Greek bowls, it has no proper foot.

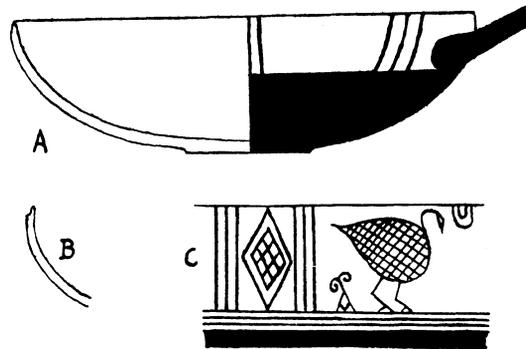


FIG. 9.—LAKONIAN IMITATIONS OF EAST-GREEK BIRD-BOWLS.

#### LAKONIAN I: FINE WARE.

For convenience of classification, the name Lakonian I is applied to all vases made from the introduction of Orientalising motives based on plant forms, down to the appearance of an incised black-figure style, that is, *ca.* 700–630 B.C. The earliest specimens naturally overlap with the Transitional vases, and the fact that Droop's 'Lakonian I' class was found in proximity to his 'Sub-Geometric' and to Geometric<sup>3</sup> (possibly of the late 'unslipped linear' class described on p. 107), shews that at least three different streams were running parallel about the beginning of the seventh century. Of these, the late Geometric soon dried up; the Transitional tradition continues with a strong experimental bias, particularly on the larger vases, but to judge from the few existing fragments both

<sup>1</sup> Price *East-Greek Pottery* 1–2. East-Greek examples usually have only one bird in the centre of the frieze.

<sup>2</sup> Other sherds made of this white clay are a fragment from a lakaina (p. 114 above), and *A.O.* fig. 42 *h*. There is in the Sparta Museum a series of miniature figurines made of the same material.

<sup>3</sup> *A.O.* 66, 70.

technique and syntax of ornament seem to have been clumsy. It is in the 'Lakonian I' Fine Ware, all small vases, that the future character of Lakonian pottery is decided, and with this I shall deal first.

No birth-pangs precede the appearance of the Fine Ware; it springs unexpectedly into life with all its attributes perfectly developed. The vases are all small, so neat and precise in shape as to challenge comparison with metal-work; the technical quality of paint and slip is of an equally high order, and the decoration austere simple. A single master potter perhaps invented the style, and it achieved immediate popularity with worshippers who wished to dedicate a vase at a Lakonian sanctuary. From now on large vases are the exception in a temple deposit, and to judge from the quantity of 'Lakonian I' fragments found, the severely limited style of decoration was considered so successful that for a long time there was no attempt to modify it. However, about the middle of the seventh century animal friezes inspired by Protocorinthian begin to find a place, and at last the experimental spirit of the larger vases infected the Fine Ware also—but that will be described in its proper place under 'Lakonian II.'

#### A. SHAPES.

*Low cup.* A.O. fig. 44 A, *h*, 44 B, *e*. The form is quite new, and the flattened bowl and insignificant ring foot connect it with the lakaina. The lip is usually straight, sharply off-set, and deep, another point of contrast with the contemporary Protocorinthian cups (Payne *Necrocorinthia*<sup>1</sup> 23, fig. 9 *b*).

*Lakaina.* A.O. figs. 44 A, *c*, *d* (= 44 B, *b*) and 44 B, *a*. The lip is straight, in contrast with the late Geometric type FIG. 2 *c*, and the bowl has its point of greatest diameter at the top instead of the bottom like PLATE 20 *e*. A very slight ridge surrounds the central pattern under the foot; handles are either rounded or pointed. An outward curve of the lip is rare before the Lakonian II period.

*Skyphos.* A.O. figs. 44 A, *g*, *i*, *k*, 45. Lip straight till the later seventh century, when it takes on a concave curve.

*Bowls* without a handle. A.O. fig. 44 B, *c*, *d*, *f*. Many have a high foot which connects them with the chalice. PLATE 28 *e*, with its concave sides and higher foot, looks late and may belong to the end of Lakonian I.

*Goblet.* See FIG. 11 *a*. There are numerous fragments without a ring-foot, resting flat on the ground; the lip curves outwards.

*Olpe.* B.S.A. xxviii 61 fig. 6 *a*. A loose and clumsy shape with ribbon handle and no ring-foot. Better would have been the vase of which fragments are shown on PLATE 28 *a*; this perhaps approximated to the form of the Chigi vase (Johansen *op. cit.* pls. 39, 40).

<sup>1</sup> Hereafter abbreviated *NC*.

*Kalathos.* A few fragments remain from large kalathoi with cut-out sides. *A.O.* fig. 46 *l* may belong to this period.

*Chalice.* PLATES 24 *m*, 28 *b* (= FIG. 7 B). A high cylindrical body on a tall foot was already suggested in the Transitional phase (p. 110 and FIG. 5 Q). There are remains of two vases like PLATE 28 *b*, but the decoration is desperately perished. One seems to be painted with horses in outline, but of the vase illustrated I can make nothing—except that it had diagonal and vertical as well as horizontal bands of dot and square pattern.

*Plate.* *A.O.* figs. 54, 44 A, *a*, *b*, *f*; our FIG. 7 C. This often has ribbed bolster-handles at the rim, and may continue into the Lakonian II period. The Transitional shape (FIG. 6) evidently had a very short life and does not occur in Fine Ware.

*Bell-krater.* *A.O.* fig. 58 *a* is an unusually large vase, a bell krater of the kind *B.S.A.* xxviii fig. 9, but the lip is flanged and not outcurved.<sup>1</sup>

*Small bowls* shaped like FIG. 5 A are still common and last well into the sixth century.<sup>2</sup> The fragments on PLATE 28 *a* come from a very puzzling vase which I would conjecturally restore as a sauce-boat.

#### B. PATTERNS.

The lip of almost every vase that has a lip bears the typical ‘dot and square’ pattern. This may be derived from metal-work, and is foreshadowed by the dot rows along the lip of Late Geometric and Transitional vases: it continues in use till the end of the archaic period, but is not common after plant-friezes had been introduced to take its place. During Lakonian I the black and white squares are almost equal in size, but in Lakonian II and later the black squares are far more widely spaced. On the body of a vase and lip of a lakaina a broad black zone usually predominates, but very commonly the surface is left white, with narrow bands of black and broader ones of purple, the latter laid directly on the slip. Where an animal frieze is introduced, the black area is reduced to a minimum. ‘Running dog,’ tongues, and mill-sail<sup>3</sup> patterns occur, but plant ornament is conspicuously lacking; only rarely do we find the rudimentary pomegranate<sup>4</sup> or stalk-rosette.<sup>5</sup> Rays, short and broad, nearly always surround the lower bowl; only one vase shews an uneasy desire to relieve the spaces between them by introducing crosses.<sup>6</sup> The underside of the foot is always slipped, and decorated either with concentric circles or the ‘square and circle’ pattern (*A.O.* fig. 44 A, *d*).

<sup>1</sup> The shape is descended from the Protogeometric bell-krater (cf. *B.S.A.* xxix 232–3); it was employed in East Greece during the Orientalising period (see Jacobsthal *Met. Mus. Studies* V, 1934, 117), but so far no East-Greek examples look early enough to suggest that the Lakonian bell-krater is derived from them.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* PLATE 26 *d* (early Lakonian III).

<sup>4</sup> PLATES 26 *a*, 28 *a*.

<sup>5</sup> PLATE 27 *c*.

<sup>3</sup> PLATES 25 *a*, 26 *a*.

<sup>6</sup> PLATE 25 *a*.

This itself, or something like it, occurs on many Protogeometric and Geometric wares, but its use in this position is peculiar to Lakonia.

#### LAKONIAN I: ORIENTALISING WARE.

When making the small Fine Ware vases, the potter imposed upon himself severe restrictions in the range of decoration and almost ignored the possibilities of motives based on plant-life. This argues no insensitivity to the eastern influences which burst on Greece in the seventh century—rather it is a stand against intoxication of the Proto-Attic kind. But if he preserves the purity of his little vases, with the big ones he shews a more adventurous spirit. Rosettes, cables, spirals and palmettes are given a trial, even human figures make a fleeting appearance, but the fashion for dedicating small vases has had the result that only a handful of sherds remain from the sanctuary sites to shew what this experimental stage was like. No doubt large vases with the Transitional check-pattern continue well into the seventh century, and there seems to be the same partiality for clumsy ridges running round the vase, but it is as hard to make out the shapes as it is to trace the development of the patterns. Hence I shall only mention a few individual pieces.

#### A. SHAPES.

Among the shapes, several fragments belong to oinochoai (PLATE 23 *a*, 24 *k*, 25 *d*). Large open bowls account for most of the others; PLATE 31 *f* (and *A.O.* fig. 41 *c*, pl. 28, 5) shew two fragments from the lip of a tall one of cylindrical shape, plastic heads being arranged along the flange of the lip. These particular specimens are in the 'Daedalic' style of 640–30, and many other heads are preserved with all the surrounding vase surface broken away. However, one is at the base of an oinochoe handle triangular in section, another, very badly worn, applied to the front of the neck of a smallish oinochoe or hydria with a straight lip. The latter appears to have been the regular position, and a fine head in the school at Gytheion (PLATE 33 *a*, *b*) must from the advanced look of the modelling be dated about the end of the seventh century. I could not find *A.O.* fig. 43, but there are many fragments of lamps bearing plastic heads representing different stages of the 'Daedalic' style; the treatment of these falls outside a study of vase-painting. *A.O.* fig. 42 *e* (drawing upside down, now in the British Museum) is the fragment of a foot whose profile loosely resembles the cushioned krater feet of the sixth century (cf. the Louvre volute-krater, *C.V.A.* I, iii Dc, pl. 6, 1, 2). Many fragments belong to tall stands with cut-out sides—*e.g.* our PLATE 25 *f*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apparently with a painting of a vase. Compare *A.M.* 1903 Beil. v (Theran), and an unpublished Protocorinthian sherd from Perachora painted with a row of aryballoi.

The extraordinary pyxis *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. VI has been confidently attributed to Crete by Miss Hartley.<sup>1</sup> The clay is, however, by no means un-Lakonian, burnt to a hard brownish-orange as is usual with unslipped vases; evidence for the pyxis shape is shewn on FIG. 5 E, for the lip on FIG. 2 K, for the ribbed underside in the ribs on Lakonian I plates (FIG. 7 C). Horses occur on the fragment *A.O.* fig. 40 *m*, the oinochoe PLATE 25 *g*, and a chalice mentioned on p. 117 above; a Lakonian head with the same Semitic-looking profile is PLATE 23 *j*. I therefore regard Miss Hartley's arguments as inconclusive until a much closer parallel is found in Crete, and a further point is the absence at Sparta of any other Cretan object which can be dated to this period. Droop is right in assigning the vase to the early seventh-century Lakonian fabric.<sup>2</sup>

#### B. PATTERNS.

The check-pattern of the Transitional phase gives way to outlined squares with a dot in the centre; this may be used on a large surface or in a row along the lip (*A.O.* figs. 41 *c*, 42 *b*, *g*; *B.S.A.* xxviii 56 fig. 3 *h*, *l*; PLATE 31 *f*). Rays, tongues, and 'running-dog' are naturally common; PLATE 23 *a* shews tongues in an unusual position inside the lip of an oinochoe as well as outside on the neck.

The *rosette* is the most conspicuous of the plant-motives adopted; at first the leaves are pointed (PLATE 25 *g*), later rounded (PLATE 24 *n*, *A.O.* fig. 42 *f*; reserved on a dark ground, *A.O.* fig. 42 *b*, *g*). Dot rosettes occur on *B.S.A.* xxviii 56 fig. 3 *n*.

*Palmettes* are very rudimentary (PLATE 25 *d*, *A.O.* fig. 42 *a*) but PLATE 23 *e* (= *A.O.* fig. 42 *c*) is a lid fragment with very unusual enclosed palmettes and may shew 'Melian' influence.

The *pomegranate* row begins very early.<sup>3</sup> *A.O.* fig. 42 *d*, recurring also on a small hydria, may be the original form; *B.S.A.* xxviii 56 fig. 3 *c* is the type in common use throughout the seventh century. In *A.O.* fig. 42 *e* it is more elaborate and the stamens at the top are indicated. Evidently the simple form *B.S.A.* xxviii 56 fig. 3 *c* was used when the ornament was small, and further details only shewn when a larger scale permitted—until the sixth century and the advent of more careful miniature drawing. The curious motive *B.S.A.* xxviii 56 fig. 3 *e* and our PLATE 26 *c* appears to be a perversion of the cable rather than a variant of the pomegranate.

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xxxi 61; *B.S.A.* xxxii 254.

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* xxviii 58–9.

<sup>3</sup> Kunze (*Kretische Bronzereliefs* 109) doubts this and would ascribe it to Melian influence. But on Melian vases it is rare by comparison, never advancing beyond the simplest form, and no examples are earlier than the earliest Lakonian, where a continuous development of the motive can be followed. Dr. Kunze told me that he has now changed his mind. There are only isolated instances of its use in Protocorinthian—*e.g.* Johansen *op. cit.* pl. XXI, 1.

FIG. 10 *b* shews a bird beside a 'sacred tree,' the only Lakonian example of this motive.

LAKONIAN I: FIGURE STYLE OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

*Animals.* Before the mid-century our evidence is very scanty. PLATE 25 *g*<sup>1</sup> is a large oinochoe with a frieze of winged horses; the bodies are extremely slender, as in the Geometric period, but the heads and wings are in outline technique. Their successors appear on the pyxis *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. VI but, as on the Prinias frieze, the figures are still attenuated and incoherent; date about the end of the first quarter-century.

Next follows a stage remarkably similar to the Attic 'Burgon' style: lions with diminished hindquarters, enormous shoulders, and long, clumsy

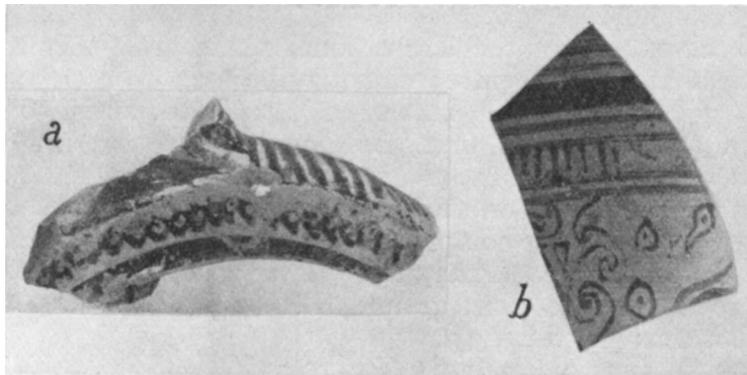


FIG. 10.—GEOMETRIC RING-VASE AND ORIENTALISING PYXIS (see also p. 105).

toes in outline.<sup>2</sup> No certain heads are left, but *A.O.* fig. 41 *b* (looking vertically down, not forward as in the drawing) belongs to an animal of the kind. Grazing goats, *A.O.* fig. 41 *b*, have the face reserved and spotted, as with the Burgon lions; on some smaller fragments (PLATE 26 *b*, unslipped), where bulls also figure, the face, shoulder, and edge of thigh are reserved and then painted over with a solid white patch. In all these the drawing is uncertain and the animals too ungainly to move, but with the appearance of animal friezes on the Fine Ware both these faults are remedied. Specimens are shewn on PLATES 26, 27 *a* to *g*, and *A.O.* fig. 58 *a*. Small, tadpole-like creatures with enormous heads and wriggling

<sup>1</sup> Inset top right, on a slightly larger scale, are two sherds which I found after the first photograph was taken.

<sup>2</sup> For example, *B.S.A.* xxviii 56 fig. 3 *g*. No purple on the shoulder, but varnish reddened by bad firing; an unpainted triangle on the right edge not shewn in the drawing makes it certain that one foot was raised.

tails, they are like the vivacious caricatures on Attic vases of the Phaleron group.<sup>1</sup> Incision is never used; heads and sometimes toes are in outline, with red patches for the neck; inner markings are shewn by reserved lines (PLATE 27 *g*). Protocorinthian influence is suggested by the frequency of running hounds and the hare hunt (PLATE 26 *f*), but for technical reasons the drawing rarely reaches the same standard. PLATE 27 *i, j* are the two latest and best executed animals; *B.S.A.* xxviii 66 fig. 10 has two friezes, one in the reserved, one in the incised technique, and for that reason rather than for the style of drawing I regard it as a transitional piece to Lakonian II, about the end of the third quarter-century.<sup>2</sup>

*Human figures.* These are very rare and I can quote only isolated examples. *B.S.A.* xxviii 56 fig. 3 *b* is post-Geometric, as the fuller proportions shew; the head would have been in outline. *B.S.A.* xxviii 57 fig. 4 (= our PLATE 23 *j*) belongs by virtue of the check-pattern to the Transitional stage. The object to the left is not a wing, but the border painted round the junction of a handle; the head is either a protome or had a dwarfish body like *J.d.I.* 1887, 46 nos. 6, 7. A Semitic-looking nose like that on both the Lakonian and the Attic vases is quite different from the pointed features of late Geometric and may well be copied from imported eastern objects like the bronze 'kesselattaschen'; for the pointed cap, common on late Geometric bronzes, see Kunze *Kretische Bronzereliefs* 180 note 11. Considerably later are the charioteers on *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. VI, but the nose and tiny beard remain the same. On *A.O.* fig. 41 *a* the figures are much fuller; the subject may be from another chariot-scene, with a quite inexplicable object in the field. This would be after the mid-century, and the heads on the lakaina *A.O.* fig. 41 *e* (= our PLATE 25 *a*) well in the third quarter. They have a very 'Melian' appearance, and their male counterpart is the bearded head PLATE 23 *g* from an oinochoe shoulder. The second sherd with the tip of a beard does not join, and it looks as if a frieze of protomes ran round the vase; similar protomes are found on the necks of two 'Melian' vases in Mykonos. Yet another male head is on the sherd figured in PLATE 23 *h*.

Fragments of a dish, *A.O.* fig. 47 *f*, have small and careful outline heads, but the cock from the same vase combines outline and incised techniques—it will be mentioned under 'Lakonian II.'

## LAKONIAN II.

Throughout the earlier part of the seventh century we have found small vases remarkably conservative in their scheme of decoration, and

<sup>1</sup> *J.d.I.* 1887, 56 figs. 21, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the vase was fired extra hard to prepare it for incision, and thus the slip has become buff in colour.

large clumsy ones where a spirit of desultory experiment admits all kinds of curvilinear and plant motives. But a revolution of style came about at some point which cannot be absolutely dated on external evidence, though it may well shew a repercussion from the change which overtook the Corinthian fabric between 630–620. There ceases to be any marked discrepancy between the decoration of large and small vases—so far as we can tell; the shapes shew refinements which would be permissible in metal but appear fantastic when translated into clay, and the restraint which distinguished the decoration of the Lakonian I Fine Ware is abandoned to admit a host of new motives. Curiously enough, the latter are mainly Geometric in character, and not yet does plant ornament play an appreciable part. Most important of all is the birth of a true black-figure style with incised details for the animal frieze. The lower limit of this class seems to fall later than the transition from Early to Middle Corinthian, for examples were found with Middle Corinthian vases in graves at Taranto; but the next phase, where plant ornaments are freely used, has its own affinity with Middle Corinthian in its later stages. Hence I would roughly date ‘Lakonian II’ between 630–590, with a proviso that ‘Lakonian III’ vases of the Hephaistos Painter group may overlap.

#### A. SHAPES (FIGS. 11, 13).

Continued from Lakonian I is the *lakaina*, with a more flaring mouth and a growing ring-foot; the *small goblet*, FIG. 11 A, develops on the same lines till in Lakonian III the strange form *A.O.* fig. 55 is found. I think the *small cup*, FIG. 11 B, is confined to Lakonian II—no fragment survives with the handle attached. The *olpe*, FIG. 11 C (*B.S.A.* xxviii 61 fig. 6 d), is noticeably more metallic in shape than that of Lakonian I.

The *two-handled cup*, *A.O.* fig. 44 A, undergoes considerable modification in this period, no doubt owing to the same East-Greek influence which acted on the Corinthian and Attic cups of the early sixth century.<sup>1</sup> The bowl is much fuller, the ring-foot very pronounced, and the lip less deep in proportion; often the lip is convex, as in PLATE 31 e, but in the Rhodes cup *Cl. Rh.* vi pl. ii it is straight in profile with a thick, square-cut edge. The last-named vase is tall and tapers sharply towards the foot without the sagging curve of the Taranto cup; <sup>2</sup> the shape looks later, but both were found in Middle Corinthian graves.

FIG. 11 E (= PLATE 29) is a *standed bowl with a high foot*. The style is very early black-figure, but another fragment of identical shape from the

<sup>1</sup> Corinthian, *NC.* 310; Attic, *ib.* 194 ff. and Greifenhagen *Eine Attische Schwarzfigurige Vasengattung*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the ‘Vroulian’ and ‘une marque’ cups, Kinch *Vroulia* pls. IX, X. PLATE 31 c shews fragments of two cups with convex lip and unusual decoration; apparently Lakonian, they came from Naukratis and are in the British Museum. PLATE 32 b, at Sparta, is another cup of this type.

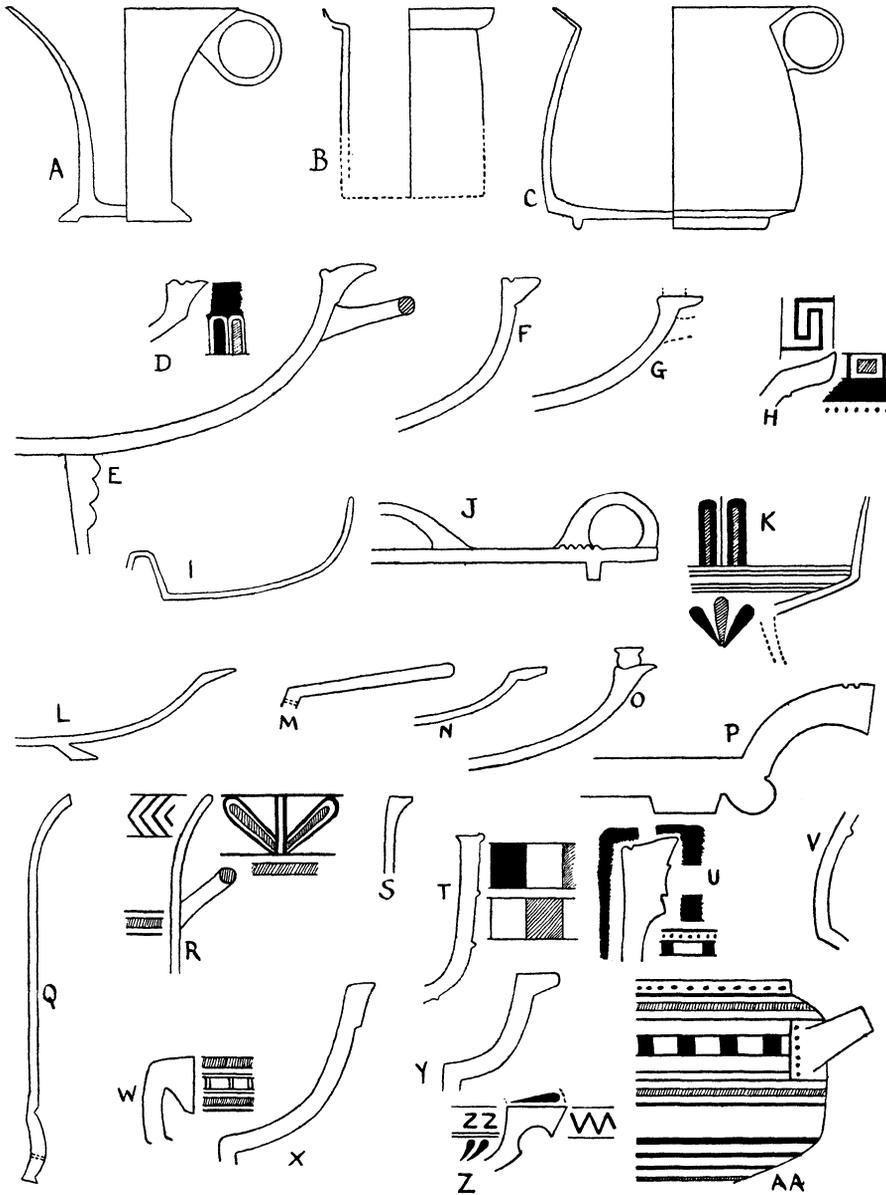


FIG. 11.—LAKONIAN II (—LAKONIAN III) SHAPES.

Argive Heraeum (*Arg. Her.* ii pl. LX 16) has on the outside running hounds in a developed style which may be contemporary with the Lakonian III Hephaistos Painter vases. The shape certainly continues in the Lakonian III period, and I think that many of the fragmentary feet with decorative

bands of ornament belong to chalices or vases of this shape rather than to kylikes.<sup>1</sup> There were probably knobs attached to the upper surface of the lip. Other fragments of flattish bowls are FIG. 11 E, F and H; G is the gorgon fragment of PLATE 32 a and A.O. fig. 49. This could not be a lid, as it had

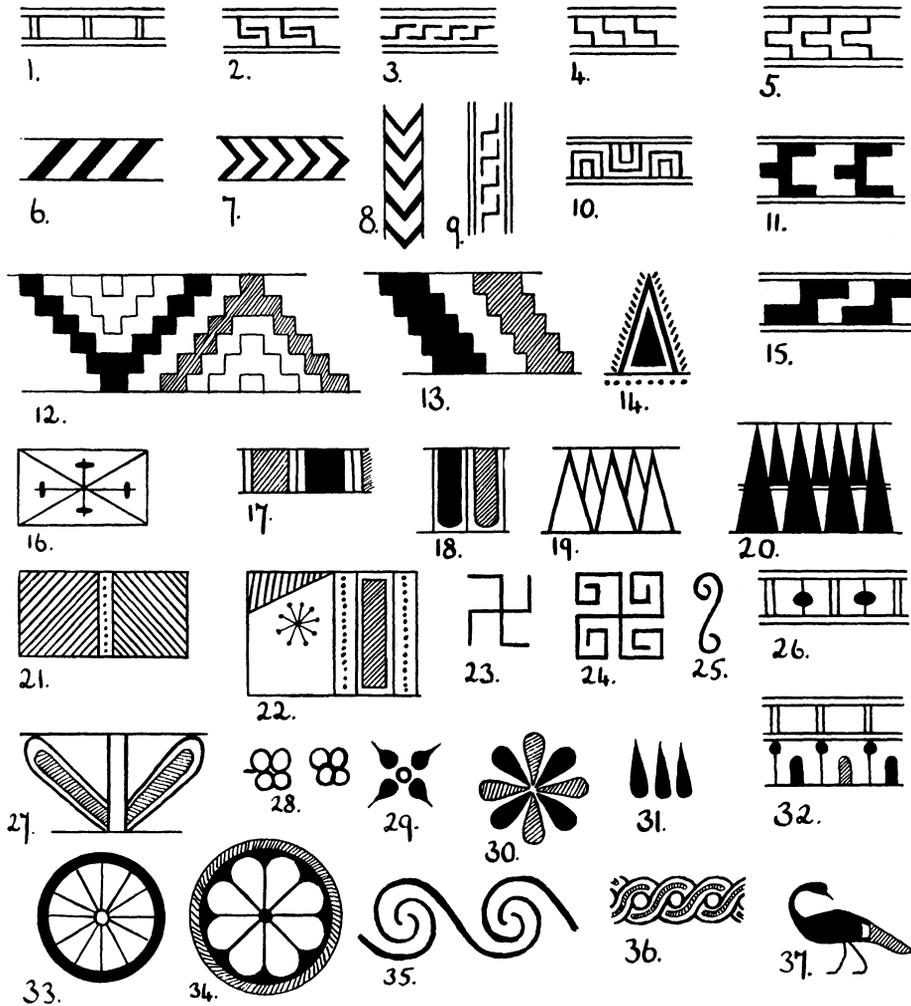


FIG. 12.—LAKONIAN II PATTERNS.

attachments on the flat surface of the lip, but it is curious to find the external friezes upside down.

The *phiale mesomphalos*, FIG. 11 I (= A.O. fig. 51), is very rare.

A lid is shewn in FIG. 11 J (= A.O. fig. 58 g); fragments of others are A.O. fig. 46 p and our PLATE 33 c, d (head from an edge).

<sup>1</sup> See p. 145 below.

The *chalice* FIG. 11 K<sup>1</sup> (= PLATE 28 c), is already common in Lakonian I, though throughout its history there are two distinct types with either a low, splayed-out bowl or a high cylindrical one.

*Plates* shew a tendency to drop the simple grooved edge of Lakonian I, and new varieties are FIG. 11, L, M, N, O,<sup>2</sup> (P belongs to the next period), of which O is perhaps the most typical. Round knobs on the upper rim and attachments at the side like *A.O.* fig. 47 p, s are usually present.

*Ornamental poloi*, *A.O.* fig. 53 and our FIG. 11 Q, reflect a fashion in dedications which is paralleled by the Boeotian specimens discussed by Ure in *A.A.* 1933, 7 and Langlotz in the Würzburg Catalogue under number 67. One other, without slip or paint, is surrounded by moulded ridges.

The *Bell-krater*,<sup>3</sup> *B.S.A.* xxviii 65 fig. 9, is fairly common, but it is rare to find a lip like FIG. 11 R in place of FIG. 11 S; the latter is also known in Lakonian III.

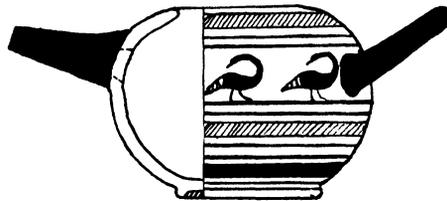


FIG. 13.—LAKONIAN II FEEDER.

FIG. 11 T<sup>4</sup> and U (in Samos) are *open bowls* with the characteristic stamp of metal-work; v (= *A.O.* fig. 47 i) is an *oinochoe-neck* with Lakonian II birds. w, from the Menelaion, belongs to a small *krater* without handles, for which precedents are described on p. 110.

The fragments x,<sup>5</sup> y, z, come from a kind of hybrid between the *oinochoe* and the flat-bottomed *aryballos*. These vases have a narrow neck and a bell-mouth; at the front is a spout like that of a teapot. *A.O.* fig. 70 c is only a miniature, but it gives an idea of the shape, and on PLATE 32 c is an early Lakonian III example which has lost its neck and spout. There is a splendid vase of similar date in Samos,<sup>6</sup> about 20 cm. high, and comparatively well preserved; not until this is published will it be possible to discuss the shape in detail.

FIG. 13 is another vase with a spout, a '*feeder*' for infants or invalids.

<sup>1</sup> Interior decoration shewn in the drawing, a rosette with alternate purple and black leaves in the centre. For Transitional and Lakonian I examples, see pp. 110-11, 119.

<sup>2</sup> L = *A.O.* fig. 46 y. Of M only the rim fragments, *A.O.* fig. 47 ff, survive.

<sup>3</sup> For earlier bell-kraters, see p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> One fragment of T is shewn on *A.O.* fig. 47 m.

<sup>5</sup> x = *A.O.* fig. 46 x.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 136 below.

FIG. 11 AA, a *pyxis* with a flat ribbon-handle, is a shape sometimes decorated with plastic medallions (cf. PLATE 31 *a, b*; *B.S.A.* xxix 67 fig. 11 *b*). A miniature bell-krater from Rhodes, Brit. Mus. no. A 595, bears medallions stamped with 'Daedalic' heads, probably from the moulds used for Rhodian jewellery, and it is possible that at Sparta bone or ivory seals were used in the same way.<sup>1</sup> The gorgoneia are discussed on p. 171; the winged figure was male (cf. *A.O.* pls. VII, XCIX) and the wings springing from the chest, short torso, and enormous thighs are sure grounds for putting it in the late seventh century. Note the tiny animals, mouse and tortoise, loose in the field; they provide a parallel to the signs found on so many archaic coins.

*A.O.* fig. 57, a heavy *dinos-stand*, was rightly placed in the Lakonian II class by reason of its decoration, and the rounded ridges are comparable with those on the stem of FIG. 11 E and on the unpainted polos mentioned above. *A.O.* fig. 72 *hh* is a fragment of a similar object.<sup>2</sup> The enormous bowls on *A.O.* fig. 56 are probably later, as one piece of this kind has an incised palmette on the rim.<sup>3</sup>

PLATE 34 *a* shews a vase which was introduced to me as a '*pseudo-kantharos*'; it was found at Taranto<sup>4</sup> with five Middle Corinthian kotylai, two cups, an amphoriskos, a ring-vase, and a *pyxis* as *NC.* 307 no. 895. The decoration is typical of Lakonian II, the foot hollow up to the first overhanging ridge. This is the nearest we can get to a *kantharos* of the type so common on Lakonian sepulchral reliefs, and perhaps that shape was exclusively made in metal. For the curious treatment of the lower part, compare *A.O.* fig. 55 and an unpublished sherd in Samos. The date must fall early in the sixth century.

#### PATTERNS.

The rays, 'dot and square' lip pattern, and 'square and circle' of Lakonian I are still common, but the last-named disappears from beneath cups and *lakainai* as the ring-foot becomes more pronounced. The very numerous new patterns are collected on FIG. 12, where their aggressively Geometric character is obvious, a few varieties of rosette and pomegranate being the only ones that suggest a naturalistic origin. Filling ornament in the animal frieze (FIG. 12, 23-25) is insignificant, and the resulting effect of Lakonian II is an arid stiffness, accentuated by the angular drawing of the animals and the metallic shapes of the vases themselves. Characteristic of the narrower bands of ornament are the pairs of fillets which bound them at top and bottom, often with vertical pairs joining them at intervals

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Payne informs me that there was found at Perachora a small clay impression which gave every appearance of having been stamped by a seal of this kind.

<sup>2</sup> Not Lakonian IV, as there suggested.

<sup>3</sup> See also p. 156.

<sup>4</sup> In Tomb V *bis*, Contrada Vaccarella, 1922.

(FIG. 12, 1-5, 10-11, 15, 26, 32). The spacing of the black squares on the lip is usually much wider than in the Lakonian I period.

It is possible that the rosette reserved on a black ground (FIG. 12, 34, and PLATE 30) is borrowed from Corinthian, for it occurs in the centre of some Middle Corinthian cups.<sup>1</sup> The birds (37) are disposed in monotonous friezes and have no more intrinsic interest than mere filling ornament; there is always a reserved patch above the tail, which is painted in purple laid directly over the slip. Apparently no fragments with these birds on them are found above the sand layer, and they were no doubt discarded as soon as plant ornament became available. There are birds in white paint on the shoulders of the krater, *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 2, 5, but that is the only case where they appear on a vase not of the Lakonian II series.

#### THE ANIMAL FRIEZE.

A perfect example of the transition from outline brush-drawing to incised black-figure is provided by two sherds from the Amyklaion, PLATE 27, *k*, *l*, where both methods are combined, and the painstaking stiffness of the incision, surrounding the outer contours, is proof in itself that this is one of the earliest experiments in an unfamiliar technique. A lakaina lip, *B.S.A.* xxviii 66 fig. 10, has two friezes, the lower brush-drawn, the upper incised with an uncertainty of touch which is paralleled on three fragments from an oinochoe found on the Akropolis (PLATE 28 *d*); the head may belong to the first sphinx known on a Lakonian vase. The monstrous lion (?) on a piece from a flat lid, *A.O.* fig. 46 *p*, would be about the same date. Considerably later, near the end of the century, is the standed dish PLATE 29 (FIG. 11 E); these panther-birds were suggested by Corinthian ones, but the long, shaggy neck, spotted body and drooping tail are the achievements of local talent. Interest has been concentrated on the fine central gorgoneion, where the engraving technique was only risked in a wavy line above the forehead curls.

Comparative confidence had been gained by the time that *A.O.* fig. 50 *b* was painted. There are several other fragments of this vase from the Menelaion; it was evidently a very large lakaina with straight lip. A superb Early Corinthian pyxis-lid, decorated with bulls and rams, was found on the same site, and it may not be too much to suppose some connection between the two vases. However, local idiosyncrasies are strong; the animals of *A.O.* fig. 50 *b* are rectangular in outline and the articulation of the Corinthian models, logical and supple however stylised, has been misunderstood and lost. The painter has lacerated the hind-quarters with redundant incision of no structural value as a result of his

<sup>1</sup> Two in the National Museum at Athens. A reserved rosette occurs on the under-side of Middle Corinthian aryballoi. Cf. *C.V.A. Louvre* viii, III Ca, pl. 18, 30.

newly-won dexterity with the graver, but an advance on the Amyklaion sherds is shewn by the abandonment of the incised contour lines.

More restraint appears in the admirable fish cups from Taranto (PLATE 30), where incision is reduced to a minimum; hints of the outline technique remain in the reserved eyes of the dolphins, reserved triangles on their bellies, and the decorative birds of the exterior. Similarly with the beards and eyes of the snakes, and the fish on the gorgon dish, PLATE 32 *a*<sup>1</sup> (*A.O.* fig. 49). No purple is visible on the interior of this piece, but it is only a step to the closely related snakes on kylikes by the Hephaistos Painter, where the patch at the back of the head and a row of dots down the body are laid on in that colour.

### LAKONIAN III.

With the sixth century we come to the vases which Droop has put into his third and fourth classes, and this is perhaps the best point to examine the system by which, for the last twenty years, these vases have been classified. The excavations at the Orthia sanctuary produced a comparatively small number of archaic fragments distinguished by the total absence of slip and a decadent style; there was no sealed deposit, like that created by the sand layer, to draw a sharp line between the slipped and unslipped ware, but their position in the strata shewed that the latter came after the former. With unslipped fragments definitely late, and entirely slipped fragments as definitely early, it was logical to assume that vases which were only partially slipped belonged to a phase transitional between the two; and if logic were assisted by mathematics, it would be possible to find the relative position of a vase in the series by calculating the proportionate area of its surface not covered by slip. This method has its advantages for those who believe that archaic Lakonian art is like a stagnant lake, which for about 150 years shews no ripple on its surface; Droop, for example, finds that 'the painter's style is almost valueless as a criterion of date, for in Lakonia the art of the vase-painter never got beyond the archaic stage, so that the careless work of the earlier periods may well be confused with the careful drawing of a later date.'<sup>2</sup> But for the practical archaeologist who has to deal with fragments this criterion is frequently useless, since a calculation of the unslipped area of the missing parts of a vase involves at least algebra, if not divination—and why should it be necessary if the fragment in question is covered with carefully executed figure decoration?

The alternative method for dating vases, where external evidence

<sup>1</sup> In the centre apparently a gorgoneion, the point of whose beard is shewn upside down on the central sherd. The large animals indicated by *A.O.* fig. 49 are too badly worn on the other two sherds to make reproduction worth while.

<sup>2</sup> *J.H.S.* 1910, 21.

is lacking, is by means of style.<sup>1</sup> For instance, if a particular shape is represented by only one or two Lakonian examples, they may be placed by comparing them with vases of similar shape belonging to another fabric where the stages of development are more fully preserved. But more important for our present study is the figure decoration, which, even on a fragment, usually has a distinct stylistic character of its own. It happens with the Lakonian fabric, as with many others, that the exported vases are finer than those found on home ground—and naturally so, since the expenses of transport and the competition of foreign wares left no justification for second-rate work. Hence the exported vases are the most stylish in execution, that is, they shew the changes of fashion and the individualities of the painter more distinctly than most of the fragments found in Lakonia itself. I believe that many pieces can be attributed to the same painter, with the natural inference that they were produced during the limited space of time that he was at work. In cases where shapes and secondary decoration correspond, while the figure compositions are by different hands, it is reasonable to suppose that the two painters were working contemporaneously. The multiplication of patterns on the exterior of a kylix, for example, was sheer hack-work calling for little ability; this might be entrusted to apprentices, the master himself only taking a hand when an unusual effect or special magnificence was desired. This explains why such divergent forms of the handle-palmette appear on the Arkesilas kylix and the Vatican Prometheus, where the figure-drawing is by the same artist, and also accounts for the external resemblance and interior discrepancy between the Brussels banquet-cup and the kylix *A.O.* pls. IX, X.

The criterion I have used for drawing a line between the second and third Lakonian styles is the nature of the subsidiary ornament. In Lakonian II this is primarily abstract, preferring Geometric forms to those based on plant-life. In Lakonian III the pomegranate and lotus-bud frieze, linked or unlinked, the handle-palmette, and a limited kind of floral complex are almost invariably present. In the chief decoration, interest concentrates upon the human figure, which was noticeably absent in Lakonian II and evidently demanded the larger field provided by the kylix roundel before it could play a leading part. The chronological limits are impossible to fix on external evidence, but on grounds of style the upper one should fall within the Middle Corinthian period, about 590–80, and the lower one, which I adopt for convenience rather than from a belief in its positive value,<sup>2</sup> at about the middle of the sixth century.

<sup>1</sup> On this subject, see a review of *Artemis Orthia* which appeared in *J.H.S.* 1930, 146–150. The distinction there drawn between *Formgefühl* and *technique* is much to the point.

<sup>2</sup> For example, the Hunt Painter in his early work is strongly influenced by the Arkesilas Painter, and so was active in the second quarter of the century; another kylix, of 'Droop cup' shape, is unmistakably by his hand and I have classed it with Lakonian IV, after 550 (p. 142).

Within these forty years the Hephaistos Painter group shows a remarkable homogeneity and may be placed early; other vases still appear under Middle Corinthian influence, while the work of the Arkesilas and Hunt Painters belongs to the same cycle as that of the Late Corinthian red-ground vases. Some pieces cannot be so definitely classified and when necessary they will be individually discussed.

GROUP A: THE HEPHAISTOS PAINTER.

There is a significant break in the continuity of the finds at the Orthia sanctuary—'very little of the ware of the second period was found.'<sup>1</sup> This is not to be explained by a decline in offerings, but rather by the damage following the flood which swept away almost all the evidence we need to bridge the transition from the second to the third style. Luckily, two important pieces remained stranded, the goblet *A.O.* fig. 55 and the *lakaina A.O.* pls. VII, VIII. Of the latter, Droop remarks that 'it occupies a place of its own in the Lakonian series.' Such opulent plant-decoration has no more to do with the angularities of Lakonian II than has the developed treatment of the human figures in the frieze, but it is not true to say that the vase is completely isolated. For by now the export of Lakonian vases to foreign markets had begun on a considerable scale, and from Rhodes, Naukratis, Samos and Italy its contemporaries have come to light.

These are nearly all kylikes, a shape which always remained the favourite with foreign buyers, and most have so much in common that they might be ascribed to a single painter. There follows a list of the more important examples.

1. Fragment, in Samos. Bare legs of woman. Palmette as FIG. 24, 1 (PLATE 36 *b, d*).
2. New York, from Greece? Floral complex. Palmette, FIG. 24, 1. *J.H.S.* 1910, 13-14, figs. 5-6.
3. Fragment, from Selinus. Palmette, FIG. 24, 1. *Mon. Ant.* xxxii 310 fig. 128.
4. Louvre E 663, from Italy. Hare-hunt. Palmette as FIG. 24, 2. PLATE 35, *a*.
5. Rhodes. Hephaistos and Dionysos. Palmette, FIG. 24, 2. *C.V.A. Rhodes* i, III D, pl. 1.
6. Rome, in Dr. L. Curtius' collection. Introduction of Herakles? Palmette, FIG. 24, 3, unincised. To be published shortly in *R.M.*
7. Brit. Mus. B. 6, from Naukratis. Uncertain subject. Palmette, FIG. 24, 4, incised. PLATE 36 *c*.
8. Brit. Mus. B. 7, from Naukratis. Dogs coursing a fox. Palmette, FIG. 24, 4. PLATE 35 *b*.

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<sup>1</sup> *A.O.* 72.

9. Brit. Mus. B. 7, from Naukratis. Fragment from centre of similar kylix. PLATE 35 *f*.
10. Brit. Mus. B. 5, from Naukratis. Gorgoneion. Palmette, FIG. 24, 4. PLATE 37 *a* and FIG. 14 *A*.
11. Olympia. Fragment with Gorgoneion. *Olympia* iv 202 no. 1302.
12. Brit. Mus. B. 7, fragments from Naukratis. Kneeling warrior, part of horse. Palmette, FIG. 24, 4. PLATE 36 *g*.
13. Samos, fragments from similar cup. Youth leading horse. PLATE 36 *f*.
14. Oxford, from Naukratis. Fragment, Herakles and Hydra. PLATE 34 *c*.<sup>1</sup>
15. Leipzig, fragments from Caere. Herakles and Hydra. Palmette as FIG. 24, 4. PLATE 34 *b*.
16. Samos, fragment with head of woman. Apparently not the same cup as no. 1. PLATE 36 *a*.

Related, but probably later:—

17. Munich, fragments. Komasts in a radial frieze round medallion containing an animal. Unpublished.
18. Samos, fragment. Figures in medallion, surrounded by animal frieze. Palmette as FIG. 24, 6.
19. Delphi. Fragment, kylix stem. *Fouilles de Delphes* v 145–6 fig. 601.

There is no definite evidence for the appearance of the high-footed kylix before the sixth century; *A.O.* fig. 52 *e* was found in an unstratified trial-pit and the myrtle-wreath round the lip forbids its inclusion under Lakonian II. Except for no. 19, the stems of all these cups are black, which leads me to suppose that the numerous fragmentary feet, with decorative bands on a white ground (*e.g.* FIG. 15), belong to fruit-dishes like FIG. 11 *E* or to chalices.<sup>2</sup> The usual shape of lip and bowl is shown on FIG. 14 *A*, but nos. 4 and 5 have thinner walls and a sharp-edged foot.<sup>3</sup>

In external decoration there is surprising uniformity except for the handle-palmette. Typical specimens published are nos. 5, and 10 (FIG. 14 *A*). No. 3 shews an unusual elaboration which foreshadows that of the Arkesilas kylix, while no. 2 has the whole lower bowl painted black, with a reserved band half-way down. This exceptional treatment is quite obviously borrowed from the East-Greek cups, and a similar feeling appears in the concentric fillets inside nos. 4 and 7;<sup>4</sup> that the East-Greek influence came through contact with Samos is suggested by the quantity of Lakonian fragments of this period found in the island.<sup>5</sup> There are four types of

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank Mr. R. M. Cook for the photograph.

<sup>2</sup> These would in any case supply a local precedent for the high foot, but perhaps Ionian potters had already adopted the high foot and influenced the Lakonians to do the same.

<sup>3</sup> No. 2 is exceptional in having a concave lip instead of the usual slightly convex one.

<sup>4</sup> For a case where the compliment was returned, and Samian potters imitated a Lakonian cup, see p. 185 and PLATE 36 *e*.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 178.

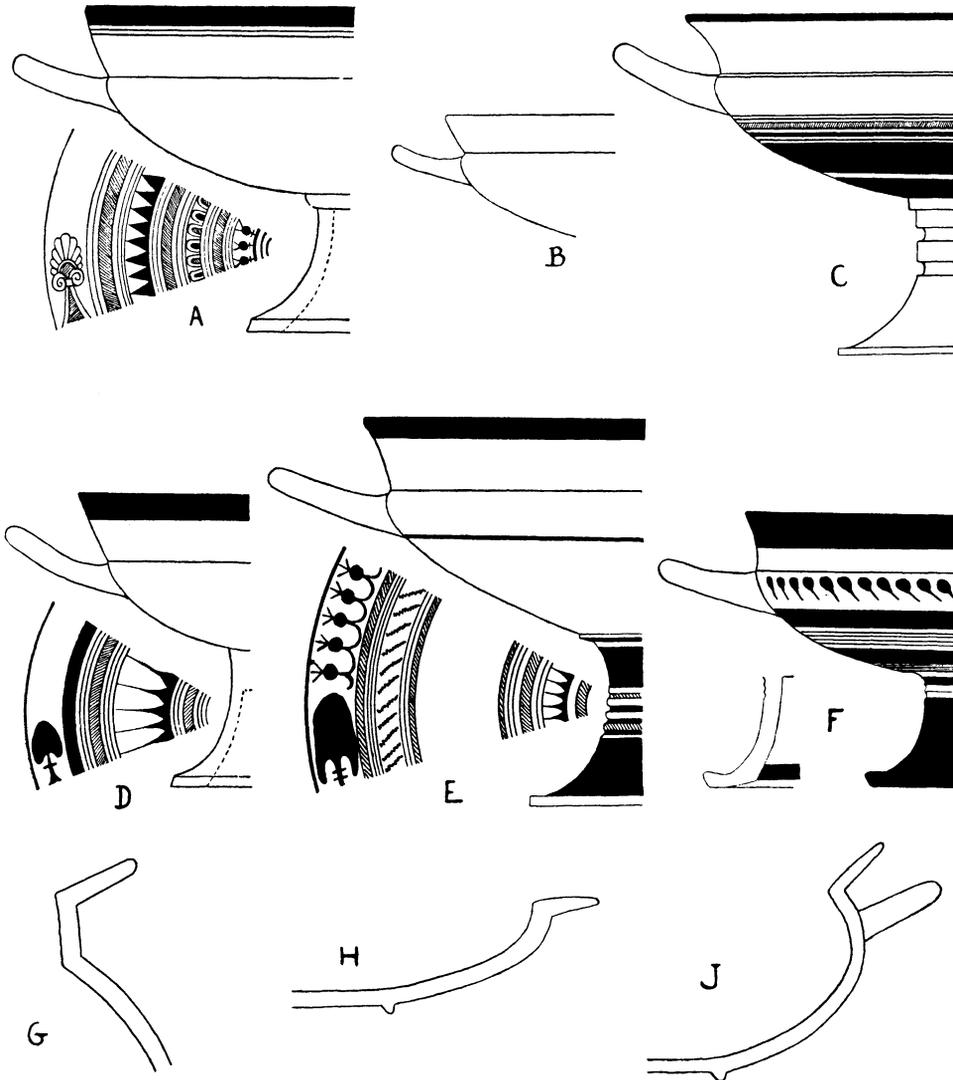


FIG. 14.—LAKONIAN III AND IV KYLIX SHAPES (A–F), LAKONIAN III PLATE (H), AND LAKONIAN IV BOWLS (G, J).

handle-palmette<sup>1</sup> (FIG. 24, 1–4), the first three unincised and all shewing successive stages of development over a short period of time. Connection with metal prototypes is obvious in the triangular member springing from

<sup>1</sup> Lakonian handle-palmettes always have a straight horizontal stem (except the freak *C.V.A. Cambridge* i, iii D, pl. 4, 25). The Attic *kleinmeister* type with curved stem appears in its earliest form on a seventh-century kotyle recently found at the Kerameikos, but even there is not suggestive of metallic influence.

the handle; this recurs on the Arkesilas kylix but disappears from the less carefully executed vases of the second quarter-century. A distinctive trait of the group, rarely missing, is the fringe of pomegranates which surrounds the picture. It was copied by the 'Naukratite' potters and occurs on only one later Lakonian kylix—that in Würzburg.<sup>1</sup> It is extremely important to notice that in this, the earliest stage of Lakonian III, the practice of leaving parts of the vase unslipped has already begun. The square-cut edge of the foot and the torus where the stem joins the bowl are usually so treated, and inside the lip there are always reserved bands near the top and bottom edges—sometimes another between them.<sup>2</sup> This is clearly no sign of decadence, for it would be simpler to paint the whole lip black; rather it is a deliberately sought effect which was more extensively cultivated in the second quarter of the century. At first it seems to have been confined to the kylix. The technique of all the 'Hephaistos Group' vases is of the very highest order; slip thick, dull matt, and ivory in colour; varnish thin, inclining to sepia; purple thick, sometimes inclining to orange, but usually of a deep violet tone.

The advent of figure scenes apparently coincides with that of the kylix, and from now on the larger field and greater concentration of the kylix interior are preferred for human figures, while animals are still the rule in the narrow friezes surrounding the exterior. The problem was, how to fit the figures into a round space. The earliest treatment, which persisted from first to last in Corinthian, was that of a continuous frieze surrounding a central medallion (cf. the Taranto bowls, PLATE 30, and the fruit-dish, PLATE 29). This arrangement the Hephaistos Painter used in the two cups with running dogs (nos. 4, 8, above),<sup>3</sup> and it occurs on the later pieces 17, 18. But the figures are not big enough, and so other arrangements must be tried. One alternative was to fill the whole circle with a figure or figures accommodated to fit the space, but it needed Attic skill to do this well and Lakonian artists seldom tried it. The other was to provide a flat ground for the figures to stand on by drawing a chord across the circle—hence the diametrical division of the Rhodes Hephaistos cup, where both groups feet to feet have equal importance. If both groups were put the same way up, the same problem of providing a baseline led to the introduction of a second chord—as on the British Museum fragments, PLATE 36 g, and the companion piece in Samos; this frieze-like division is found on other fragments in Samos, PLATE 39 e, with a band

<sup>1</sup> Langlotz *Katalog* no. 166 pl. 28.

<sup>2</sup> As on no. 8, PLATE 35 b.

<sup>3</sup> The centre, lost in the two cups named, is suggested by another fragment from Naukratis shewing an incised 'catherine wheel' (PLATE 35 f). This does not fit the cup no. 7 but comes from a similar one. An unincised but otherwise similar pattern is often found in Corinthian cups of the period; the narrow concentric fillets are clearly copied from Ionian cups like Munich no. 529, Sieveking-Hackl pl. 10, *A.M.* 1929, 34 ff.

of little dancers running across the bottom of the cup, and the treatment even survived as late as the Taranto cup, PLATE 47. But the logical way was to treat the lower lunette as an exergue to be filled with secondary ornament—for example, take the Curtius and British Museum cups, nos. 6 and 7, where the running animals can only be regarded as filling. Subsequently the exergual space shrank to a minimum and contained a floral complex with or without heraldic flanking animals. In view of these experimental pieces, there is no reason to suppose that the exergue was introduced under foreign influence such as that of the East-Greek 'Euphorbos' plates.

It is disastrous that so little of this, the most attractive phase of Lakonian vase-painting, is preserved complete. What we have, shews a freshness and simplicity which look almost rustic beside the sophisticated work done by Corinthian potters at the same date—compare the Athena<sup>1</sup> of Dr. Curtius' kylix with the hard-boiled courtesans of Middle Corinthian, or the impish Return of Hephaistos on the Rhodes cup with the weary rout of its Corinthian counterpart (*MC.* 119, fig. 44 G). The figures themselves are slender, as on Middle Corinthian, but lack the tightly-knit physique; their movement is vague where that of the Corinthians is elastic and precise. In technique, incision is sparingly used, very bold and careful, with no sharp corners. Note especially the double lines for the shoulders of animals (on nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, 13), and the S-shaped incisions on flanks and hindquarters; snakes have round noses, purple caps, and purple dots down their backs, and purple dots are scattered over the boar on no. 6. Outline technique for female flesh is an obvious debt to Corinthian, and persists in Lakonian when the scale of the vase or the patience of the artist allows.

#### OTHER SHAPES, PERIOD OF THE HEPHAISTOS PAINTER KYLIKES.

The fine *lakaina*, *A.O.* pls. VII, VIII, has already been well described,<sup>2</sup> but I should like to add a word on the important question of its position in the Lakonian series, because this vase, more than anything else, can supply the needed clue for the date of the flood and rebuilding of the Orthia temple. Droop places it at the end of 'Lakonian II,' about 600. But in style it shews the infancy of the Lakonian III fashion rather than the maturity of Lakonian II, so we must date the change, which manifested itself in the appearance of plant motives, somewhat earlier than the destruction of the old temple. The *lakaina* is connected with the kylikes 4

<sup>1</sup> The dress worn by Athena, and her polos, are very close to some of the lead figurines on *A.O.* pl. CXC. Apparently the polos was abandoned in Lakonia early in the sixth century; it is worn on the plastic heads *A.O.* pls. VII, VIII, but later ones are without it.

<sup>2</sup> *A.O.* 76.

and 5 above<sup>1</sup> by the handle palmette, and the slender figures are like those on cups by the Hephaistos Painter. Compare the warriors with *NC.* pl. 32, 1-3, and pl. 33, 11 (Middle Corinthian of the 'Gorgoneion' and 'Samos' groups). Then the plastic heads at the base of the handles (PLATE 33 *e*) have a depth and fullness which would be impossible in the seventh century; their predecessors are PLATE 33 *a-d*, their contemporaries the Middle Corinthian heads *NC.* pl. 48, 2, 3. A four-winged figure like *A.O.* pl. VII would be a rarity on a seventh-century vase of any fabric. Hence I date the vase well in the Middle Corinthian period, about 590-85, and as Middle Corinthian affinities still appear on vases found above the sand layer, we can suppose that the rebuilding occupied a very few years, during which the primitive character of the plant ornament on this lakaina developed into that more typical of Lakonian III.

Other lakainai of the same period, found above and below the sand, are like *A.O.* fig. 70 *b*, where the dot and square lip-pattern is interchangeable with the myrtle-wreath; one example (dot and square lip) was found in grave 182 at Taranto with a Middle Corinthian kotyle like *NC.* 308, no. 928 ff. and a flat-bottomed aryballos like *NC.* 304, fig. 140.<sup>2</sup>

The goblet *A.O.* fig. 55 has a curious ridge near the foot which connects it with the 'pseudo-kantharos' PLATE 34 *a*. The latter was found at Taranto in a Middle Corinthian grave,<sup>3</sup> but the goblet looks later, and as it came from below the sand, we have more evidence for postponing the date of the flood till about 590-85.

Another strange shape is *Mon. Ant.* xxxii. 310 pl. XC 1, where the bird-frieze is plump and early. The *krateriskos* in Philadelphia<sup>4</sup> I have not seen, but I hesitate to accept the view that it is a Lydian imitation of a Lakonian vase. Whatever its origin, it dates early in Lakonian III, about 590-80.

The flat-bottomed aryballos, Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. iv 4 is a more

<sup>1</sup> P. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Other exported examples from Carthage (*R.A.* 1928, 55), Caere (Leipzig, unpubl.), Corneto (unpubl.), Italy (*J.H.S.* 1910, 7 and *J.d.I.* 1923-4, 28).

<sup>3</sup> In Grave V *bis*, Contrada Vaccarella, August 1922. Cf. p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> *Museum Journal* xxiii 61. The clay on analysis proved to be similar to that of an authenticated Lydian vase, but unfortunately no comparative analysis of a Lakonian piece was made. The only Lakonian vase from Lydia is the kylix mentioned on p. 151, and it dates about 40 years later. No 'krateriskoi' of this shape were found at Sparta; they occur, however, in Samos (Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. viii 5, 6, 10, 12), and this raises a possibility that the Philadelphia vase was made in that island, where we know that Lakonian kylikes of the Hephaistos group were imitated (p. 185). But nothing in the decoration looks unfamiliar, and I prefer to call the vase Lakonian. The shape of the foot is paralleled on the Hephaistos Painter kylikes, and the omission of slip on a broad band round the body is an interesting early example of this practice. See also *A.M.* 59 (1934) 100 n. 1.

elaborately metallic counterpart of the Corinthian *NC.* fig. 140, and a fragment from above the sand at Orthia has a floral complex like our FIG. 25 B. In many museums are examples completely covered with black varnish, and probably the shape lasted over the whole first half of the century. The Samos aryballos looks early because of the absence of a vegetable frieze, the dot and square lip, and the square and circle under the foot, features which are commonest in the seventh century, though they survived later. A similar aryballos in Corneto is illustrated on FIG. 16. To judge from the style of the animals it is later than most of the Hephaistos group kylikes, about the end of the first quarter-century. Technique excellent, slipped all over, purple on black except for the cocks' crests and lions' tongues, where it is laid directly on the slip.

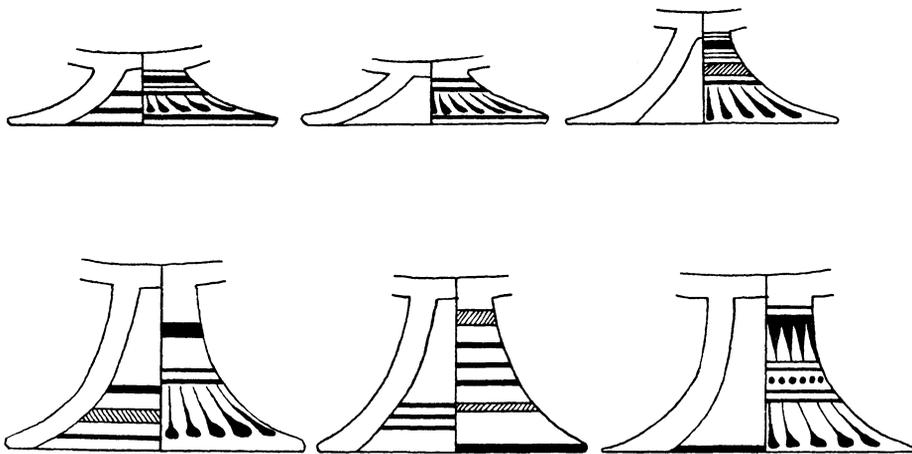


FIG. 15.—FEET, PROBABLY OF FRUIT-DISHES.

In the Samian nekropolis was found an extraordinary vase, already noticed on p. 125, with a spout and three plastic heads to support the lip. In addition to the peculiarity of its shape, this pot has a special interest as being the earliest important Lakonian III vase which has survived. The animal friezes are related to the work of the Hephaistos Painter, and the pomegranates are still of the primitive 'Lakonian II' form shewn on FIG. 21 I.<sup>1</sup>

A fragment of a closed vase in Oxford (*J.H.S.* 1910, 12 fig. 4, from Naukratis) perhaps belonged to an oinochoe, though it is hard to explain what look like the ends of rays reaching down from the top. The style of drawing definitely relates it to the kylikes of the Hephaistos group.

<sup>1</sup> The vase will be published in due course by Mr. D. Evangelides.

## GROUP B.

The vases just described form a fairly homogeneous group, distinguished by careful figure-drawing, excellent technique, and, apart from a few exceptions, a sparing use of plant-motives. The only vase from the Orthia sanctuary which can be regarded as a typical specimen is the lakaina *A.O.* pls. VII–VIII, found below the sand, from which it appears that the Hephaistos group belongs to the few years immediately preceding the destruction of the old temple. The earliest fragments from above the sand are still under Middle Corinthian influence in figure style and exuberantly decorated with plant-motives. The latter gradually become stereotyped, and as the Corinthian fabric passes into its latest phase, so Lakonia too gives up miniaturist drawing and produces robust figures like those of the Corinthian red-ground vases.<sup>1</sup> The development can best be studied in the kylikes, and these I shall treat in more detail than the shapes for which less material is available.

*Kylix.* A tendency towards very careful miniature drawing is found on a few pieces which cannot be later than Corinthian of the ‘Gorgoneion Cup’ and ‘Samos’ group.<sup>2</sup> One of these is the kylix from Orthia, found above the sand, and illustrated on PLATES 39 *a*, 40. Cocks and a hen are feeding round a central ‘catherine wheel’; among them are an ant and apparently a snail. For the first time a figure-frieze appears on the outside of a kylix, country revels most delicately drawn, with a needle point used for the incision.<sup>3</sup> The Trophonios kylix from Samos (Boehlau, *Nekropolen* pl. x 4), and that with bathing nymphs (*op. cit.* pl. xi) are probably of about the same date. On the latter, the ‘dot and square’ and sigma patterns and the animal frieze recall the two aryballoi from Samos and Corneto (*op. cit.* pl. iv 4 and our FIG. 16), and the slender figures are in the same tradition as those by the Hephaistos Painter, but the handle-palmette already shews signs of degeneration and there is a myrtle-wreath round the lip, which was formerly left plain. Fragments from Samos on PLATE 39 *e* have a miniature frieze of dancing women across the lower part of the roundel, an animal frieze on the exterior, and bands of sigma-ornament.<sup>4</sup> The Taranto kylix, PLATE 37 *b*, connected by external evidence with Middle Corinthian,<sup>5</sup> is in shape, technique, and outside decoration exactly like the Rhodes kylix by

<sup>1</sup> See p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> *NC.* 309, 310. Their upper limit should fall earlier than 575, the approximate date for the end of ‘Middle Corinthian.’

<sup>3</sup> For the subject, see p. 160. The hairy man may be compared with those on the krater-fragment, PLATE 39 *d*; the figures cannot represent silens, as they have no tails. There are only three cases of silens on Corinthian vases, and there perhaps they were suggested by Attic examples (*NC.* 90).

<sup>4</sup> The handle band of this cup was unslipped.

<sup>5</sup> Found in grave 119 with the Middle Corinthian aryballos *NC.* 304 no. 834.

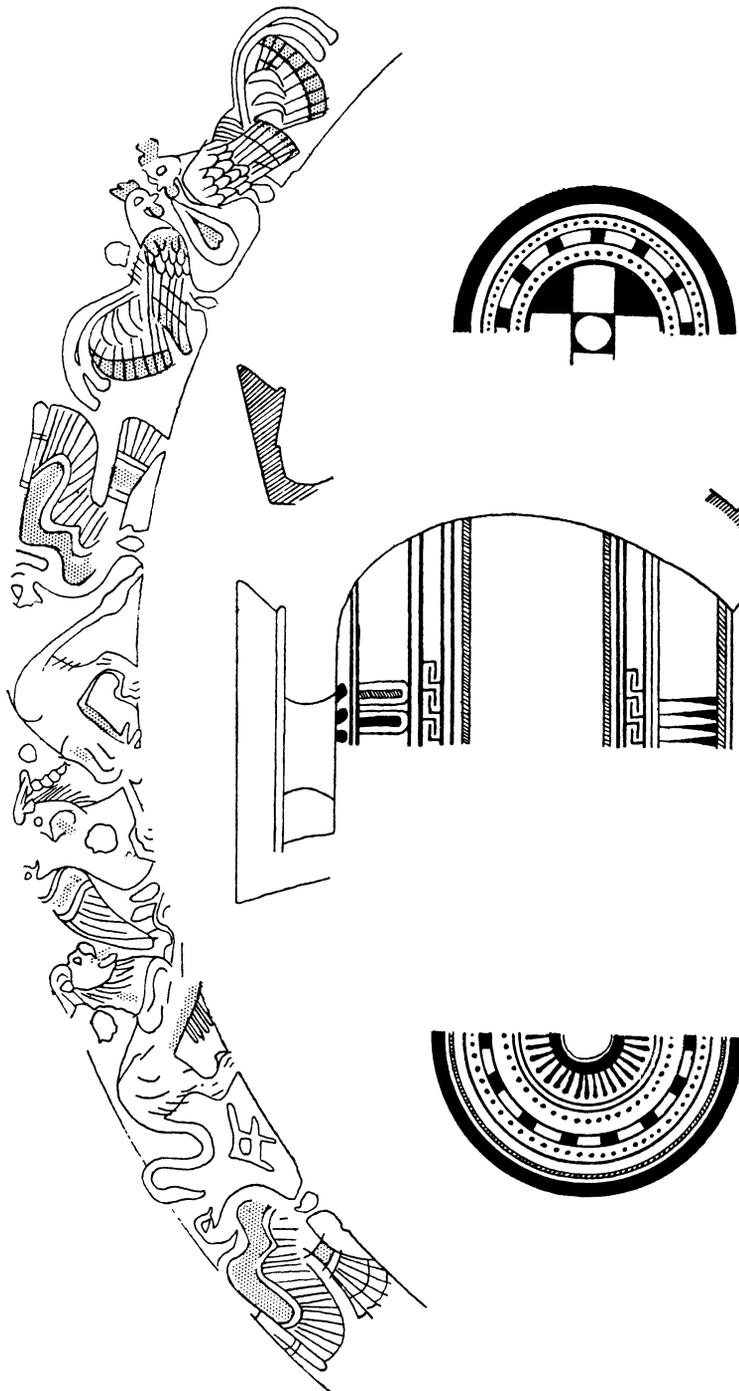


FIG. 16.—EARLY LAKONIAN III ARYBALLOS AT CORNETO.

the Hephaistos Painter,<sup>1</sup> save that a wavy line takes the place of the tongues, and a lotus-bud that of the handle-palmette.<sup>2</sup> The cup may be contemporary with the Hephaistos Painter but is not by him; the man who painted it also produced the closely similar kylix in the Louvre.<sup>3</sup> The latter is unslipped outside from the edge of the lip to the bottom of the handle-zone, and if we assume, as we can scarcely fail to do, that the two cups are very close in date, this shews that the practice of leaving a large area of the vase unslipped was known as early as the third decade of the sixth century.<sup>4</sup>

Three cups by a single artist, whom I shall call the *Pegasos Painter*, fall slightly later than those just mentioned. They are:—

1. Leipzig, from Caere. *Pegasos*. *A.A.* 1924, 80 figs. 18, 19.
2. British Museum, B. 2, from Capua. Youth with two winged horses.

PLATE 41 *c.*

3. Munich 482. Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13.

Nos. 2 and 3 are identical in outside decoration and shape; they introduce a new type of kylix, very small, with the transition between lip and bowl almost imperceptible. FIG. 14 D is a similar cup by the Hunt Painter,<sup>5</sup> and *A.O.* fig. 69 shews fragments of yet another. In every case the handle-palmette is like FIG. 24, 9, unincised and painted in black varnish. Nos. 1 and 2 have already been connected by Rumpf,<sup>6</sup> who also draws attention to the peculiar form of handle-palmette (FIG. 24, 6). This looks like the first stage in decline from the carefully drawn palmettes of the Hephaistos Painter,<sup>7</sup> but I would hesitate to use it as a criterion of date, since it reappears on a much later cup which must have been made after the middle of the century.<sup>8</sup> The confinement of the picture to a small central medallion, as on the Leipzig kylix, is a labour-saving device introduced in the later Lakonian III period, and constantly recurs when the artist wished to save himself the trouble of multiplying the figures.

Another artist working in the second quarter of the sixth century I shall call the *Naukratis Painter*. He is responsible for the following:—

1. British Museum B. 4, from Naukratis. Artemis attended by daemons. Studniczka *Kyrene* 18; Petrie *Naukratis* i pls. 8, 9.
2. Louvre E 667. Banquet. *C.V.A.* i III Dc, pls. 3, 11 and 5, and our PLATE 42 *b.*
3. Munich 382. Winged Figure. Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13.

<sup>1</sup> P. 130 no. 5.

<sup>2</sup> As FIG. 24, 11.

<sup>3</sup> *C.V.A. Louvre* i III Dc, pls. 3, 6 and 4, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Compare also the krateriskos in Philadelphia (p. 135) and the Samian fragments on PLATE 39 *e.*

<sup>5</sup> P. 141. The foot of nos. 2 and 3 above is, however, not nearly so deep at the edge.

<sup>6</sup> *A.A.* 1924, 80.

<sup>7</sup> FIG. 24, 4.

<sup>8</sup> *B.S.A.* xxviii 71 fig. 13 *ee.*

Rich floral decoration, wiry figures with long, pointed beards, and similar animals are seen on nos. 1 and 2. This painter evidently liked wings, and he may have executed some very fine fragments from Marseilles.<sup>1</sup> Note the layer hair common to figures on nos. 2 and 3. The kylix from Orthia, *A.O.* pls. IX, X, is carelessly drawn but may be his work, and here the outside decoration corresponds exactly with that on the banquet-cup by the Arkesilas Painter in Brussels. It is reasonable to suppose that the two artists were working contemporaneously in close contact—perhaps when they had finished the inside pictures they handed over their cups to the same apprentice to decorate the outside. Miss Tankard<sup>2</sup> considers that the Louvre volute-krater, *C.V.A.* i, III Dc, pl. 6, 1, 2 is by the painter of the Naukratis cup, and she adds the oinochoe *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. VI, but her arguments have little weight. Griffon-birds occur frequently on sherds at Sparta, and the use of a standard floral complex is insufficient to distinguish an individual painter. The suggestion that forty years separate the krater and the cups is a fantasy based on the absence of slip over large areas of the latter, for there is no trace of decay in the style. We may assume that the cups, the Louvre volute-krater, and the hydria, Louvre E 660, all belong to the maturity of the style which immediately preceded the middle of the sixth century.

To the same period belongs the work of the *Arkesilas Painter*. The following are by his hand:—

1. Bibliothèque Nationale, from Vulci. Arkesilas. *C.V.A.* i pls. 20, 21, 22 and *F.R.* iii 211 pl. 151.
2. Vatican. Prometheus and Atlas. Albizzati *Vasi dipinti del Vaticano* ii pl. 17.
3. Naples, fragment from Cumae. Banquet. *Mon. Ant.* xxii pl. 60, 1.
4. Brussels. Banquet. Richter, *Ancient Furniture* fig. 181.

It has long been assumed that the Arkesilas is the second king of that name, and that the kylix should be dated in his reign (*ca.* 565–50). This is borne out by the style, the powerfully built figures bearing the same relation to Late Corinthian as do those of the Hunt Painter. But the Arkesilas Painter is a stage earlier than the latter in his drawing: naïve and lively with their open mouths, the figures gesticulate jerkily, and run with joints that creak. Note in Sliphomachos and his neighbours the stylisation of the knee, two S's back to back, the stiff lines on thigh and forearm with a nervous twitch at the end, the massive biceps. The forehead runs far back, the nose is slightly snub at the end, and the upper lip is almost a part of the nose. The

<sup>1</sup> Vasseur *Annales du Musée d'histoire naturelle de Marseille* xiii, 1914, pl. xi.

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* xxix 108 ff., where the Naukratis and Louvre banquet cups are brought together. The style of the oinochoe in question is certainly earlier, and in my opinion the vase is contemporary with Middle Corinthian. Its fellows are the lakaina fragments on *PLATE 38 a*, and the kylikes mentioned on p. 137.

figures on the Vatican kylix<sup>1</sup> shew the same wooden stiffness, and there are close parallels in the treatment of details, but this cup is later; the mouths are closed, with a downward cut at the inner corner, and the exterior has not received the same lavish care. The outside of the Cumae fragment is like it, while that of the Brussels kylix is identical with that of the Sparta vase *A.O.* pls. IX, X, undoubtedly its contemporary in date though the figures are by a different hand.

The *Hunt Painter* had a long career, and in his later work there are signs that the Lakonian fabric had passed its zenith. The following cups are by him:—

1. Berlin. Warriors' Return. *J.d.I.* 1901 pl. III.
2. Louvre E 671, fragment. Warriors. *C.V.A. Louvre* i III Dc, pl. 3, 9.
3. Louvre E 670. Boar Hunt. *C.V.A. Louvre* i III Dc, pls. 3, 5 and 4, 1.
4. Leipzig. Boar Hunt. *J.d.I.* 1901, 191 fig. 1. Probably joins a fragment in Florence from the lower left part of the picture.
5. Leipzig. Zeus and Hermes. *A.A.* 1923-4, 82 ff. figs. 18, 19.
6. Florence. Komasts. *Boll. d'Arte* 1921-2, 169; FIG. 14, D.
7. Bibliothèque Nationale. Komasts. *C.V.A. Bib. Nat.* i pl. 22, 5-7; pl. 23, 4.
8. Sparta, fragment. Head of Komast. PLATE 41 d.
9. Oxford, from Greece. Siren. FIG. 17.

Nos. 1-5 have a high stem, sharp-edged foot, and straight lip; 7 and 8 are of the 'miniature' type noted when discussing the Pegasus Painter, while 9 is like a 'Droop cup.' Four of these nine vases have similar subjects—male figures moving rapidly to the right, to hunt or do battle. They are robust and compact, with swelling muscles and an admirable elasticity, the relations of Late Corinthian figures like *NC.* pls. 39, 1; 40, 2, 3; 41, 4. The painter is bold and fluent in his use of the graver, taking an especially strong line with the hair; all except nos. 1 and 2 shew the same stylisation of the knee and other muscles, careful fingers and toes, and a curved downward cut at the corner of the mouth. The Berlin cup and the Louvre fragment, no. 2, shew a different treatment for the knee, and lines on the legs are stiff and straight, with a kick at the end. Both these things point to the influence of the Arkesilas Painter, of whom our artist was perhaps a pupil, and their disappearance in the later cups is due to the perfecting of his own style. Droop states that no. 3 is unslipped,<sup>2</sup> but I think that both 3 and 9 have a very thin yellowish slip inside and out;<sup>3</sup> slip is, however, entirely lacking on no. 8. No. 9 is the latest of these vases, and perhaps the

<sup>1</sup> The handle-band is unslipped.

<sup>2</sup> *J.H.S.* 1910, 18. Wherefore he places it in the fifth century, but it is certainly by the same hand as the Berlin cup no. 1, which he dates about 545—an example of what may happen through turning a Nelson eye to the picture and observing the back of the canvas on which it is painted.

<sup>3</sup> So also Pottier *C.V.A.*, *loc. cit.*

earliest example of the 'Droop cup' shape from Sparta.<sup>1</sup> Its date must be somewhere shortly after the middle of the sixth century, and it is only for the sake of convenience that I discuss it here instead of under its appropriate heading of Lakonian IV. Other cups or fragments can be connected with the Hunt Painter, though I am not sure that he painted them: Munich 38, kylix (Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13); Taranto, a newly-discovered kylix of



FIG. 17.—LAKONIAN IV KYLIX AT OXFORD (HUNT PAINTER).

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Prof. J. D. Beazley for calling my attention to this vase, here published by courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum. Shape as FIG. 14 E, but no channelled rings round the stem, and a torus moulding where it joins the bowl. *Exterior*; lip black, handle-band with myrtle bough in black, omitting the stems, and palmette as FIG. 24, 8; bowl, bands and rays; foot, with groups of fillets on reserved ground round the stem, reserved band round the edge, and concentric bands on the reserved underside, the rest black. *Interior*; lip black, with reserved bands at top and bottom, and in centre of bowl, a medallion containing a siren with spread wings to right, surrounded with black fillets and purple bands and a broad black zone. A very thin yellowish slip covers the whole surface except where specified.

Droop-cup shape, also decorated with a goat; <sup>1</sup> Munich 385, kylix (Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13) and fragments of a similar cup in Leipzig, decorated with fish like those on no. 3 above; Bryn Mawr, kylix with warriors (*A. J. A.* 1916, 309, pl. xi), evidently a miniature like nos. 6 and 7, but very carelessly drawn; Samos, kylix fragment, with Iolaus and the hydra; <sup>2</sup> Brussels, kylix fragment with a concentric frieze of komasts very like those on nos. 6 and 7; Sparta, fragment of a small bell-krater with komasts (*B. S. A.* xxviii 71 fig. 13 *d*). Pernice has remarked upon the ineptitude with which the Lakonian vase-painters cut their figures to fit them in a roundel, but so far as I know this is a peculiarity of the Hunt Painter alone. <sup>3</sup> It suggests that he was more used to decorating large pots with a continuous frieze, and a striking confirmation of this is given by a noble hydria recently found in Rhodes. This piece is decorated with a battle-scene which bears an extraordinary resemblance to Corinthian representations like *NC.* pl. 41, 4. I have not seen the vase, but judging from the notes which Prof. Beazley very kindly shewed me, I am convinced that it is the work of the Hunt Painter—especially as it is covered with inscriptions. <sup>4</sup> It would be hazardous to assume that this artist also made relief-pithoi, but examples like *A. O.* pls. XII, XV, and *A. A.* 1898, 139 fig. 50 <sup>5</sup> are very close in style to the painted vases and certainly belong to the same period.

In addition to the above there are several cups or fragments which cannot be so easily placed. In some cases concentric bands of ornament like that of the exterior cover the inside of the cup as well—Oxford 185 (*R. A.* 1907 i 398 fig. 14) and Vienna, Masner p. 14, belong to the ornate style of the Naukratis and Arkesilas Painters. Three have only a central rosette, surrounded by black and red fillets, then a broad zone of black; the Berlin example from Atalante <sup>6</sup> is of the 'miniature' shape, FIG. 14 D, with unincised black palmettes; one in Florence is unslipped on lip, handle-band and interior, with a handle palmette like that used by the Rider Painter, while the Munich cup 381, Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13, is entirely unslipped and

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Mr. T. J. Dunbabin and Prof. J. D. Beazley for information about this cup.

<sup>2</sup> *A. M.* 1929, Beil. XVI 1. For one of the inscriptions see p. 163. The Arkesilas and Hunt Painters were apparently the only Lakonian painters of the time who knew how to write, and it is a fair chance that inscribed Lakonian III vases are by one or the other of them. On the outside of the Samos fragment are the feet of a komast frieze which recalls the figures on nos. 6 and 7 above.

<sup>3</sup> See *J. d. I.* 1901, 191–2.

<sup>4</sup> Published provisionally in *L' Illustrazione*, 13 January, 1935, p. 43. The resemblance in subject and treatment to Corinthian vases like *NC.* pl. 41, 4 gives a valuable indication of its date.

<sup>5</sup> In Dresden. No provenance recorded, but surely Lakonian. The archaic stone capital from Slavochori illustrated in *J. d. I.* 1918, 209 fig. 54 is an allied work on a larger scale.

<sup>6</sup> *Olympia* iv 202.

in exterior decoration exactly resembles an Attic lip-cup, except for a palmette as FIG. 24, 10. Probably cups like this are to be dated about the middle of the sixth century or a little later.

Louvre E 351<sup>1</sup> is a very curious vase; the clay is a light yellowish buff, unlike the usual Lakonian. Reserved, inside, a band at top and bottom of lip; outside, the band on the lower bowl and the entire foot. There are no palmettes. The technique is good, and the vigorous drawing suggests the period of the Arkesilas cup, but I know nothing else of this shape.<sup>2</sup>

Bibliothèque Nationale 191<sup>3</sup> is villainously repainted, but from the shape and from the palmette with a triangular member joining it to the handle I should put this cup near the beginning of the second quarter-century.<sup>4</sup> Both this and Louvre E 351 shew East-Greek influence in that the lower bowl is varnished black.

The Louvre fragment E 666,<sup>5</sup> with a cattle-raiding scene, shews coarse drawing, but is probably late Lakonian III. A fragment from Naukratis in the British Museum, PLATE 38 *g*, pays an unusual attention to anatomical details, paralleled on the Berlin cup by the Hunt Painter, and clearly belongs to the second quarter of the sixth century.

*Lakaina.* The regular decoration of the lakainai found below the sand is a myrtle-wreath along the upper edge, heraldic animals or a floral complex on the lip, buds, rays or pomegranates on the bowl. Sometimes two or more figures adorn the lip; PLATE 38 *a* and *A.O.* fig. 63 are in the miniaturist style, parallel to Middle Corinthian of the Gorgoneion-cup and Samos groups and the kylikes described on p. 137. PLATE 38 *f*, a panther with incised rosette filling, is deceptively Corinthian in appearance. A handle palmette is often present, and that on PLATE 41 *b* naturally connects the piece with the kylikes mentioned when dealing with the Pegasos Painter.<sup>6</sup> Slip is never omitted, and an unslipped lakaina may safely be put in the third quarter-century. *A.O.* fig. 50 *c* is exceptional, palmettes and half-rosettes being left in the slip against a purple ground laid over black. The nearest parallels are the sphinxes on *A.O.* pl. VIII and the neck of the Castellani volute krater (Mingazzini pl. XLII). I date the piece about 580-75.

*Oinochoe.* This was a very common shape at Sparta, but few were exported.<sup>7</sup> One fragment dates back to Lakonian II (p. 125 above, FIG.

<sup>1</sup> Sphinx. *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 3, 8; PLATE 44 *c* and FIG. 14 *c*.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the grooves round the stem indicate an early attempt at a kylix of 'Droop-cup' shape; this idea is supported by the concave profile of the lip.

<sup>3</sup> *C.V.A. Bib. Nat.* i pl. 23, 1-3. Reserved, bands inside lip, outside of lip, band on lower bowl, plastic ring at top of stem.

<sup>4</sup> Immediately connected with cups by the Hephaistos Painter.

<sup>5</sup> *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 3, 7.

<sup>6</sup> P. 139 and FIG. 24, 6.

<sup>7</sup> Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. x 5 shews one from Samos.

11 v). In the second quarter-century the neck splays out towards the shoulder, from which it is separated by a ridge; the shoulder is rounded or angular, the body rather squat. 'Rotelles' with dot rosettes in white paint on the ends flank the upper end of the handle,<sup>1</sup> and there are applied buttons inside the lip to imitate metal rivets. Between these is a plastic head—of a lion with purple mane and white-slipped face,<sup>2</sup> or of a woman. Unfortunately no complete specimens are available to co-ordinate the plastic style with the painted decoration, but PLATE 33 *h* shews the typical, long-faced head of the second quarter-century. At the base of the reeded handle is a plastic palmette, sometimes with branching snakes (*A.O.* fig. 65 *p*). The lip is always black; a pomegranate-frieze or net, or a guilloche decorates the neck, tongues or lotus buds overlap the shoulder, and an animal frieze and rays form the usual decoration of the body. Sometimes a rosette or square and circle is painted under the base. *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. VII is contemporary with Middle Corinthian; *A.O.* fig. 64 has bolder animals and freer plant decoration, belonging to the second quarter-century. The shape *A.O.* fig. 73, where the neck springs at a sharper angle from the body and flares rapidly out to the lip, is later and should perhaps be dated after the mid-century; a similar development had already taken place at Corinth.<sup>3</sup>

*Fruit Dish.* I believe that fruit dishes such as FIG. 11 E were still made in Lakonian III, and that many of the high feet with painted bands on a white ground belong to them. PLATE 39 *b* and *A.O.* fig. 67 have very thick walls, too thick for a kylix; the decoration consists of an animal frieze around a central gorgoneion (compare PLATE 29), and of animal friezes on the outside. The horses on PLATE 39 *b* have the bent knee which first appears in Middle Corinthian, and almost certainly bore riders. Other published fragments of the shape are *A.O.* figs. 59 *q*, 60 *q*. A collection of feet is illustrated here, FIG. 15; it will be seen that they are much heavier than those of the kylikes.

*Plates.* The commonest shape is FIG. 14 H. The decoration of the exterior is like *A.O.* fig. 59 *w*, with a gorgoneion or catherine-wheel in the foot-ring<sup>4</sup>; inside there are tongues or rays on the lip, and the rest is black except for a small medallion containing an unincised rosette in the centre. Black bolster handles occur but are not usually ribbed; a dot-rosette in white is often painted on the ends. Variants are *A.O.* fig. 59 *o*, *r*, and the superb plate *A.O.* pl. XVII (= our FIG. 11 P). The shape is evidently taken from Middle Corinthian, but is far more sumptuous; exterior, gorgoneion; interior, red and black rosette, unincised. A

<sup>1</sup> Omitted in the restorations *A.O.* fig. 64 and *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. VII. See *A.O.* fig. 65 for other details.

<sup>2</sup> PLATE 26 *e* shews a similar lion from what was perhaps the handle of a clay patera (found at the Argive Heraeum).

<sup>3</sup> *NC.* 33 fig. 10 F, G.

<sup>4</sup> Examples: *A.O.* figs. 59 *t*, *u*; 60 *u*; *B.S.A.* xxviii 67 fig. 11 *a*.

curious pale orange colour is used on the tongues, in addition to the ordinary purple and this has, so far as I know, no parallels. The date is early, about 575.

*Small bowls* like *A.O.* fig. 59 *a* are not uncommon. One fragment with convex sides, and a fragment of a small olpe have embossed tongue patterns on them copied from metal vases.

The *bell-krater*, known in Lakonian II, continues, with animal-frieze decoration.<sup>1</sup> The shape is usually like *B.S.A.* xxviii 65 fig. 9, but one very large fragment in Samos has a flaring mouth with a ridge in relief running round it a short distance below the lip.

Apparently the *chalice* on a high foot must be reckoned among the shapes (Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. x 7); this was also popular in Samos,<sup>2</sup> but as there is good evidence for seventh-century varieties from Sparta she may claim priority of invention. A fragment with komasts (*B.S.A.* xxviii 71 fig. 13 *d*) comes from a chalice or bell-krater and resembles the work of the Hunt Painter.

*Hydria.* I could identify no certain hydria fragments at Sparta, and at present only three specimens are known.<sup>3</sup> Louvre E 660 is by the same hand as the volute krater E 661;<sup>4</sup> under the handle are faint traces of heraldic goats. Strong metallic influence is shewn in the lip profile, the plastic rings round the neck and junction with shoulder, and the shape of the vertical handle and foot. There are no signs of decadence in style, and the vase dates near the middle of the sixth century, like the Corinthian red-ground hydriai *NC.* 327 nos. 1444 ff. The British Museum hydria B 58<sup>5</sup> has been identified as Caeretan or Attic in spite of its typically Lakonian fabric and style. The vase is less full-bodied than the Louvre hydria and less insistently metallic in detail; the rear handle joins the neck instead of the lip. The gorgoneion is unincised and the myrtle bough purple, but the drawing, particularly in the floral complexes under the handle, shews signs of decay, and I am inclined to put the vase after the mid-century. No parallels for the turkey-like birds (perhaps vultures?) exist except on the Boston hydria, which is not Lakonian—but this is further discussed on p. 187.

*Dinos.* The Louvre dinos (PLATE 42 *a*; *C.V.A.* i, III Dc, pls. 7, 8)<sup>6</sup> was dated very early by Droop because it is covered with slip, but the remarkable, if erratic, freedom of drawing shews that it is near the mid-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. x 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pl. vi 1, and unpublished examples at Vathy.

<sup>3</sup> For the new hydria in Rhodes by the Hunt Painter, see p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> Hydria, *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 6, 3-4; krater, *ib.* pl. 6, 1-2.

<sup>5</sup> PLATES 43, 44*a*, *b*. Called Caeretan in the Brit. Mus. catalogue, and Attic by Pfuhl, i § 231.

<sup>6</sup> The vase is in a very bad state, the numerous restorations not being indicated in the official publication. See *J.H.S.* 1910, 8.

century, and perhaps even later. Figures are robustly built, formality in drawing is discarded, and the painter attempts the most difficult poses without hesitation. Compare the restive horses of Troilos with those on any Corinthian vase; the falling centaurs, too, have a riotous vitality quite alien to the restraint and dignity one expects from mainland drawing. The sphinx is a caricature (FIG. 18), and though one of the lions recalls that on the Taranto cup, PLATE 47 *a*, the other and the unnatural birds have a very shaky pedigree. What conclusions can be drawn from style? Herakles, the kneeling figure, occurs already on the British Museum fragments, PLATE 36 *g*; komasts about a krater are known from the Hunt Painter, the circular building from the Trophonios cup in Cassel, and the cocks are of true Lakonian type. But the anomalies of the animal drawing and the vehement temper of the mythological scenes strike an unaccustomed note; my own impression is that the vase was painted by an Ionian,



FIG. 18.—SPHINX FROM THE LOUVRE DINOS.

perhaps enslaved at Sparta, who had only partially assimilated the local tradition. He drew on the current stock of motives, but gave free play to his own temperament in expressing them. That the vase is no Italian imitation is proved by the fabric. I could not identify any dinos fragments at Sparta, but there are remains of two at Samos, one of these evidently decorated with a figure-frieze. Mr. R. M. Cook tells me that the Bonn fragment (*A.A.* 1891, 17) comes from a krater, not a dinos.

*Ring-vase.* One fragment from below the sand at Orthia (PLATE 38 *c*) is vertical, like *NC.* 313 fig. 155, but more slender, and has for decoration an incised scale pattern, with red dots on white stalks in each scale.

*Tripod-pyxis.* At Samos there is a fragment, probably from a tripod-pyxis like the Attic variety illustrated in *A.M.* 1922 pl. 12, 1.

*Lids.* *B.S.A.* xxviii 68 fig. 12 is a fine example dating about 575, but the shape of the pot it covered is uncertain. PLATE 38 *d* shews a double knob from a lid found above the sand at Orthia.

*Volute krater.* Mingazzini *Castellani Catalogue* pl. xlii (now in the

Villa Giulia) is the earliest. Corinthian and Ionian influences have respectively been cited for the palmette decoration; the germ of the idea is surely Corinthian (*NC.* 53-4), but the treatment shews the boisterous spirit in which the Lakonian artist employed floral motives while they were still new to him and unstandardised.<sup>1</sup> Compared with Louvre E 661,<sup>2</sup> the shape looks early—body immensely full and broad in relation to height, foot small and undeveloped, volutes too unimportant to supply the rhythmic link between lip and shoulder. I date the vase not later than 570. As a shape, the Louvre krater E 661 has a harmony of proportion far in advance of the François vase, with its tapering body, adequate foot, and fine outward swing of the handles contrasting with the inward curve of the bowl. Lions and incised lotus buds are exactly like those on the hydria Louvre E 660, which is by the same hand; compare also the lions on the Bryn Mawr kylix *A.J.A.* 1916 pl. 11. The date must be about the mid-century,

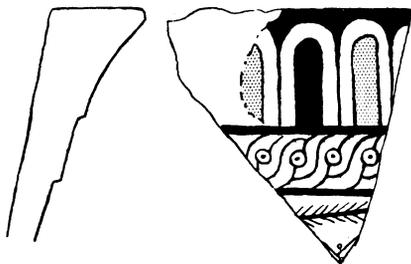


FIG. 19.—LIP OF LAKONIAN III VOLUTE-KRATER AT SPARTA.

for the rich plant-ornament and fine execution are still in the best style of the fabric. Fragments from a krater in Samos have for decoration two animal friezes, one with horses drawn in a bold style like that of the Hephaistos Painter. Other fragments, all from different vases, were found on the Spartan akropolis (*PLATES* 38 *e*, 39 *d*, and *FIG.* 19). The second has on the neck a frieze of trees and hairy men with immense phalloi, one of them supporting the member in his hand.<sup>3</sup> *FIG.* 19 shews the double-flanged lip found on Attic volute kraters of the second half of the sixth century,<sup>4</sup> and in spite of its excellent technique, the advancement of shape in comparison with the Louvre volute-krater suggests that its proper place is somewhere after 550. A different type is Louvre *C.V.A.* i, III Dc, pl. 2, 7 and *B.S.A.* xxxi 107 fig. 34 (from Eleutherna) with a handle resembling

<sup>1</sup> Compare also *A.O.* fig. 50 *c* and *B.S.A.* xxviii 69 fig. 12 *b*.

<sup>2</sup> *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 6, 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *B.S.A.* xxviii 71 fig. 13 *b*. Not 'winged creatures in human form'. Compare the hairy man on *PLATE* 39 *a*.

<sup>4</sup> Hoppin *Black-figure Vases* 206 no. 20, by Nikosthenes. The subject of the fragment may be similar to that of *PLATE* 39 *d*.

that of the François vase.<sup>1</sup> The shape is a link with the much commoner column-krater, and I will discuss the question of date under that heading.

*Column-krater.*<sup>2</sup> Fragments of five are in the Sparta Museum, but the majority were exported. They have an extraordinarily wide distribution and were evidently mass-produced. Often the entire surface is varnished, but in many cases the lip-flange is slipped, with a band of very simple decoration; the handles are then slipped at the sides, and in one case are decorated with a tree (*Fouilles de Lindos* i, 307). Examples with rays at the base, black on slip or overlaid white on black, are rare. Droop maintains that some of these kraters belong to the Lakonian II period, because they bear the sigma and 'dot and square' pattern, but Miss Hartley implies that they all belong to the second half of the sixth century.<sup>3</sup> Her chief argument is that kraters with this kind of handle were not introduced at Corinth till the second quarter-century, and there shew evolutionary stages,<sup>4</sup> whereas all known Lakonian examples belong to the more developed form. Droop's theory is untenable—the sigma pattern occurs on certain sixth-century vases and would naturally be retained when the simplest and most mechanical patterns were needed for mass-produced articles; moreover, it is unlikely that so many kraters would be widely exported in the seventh century before the finer ware became known. With regard to Miss Hartley's view, it is clear that the handle shape was developed in metal before its adoption by the worker in clay, and we have evidence that the Lakonian potter was acutely sensitive to metallic fashions even in the seventh century.<sup>5</sup> A similar movement did not take hold at Corinth till the second quarter of the sixth century,<sup>6</sup> for the early and middle Corinthian vases in which Payne discovers metallic influence shew consistent regard for propriety in the use of clay and never attempt such bold elaborations as, for example, our PLATE 34 *a*, or *A.O.* fig. 55. Moreover, Lakonian vases are highly original in their shapes, for which they demanded no inspiration from Corinth, however great their debt in figure-drawing. Hence I believe that the Lakonian potter adopted the column-krater of 'Chalkidian' shape from his own compatriots' work in bronze, rather than from Corinthian clay vases; an established habit enabled him to translate the handle form into clay literally, without any timid half-measures like *NC.* fig. 174 *A*. The date of the earliest Lakonian column-kraters should fall well back in the second quarter-century, for the primitive, broad shape of some examples is barely in advance of the Castellani volute-krater (cf. *C.V.A. Louvre* i III Dc, pl. 1, 3, 6). On the vase *ibid.* pl. 2, 7, the birds painted in white below

<sup>1</sup> There are fragments of a similar vase, but much smaller, from Naukratis in the British Museum, and others in Samos.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Mingazzini *Castellani Catalogue* 186–7.

<sup>3</sup> *B.S.A.* xxxii 247–54.

<sup>4</sup> *NC.* 330 fig. 174.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 122 and FIG. 11.

<sup>6</sup> *NC.* 212.

the handles link up with the familiar birds of Lakonian II, which may have outlived the first quarter-century. A grotesque outline head on the lip of a fragment from Naukratis, in Oxford, has no value for dating, being an artless caricature slyly inserted by some untrained hack. No doubt the fabrication continued over a long period, well into the second half-century, but without much modification of the original form; however, *ibid.* pl. 2, 1 looks very late with its flattened lip-flange, tapering body and poor varnish. The fragment reproduced in *B.S.A.* xxviii 73 fig. 14<sup>1</sup> is unslipped outside and varnished red inside; it resembles the Attic red-figure column-krater, and may even belong to the fifth century. It is clear that volute-kraters with handles of the shape shewn on *C.V.A. Louvre* i III Dc, pl. 2, 7 come into the same category as the column-kraters, being cheap mass-produced articles in comparison with such elaborate vases as the other volute-krater in the Louvre; they too belong to the later Lakonian III period and possibly continue into the second half of the century.

#### LAKONIAN IV.

About 550 the Corinthian black-figure style came to an abrupt end. We have seen how much Lakonia depended on Corinth for inspiration in figure drawing, and when the source failed, she was forced to fall back on her own past tradition. No new creative impulse succeeded that of the first half-century; with few exceptions, the same ornaments were mechanically reproduced, the same animals appeared in advancing stages of decrepitude, and only occasionally did the figure style revive under influence from Attica. Droop would spin out the decline till well on in the fifth century, but I doubt whether the native tradition survived beyond the third quarter of the sixth. It is significant that the definitely late fragments from Orthia form a small total in proportion to those of Lakonian III. Unfortunately no dateable objects, such as Attic pottery, were found in the same strata, but we have one piece of external evidence which enables us to pin down a group of kylikes into the third quarter-century; hence I will begin a discussion of shapes with the kylix.

*Kylix.* Six obviously by the same hand are:—

1. New York. Sphinx. From Sardis. *A.J.A.* 1921 pl. iv and our PLATE 45 a.<sup>2</sup>
2. British Museum B. 1. Rider. PLATE 45 b.
3. British Museum B. 3. Komasts. From Sikyon. PLATE 46 a.
4. Louvre E 665. Rider. From Italy. *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc. pl. 3, 10; 4, 3.
5. Leipzig. Komasts. From Caere. *A.A.* 1923-4, 86 fig. 20.
6. Würzburg 166. Banquet. From Italy. Langlotz *Katalog* pl. 28.

<sup>1</sup> The drawing is unreliable.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Miss G. M. A. Richter for the photograph.

All are of the same shape, with slightly convex lip passing imperceptibly into the bowl; the stem is high and the foot sharp at the edge. The handle-zone and a small ring just above the junction with stem are reserved; also bands inside at the top and bottom of the lip (except on the New York kylix). The fabric is thin and fine, the slip apt to be brownish, and the varnish thin.

Dr. Chase of Harvard University has very kindly given me details of the grave group in which no. 1 was found. There were two other vases; one was a trefoil-mouthed olpe with ribbon handle, painted with two heraldic panthers. From the photograph it looks like a degenerate provincial copy of Late Corinthian. The other was the Attic cup by Klitomenes published by H. R. W. Smith in *A. J. A.* 1926, 432-41, where it is dated 'between Exekias and Xenokles,' *i.e.* early in the third quarter-century. The plant ornament of the Lakonian kylix is rich, but late points are the very degenerate handle palmette (as FIG. 24, 10) and long stamens of the pomegranates. The sphinx is admirably drawn. The profile from the tip of the nose slopes sharply back in a straight line, and there is little back to the head; chin sharp and bony, eye an incised circle in a triangle, mouth terminated by a downward cut. One lock of hair seems to fall out of the ear, which has no lobe. Neck thick, body slender, feet carelessly drawn. These features are present, in whole or in part, on all the other five cups, though they are much inferior in execution. The style is on the whole dry and insipid; lanky, shambling figures, with only slipshod attempts to render joints or muscles. Corresponding carelessness and lack of comprehension are shewn in the floral complexes. It is worth comparing these paintings with a bronze mirror recently acquired by the Berlin Museum<sup>1</sup> (PLATE 45 *c*). Slender proportions, as on the cups, accompany a truly remarkable facial resemblance to the New York sphinx, which must be about contemporary.

At Sparta I could find no figured fragments by this painter, but there are a few with similar palmettes and plant-ornaments.

Closely related, though by a different hand, is the Leningrad kylix *J. d. I.* 1924, 28 pl. I, also shewing a rider, in an ornate but ill-controlled style; the Florence kylix with a kitharoidos and two komasts (*Bolletino d'Arte* 1921-2, 163, 165) is of about the same date.

Munich 383 (Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13), a small cup carelessly drawn, is a bastard descendant of similar works by the Hunt Painter; it needs only a comparison with PLATE 41 *a* to shew how the style is going to pieces. The Louvre 'Achilles,' *A. Z.* 1881 pl. 12,<sup>2</sup> and *C. V. A. Bibl. Nat.* i pl. 22, 1, 4 (Polyphemos) also find their place here.

<sup>1</sup> Published by de Witte, *Signa Antiqua ex Museo* pl. XI (Amsterdam, 1710). PLATE 45 *c* is from the Berlin Museum photograph.

<sup>2</sup> Also *C. V. A. Louvre* i pl. 3, 12; 4, 2. The loose drawing and flocks of dejected birds suggest that this cup may actually be the work of the Rider Painter.

A new form of kylix was adopted in the Lakonian IV period, of which a typical example is the new Taranto cup, FIG. 14 E.<sup>1</sup> The lip is fairly thick and concave, giving greater emphasis to the shoulder; stem short, with a group of channelled grooves round it; foot of heavy fabric, with a thick vertical or rounded edge. The shape is the characteristic one of the Attic 'Droop-cups.' Droop and Ure regard Lakonian examples as the prototypes of the Attic and therefore earlier in date.<sup>2</sup> Now a 'Droop-cup' was found at Rhitsona in a grave (grave 50) dated about 560,<sup>3</sup> so, adopting the theory that Lakonia invented the shape, we must put Lakonian examples earlier still. As Droop observes in *J.H.S.* 1932, 303, all Lakonian specimens are definitely of 'Lakonian IV' character, and now he suggests pushing the dates of the whole fabric further back on the evidence of this grave-group. But why should the 'Droop-cup' be an imitation of Lakonian? Ure gives three reasons:<sup>4</sup> 1. the whole scheme of decoration; 2. the shape of the foot, with channelled rings; 3. a desire on the part of Attic potters to capture the Lakonian market in places where this shape was popular, by producing a more finished article of the same type. But, firstly, the system of external decoration in bands, largely of vegetable ornament, is by no means alien to the Attic fabric, occurring earlier on the 'Siana' cups; moreover, many of the motives used have no parallels in Lakonian. Then, secondly, Ure states that the channelled stem is foreshadowed by the painted rings of the Lakonian III period. But the only Lakonian III kylix I know with painted rings round the stem is the Arkesilas vase, all the others except Munich 382, Vatican 220 and a sherd in Delphi<sup>5</sup> having black stems. If it be implied that the shape is too ugly for the polished Attic potter to have invented it, the Nikosthenic or 'Tyrrhenian' amphorae should prove a corrective. Thirdly, it is an embarrassing tribute to the Lakonian potters to suggest that they had such a hold on any market as to keep out the Athenians. At Taranto, a Lakonian colony, there were found only four Lakonian kylikes of this shape, but at least eight Droop-cups, while every other kind of Attic kylix was richly represented. In fact, if there is any connection between the Droop-cup and the Lakonian IV kylix, the latter and not the former is the derivative.

The Taranto kylix (PLATES 47, 48 a, FIG. 14 E) was found alone in a tomb

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xxviii, 71 fig. 13 e is a highly fanciful rendering of this kind of vase. The bowl is not so deep and it does not have baroque handles.

<sup>2</sup> *J.H.S.* 1910, 21 (Droop); 'Εφημ. 1915, 122, and *J.H.S.* 1932, 55 (Ure); *J.H.S.* 1929, 270 (Beazley and Payne).

<sup>3</sup> In *J.H.S.* 1932, 56, 57, though in *J.H.S.* 1909, 332 it is put after 550. The cup is described, but not illustrated, in 'Εφημ. 1915, 123.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 123, 145 for my reason for attributing the painted feet to shapes other than the kylix. The cups Munich 382 (Sieveking-Hackl p. 34 fig. 48), Vatican 220 (Albizzati pl. XVII), and *Fouilles de Delphes* v 146 fig. 601 have downward-pointing rays, and not rings, as the chief ornament of their stems.

<sup>5</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes* v fig. 601.

near the museum.<sup>1</sup> The interior shews a late survival of the frieze system discussed on p. 133. The lyre-player may be taken as Apollo (he is evidently beardless), the reveller on a couch, grotesquely tilted to fit the space, as Dionysos. He receives a phiale from a winged daemon (cf. PLATE 42 *b*). Padded dancers round a krater are like those on the Rider Painter's cups, and the general style, if such a flattering word may be used, is near his. A degenerate work, fairly early in the third quarter of the sixth century.

Other vases dating in the third quarter are in Athens (*J.H.S.* 1908, 178 fig. 3, and *J.H.S.* 1910, 19 fig. 7); Munich 386 (Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13); Heidelberg (*J.d.I.* 1901, 193); Kassel (*A.A.* 1898, 189, figs. 2, 3) and Taranto (F.R. iii 212). For the crescent-pattern used as a frieze see *J.H.S.* 1910, 20; in view of the close connection between Sparta and Samos the idea may well have been suggested by the 'Fikellura' ware.

The Kassel kylix is rather wild in style, but the folds of Hermes' chlamys are an advance on any representation of drapery in the Lakonian III period.<sup>2</sup> The varnish is thin but brilliantly black, and on the superb Kyrene kylix at Taranto it is almost as good as Attic.<sup>3</sup> Apparently Kyrene's face and arms were designed for a coat of white paint which they never received. The very full krobylos is that common on Attic vases of the 'Leagros' period, and perhaps one of the very frequent Attic pictures of Herakles with the lion was in the artist's mind when he designed this tondo. The exergue is omitted according to Attic use, and the draperies, sown with red spots and stars, have folds suggestive of the Andokides Painter. This is the latest good Lakonian vase that we possess. Droop dates the Athens kylix, *J.H.S.* 1910, 19, fig. 7, down in the fifth century, but I see no reason for putting it later than the Kyrene cup.

*Low cups.* Very popular in Lakonian IV is a cup with ring foot, full body, and offset lip (FIG. 14 J). These are mostly unslipped, varnished black inside, and decorated with bands, careless rays, rows of dots, or a band of single or double leaves without a bough (cf. the exterior of the Heidelberg kylix, FIG. 14 D). Below the base is often a rosette (*A.O.* fig. 77 *l*) or square and circle (*A.O.* 77 *n*). Sometimes the whole cup is black except the handle-band, with a row of leaves on the clay and a few purple bands on the black (cf. *A.O.* fig. 75 *n*). When these occur on other Greek sites they are usually called Attic or Ionian, but some, including examples I have seen in Aegina and from Perachora, are certainly of Lakonian fabric.

*Other shapes.* The lakaina, oinochoe, plate, and tall bell-krater are still

<sup>1</sup> Diam. 24.7 cm. Slip badly encrusted but fairly thick, varnish thin and poor, purple thick, inclining to brown. Reserved, lip and handle-band, plastic ring at top of stem, ridges between the grooves, edge of foot; inside, bands at top and bottom of lip. My own photograph, PLATE 47 *b*, is reproduced as giving a clearer view of the lower segment.

<sup>2</sup> Note that folds hardly ever occur on Corinthian drapery (*NC.* 108, 112), supporting the view that this vase was produced after Attic influence had supplanted Corinthian.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the Lakonian potter had learnt the technical secret from Attica.

common. Probably new are miniature oinochoai of several shapes, mostly black but sometimes with band or debased vegetable decoration with or without slip. These correspond to a common 'Late Corinthian II' series (*NC.* 336, nos. 1536 ff.).<sup>1</sup>

A kind of large, closed bowl is represented by many fragments (unslipped; as *FIG.* 14 G). The column-krater still persists; *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 2, 1, is a very late example. One fragment<sup>2</sup> is of a new type, that popular in Attica during the late black- and early red-figure periods.

Of the Lakonian figure style at this date apart from the show pieces above described, *A.O.* figs. 71, 75, 76, 77, 78, will give an idea; it is extremely careless, but largely retains its local character. Kylix interior decoration is usually confined to a small roundel in the centre (cf. *A.O.* fig. 71 *b*, *B.S.A.* xxviii 71, fig. 13 *e*.) I add three sherds from low-footed cups of a shape common in late Attic black-figure (*PLATE* 48 *b*); these and *A.O.* fig. 78 *a* betray strong influence from that quarter.

*After Lakonian IV.* Much of Droop's Lakonian V class I should regard as sixth-century work, probably not later than 520. The remainder, and all of his sixth class, are a medley of barbaric imitations of Attic pottery, and some are clearly Hellenistic; they have no aesthetic and little archaeological importance.

### BLACK POLYCHROME, MINIATURE, AND PLASTIC VASES.<sup>3</sup>

In the Museum at Sparta are the remains of many small vases almost entirely covered with black varnish. These have been collected together in boxes with no labels to shew whether they had a place in the stratification, and consequently it is now hard to date them. Decoration is of three kinds: 1. narrow bands of white paint laid over the black varnish; 2. narrow fillets of white paint on each side of a broad purple band, both laid over the varnish; 3. a broad purple band laid on the clay, above and below which shew narrow borders of reserved clay, the rest of the vase being varnished black. Some of the better specimens are shewn in *FIG.* 20; smaller and more careless ones in *A.O.* fig. 82. *FIG.* 20 A-E, G, M suggest, by their shapes, the Lakonian II period; their decoration is in white and purple paint laid over the varnish. A purple band laid directly on the slip is the usual form of decoration for the small oinochoai *FIG.* 20 H-L. The latter are, perhaps, a counterpart to the late Corinthian oinochoai described in *NC.* 336-7, and must belong to the

<sup>1</sup> Some black polychrome specimens are shewn on *FIG.* 20.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently that shewn in *B.S.A.* xxviii 73 fig. 14. Exterior unslipped, brown-red varnish inside neck.

<sup>3</sup> See *A.O.* 106; *B.S.A.* xxviii 62.

middle of the sixth century or later. FIG. 20 N is a 'pilgrim flask,'<sup>1</sup> evidently from the Akropolis; the square-cut sides are painted with purple on the slip.

The aryballoi are very numerous.<sup>2</sup> Two were made of a dull, greyish bucchero, and were probably East-Greek importations. FIG. 20 O is a seventh-century shape; two examples like P are in Taranto and will no

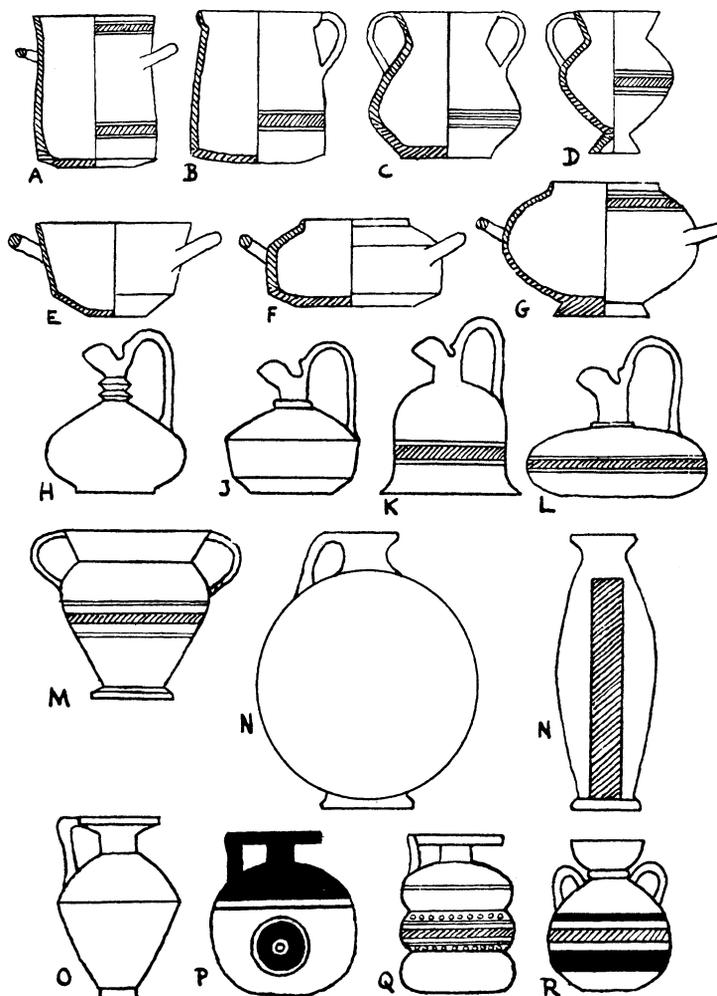


FIG. 20.—BLACK POLYCHROME VASES.

<sup>1</sup> Height 16.8 cm.

<sup>2</sup> In *A.M.* 1927, 53 ff. an attempt is made to date these on grounds of style, shape of lip, etc. The round shape was adopted at Corinth in the last quarter of the seventh century, and there are a few Lakonian fragments bearing the 'dot and square' which is commonest before 590. But one white-bottomed aryballos was found at Rhitsona with Middle Corinthian (*J.H.S.* 1910, 355 fig. 19).

doubt belong to the early sixth century.<sup>1</sup> Contemporary with them are the black aryballoi *NC.* 204 fig. 90, decorated with a purple band, white fillets, and rows of white dots laid over the varnish. A more elaborate variety is like FIG. 16, usually in plain black; I would date the Corneto example about 580–75. FIG. 20 Q, from Rhodes (now in Berlin), is decorated with paint laid over the varnish.<sup>2</sup> About the mid-century and later the aryballoi seem to become more flattened, and the decoration consists of a purple band laid direct on the clay, with a narrow reserved border above and below. FIG. 20 R is unusual, and its lip may be compared with that of the spouted aryballos on *A.O.* fig. 70 c. The surface is slipped, and the vase probably belongs to the Lakonian II period.

In the Sparta Museum there are a few fragments of very large, open vases with 'black polychrome' decoration and elaborately moulded profiles. A piece belonging to the same vase as *A.O.* fig. 56, bottom (not there illustrated) is decorated on the lip with a rosette and a horizontal lotus-palmette, both incised. As incised palmettes do not appear before the later work of the Hephaistos Painter, I would suggest that the date of this vase falls in the second or third decade of the sixth century (Lakonian III, not Lakonian II).

*Plastic vases* from Sparta are rare. Three aryballoi in the form of *helmeted heads* are shewn on PLATE 35 c, d, e<sup>3</sup>; they are certainly of local fabric and may be compared with similar vases made at Corinth and in East Greece.<sup>4</sup> Their date is hard to judge from style, but it probably falls about the beginning of the sixth century.

PLATE 33 g shews a ring-vase with a plastic female head at the mouth, which was first published as Corinthian.<sup>5</sup> However, the style is quite different from that of authentic Corinthian heads, and it is not impossible, in spite of unusual features,<sup>6</sup> that the vase is Lakonian of the first quarter of the sixth century.

A *partridge*,<sup>7</sup> slipped, with details in black varnish, overlaid white, and purple, is shewn on PLATE 37 c. Its back was hollowed out, possibly to serve as a salt-cellar.

<sup>1</sup> The concentric circles on the lower part are exceptional, the more usual decoration being like *NC.* 204 fig. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Others in Boston, *Catalogue* pl. xlii no. 419; 'Εφημ. 1910, 287 fig. 7 ε.

<sup>3</sup> Two already published, *B.S.A.* xxviii 64, *A.O.* fig. 70 e.

<sup>4</sup> *NC.* 178–9; Maximova *Les vases plastiques* 153 ff. A similar vase in bronze from the Spartan akropolis is published in *B.S.A.* xxviii 92 no. 23, and bronze helmeted heads were also found at Olympia, Bassae and Kaiapha, all places within the Spartan pale (*B.S.A.* xxviii *loc. cit.*).

<sup>5</sup> *A.O.* fig. 70 g.

<sup>6</sup> Clay soft and powdery, pale yellow buff. No slip. Decoration round the body consists of diagonal wavy lines in black varnish.

<sup>7</sup> Easily recognisable as the Mediterranean partridge, *Alectris graeca*, which appears on 'Fikellura' and 'Pontic' vases (*NC.* 174 note 1).

## THE LAKONIAN FIGURE-SUBJECTS.

Lack of space forbids more than a summary catalogue of the subjects dealt with by Lakonian vase-painters, and for the wider religious or ethnological aspects I can only refer to previous literature. One point must be stressed: it is fatal to regard the mythological scenes depicted by Bathykles on the Amyklæ throne as a source of inspiration for the vase-paintings.<sup>1</sup> Pausanias is reticent as to Bathykles' date,<sup>2</sup> but the style of the surviving fragments from the throne shew that it was not built before the end of the sixth century,<sup>3</sup> and by this time the best Lakonian vases had been painted and the fabric was in full decline.

I will deal with the subjects in two classes, the one drawing its matter from everyday human life, the other from mythology.<sup>4</sup>

## SCENES FROM HUMAN LIFE.

It is surprising to find that the strong military bias of Spartan society has very little effect on the choice of subjects; far more popular are hunting and convivial scenes.

*Boar-Hunts* occur three times.<sup>5</sup> The animal is of portentous size, and the inconvenient kylix roundel has been chosen where a frieze or panel on a large pot would have been a more suitable field. Something must be sacrificed to the demands of space—rather the animal than the hunters, so we get only the back or front half of the boar. For the same reason the famous Molossian hounds are omitted, though hounds occur on the Corinthian renderings which the Lakonian artists followed (cf. *NC.* pls. 31, 1-4; 41, 1).

The *Hare-Hunt* occurs on a Lakonian I piece (pl. 26 *f.*) 1, on the Hephaistos Painter cup, pl. 35 *a*, and probably on two other early Lakonian III cup fragments in Samos. The subject was best adapted to a narrow

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. J. M. Woodward's article in *J.H.S.* 1932, 25 ff. is entirely based on the misapprehension that Lakonian vases with figure subjects are later than the throne. Unless Fiechter and Buschor are wrong, that would involve setting the *floruit* of the vase fabric early in the fifth century.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. iii 18, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Fiechter in *J.d.I.* 1918, 242 ff.; Buschor in *A.M.* 1927, 18-21.

<sup>4</sup> With the reservation that some are of such dubious interpretation that they might belong to either class.

<sup>5</sup> PLATE 41 *a*; Leipzig-Florence (*A.A.* 1923-4, 82, see p. 141 above), both by the Hunt Painter, and Munich 383 (Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13), a later cup in his manner. For this painter's tendency to cut a panel-picture to fit a round frame, see p. 143. Perhaps he was more accustomed to painting large pots like the new hydria from Rhodes (see p. 143), where the space was less circumscribed. For boar-hunting in Lakonia, see Xenophon *Cyneg.* x. There are no lion-hunts on Lakonian vases, and in avoiding this subject Lakonia follows Corinth. The absence of the lion-hunt incidentally tells against the theory of a factory at Kyrene, where the lion would take the place of the boar as the hunters' greatest prize.

frieze and the huntsmen are never shewn. The latest of the known examples seems to date about 570, long after the hare-hunt had been abandoned by Corinthian painters (*NC.* 116, note 9); this was no doubt due to the popularity of the sport in Sparta.<sup>1</sup>

A *Fox*, distinguished by its shaggy coat, is being coursed on the fragments, *PLATE 35 b.*<sup>2</sup>

The *Hunters' Return*, laden with spoil, is shewn on the Oxford fragment *J.H.S.* 1910, 12 fig. 4; ducks (?) shot with the bow are strung from a pole carried by the foremost hunter, and the man behind holds up a dead fox by the forepaws.

The Bonn fragment *A.A.* 1891, 17 apparently shews a hunting scene, but the quarry is lost.

*Banqueting Scenes* occur on six kylikes (including fragments).<sup>3</sup> The Brussels banqueter shares his couch with a nude courtesan; on the Würzburg cup he is with a flute-girl, and a padded dancer gesticulates to the left. How can we explain the appearance of these women on vase-paintings, when literary evidence is so unanimous as to the strictness of Spartan social life? Either, later writers have omitted to mention an institution so incongruous with their own ideal of Sparta, or the courtesan of Lakonian art had no counterpart in real life. On Corinthian vases the banquet is a very popular subject from the end of the seventh century onwards,<sup>4</sup> but at Sparta it was evidently not adopted till the second quarter of the sixth. The Lakonian versions are so like the Corinthian<sup>5</sup> that they may safely be regarded as derivative, and perhaps the hetaira and flute-girl were borrowed from Corinthian vase painting as artistic material without any allusion to local Spartan institutions. On the Louvre banquet-cup, *PLATE 42 b*, an exceptional arrangement causes the couches to be omitted through lack of space. There are no hetairai, and the cup-bearer is a boy; the winged daemons and sirens in attendance have led Weicker to explain the picture as a representation of the 'totenmahl.'<sup>6</sup> The winged

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Xenophon *Cyneg.* v–viii for hare-hunting in the Peloponnese.

<sup>2</sup> Foxes still abound on Taygetos and are shot by the modern Spartans.

<sup>3</sup> Brussels (Richter *Ancient Furniture* fig. 171); Cumae fragment (*M.A.* xxii pl. 60, 1), both by the Arkesilas Painter; *C.V.A. Louvre* i III Dc, pl. 3, 2, our *PLATE 42 b*; Würzburg *Kat.* 166, pl. 28; Taranto Kylix, *PLATE 48 a*.

<sup>4</sup> See *NC.* 118.

<sup>5</sup> Table for food and vessels, footstool for climbing the couch and putting the boots and shoes on (*C.V.A. Louvre* i III Dc, pl. 3, 2). Dinos on stand, compare *PLATE 42 b* with *NC.* pl. 27; cups of the Corinthian shape *NC.* 297 fig. 132, and 119, fig. 44 D occur on our *PLATE 42 b*, but otherwise the shape is at present unknown in Lakonian. The legs of Lakonian couches are turned, and more slender than Early Corinthian (*NC.* pl. 27); later Corinthian prefers legs square in section with cut-out sides (Richter *Ancient Furniture* 59 ff.).

<sup>6</sup> Weicker *Der Seelenvogel* 14 ff. The riders crowned by winged figures have no funereal significance; see p. 167 below.

daemons alone might be ἔρωτες or symbols of εὐδαιμονία, but the siren has definitely funereal associations, which at least give colour to Weicker's explanation. On the other hand, where a closely analogous subject is handled on the Spartan tomb-reliefs, the dead man is usually accompanied by his wife and children, and this family atmosphere is lacking on the Louvre cup. On the whole, I would reject the 'totenmahl' idea, because the kylix is a vase used for convivial occasions and not for funerals.<sup>1</sup> On the Taranto kylix, PLATE 48 *a*, the banqueter may represent Dionysos; he receives a phiale from a winged daemon, but the presence of padded dancers should serve to dispel any ideas about death and the grave.

*Battle Scenes* occur on four vases only,<sup>2</sup> though from their popularity with Corinthian artists one would have expected more examples. Perhaps they were kept for the decoration of those large vases of which few have survived, and future excavation may give us further examples to set beside the new hydria from Rhodes. In Samos there are now fragments from a krater which had a frieze with a chariot. The Return from Battle on the Berlin cup (*J.d.I.* 1901 pl. 3) was clearly cut down from a rectangular panel, and perhaps the complete frieze existed on a krater or hydria now lost. Helmets<sup>3</sup> are all of Corinthian type; shields round, shewn full-face or in profile. Metal breastplates and greaves are usually worn.<sup>4</sup>

*Processions* would best suit the frieze on a large upright vase, and the remains of such vases are scanty; I have found only one example—on the lakaina fragments PLATE 38 *a*. Nude youths on horseback, a woman carrying a lotus-bud sceptre, nude man, veiled woman with himation. The purpose of the procession is not clear.

The *Riders* on three kylikes<sup>5</sup> call for comment, since Weicker<sup>6</sup> has attempted to give them a religious interpretation. On the London cup, the winged daemon is clearly a 'Nike,' and perhaps she is crowning a victor from the Olympian games: an obvious analogy is found in the chariot pictures on fifth-century Syracusan coins. I find it hard to attach anything beyond a purely decorative meaning to the anthemion sprouting

<sup>1</sup> Though the Berlin cup with the return from battle depicts an equally untimely subject.

<sup>2</sup> *A.O.* pl. VIII (lakaina); *C.V.A. Louvre*, i, III Dc, pl. 3, 9 (kylix fragment), two warriors pursuing a third; *A.J.A.* 1916 pl. xi (kylix), wounded warrior retreating from his foe, cf. *NC.* pl. 39, 1, 2; Rhodes, hydria, *L'Illustrazione*, 13 Jan. 1935, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Though another type of helmet was also used at Sparta—cf. *A.O.* pls. XVI top right, CVIII. This notched variety is found on the Lakonian bronze hoplite from Olympia, *Olympia* iv pl. vii 41.

<sup>4</sup> One kylix fragment from the Argive Heraeum shews an oval shield, but the Boeotian type does not occur.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. B.* 1 (PLATE 45 *b*); *Louvre, A.Z.* 1881 pl. xiii 3; *Leningrad, J.d.I.* 1924 pl. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Der Seelenvogel* 14 ff.

from the rider's head, or to the budding stick carried by the Leningrad rider; both features occur elsewhere in Lakonian vase-painting.<sup>1</sup>

The *Komos*. Much has already been written about the komasts and padded dancers who appear on sixth-century vases,<sup>2</sup> and I have little to add beyond the publication of two new examples. The earliest is the kylix PLATES 39 *a* and 40, shewing a scene without parallel in Lakonian art. Of the four women, two are engaged in a grotesque dance, one in a symplegma, the last in by-play of another kind. The dancers' dress is reduced to a close-fitting cap on the buttocks,<sup>3</sup> and anklets painted in purple. One man watches his fellow perform (both these are normal beings); the remaining figure is a hairy monster who would pass for a silen if he had a tail.<sup>4</sup> No doubt all are meant to be human, and the distortions are due to deliberate caricature. Some orgiastic rite is in progress—perhaps the women in their odd dress are dancing the Kordax with the object of securing fertility for the crops. Who is the deity in whose honour the performance takes place? Payne connects the komos on Corinthian vases with the worship of Dionysos (*NC.* 119–21), but here we have none of the drinking apparatus which in that case acts as a clue. At Elis, the Kordax was danced in honour of Artemis, and when we take into consideration that our vase was dedicated at the Orthia sanctuary, there is a strong probability that Artemis is the presiding deity.<sup>5</sup>

The other komos scenes on Lakonian vases have a more expressly Dionysiac atmosphere and a krater often bulks large in the composition.<sup>6</sup> Only on the London kylix, PLATE 46 *a*, are they normal and sober; usually they are grotesquely fat and perform an undignified dance. As on Corinthian, their deformity is artificial and produced by padding;<sup>7</sup> the dance, to judge from the Bibliothèque Nationale kylix, is of the Spartan variety mentioned by Aristophanes,<sup>8</sup> and music is supplied by the syrinx

<sup>1</sup> Anthemion sprouting from the head of a decorative figure, Munich 382, Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13; as a wand, on PLATE 38 *a*, and on the Arkesilas cup.

<sup>2</sup> Schnabel *Kordax*; Payne in *NC.* 118 ff.; Greifenhagen *Eine Attische Schwarzfigurige Vasengattung, passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the dress worn by komasts on the ' Naukratite ' vases, *J.H.S.* 1924 pl. xi.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 148 for further discussion.

<sup>5</sup> Schnabel *op. cit.* 42.

<sup>6</sup> Examples: 1. Brussels, unpublished kylix fragment, fat komasts in short chitons dancing in a narrow frieze round the interior, probably dating from about 575 (see p. 143); 2. *B.S.A.* xxviii 71 fig. 13 *d* (nude and not padded); 3. *C.V.A. Bibl. Nat.* i, pl. 22, 7 (nude, but fat as if padded); 4. Florence, *Boll. d'Arte* 1921–2, 169 (apparently padded) (nos. 2–4 by the Hunt Painter, second quarter of the sixth century); 5. Louvre dinos, *C.V.A.* i. III Dc, pls. 7, 8 (with beards and padded); 6. Brit. Mus. B. 3, PLATE 46 *a* (nude, not padded); 7. Würzburg, *Kat.* no. 166, pl. 28 (one dancer, padded); 8. Taranto kylix, PLATE 47 *b* (padded).

<sup>7</sup> Except for the Paris kylix no. 3, where the dancers are nude but nevertheless fat.

<sup>8</sup> Ar. *Lysistrata* 82, ποτὶ πυγᾶν ἄλλεσθαι; Pollux iv 102, ἄλλεσθαι καὶ ψαύειν τοῖς ποσὶ πρὸς τὰς πυγᾶς.

and double-flute. Nowhere are these komasts in divine company, and the treatment of the subject is so close to Corinthian that Payne's remarks in *NC.* 118–24 apply to both fabrics.

A *Dance* of a more dignified kind, performed to the music of the κιθάρα, takes place on the top frieze of the Taranto kylix *PLATE 48 a*, and the Florence kylix *Boll. d'Arte* 1921–2, 163, 165, where the dancers wear a short chiton or nothing at all; the short chiton is also worn on a frieze of dancers which runs across the interior of a fragmentary kylix in Samos (*PLATE 39 e*).

The *Arkesilas* kylix<sup>1</sup> is the earliest Greek vase with a topical subject, and stylistic considerations justify us in assuming that it represents Arkesilas II, who reigned about 565–550. The king sits under an awning, wearing an unusually ornate sun-hat;<sup>2</sup> in his left hand he holds a budding sceptre. His servants are weighing and packing wool<sup>3</sup> into wicker baskets, and two porters, under the watchful eye of the steward, run to stack them in the store-room.<sup>4</sup> In the field are all kinds of filling animals—the tame cat under the chair,<sup>5</sup> a lizard running up the wall,<sup>6</sup> the usual birds, and a flying stork.<sup>7</sup> On the awning pole sits a monkey, evidently tame, since it wears a collar.<sup>8</sup> The whole scene is painted with a wealth of local colour that could only have been collected on the spot, but that seems to me insufficient ground for assuming that the vase was made by a potter resident in Kyrene. He visited the city—he may even have visited Egypt,<sup>9</sup> for the similarity of the

<sup>1</sup> See *C.V.A. Bibl. Nat.* i for full bibliography; Buschor in *F.R.* iii 212, pl. 151, for the best reproduction.

<sup>2</sup> Not a specifically African type; this conical hat is found on the Lakonian fragment *A.A.* 1891, 17 (in Bonn), and on a series of Arkadian bronze statuettes. One of the latter series in Athens has a hat with fine feathery volutes curving back from a lotus-bud; for others see *W. Lamb B.S.A.* xxvii 133 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The idea that the white, fluffy substance represents the silphion cannot be reconciled with Theophrastus' account (*Hist. Plant.* vi, 3, 1): ὅταν βάλωσι εἰς ἀγγεῖα καὶ ἄλευρα μίξωσι σείουσι χρόνον συχνόν, ὄθεν καὶ τὸ χρώμα λαμβάνει καὶ ἐργασθὲν ἀσηπτον ἦδη διαμένει. Instead of packing the stuff into jars to keep it moist, they are putting it in open wicker baskets. The right explanation was given by de Luynes as early as 1833 (*Annali* v 60).

<sup>4</sup> The disposal of the awning is admittedly hard to follow, but it seems unlikely that the canvas represents the sail of a ship, because when ships are anchored in harbour, they have their sails furled. So the lower part of the cup represents a store-room, not the hold.

<sup>5</sup> See Keller *Antike Tierwelt* 86; here the animal is modelled on the familiar Corinthian 'panther.'

<sup>6</sup> Compare *A.O.* fig. 74.

<sup>7</sup> It has been suggested that this is the Egyptian marabu (see Buschor in *F.R.*, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>8</sup> Monkeys must have been familiar in Sparta, for there are other representations which were found locally. *A.O.* pl. IX is one, and another, eating a fruit, sits on the bronze handle *PLATE 41 e*. This is in the store-room of the museum without any indication of provenance, but another similar handle was found on the akropolis. This long-nosed type differs from Arkesilas' monkey, but is very like an East-Greek plastic vase figured in Maximova *Les vases plastiques* 115 and pl. xiv 57.

<sup>9</sup> Considering the number of Lakonian vases which reached Naukratis, this is not improbable.

subject to certain Egyptian wall-paintings is unmistakable;<sup>1</sup> but it seems a perfectly reasonable assumption that he could have drawn on his memories of Egypt and Kyrene if he painted the cup after his return to Sparta. That Lakonian art should concern itself with the pursuits of a foreign king is no harder to explain than the popularity of the Sultan in Venetian painting of the late fifteenth century; in both cases the interest born of political associations is heightened by that of contemplating the unfamiliar and picturesque. The inscriptions on the Arkesilas kylix have been sufficiently discussed,<sup>2</sup> and I have only one comment to add. A belief that the figures are packing the silphion has led to a mistaken interpretation of the word σλιφόμαχος; as the stuff is not silphion but wool, this cannot mean 'the silphion handler' with particular reference to the scene depicted. It may be a word peculiar to the Kyrenaic dialect and otherwise unknown, or perhaps, in silphium-producing Kyrene, the word 'Sliphomachos' (Silphomachos) had become a common man's name; but if we adopt the transliteration σιλφόμαχος there is still another possible, though very doubtful, interpretation which preserves the Greek, namely that the person so labelled is 'the cockroach-fighter.'<sup>3</sup>

#### MYTHOLOGICAL SUBJECTS.

When drawing mythological subjects, the Lakonian vase-painters are almost wilfully obscurantist in comparison with their contemporaries at Corinth. We know that the Arkesilas and Hunt Painters were able to write, but only two of the thirteen vases I divide between them bear inscriptions, and of these one is so damaged as to be unintelligible. Our need of help is all the greater because some of the subjects are without parallel in Greek art, and literature has recorded no early archaic thesauros of mythology which might have supplied material for potters in Lakonia as the Chest of Kypselos supplied it in Corinth. At least one writer has tried to collate the vase-paintings with Pausanias' account of Bathykses' throne at Amyklai,<sup>4</sup> but archaeological evidence has shewn that the throne was not built until nearly two generations after the vase-fabric had passed its climax. Another difficulty in our path was shrewdly hinted at by Pernice,<sup>5</sup> namely

<sup>1</sup> See Puchstein in *A.Z.* 1881, 185-6.

<sup>2</sup> *F.R.* iii, 211-12 (Buschor); Studniczka *Kyrene* 11 ff.; *R.A.* 1907, i, 401 (Dugas; somewhat eccentric); *Athenaeum* iv 1916 (Patroni); *B.S.A.* xxiv 96-7, 117 (Woodward). The inscriptions are: Ἀρκεσίλας, (Ι)σοφορτος, σταθμός, (ε)ίρμοφόρος, ἄρυσσο(ν) (imperative of ἄρυσσω, 'haul away'), σλιφόμαχος, φύλακος, μα(γ)έν, (from μάσσω).

<sup>3</sup> σίλφη = Lat. blatta. *Arist. H.A.* 17, 8; *Ael. N.A.* 1, 37; *Luc. Gall.* 31.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. J. M. Woodward, in *J.H.S.* 1932, 25 ff. See also p. 157 above. *Paus.* iii 19, 9 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *J.d.I.* 1901, 189 ff.

that many of the surviving pictures are found on kylikes, with a suggestion that they have been lifted out of their context on a frieze. Perhaps the future discovery of larger Lakonian vases, where the whole scene unfolds itself, will provide the explanation for the more or less truncated representations on the cups.

*Herakles* is the most popular hero, as we should expect among a people who traced their ancestry back to him. *Herakles* and the Hydra occur three times on vases :

1. Kylix fragment from Naukratis, now in Oxford. PLATE 34 *c*. Hephaistos Painter group, early sixth century.
2. Kylix fragments from Caere, at Leipzig. PLATE 34 *b*. Date as no. 1. Evidently the roundel was cut by an exergual line just below the middle, and our fragments belong to the upper part. *Herakles* has shot the hydra and raises his club; the arrangement is uncertain.
3. Kylix fragment from Misokampos, Samos. *A.M.* 1929, Beil. xvi 1. One of the rare inscriptions identifies Iolaus—ἸΑΛΟΙΦ. The object in front of him is evidently a decapitated neck.

The only other Lakonian representation I know <sup>1</sup> is the ivory relief *A.O.* pl. CII 1; from the drawing it looks earlier than the vases—perhaps last quarter of the seventh century, but surely not Geometric.<sup>2</sup> It is hard to say from the fragments how closely Lakonian examples approach the Corinthian described by Payne in *NC.* 126 ff.

*Herakles and the Centaurs.* Once only, on the Louvre dinos (*C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 7, 2). *Herakles* wears a bow and carries a club. I have discussed the style of the vase on p. 147.

*Herakles led to Olympus.* Dr. Curtius kindly informed me that he interprets the scene on the kylix in his possession as Hyakinthos led to Olympus by Polyboia, but I remain to be convinced by his article that it is not the introduction of *Herakles* to Zeus and Hera by Athena. Fragments of a similar scene appear on the British Museum fragment from Naukratis PLATE 36 *c*, though there the subject is not clear.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to find this inconvenient representation of two seated figures, one almost hidden by the other, on a vase; the analogy with the later Chrysapha relief at once suggests itself. Contrast the treatment on the poros pediment from the Athenian akropolis,<sup>4</sup> where Zeus and Hera are to be thought of as sitting beside each other, but to avoid complications a convention has

<sup>1</sup> I could not find the fragments at Sparta mentioned by Payne, *NC.* 128.

<sup>2</sup> *A.O.* 211-12.

<sup>3</sup> *J.H.S.* 1932, 39 for a suggestion that the figures are Pluto and Kore; Studniczka *op. cit.* 22 (Battos and Kyrene).

<sup>4</sup> Richter *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* fig. 380.

been adopted whereby Zeus sits in profile and Hera, before him, in full face.

*The Ambush for Troilos* is represented on the Louvre dinos (PLATE 42 *a*, and *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 7), of about the mid-century. The motive of a kneeling warrior occurs on two other vases; one, the kylix *A.Z.* 1881 pl. 12, 2 (Louvre E 669), shews him again, by a building which may represent a well. Pernice<sup>1</sup> suggests that here we have the *disjecta membra* of a Troilos frieze, and I am convinced that he is right. On our PLATE 36 *g* we again find the kneeling warrior, and in the exergue beneath is the rear end of a horse. In Samos, fragments of a second kylix, by the same hand, and probably painted with the same subject, shew the front end of the horse and part of a young man who is leading it to the left (PLATE 36 *f*). From the scale we can judge that the exergual division comes at the same place as on the London fragments, and perhaps by now fragments from the upper part of the picture have been found shewing the warrior kneeling by the well. The evidence is admittedly incomplete, but in three kylikes, British Museum, Samos and Louvre, we seem to have representations of the Troilos scene. In the first two it is in two sections, Achilles and the well above, Troilos and the horses below in the exergue. But there is an interval of about thirty years between these and the Louvre kylix, and in that time it became the fashion for kylix compositions to increase the space above the exergue at the expense of what lay below—so that Troilos is omitted altogether. The snake wound round the column of the well was perhaps put in by the vase-painter as a rather lame explanation for the crouching warrior's attitude; I doubt whether the artist had a clear enough idea in his own mind to justify attempts to interpret the finished picture as Kadmos at the Theban spring,<sup>2</sup> or as Apollo and the Python.<sup>3</sup>

*The Blinding of Polyphemos* occurs once, on the kylix from Nola in the Bibliothèque Nationale; a tame rendering with one touch of grim humour—the legs held up by Polyphemos as a reminder of the meal he had just enjoyed.

*Philoktetes*, led away from Lemnos by Odysseus and Neoptolemos, is Pfuhl's<sup>4</sup> suggestion for the Athens kylix *J.H.S.* 1910, 19, fig. 7. This is far more likely than Droop's interpretation of the subject as Teiresias being led away from Oidipous by his guide.<sup>5</sup> In the first place, 'Teiresias' has no seer's staff, and the 'ominous' birds are mere filling ornament; in the second, the 'guide' has the old man by the scruff of the neck and employs quite unnecessary violence. Thirdly, if the left-hand figure were Oidipous, he should be wearing king's raiment, or at least a long chiton.

*Other Myths.* A cattle-raiding scene on a kylix fragment in the Louvre

<sup>1</sup> *J.d.I.* 1901, 192.

<sup>2</sup> Studniczka, *op. cit.* 33, 57.

<sup>3</sup> Hauser in *Ö. Jh.* x 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* i § 232.

<sup>5</sup> *J.H.S.* 1910, 20.

has been explained as the *Capture of Melampous by Iphiklos*,<sup>1</sup> *Herakles and the cattle of Geryones*, or *Herakles and the Cretan Bull*.<sup>2</sup>

*Kyrene* wrestles with the lion on the Taranto kylix, F.R. III, 212, fig. 4. The subject is a rare one, but would be known to the painter from the pediment of the Kyrenaic treasury at Olympia.<sup>3</sup> The female figure on the British Museum cup from Naukratis was identified with the nymph Kyrene by Studniczka, on the assumption that the plant in her hand is the silphion.<sup>4</sup> But, as Droop points out,<sup>5</sup> the plant is a conventionalised hybrid, introduced as decoration alone. If the artist wished to represent the silphion, he would surely have rendered this important feature in a more naturalistic way; I agree with Droop's suggestion that the female figure is Artemis Orthia, in the role of vegetation-goddess.

*Prometheus and Atlas* is probably the subject of the Vatican kylix, Albizzati ii pl. 17,<sup>6</sup> and not Tantalos or Sisyphos with Tityos, as has sometimes been suggested.<sup>7</sup> The representation corresponds so closely with the account of Hesiod that the painter may actually have had the poet's words in mind (*Theogony* 516–17):

Ἄτλας δ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχει κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης  
ἔστηώς, κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτησι χέρεσσι.

On the vase, the left-hand figure is standing still, ἔστηώς, not pushing or carrying the stone along as Sisyphos would. If he were Tantalos we should expect the stone to be poised over-head instead of resting on his shoulders. In the same passage of Hesiod (*Theogony* 521–2), next to Atlas is Prometheus:

δῆσε δ' ἄλυκτοπέδησι Προμηθεά ποικιλόβουλον  
δεσμοῖς ἀργαλέοισι μέσον διὰ κίον' ἔλάσσας.

Even the pillar is represented on the vase. A kylix fragment in Samos<sup>8</sup> shews a nude male figure, lying on the ground this time, and without traces of bonds; a bird of prey stands on his chest, and blood streams from a wound. A lower frieze on the same fragment represents the hydra story, so probably the scene is mythological and not an ordinary fallen soldier torn by vultures. It is hard to say whether *Prometheus* or *Tityos* is intended.

*Trophonios erecting a tholos*. This is Bochlau's explanation of the scene

<sup>1</sup> Louvre E 666. Hauser suggests that it represents a cattle-raid in Crete, but it now appears that Lakonian vase-painting had little to do with that island.

<sup>2</sup> *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 3, 7 (text).

<sup>3</sup> *Olympia* V 16; Studniczka *op. cit.* 28 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* 15 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *A.O.* 54.

<sup>6</sup> By the Arkesilas Painter, *ca.* 560–50, cf. p. 140 above.

<sup>7</sup> Gerhard, *A.V.* ii 21; Albizzati 66. Atlas was again portrayed by a Lakonian artist when Theokles made his group for the Epidamnian Treasury at Olympia (Paus. vi 19, 8).

<sup>8</sup> *A.M.* 1929, Beil. xvi 1. Second quarter of the sixth century.

on a fragmentary cup from Samos, and it seems more plausible than others which have been put forward.<sup>1</sup> That it shews Apollo, with the fatal diskos which killed Hyakinthos, is out of the question, for the figure is climbing the building; no doubt the object in his hand is an akroterion to surmount the roof.<sup>2</sup> The tholos itself scarcely bears examination from an architectural point of view, but the horned object at the base of the column is worth noticing. It may have been suggested by the stone sockets which supported the wooden columns in the early Orthia-temple,<sup>3</sup> and as the date of the vase falls fairly early in Lakonian III,<sup>4</sup> the picture possibly reflects an event which was actually taking place at Sparta—the erection of the new temple of Orthia.

*Zeus Lykaios*, seated facing a flying eagle, occurs twice, on cups in the Louvre and at Taranto (*C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 3, 8; Taranto, our PLATE 37 *b*). The identification is due to Studniczka, who compares the representation on an Arkadian coin.<sup>5</sup>

*Zeus and Hermes* converse in an animated manner on the Kassel kylix (PLATE 46 *b*). On a fragmentary kylix in Leipzig, *J.H.S.* 1932, 26 fig. 2, Zeus is off to a Gigantomachy, a thunderbolt in his left hand and perhaps a spear in his upraised right. Before him runs Hermes, identified by the curved wing sprouting from his heel; to the right, now lost, were probably the hind parts of a disappearing giant cut off in that congenial manner which stamps the style of the Hunt Painter.<sup>6</sup> The inscription below Hermes runs (retrograde) ΕΡΑ, only the first three letters being legible; I have no idea what it means.

*Zeus and Hera* face each other in lively conversation on the Munich cup, Sieveking-Hackl. pl. 13 no. 384; their excitement is due to Hera's inability to rise from her seat.<sup>7</sup> I have heard this picture explained as a scene in school, but if that were so the pupil would be naked or wearing a short chiton.<sup>8</sup>

*The Return of Hephaistos* on the Rhodes cup (*C.V.A.* i, III D, pl. 1) is later than the Corinthian examples quoted by Payne (*NC.* 142 and fig. 44 G) but still belongs to the first quarter of the sixth century.

*Artemis Orthia*, according to Droop, is shewn on the British Museum

<sup>1</sup> Boehlau *Nekropolen* Pl. x 4 and p. 128. Daidalos at work on the labyrinth (Hauser in *Ö. Jh.* 1907, 10); Apollo with the diskos (Mrs. J. M. Woodward in *J.H.S.* 1932, 40). The round object is in any case too large for a diskos.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the well-known disc-akroteria *Olympia* ii 190 ff. fig. 3; *A.O.* 118 ff.; and on the cup, *A.Z.* 1881 pl. 12, 2.

<sup>3</sup> See *A.O.* 11.

<sup>4</sup> P. 137.

<sup>5</sup> Studniczka *op. cit.* 14, where also is explained the altar upon which Zeus sits.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 143.

<sup>7</sup> See *J.H.S.* 1932, 38.

<sup>8</sup> The left-hand figure is not necessarily male because of its black-figure technique; compare Würzburg *Katalog* no. 166 pl. 28.

kylix from Naukratis (Studniczka *op. cit.* 18).<sup>1</sup> To judge from the branch in her hand, she is conceived as a vegetation goddess, and her winged attendants might represent the winds. During the eighth and seventh centuries she is constantly treated as a *πυρνια θηρῶν* with wings; now she is completely humanized, but wings are still worn by her attendants. Perhaps the sherd *A.O.* fig. 78 *b* is a belated instance of the *πυρνια θηρῶν* treatment dating from the last years of the fabric.

*The Winged Daemons* which appear on so many Lakonian vases are peculiar phenomena which can be more easily accepted than explained. Sometimes they are purely decorative (Munich, Sieveking-Hackl no. 382, pl. 13; *A.O.* pl. IX, with wings on heels alone); usually they take a lively interest in events which would happen equally well without their assistance. At the banquet, they bestow wreaths on the diner (PLATE 42 *b*) or guide the cup to his mouth (PLATE 48 *a*); they chase the young rider with a wreath (PLATE 45 *b*) or fly before his horse (*C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 4, 3). Artemis is attended by a swarm of them on the British Museum cup,<sup>2</sup> and here the bearded ones at least are male, as are those on the Louvre banquet kylix. They first appear on vases during the second quarter of the sixth century,<sup>3</sup> without any parallels in the other branches of Lakonian art as represented by the finds at Sparta,<sup>4</sup> and curiously enough, only on vases which can be connected with the Naukratis and Rider Painters. It is clear that these creatures have no personality of their own, and indeed they seem invisible to the human beings they attend. What is this supernatural aura with which the painter surrounds his figures? Weicker detects a funereal meaning,<sup>5</sup> and explains the winged creatures as spirits of the underworld ministering to the dead. This would be plausible if we had only the Louvre banquet cup<sup>6</sup> to consider, but on the Taranto cup (PLATE 48 *a*), where the winged daemon again guides the drinker, there are irreverent padded dancers present and the solemn atmosphere is rent. Then on the Rider cup, PLATE 45 *b*, the young man receives a wreath—therefore he has won his race, and what should that be but the horse-race at Olympia?<sup>7</sup> On the companion cup in the Louvre<sup>8</sup> the contest has not yet begun, but the friendly daemon flies before to set the pace. In my opinion these

<sup>1</sup> Ducati explains her as Persephone among the shades (*Rend. d. Lincei* 1911, 142 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Studniczka *op. cit.* 18.

<sup>3</sup> The earlier winged figure on *A.O.* pl. VII evidently belongs to a different class; instead of drifting vaguely about in the air he takes a vital part in the scene. Perhaps this is an early version of the Phineus story, but the vase is far too fragmentary for any certain conclusion to be drawn.

<sup>4</sup> With the possible exception of a lead figurine, *A.O.* fig. 122 *h*.

<sup>5</sup> *Der Seelenvogel* 14–16.

<sup>6</sup> PLATE 42 *b* and *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 3, 11. See p. 159.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the Sicilian coins of the fifth century with Nike attending a chariot. Olympia is probable in view of the long run of Spartan successes there.

<sup>8</sup> *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 3, 10, pl. 4, 3.

winged beings are δαιμόνες in the true Homeric sense, personifying the incalculable element that surrounds all human activity; here they are benevolent and general εὐδαιμονία is the result.

*Unexplained Figure Subjects.* On the Rhodes kylix (C.V.A. i, III D, pl. 1), Hephaistos' Return is balanced by a second picture of equal size; a male figure, in short chiton, holds a lion<sup>1</sup> by the halter. I would suggest two alternative explanations of the subject. First, that the male figure is Dionysos, which is probable, since he is also shewn on the other side with Hephaistos. In Samos there was a shrine of Dionysos κεχηνώς, the story being that a Samian named Elpis, in peril from a gaping lion (κεχηνώτος λέοντος) in Libya, vowed a temple to Dionysos if he returned home alive.<sup>2</sup> This came to pass, the temple was built, and the adjective was transferred from the lion to the god. Aelian's text where he mentions the cult statue is corrupt, and it is uncertain whether Dionysos was represented with a lion's head or, as is more likely, grouped with a lion. There would be nothing strange in the reference to a Samian cult on a vase made at Sparta.<sup>3</sup> Alternatively, the figure is Admetos, who had to yoke a lion and a boar to his chariot as the condition of his marriage with Alkestis.<sup>4</sup> The subject was carved later by Bathykles on the throne at Amyklai<sup>5</sup>; if this is an earlier version, Admetos is shewn catching his lion and the chariot is omitted in the allusive manner forced on Lakonian kylix painters tried to compress a large subject into a limited space.

The youth between two winged horses on PLATE 41 *c* has been explained as *Pelops*,<sup>6</sup> but it is more likely that the picture is a purely decorative composition of a kind which was common in the early sixth century.<sup>7</sup>

#### ANIMALS.

Sixth-century Lakonian animals are usually derived from Corinthian, but the stylisations are simplified and the rhythmic movement is lost in a series of staccato groups. Lions and cocks crouch, and goats kneel, to keep their heads inside the frieze, instead of passing in dignified procession.

The *Lion* on PLATE 38 *b* is very close to a Middle Corinthian variety

<sup>1</sup> The view expressed in *J.H.S.* 1932, 31, that the artist's ignorance led him to draw a one-headed lion instead of a three-headed dog, appears rather uncharitable.

<sup>2</sup> Aelian, N.A. vii 48; Callimachus Ep. 48; Polemo fr. 71; Pliny viii 58. Cf. *Pesce Boll. d'Arte* 1935, 233.

<sup>3</sup> In view of the close relations between the two places (see p. 179).

<sup>4</sup> Apollod. i, 9, 14; Hyginus frs. 50, 51; Schol. on Eurip. *Alkestis* 254, where Apollo is said to have done the work for Admetos.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. iii 18, 16.

<sup>6</sup> In *B.M. Vases* ii 49. In *J.H.S.* 1932, 30 this view is dismissed in favour of one more far-fetched, namely that the figure represents Diomedes.

<sup>7</sup> Compare *NC.* pl. 51, 3; pl. 53, 7 and *R.A.* 1928, 61, fig. 8 (Attic).

like *NC.* pl. 30, 8.<sup>1</sup> A heraldic group of seated lions with heads reversed is found on a krater fragment in Samos and our *PLATE 38 a*, but usually they crouch or recline. The cross-hatched mane which is common on Early Corinthian lions is never found in Lakonian; in their place, however, appear local idiosyncrasies like the hanging mane under the chest of *FIG. 16* and the bud which often tips the tail.<sup>2</sup> The staring *panther*<sup>3</sup> was never so popular as at Corinth, whence it was derived.

*Boars*,<sup>4</sup> *bulls*,<sup>5</sup> *stags* and *rams* are rare on the later Middle Corinthian vases, so it is not surprising that none of the Lakonian fragments from above the sand at Orthia shew them. *Goats*, always kneeling, persist to the end of the fabric, and have the smooth recurved horns found in Corinthian;<sup>6</sup> *horses* first appear on the kylikes of the Hephaistos Painter, early in the sixth century;<sup>7</sup> somewhat later are those on *PLATES 38 a*, *39 b*, which shew the foreleg bent in walking—a refinement first introduced at Corinth in the 'Middle' period.<sup>8</sup> The horses by the Rider Painter<sup>9</sup> are mere caricatures in comparison and are true products of the decline. Galloping horses on Bochlau *Nekropolis* pl. IV, 4, and our *PLATE 39 c*; winged horses on *PLATE 41 c* and *A.A.* 1924, 79 fig. 16; facing horses, *A.O.* fig. 78 A.<sup>10</sup>

*Dogs* are always coursing, and perhaps represent the famous Molossian hounds or the ἀλωπεκίδες;<sup>11</sup> in one case their quarry seems to be a *fox*.<sup>12</sup> A *monkey* is seen on the Arkesilas kylix and *A.O.* pl. IX, and two bronze handles found at Sparta<sup>13</sup> show a monkey eating a fruit. Perhaps commerce with Kyrene had made this animal familiar at Sparta; it occurs at Corinth only once, on a pinax (*NC.* 77).

*Lizards*<sup>14</sup> as filling ornament echo a similar use at Corinth, and once

<sup>1</sup> The same formula for the eye is found on the kylix *C.V.A. Rhodes* i, III D pl. I, and can be traced back through Middle and Early Corinthian to Assyria (*NC.* 68, fig. 14 A).

<sup>2</sup> *PLATE 38 a* and Morin-Jean fig. 128, 9.

<sup>3</sup> *PLATE 38 a, f.*

<sup>4</sup> *A.O.* fig. 50 *b* (late seventh century), and charging heraldic boars on the spouted pot from Samos, p. 136. The boar hunt is a popular subject with the Hunt Painter (p. 157).

<sup>5</sup> *A.O.* fig. 50 *b* and on the kylix *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 3, 7.

<sup>6</sup> The East-Greek type, with simple, knobbed horns, is found on one seventh-century fragment, *PLATE 26 a*.

<sup>7</sup> *PLATE 36, f, g.* Fragments in Samos from a krater of similar style have a frieze of horses walking with bent knees.

<sup>8</sup> *NC.* 72.

<sup>9</sup> *PLATE 45 b, C.V.A. Louvre* i, III D, pl. 3, 4.

<sup>10</sup> Lakonian IV; for other Peloponnesian examples see *NC.* 74.

<sup>11</sup> Keller *Antike Tierwelt* i 222. See *PLATE 35 a, b*.

<sup>12</sup> *PLATE 35 b*, indicated by the shaggy coat.

<sup>13</sup> One shewn on *PLATE 41 e*; compare the East Greek monkey, Maximova *Les vases plastiques* p. 115 and pl. xiv 57.

<sup>14</sup> On the Arkesilas kylix and *A.O.* fig. 74.

a *frog*<sup>1</sup> appears; a *centipede* is found on a vase in Samos and an *ant* and a *snail* crawl round the centre of the kylix on PLATE 40. *Dolphins* and *fish* on PLATES 30, 32 a, 41 a, Munich 385 and fragments in Leipzig, *C.V.A. Bibl. Nat.* i pl. 22, 1.

*Birds* are commonly used as filling ornament, without insistence on the peculiarities of any particular species;<sup>2</sup> there is, however, a tendency to scratch lines across the neck.<sup>3</sup> Round the hydria PLATE 43 runs a continuous frieze of ungainly fowl which might pass for turkeys, if the date were not premature for their appearance in Europe. The large, hanging wattle is a deformity found in a kind of vultures with which the painter may have been acquainted.

The *Cocks* on PLATE 40, with cross-hatched necks and a purple bar on the upper wing, are nearer to the Corinthian<sup>4</sup> than to the canonic Lakonian type; in the latter the neck is purple, an incised ruff hides the shoulder, and the wing-feathers are divided into vertical bands.<sup>5</sup> Lakonian cocks have longer bodies than the Corinthian and seldom strut with the same proud curve of breast. The wing droops in a long, straight line from shoulder to tip. This naturalistic cock, so different from the stylised Corinthian, was common in Attica and the Eastern Aegean,<sup>6</sup> though most of the known examples are later than the earliest ones on Lakonian vases. The sculptured cocks from Olympia<sup>7</sup> were attributed to the 'Kyrenaic' Treasury purely on account of their resemblance to cocks on the vases then thought to have been made at Kyrene; they may be by an artist from the same circle, perhaps even by a Lakonian, but the 'Byzantine' Treasury cocks are similar, and the most that can be said for certain is that all represent an Ionic rather than a North Peloponnesian type.

#### MYTHICAL CREATURES.

*Gorgoneion.* In the seventh century the gorgoneion is rare at Sparta, but known examples follow three distinct types. First, the four-sided

<sup>1</sup> On the vase in Samos mentioned on p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> But on *A.Z.* 1881 pl. 12 3 and our PLATE 37 b a *flying eagle*; on PLATE 39 b a *heron*; on *C.V.A. Rhodes* i, III D, pl. 1 and *A.O.* fig. 47 o, an *owl*; on the Arkesilas kylix a *stork* or *marabu*. PLATE 37 c is a plastic vase in the form of the Mediterranean *partridge* which occurs on 'Fikellura' and 'Pontic' vases.

<sup>3</sup> PLATE 45 b, *A.O.* fig. 59 h, m. <sup>4</sup> Compare *NC.* fig. 20; pl. 17, 4; pl. 36, 12.

<sup>5</sup> There is evidently no development corresponding to that found in Corinthian (*NC.* figs. 20, 21). The earliest example (*A.O.* fig. 47 f) is in essentials the same bird as all the later ones.

<sup>6</sup> Attic examples: Thiersch *Tyrrhenische Vasen* 106 fig. 16, Morin-Jean 163 fig. 190; 'kleinmeister' cups, Morin-Jean fig. 209, 'Droop cups' *J.H.S.* 1932 pl. II, 21, 24. The superb bronze cock from the Athenian Akropolis (Zervos *L'Art en Grèce* fig. 235) is probably local work. East-Greek: *Olympia* iii 23, fig. 21 (Byzantine Treasury), compare with Morin-Jean fig. 124 (Louvre dinos); *Brit. Mus. Sculpture* 139, fig. 183 (Xanthos frieze). Islands; Jacobsthal *Melische Reliefs* pl. 67.

<sup>7</sup> *Olympia* iii 20-23, iv pl. 4, 4.

seal, *A.O.* pl. CXXXIX *l, o*; here the eyes are pushed to the top of the face, their lower lids forming a straight edge to a lunette-shaped forehead. A closely similar treatment is seen in the gorgoneion used as a shield-device on a 'Melian' vase,<sup>1</sup> and it is not unlikely that the seal itself is a Cycladic importation.

The second type is represented by the bone seal *A.O.* pl. CXLI, 3, the ivory seal *A.O.* pl. CXLV, 2, and the clay gorgoneion in low relief from the side of a pyxis, PLATE 31 *b*.<sup>2</sup> The tall face, straight brow, and rounded chin at once suggest comparison with the gorgon on a 'Rhodian' plate,<sup>3</sup> and the type may have been adopted from East Greece. The clay gorgoneion (relief) has a small pointed beard, pointed ears like those of a mule, and horns; tusks curl fearsomely upwards across the cheeks and the eyes are turned towards the left. The fringe of spiral locks over the brow is like that on Protocorinthian gorgoneia,<sup>4</sup> and our specimen probably belongs to the thirties of the seventh century.

The third type, which is shewn by the lead reliefs *A.O.* pls. CLXXX 31, CLXXXVI 22, and the clay tab on our PLATE 31 *d*,<sup>5</sup> has a very broad, low face and a distended mouth, and belongs to the mainland species found on Protocorinthian vases (*NC.* fig. 23 A-C). A gorgon with a lion's body, on the ivory fibula *A.O.* pl. CII 1, is related to Early Corinthian and may be dated in the last quarter of the seventh century. From now on Lakonian gorgoneia are constructed in the same logical manner as the Corinthian ones, the face being divided into several complementary areas in which each feature forms an organic part of the whole scheme. The examples are hardly numerous enough to enable us to trace the development of the series, but early specimens like PLATE 29, *A.O.* pl. VII have a low, level forehead which tends later to arch upwards, admitting some sort of triangular motive to fill the space between the eyebrows (PLATES 37 *a*, 38 *h*, 44 *a*). The gorgoneia commonly found inside the foot-ring under Lakonian III plates<sup>6</sup> are for the most part carelessly drawn and tame in expression, but the humanising process noted by Payne<sup>7</sup> in Corinthian examples is not inevitably echoed at Sparta, to judge from the fierce gorgoneion on PLATE 44 *a*, which on other grounds must be dated about 550 or later.<sup>8</sup> Snakes growing from the hair, or as a corona running

<sup>1</sup> Conze *Melische Thongefässe* pl. iii.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> Buschor *Greek Vase-Painting* fig. 59.

<sup>4</sup> *NC.* fig. 23 A-C.

<sup>5</sup> This may have stood up from the rim of a vase, but there are no traces of slip or painting to support the suggestion. Note the horns.

<sup>6</sup> *A.O.* figs. 59 *t, u*; 60 *u*; 72 *u, cc*; *B.S.A.* xxviii 67 fig. 11 *a*.

<sup>7</sup> *NC.* p. 84.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 146. In this particular gorgoneion, a late-looking feature is the treatment of the snakes in the hair—stylised almost beyond recognition.

completely round the head, are first found about 600 B.C. (PLATE 32 *a*; <sup>1</sup> PLATE 37 *a* and *C.V.A. Bibl. Nat.* i, pl. 23, 1-3, about 590-80).

Full-length gorgons are rare, the only instances being on the ivory plaque *A.O.* pl. CVI, 1 and the clay running gorgon from a lakaina handle, *A.O.* pl. VIII. The first of these is dated by stratification to the seventh century,<sup>2</sup> and if the gorgon with a long chiton is an Ionic type, it is interesting to find one of this date with snakes in its hair.<sup>3</sup>

The *sphinx* is easily the most popular of the fantastic animals.<sup>4</sup> *Sirens* occur fairly often,<sup>5</sup> *centaurs*,<sup>6</sup> *Typhon*,<sup>7</sup> and a *chimaera*<sup>8</sup> once each. The *griffon*,<sup>9</sup> the *griffon-bird*,<sup>10</sup> the *panther-bird*,<sup>11</sup> and the *winged horse*<sup>12</sup> make up the remainder.

#### PLANT ORNAMENT.

Grand floral complexes, which played so prominent a part in the decoration of Corinthian and Chalkidian vases, are rare in Lakonian. The preference is for simple, recurring motives arranged in narrow friezes. With these I shall deal individually.

*Pomegranate.* In the seventh century a naturalistic form with stamens is occasionally found,<sup>13</sup> but for small vases the simplified version (FIG. 21, 1) is regularly used and occurs as late as the Samos vase mentioned on p. 136. Not until the kylikes of the Hephaistos Group, *ca.* 590-75, do we find the more advanced forms FIG. 21, 2-4; from then onwards the fruit has three or more stamens, usually a cross-bar, and in most cases appears linked as a continuous frieze. Generally speaking, long and carelessly drawn

<sup>1</sup> Probably the face would be upside-down in the photograph, the pointed thing with saw-like teeth representing the lower part of the beard.

<sup>2</sup> *A.O.* 211-12.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexikon* for Ionic gorgons; *NC.* 86 for the suggestion that the snakes were first introduced by Corinthian artists.

<sup>4</sup> In the seventh century sphinxes do not occur on vases, with the possible exception of PLATE 28 *d*, but they are common in other materials and adopt a considerable variety of poses (cf. *A.O.* pls. CLXXIV, CLXXXVII for specimens in lead). A polos was usually worn, and is still seen on the sixth-century bronze in *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. xi 8, but sphinxes on vase-paintings have their heads bare or decorated with a sprouting 'anthemion.' Examples: *AO.* pl. VIII, our PLATES 44, 45 *a*—the monotonous seated pose is never varied.

<sup>5</sup> PLATE 42 *b*, FIG. 17. *A.O.* figs. 61 A, 62 A. The first is the only one with hands.

<sup>6</sup> On the Louvre *deinos*, PLATE 42 *a* and *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pls. 7, 8. Both types, with human, and with equine forelegs are shewn.

<sup>7</sup> On the kylix fragment PLATE 38 *g*. The creature may have a double snake tail, like the figures on Corinthian and Chalkidian vases (*NC.* 77), but it looks as if two snakes are branching sideways from the belt of an ordinary human male figure. In that case the interpretation is indeed difficult.

<sup>8</sup> Heidelberg kylix, *J.d.I.* 1901, 193.

<sup>9</sup> *A.O.* fig. 64 A, B.

<sup>10</sup> PLATE 38 *a*; *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. vii; *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 5, etc.

<sup>11</sup> PLATE 29, with a long, hairy neck.

<sup>12</sup> PLATE 41 *c*; *A.A.* 1923-4, 80, figs. 18, 19.

<sup>13</sup> *A.O.* fig. 41 *e*.

stamens indicate a date near the mid-century or later. The pomegranate net, FIG. 21, 9, is common on Corinthian, whence it was perhaps borrowed; in Lakonian it is confined to the second quarter-century. FIG. 21, 10 is only found on the British Museum hydria<sup>1</sup> and the Etruscan imitation, Boston 551.<sup>2</sup>

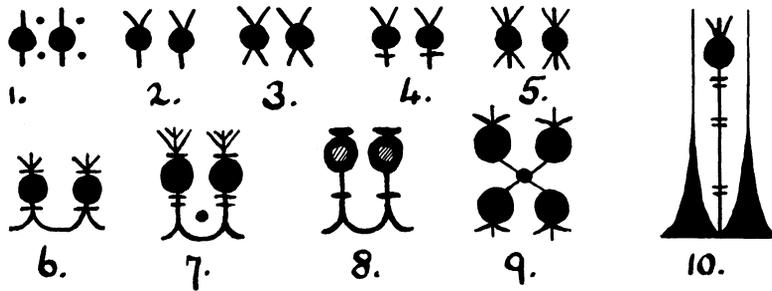


FIG. 21.—POMEGRANATE TYPES.

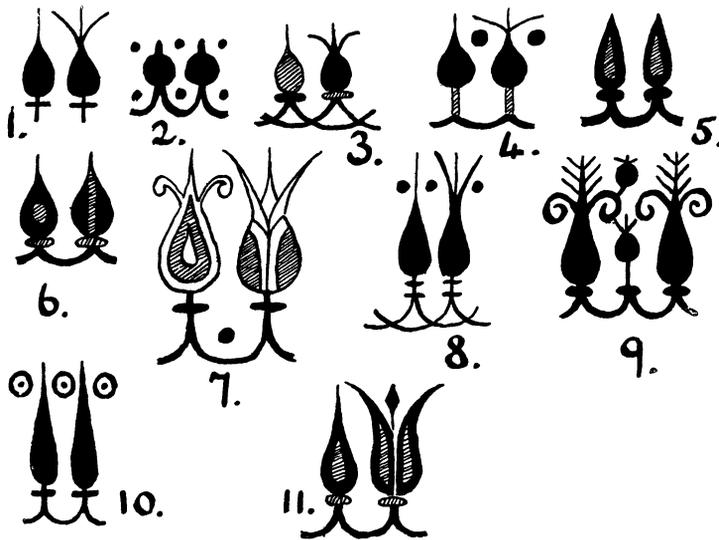


FIG. 22.—TYPES OF BUD FRIEZE.

*Bud Frieze.* Not found before about 590. The plump forms FIG. 22, 1-3 are those contemporary with the Hephaistos Painter. Sherds from immediately above the sand shew a liking for added purple details (FIG. 22, 4-6) but without incision. FIG. 22, 7, with purple and incision, is found on the Louvre volute-krater E 661 and its companion hydria; after the mid-century the buds are more attenuated (FIG. 22, 8, 10).

<sup>1</sup> PLATE 43.<sup>2</sup> Fairbanks *Catalogue* pl. lxi.

FIG. 22, 9 is a unique elaboration from the New York cup by the Rider Painter,<sup>1</sup> ca. 550-40, and 11 (= *B.S.A.* xxviii 71 fig. 13 *a*) seems to suggest in adaptation from East Greece. Droop rightly regards it as a transitional piece from Lakonian II, date about 590.

*Myrtle Wreath.* East-Greek cups vaguely datable to the early sixth century (cf. Munich, Sieveking-Hackl pl. 17) may have supplied a model, but there the leaves are much fuller than on Lakonian and the bough is always black. About 590 the wreath begins to replace the 'dot and square' as a lip pattern, with a purple bough and no stems (FIG. 23, 1). This and the form FIG. 23, 3 are found just above the sand, but by the time of the Arkesilas Painter (570 onwards) the bough is black and stems are drawn in (FIG. 23, 2, and 7, from the Louvre cup *C.V.A.* i, III Dc, pl. 5, by the Naukratis Painter, with pomegranates along one side). As the third

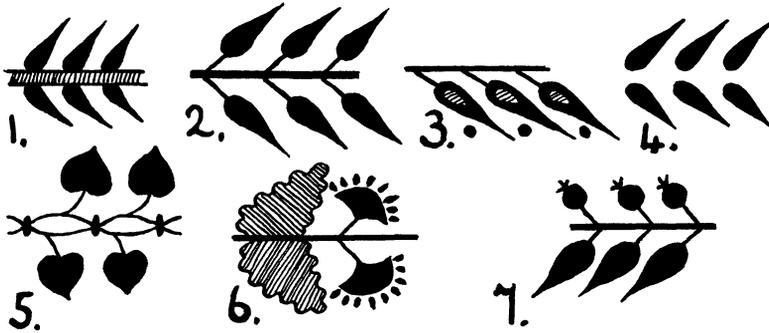


FIG. 23.—MYRTLE AND IVY WREATH PATTERNS.

quarter-century advanced, increasing carelessness led to the omission of the bough, and often only a single row of leaves is found (FIG. 23, 4, and see p. 153). FIG. 23, 5 (*A.O.* fig. 75 *c*), the *ivy wreath*, is used on the handle band of kylikes, probably after the mid-century; FIG. 23, 6 is a unique ornament from a Perachora sherd, which I cannot date.

*Palmette.* Save for isolated examples<sup>2</sup> the palmette does not appear on vases till about 590 onwards, and if we can judge from the Samos pot mentioned on p. 136, its earliest application was in plastic form where a handle joined the body.<sup>3</sup> This was imitated from metal vases, and soon the clay relief was translated into paint on the handles of the Hephaistos Group kylikes. FIG. 24 shews the successive stages: 1-4 on the Hephaistos Group cups (ca. 590-75), 5-9 on vases of the second quarter-century, leaving out the triangular member so suggestive of the metal prototypes. 10 is a very debased form found on cups by the Rider Painter; its place

<sup>1</sup> *A.J.A.* 1922 pl. iv.

<sup>2</sup> PLATE 25 *d* and *A.O.* fig. 42 A, c.

<sup>3</sup> Examples from above the sand at Orthia, *A.O.* fig. 65.

is in the third quarter-century.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the handle, palmettes are used alternately with lotuses in a frieze (*A.O.* fig. 60 *h*), as part of a floral complex, or as isolated filling ornament. *A.O.* fig. 50 *c* is a unique example of its use, enclosed, and alternately reversed, as a frieze; doubly curious

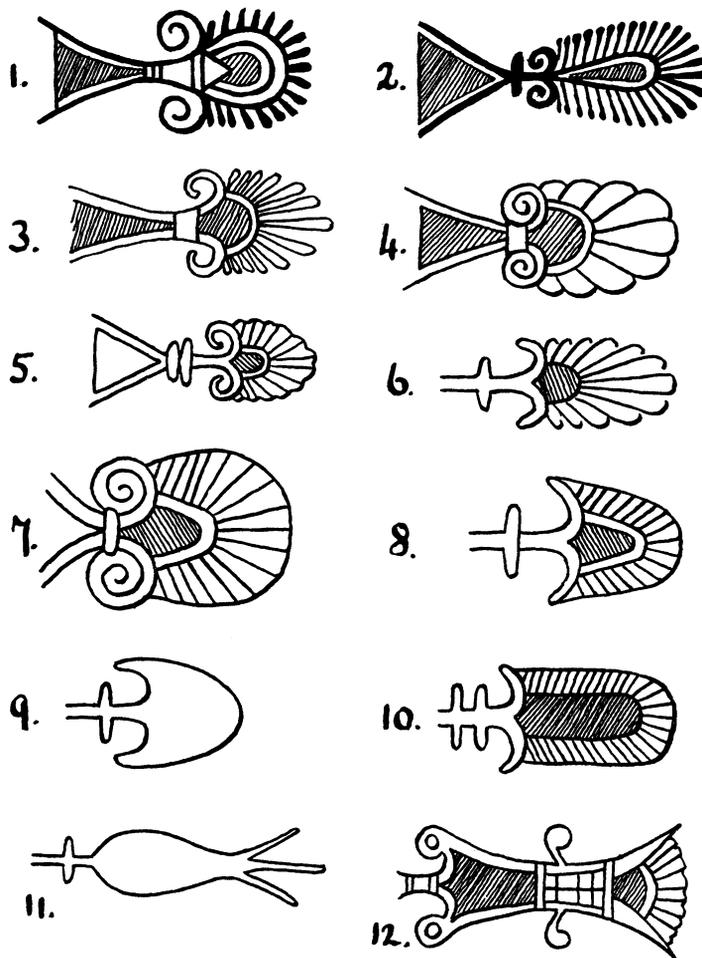


FIG. 24.—PALMETTES.

owing to the technique of slip reserved against a purple ground. I date the vase near the Castellani krater, about 580–570.

*Lotus.* The earliest is from the Hephaistos Group lakaina, *A.O.* pl. VIII, date about 590–85. The shoulders of the calyx are square, as on

<sup>1</sup> A lotus bud sometimes takes the place of a handle-palmette, cf. *A.O.* pl. X (second quarter of the sixth century).

Corinthian vases, from which the motive was certainly derived.<sup>1</sup> On the Castellani volute krater (Mingazzini pl. lii), huge lotuses and palmettes, alternately reversed, form a frieze; this scheme came from the same source,<sup>2</sup> and may be compared with the treatment of palmettes on *A.O.* fig. 50 *c.* In the second quarter-century, lotuses are used alternating with buds or palmettes as a frieze (Munich, Sieveking-Hackl p. 34, fig. 48; *A.O.* fig. 60 *h*); in two cases they take the place of handle palmettes on a kylix (*C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 5; *R.A.* 1907, i, 407 fig. 19).

#### FLORAL COMPLEXES.

1. The *lotus and palmette* (FIG. 25 A) is the basis of nearly all Lakonian floral complexes. When a square space was to be filled, say dividing

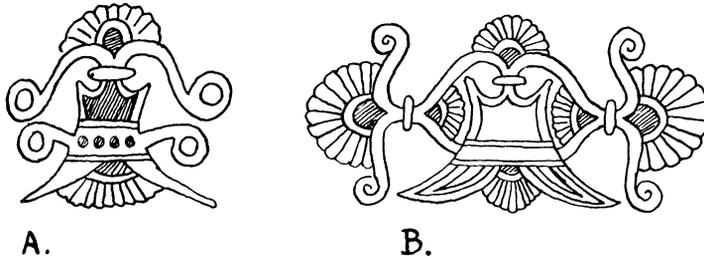


FIG. 25.—LOTUS AND PALMETTE COMPLEXES.  
A. From Banquet Kylix, Louvre E 667.  
B. From Volute-Krater, Louvre E 661.

heraldic animals, it would appear unmodified<sup>3</sup>; for a rectangular space in a frieze, the two pairs of tendrils on each side touch and bend back to admit a palmette.<sup>4</sup> Palmettes are used to fill odd corners. This ornament was used during the second quarter of the century, but after 550 the painters were usually too careless to attempt it.<sup>5</sup> Note that the side tendrils never *cross*, as in Corinthian<sup>6</sup> or Attic.<sup>7</sup> The lower tendril, which branches so inorganically from each side of the calyx, is a relict left after the lotus-palmette was cut out of the frieze where it first made its appearance in Protocorinthian—a glance at *NC.* pl. 27, top right, will shew what I mean.

A third position for a floral complex was the exergue on a kylix; the simple palmette, with tendrils branching from base alone, was used. In the developed period, 575–50, it might be tricked out with buds and

<sup>1</sup> *NC.* 145.

<sup>2</sup> *NC.* 153.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *A.O.* fig. 64 A.

<sup>4</sup> *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 5 and pl. 6, 2 (krater).

<sup>5</sup> *A.O.* fig. 61 is an example of what could happen to a simple lotus and palmette if they did.

<sup>6</sup> *NC.* 149 fig. 55.

<sup>7</sup> *NC.* pl. 52, 1.

palmettes,<sup>1</sup> but after the mid-century it shews increasing signs of slovenliness and decay.<sup>2</sup>

2. In at least three cases we have *floral complexes* used to fill the tondo of a kylix, instead of the more usual rosette with concentric friezes. *J.H.S.* 1910, 13 fig. 5, is not a very happy composition, but an interesting point is the form of the lotus-flowers. These have no separate square-shouldered calyx, as do most Lakonian lotuses; they are of the East-Greek type found on oinochoai in the 'wild-goat' style. About this time, 590–80, Sparta was in close touch with Samos, as is proved by finds in that island. *B.S.A.* xxviii 69 fig. 12 *b* shews a later kylix, dating about 580–75. The conjectural restoration of the centre is unsatisfactory, but in any case the general effect must have been extremely confused. Floral ornament was a new toy, and the artist has let his imagination run riot with no regard for logical design. This freak apparently had no successors. *PLATE 42 b*<sup>3</sup> shews a more sober treatment, lotus and palmettes with entwining tendrils, but it is not beautiful, and no doubt Lakonian artists felt that they could not do this kind of thing well; hence they rarely attempted it.

*Filling Ornament.* Down to about 590 a distaste for plant decoration of any kind results in a comparative absence of the filling ornament common on other seventh-century wares.<sup>4</sup> After that, an occasional incised rosette appears, like some stigma of Corinthian influence, but never plays a vital part in the general effect. On the Hephaistos Painter cups there is no filling; on the fragments found just above the sand the leaf-rosette is frequent, and the spiked wreath of *PLATE 38 a* is found also on a Corinthian aryballos of the 'Lion group' from Orthia,<sup>5</sup> which should be contemporary. Quite early, there is a tendency to replace the incised rosette by a plain ring,<sup>6</sup> though the incised form is found as late as the Cassel kylix (see our *PLATE 46 b*, date about 530). Small palmettes (cf. *A.J.A.* 1916 pl. XI) are a form of filling peculiar to Lakonia. In general, Lakonian potters preferred an animate object to a plant, and used animals for filling; on the Arkesilas cup we have birds, a monkey, and a lizard (see also *A.O.* fig. 74); snakes appear on the Vatican Prometheus, the Louvre 'Kadmos,'<sup>7</sup> and the Bibliothèque Nationale Polyphemos, while the birds on cups by the Rider Painter multiply into hosts.

<sup>1</sup> Brussels cup, Richter *Ancient Furniture* fig. 181.      <sup>2</sup> *A.Z.* 1881 pl. 13, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Louvre E 667, by the Naukratis Painter (p. 139). The restored centre is probably correct in detail.

<sup>4</sup> But stalk-rosette on *PLATE 27 c* (Lak. I); swastikas on *A.O.* fig. 50 B; lozenge, *PLATE 27 j*; spiral and swastika, *PLATE 29*.

<sup>5</sup> Like *NC.* 309, with warriors.

<sup>6</sup> This cannot represent a cup, as Rumpf suggests (*A.A.* 1924, 86); if it were, there would be handles as on Louvre E 667 (our *PLATE 42 b*). And often a cup would, in the context, be quite inappropriate.

<sup>7</sup> Probably not Kadmos, but Achilles (see p. 164).

## DISTRIBUTION AND DATING.

The remarkably wide distribution of Lakonian vases has been used as an argument that only a maritime state could have been the centre of their manufacture; of that more later. Fragments of definitely seventh-century character were found, outside the Peloponnese, at Caere, Rheneia, and Samos, but export did not start on a large scale till the beginning of the sixth century. I shall deal with the several districts individually.

*Peloponnese (excluding Lakonia).*

Examples were found at Tegea,<sup>1</sup> Bassae,<sup>2</sup> Olympia,<sup>3</sup> Argos,<sup>4</sup> Corinth<sup>5</sup> and Sikyon.<sup>6</sup>

*Central Greece.*

Aegina,<sup>7</sup> Attica,<sup>8</sup> Boeotia,<sup>9</sup> isolated examples; more from Delphi.<sup>10</sup> Several sixth-century sherds were found at Perachora.

*Greek Islands.*

Delos produced a few sherds, unfigured, and several aryballoi.<sup>11</sup> Only one piece comes from Crete, the volute-krater *B.S.A.* xxxi 107 fig. 34, from Eleutherna.<sup>12</sup>

For Lakonian finds in Lesbos see *B.S.A.* xxxii 59.

Samos imported more Lakonian vases than any other foreign state: Boehlau's excavation of the necropolis produced a high proportion; I noted fragments of about 70 different pots at the Heraeum in 1934, and Professor Buschor tells me that more have since been found. Evidently no tomb evidence is available for dating, but most of the sherds from

<sup>1</sup> Some late Geometric fragments, like our PLATE 21 *b*, and one fragment, recently found at Episkopi, of a Lakonian III kylix.

<sup>2</sup> *Εφημ.* 1910, 293-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Olympia* iv 202, and the Berlin cup from Atalanti.

<sup>4</sup> *Argive Heraeum* ii pls. lx 16, lxii 3-6; pp. 173-4; our PLATE 26 *e*. I could not find anything like 50 fragments in the store-rooms at Athens; most of the sherds are from late Lakonian III kylikes of poor quality.

<sup>5</sup> *J.H.S.* 1908, 178 fig. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Mus.* B 3 (PLATE 46 *a*).

<sup>7</sup> Furtwängler *Aegina* 457 no. 246, and fragments from column-kraters in the museum.

<sup>8</sup> Graef *Akropolisvasen* no. 468. The siren cup (FIG. 17) is thought to have come from Attica.

<sup>9</sup> Heidelberg Chimaera, *J.d.I.* 1901, 193; a sherd from Haliartos, *B.S.A.* xxxii 192, and aryballoi from Rhitsona, *e.g.*, p. 153.

<sup>10</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes* v, 145-6 fig. 601.

<sup>11</sup> Aryballoi, *Délos* x nos. 584-8 (there called Attic); sherds, *Délos* xvii, pl. xiii, 1-3.

<sup>12</sup> A small ivory at Candia, from Tylissos, is very like *A.O.* pl. CXXIII 1 and may be Lakonian. There is a corresponding dearth of certainly Cretan objects from Lakonia; I have already given my reasons for supposing that the pyxis, *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. VI is local (p. 119).

the Heraeum were in a mixed stratum of earth imported from elsewhere to level the ground south of the great altar when this was rebuilt by Rhoikos. The earliest fragment bears a Lakonian I lion and there are one or two other pieces which might be of seventh-century date, but the great majority belong to the Hephaistos Painter group and the immediately succeeding stage of Lakonian III, with rich floral ornament. It is to be noted that slip is often partially omitted, and there are fragments of several column-kraters, and of one volute-krater like that from Eleutherna. The provisional date for the building of the Rhoikos altar is about 540, and this suggests that column-kraters and the omission of slip were in common use before then. Besides vases, two Lakonian bronze figures were found; one a walking hoplite with a shield,<sup>1</sup> the fellow of the painted hoplites on *A.O.* pl. c, the other a clumsy lion couchant bearing an inscription recording its dedication to Hera by Eumnastos, a Spartiate.

The extraordinarily high proportion of Lakonian vases from Samos, far outnumbering the commoner and more easily obtainable Corinthian, points to a relationship between her and Sparta which cannot be explained on purely commercial grounds. The fashion for things Lakonian almost amounted to a cult. Racial affinities were out of the question; the true basis of the connection was probably to be found in the admiration which the Samian aristocracy felt for the Spartan πολιτεία. Sparta took a reciprocal interest in Samian politics, for when Polykrates sent a batch of dangerous and unwanted citizens to help Cambyses, in the hope that they would not come back, the latter had small difficulty in persuading the Lakedaimonians to assist their return to Samos.<sup>2</sup> The unprecedented phenomenon of a Spartan naval expedition needs a better explanation than either of the two proposed by Herodotus.<sup>3</sup> Polykrates had shewn signs of making his personal peace with the Persian, when he sent aid to Cambyses for the latter's expedition against Amasis. In view of such instability, Sparta perhaps felt that it was better to have a government in Samos which she could trust, composed of her aristocratic friends. Even during the siege, the philo-Spartan sentiment inside the city found expression in the public honours given to Archias, a Spartiate hero who was killed in the assault, and at Sparta the grandson of Archias carried the amicable tradition down to Herodotus' own day.

Rhodes has provided us with three tomb-groups to help in dating. The

<sup>1</sup> The hoplite is illustrated in *J.H.S.* 1933, 289, fig. 15. Compare Zervos *L'Art en Grèce* fig. 218. The lion is mentioned in *A.A.* 1926, 436. It is possible that a third bronze, the mirror-support in Buschor *Altsamische Standbilder* pls. 115-117, is also Lakonian (Kunze *A.M.* 1934, 99; Jenkins *B.S.A.* xxxiii 77).

<sup>2</sup> Her. iii 44 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Her. iii 47. One frivolous: that the Samians had confiscated a brazen bowl on its way from Sparta to Croesus. The other romantic, and based on a questionable legend: that Samos had sent help to Sparta in the Messenian War and Sparta was still grateful.

earliest is Papatislures II (*Cl. Rh.* vi); the large Corinthian alabastron, no. 1, belongs to Payne's Middle Period,<sup>1</sup> ca. 600–575, and the finding of a cup with 'Lakonian II' decoration bears out the evidence from Taranto that this style overlapped into the sixth century. The Hephaistos kylix was found at Ialysos in grave 88 (*Cl. Rh.* iii 121), with an oinochoe styled by Dr. Jacopi as 'rodia, della decadenza.' But the latter is made of Corinthian clay, and corresponds to *NC.* fig. 10 E (Middle Corinthian), so that the Hephaistos kylix and the group<sup>2</sup> to which it belongs can be placed in the first quarter of the sixth century. In grave 185 at Ialysos (*Cl. Rh.* iii 194, fig. 193; the Attic amphora belongs to grave 253), a Lakonian column-krater was found with a low-footed, lipless kylix whose style suggests the third quarter of the sixth century. These kraters were probably manufactured over a long period, and the grave-group does not necessarily disprove my view that the earlier examples date well back into the second quarter (p. 149). Other kraters were found in Rhodes (*Fouilles de Lindos* ii 291–4); a Lakonian II cup in Berlin, no. 1647,<sup>3</sup> the hydria mentioned on p. 143, and a number of aryballoi complete the total at present known,<sup>4</sup> though there will certainly be others.

#### *Asia Minor.*

From Ephesus there are two fragments from Lakonian II cups with convex lip (now in the British Museum).

At Sardis the sphinx cup described on p. 151 was found in a grave group suggesting a date about 540.

From Gordion comes a Lakonian III kylix fragment (Körte, *J.d.I. Erg.* v 186 fig. 176).

#### *Africa.*

Naukratis provides a good collection; the earliest is Lakonian II (PLATE 31 c);<sup>5</sup> many Hephaistos Group fragments, nothing apparently later than Lakonian III.

Kyrene produced a disappointingly small amount of any kind of pottery. The sherds mentioned by Hoppin, *Bull. Arch. Inst.* 1910–11, 141, have evidently disappeared. *Africa Italiana* 1931, pl. ii, shews later finds.<sup>6</sup>

Carthage. Two lakainai, early sixth century (*R.A.* xxvii, 55–6).

<sup>1</sup> *NC.* 303.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> Shape like the Taranto fish-cups (PLATE 31 e), decoration like the cup from Papatislures grave II, *Cl. Rh.* vi.

<sup>4</sup> It should be remembered that in *Clara Rhodos* the Attic 'Droop cups' are often called Lakonian or Kyrenaic.

<sup>5</sup> Lip fragments from two cups. The decoration is unusual, but the fabric is evidently Lakonian.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Beazley *Metr. Mus. Stud.* v 102 n. 3.

Daphnai. The sherd *Tanis* ii pl. xxxii 3 is not Lakonian; it comes from the shoulder of a Fikellura amphora.<sup>1</sup>

*South Italy.*

Taranto. There were five grave-groups with Corinthian vases and no Lakonian pieces are earlier than 600 B.C. :

1. The three cups, p. 128 and PLATE 30<sup>2</sup> were found with four pairs of kotylai, one alabastron, and one pair of amphoriskoi, all to be dated early in the Middle Corinthian period<sup>3</sup> (Grave 285).
2. A cup of similar shape, but decorated as Munich 380 (Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13), was with two amphoriskoi<sup>4</sup> and a round aryballos decorated with carelessly drawn hoplites bearing shields (Grave C.D. 35).
3. A lakaina like *A.O.* fig. 70 *b*, was with a large kotyle and a large, flat-bottomed aryballos<sup>5</sup> (Grave 182).
4. The 'pseudo-kantharos' (PLATE 34 *a*, p. 126) was with a pair of large kotylai, 3 small kotylai, 2 cups with careless birds, an amphoriskos, a ring-vase, a tripod pyxis, and a globular pyxis<sup>6</sup> (Grave 5 *bis*, Contrada Vaccarella 1922).
5. The Zeus kylix (PLATE 37 *b*, p. 137) was with a large flat-bottomed aryballos (Grave 159<sup>7</sup>).

Other Lakonian vases from Taranto, not in tomb-groups, are the kylix PLATES 47, 48, p. 153; the Kyrene kylix F.R. iii, 212; a kylix of 'Droop-cup' shape varnished black inside, and a number of aryballoi.<sup>8</sup> It is surprising that none of the Lakonian pottery is earlier than the sixth century, and perhaps the chances of excavation are responsible. If seventh-century fragments were found at Caere we should naturally expect them from the only Lakonian colony in the West.

Reggio. One column krater, very large and entirely black, from the

<sup>1</sup> And is therefore useless for dating the Lakonian series. See *A.O.* 109 and here p. 32 no. P 17 and PLATE 17 *d*.

<sup>2</sup> See *R.A.* 1912, ii, 91 no. 111, for the third, not illustrated here.

<sup>3</sup> Quagliati *R. Museo Nazionale di Taranto* 51 illustrates three Corinthian vases from this grave. See *NC.* 308 nos. 937-40.

<sup>4</sup> See *NC.* 314.

<sup>5</sup> See *NC.* 304 nos. 821 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cups as *NC.* 311 nos. 975 ff.; ring-vase as *NC.* 313 nos. 1057 ff.; tripod pyxis, *NC.* 308 nos. 921 ff.; globular pyxis, *NC.* 307 nos. 895 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Aryballos, see *NC.* 304 no. 834.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. T. J. Dunbabin has kindly drawn my attention to a new kylix recently found at Taranto in a tomb-group, the contents of which are not yet published. The kylix is of 'Droop-cup' shape and is decorated with a goat closely resembling that on the Munich cup Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13, 385.

Borgata S. Gregorio (*N.Sc.* 1924, 101), and the lips of others (Museo Civico)<sup>1</sup>.

Cumae. A kylix fragment, by the Arkesilas Painter (p. 140; *Mont. Ant.* xxii pl. 60, i).

Capua. The Brit. Mus. kylix B. 2 (p. 139 and PLATE 41 c).

Nola. The Polyphemos kylix (p. 151; *C.V.A. Bibl. Nat.* i pl. 22, 1, 4).

### *Etruria.*

The majority of Lakonian vases in the big European collections are known to have come from Italy, though in few cases are the exact provenances recorded. Caere and Corneto were the great tomb-looting centres of the nineteenth century, and no doubt provided most of the Campana vases now in the Louvre; if a vase is reasonably complete it must have come from a tomb, and if from a tomb, the probability favours Etruria. Caere imported Lakonian ware at an early date, some fragments (now at Leipzig) being in the 'dot and square' Lakonian II style and probably belonging to the seventh century. From then on all stages of the fabric are represented except the dregs of Lakonian IV. Vulci<sup>2</sup> and Camino<sup>3</sup> are mentioned as provenances besides Caere and Corneto, and as the krateriskos in Philadelphia<sup>4</sup> is Lakonian, Orvieto must be added.<sup>5</sup>

### *Sicily.*

Selinus. In the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros were found a Lakonian III lakaina, a curious kind of krateriskos (*Mon. Ant.* xxxii, 309-10 pl. xc, 1, 2), and a kylix fragment by the Hephaistos Painter (*ibid.* fig. 128, and p. 130 above). Cf. also the Addendum on p. 189.

### *France.*

At Marseilles, the excavations under Fort St. Jean produced fragments of four kylikes, all of the ornate Lakonian III kind, belonging to the second quarter of the sixth century.<sup>6</sup>

## THE 'KYRENE' HERESY.

The theme, 'Were these vases made at Sparta or at Kyrene?' has long been discussed. In summing up the evidence, Dugas admitted the case

<sup>1</sup> Rumpf *Chalk. Vas.* 44, refers to Lakonian fragments; there may be more than I saw in my very short visit.

<sup>2</sup> Vulci; the Brit. Mus. hydria B. 58 (see p. 146), and probably the Arkesilas cup, which was bought there.

<sup>3</sup> Camino (if this is in Etruria); see *J.d.I.* 1924, 31, note 3, Rider cup in Leningrad.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 135.

<sup>5</sup> Orbetello; see *A.Z.* 1881, 217 note 7. Not a Lakonian vase; cf. Kretschmer, *Griechische Vasenschriften* 15.

<sup>6</sup> Vasseur, *Annales du musée d'histoire naturelle de Marseille* xiii, 1914, pl. xi.

for Sparta to be proved by the finds, but felt that the probabilities in favour of Kyrene were still strong, and that future excavation would justify the conclusion that similar wares were made in both places.

The essential preliminary for any such discussion is to establish a common factor present in all 'Lakonian' vases wherever found—a factor which proves their unity as a series and distinguishes them from any other kind of ware. What we need is provided by the nature of the clay and slip; this is quite distinctive, and Droop has shewn that the exported vases are made of the same clay and bear the same kind of slip that had been used in Lakonia from Geometric times onwards without a break.<sup>2</sup> Dugas accepted the evidence of the finds for a flourishing vase fabric at Sparta, and admitted their identity in style and technique with the exported vases hitherto classed as Kyrenaic. He dismissed as absurd the ideas that Sparta had no ships of her own, in which to export her wares, and that fragile vases would suffer (as Perrot<sup>3</sup> thought) from the land journey between Sparta and the sea at Gytheion. Why, then, admitting that some<sup>4</sup> of the exported vases must have been made at Sparta, did he refuse to grant a similar origin for the whole series?

The theory of a dual origin is based on two arguments; first, the strongly Kyrenaic character of some of the subjects depicted on the vases;<sup>5</sup> second, the more favourable position of Kyrene as a centre for their distribution to Naukratis, Samos, and the Eastern Aegean. Dugas evidently assumes that Lakonian artists would not choose subjects connected with Kyrene unless they were actually prescribed by the customers for whom the vases were being made, and that an order for such representations could only be given in a personal interview. Hence the potter must go to Kyrene to receive his instructions (bringing his clay with him!)<sup>6</sup> and make the vases on the spot. It is not unlikely that the Arkesilas Painter had actually visited Kyrene,<sup>7</sup> but surely he painted the portrait of Arkesilas from memory, and not at a special sitting given by the king and his servants for the purpose. Less local colour was necessary for the scene of Kyrene struggling with the lion—the subject had already been done in stone on the Kyrenaic treasury

<sup>1</sup> *R.A.* 1912, ii, 98 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *A.O.* 52–4.

<sup>3</sup> Perrot and Chipiez ix 513.

<sup>4</sup> Those from the Greek mainland, from Taranto, and from Italy.

<sup>5</sup> The Arkesilas cup, the Taranto cup *F.R.* iii p. 212, fig. 4; the alleged representation of Kyrene on the British Museum cup from Naukratis is less certain (see p. 165).

<sup>6</sup> Dugas' parallel of the modern practice in the Cyclades, where the potters of Siphnos go from one island to another taking their raw clay with them, is not a happy one. The islands are separate from each other only a few hours' voyage, whereas the distance from Gytheion to Kyrene is well over 300 miles, much of it open sea. Surely it would be cheaper and more convenient for customers to place their orders with the supercargo of the ship visiting Kyrene, and for the potter to make the vases at home in Sparta? In any case, if a Lakonian potter working in Lakonian style and using Lakonian clay makes a vase at Kyrene, the vase will be Lakonian and not Kyrenaic.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 161.

at Olympia, and the details of the Taranto cup were taken from Attic vases<sup>1</sup> which could be studied as easily at Sparta as in Africa. Moreover, one would not expect the potter to perform the long and expensive voyage to Kyrene and then go home as soon as his stock of clay was exhausted; he would settle down and order fresh clay by the next boat from Sparta. Meanwhile he would be open to all the new impressions which living among a mixed population of Cretans, islanders, and Africans might bring him, and inevitably these would affect his style. It is impossible to distinguish among the vases any group shewing signs of such exotic influence; most of the vases from Naukratis and Samos, for which Dugas postulates a Kyrenaic origin, belong to the first half of the sixth century and are dominated in figure and animal drawing by the Corinthian black-figure style. If subsequent excavation at Kyrene produces any quantity of Lakonian ware, we must expect a good deal of Corinthian as well, to explain the borrowings to which I have constantly referred in the course of this article. Finally, it is to be noted that of the two cups with certain Kyrenaic subjects, one was found at Taranto, and therefore, on Dugas' own shewing, is more likely to have come straight from Sparta than from Kyrene, and the other was probably found at Vulci, another place in the Spartan 'sphere of influence.'

With regard to Dugas' second argument, that Kyrene was in closer touch than Sparta with Naukratis and Samos: nothing is more likely than that the Lakonian vases found at Naukratis were taken there in Kyrenaic bottoms, but that does not prove that Kyrene acted any part beyond that of middleman.<sup>2</sup> With Samos, Sparta had relations before Kyrene was even founded; if Herodotus' story of Samian intervention in the Messenian war is untrustworthy, we have the evidence of a Lakonian vase-fragment, found at the Heraeum in Samos, which on stylistic grounds can hardly be later than 640 B.C. Subsequent political relations between Samos and Sparta are mentioned on p. 179 above; they are at least as impressive as the connection with Kyrene. Moreover, two bronzes of Lakonian style<sup>3</sup> were recently found in the island, one of them actually bearing the dedicatory inscription of Eumnastos, a Spartiate, and this might surely act as a written guarantee that the vases also came from Sparta.

Other arguments in favour of the Kyrenaic origin are trivial. One is, that Kyrene was a flourishing maritime city; all the Greek cities of similar status had a vase-fabric of their own, so Kyrene must have had one too. But for this, an accessible supply of clay is even more important than a position by the sea, and if she could find no suitable clay nearer than

<sup>1</sup> See p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> On Dugas' line of argument, we might assert that the Lakonian vases found in Etruria were made at Taranto instead of being merely distributed from there.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 179 n. 1 above.

Sparta<sup>1</sup> (for all the vases to be attributed to her are made of Lakonian clay), the expense of maintaining her potteries must have been ruinous.

Professor Langlotz has expressed the view that our vases cannot be Lakonian because the figures on them do not resemble those of Lakonian sculpture (Würzburg *Katalog*, under no. 166). I cannot understand this, because one of the original reasons for suggesting a Lakonian origin for the vases, long antedating the excavations by the British School, was this very point of resemblance to grave monuments found in Lakonia.

#### IMITATIONS OF LAKONIAN VASES.

The ornament on most Lakonian vases is highly distinctive, but simple enough to be easily copied. Hence, during the sixth century, where these vases were freely imported, the local potters were often ready to borrow a motive which took their fancy, and to a lesser degree there is some adaptation of shapes. It will be best to deal severally with these imitations according to districts.

*Samos.* The chalice without handles, on a high foot,<sup>2</sup> does not occur in East Greece outside Samos, but in Lakonia varieties of the shape run well back into the seventh century.<sup>3</sup> One almost complete example was found in the Samian nekropolis,<sup>4</sup> and there are other fragments from the Heraeum; no doubt they supplied models for the local potters. Numerous kylix fragments of the Hephaistos Painter group were found, and the sherd on PLATE 36 *e* comes from a Samian kylix which is a literal copy. The clay is certainly East-Greek, and there is no slip; inside are thin concentric fillets like those on Munich Catalogue pl. 17 no. 529. In this case the debt was mutual, for similar fillets appear on two cups by the Hephaistos Painter,<sup>5</sup> though there the vases are, as usual, slipped. In Aegina are fragments of a later East-Greek kylix with lotus buds like our FIG. 24, 11 springing from the handles, and pairs of rudely incised spirals at the base of each—a curious hybrid between palmette and lotus bud which will be more fully discussed by Dr. Kunze in his article on Ionian cups.<sup>6</sup> ‘Fikellura’ ware probably borrowed the pomegranate from Lakonian, and the phiale from the Heraeum (*A.M.* 1934 Beil. xi) evidently owes its winged figures and gorgoneion to Lakonian prototypes.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Clay was sometimes imported from Attica into East Greece, for making luxury vases like *A.M.* 1929, Beil. xix 1–3 (cf. *A.M.* 1934, 122); but Lakonian clay was of comparatively inferior quality, and Kyrene might have supplied herself better from Crete, which was nearer and where the clay was superior.

<sup>2</sup> Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. vi 1. Other unpublished examples at Vathy.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 110, 117 and PLATE 28 *b, c, e*.

<sup>4</sup> Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. x, 7.

<sup>5</sup> P. 130 nos. 4, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Published since this was written in *A.M.* 1934, 97 Beil. vii 5.

<sup>7</sup> Compare the winged daemons on the Louvre banquet kylix, PLATE 42 *b*.

*Naukratis.* Several kylikes by the Hephaistos Painter came from Naukratis,<sup>1</sup> a distinctive feature of their decoration being the fringe of pomegranates round the picture. A phiale fragment in Oxford<sup>2</sup> from the same site, of typically 'Naukratite' fabric, shews this fringe, and the external ornament runs to bands and rays quite unlike the usual system. In Berlin is a small Naukratite sherd (FIG. 26) evidently from the shoulder of a kylix; this also has the pomegranate fringe and what looks like the end of a handle-palmette on the exterior. The view now generally held is that the 'Naukratite' vases were made in Chios, and excavation has produced a certain amount of evidence to shew that this is so.<sup>3</sup> In any case Lakonian vases must have been known to the makers (as they would be if the factory were in Naukratis), and the Oxford sphinx-fragment may safely be dated with the cups it copies in the second decade of the sixth century.

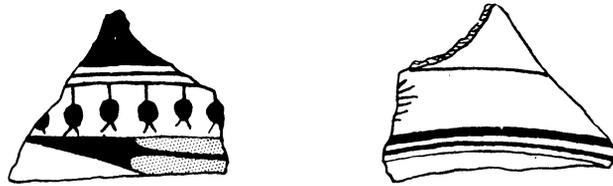


FIG. 26.—'NAUKRATITE' FRAGMENT IN BERLIN.

*South Italy.* Taranto was naturally a centre for distribution, and in the Museum there are two vases of local fabric which seem to be imitations of Lakonian. One is rather like *A.O.* fig. 62, but sharper in outline, with ribbon handles, and varnished black. It was found with Middle Corinthian.<sup>4</sup> The other is a small krater from Valenzano (Bari), also black, *ca.* 20 cm. high. It is like Lakonian column kraters in shape but has ribbon handles: the lower part of the bowl is reserved. In the same grave were imitations of low East-Greek cups made of the same hard, yellow-ochre clay. A similar krater from Medma is in the Reggio Antiquarium, *ca.* 15 cm. high, and there is a whole series of miniature ones from Griso Labocetta in the Museo Civico, 4–6.5 cm. high. The clay varies from hard yellowish buff to soft orange-red.<sup>5</sup>

*Etruria.* The greatest proportion of exported Lakonian vases was found in Etruria, and they naturally contributed some ingredients towards what may be called the Etruscan pie. Hybrid cups, with Lakonian 'dot and square' on the lip, but pseudo-Corinthian birds in the handle-band,

<sup>1</sup> P. 130 nos. 6–9, 13.

<sup>2</sup> *C.V.A. Oxford* ii, II D, pl. 5, 33; *R.A.* 1907, i, pl. III and p. 407 fig. 19.

<sup>3</sup> To be published in the next volume of the *Annual*. See meanwhile *J.H.S.* 1934, 196.

<sup>4</sup> In Via d'Aquino, 1910. Ht. *ca.* 14 cm.

<sup>5</sup> See *N.Sc.* 1924, 101.

are Munich 614 (Sieveking-Hackl pl. 30), Toronto *Catalogue* 185 (pl. 13) Vatican 139 (Albizzati pl. 13); compare the shape with that of the Taranto fish-bowls (our PLATE 31 *e*).

The Tomba dei Tori at Corneto has a bud and pomegranate frieze (already attributed to Lakonian influence),<sup>1</sup> and the pomegranate so common on the 'Pontic' vases comes from the same source.<sup>2</sup> A krateriskos in Berlin<sup>3</sup> shews an incised handle-palmette taken from a kylix of the Rider Painter class (FIG. 24, 10) and most uncomfortably adapted to its position.

Ducati (*Pontische Vasen* 24) collects a group of 17 vases which shew strongly stylised forms, a preference for running animals, and a special penchant for birds. Their peculiarities he attributes to a 'Fortdauer von protokorinthischen Motiven,' but Protocorinthian was dead and buried eighty years before; the truth will be clear if we put Ducati's plates 11 *b*, 12 beside the Lakonian cup on our PLATE 45 *b*, or the other Rider cups in Leningrad and the Louvre. The tight drawing of the centaurs, and above all the swarms of birds used as filling ornament, are directly inspired by Lakonian vase-paintings.

There is a curious vase in Boston<sup>4</sup> which at first sight appears to be a close relation of the British Museum hydria, PLATE 43. The shape looks later, to judge from its tall and slender lines, the upward bend of the handles, and the gentle curve of the neck; the lip is round in profile instead of being square with metallic grooves, as on the British Museum vase.<sup>5</sup> The absence of a vertical handle from a pot so obviously designed for one strikes the first note of eccentricity, and I believe there is no other Greek vase which has slip on the handles when the body is left unslipped.<sup>6</sup> In secondary decoration the Boston amphora is close to British Museum B. 58, but the subjects of the main frieze are without parallel in Lakonian art. Compare the group of a lion felling a stag (PLATE 49 *c*) with PLATE 49 *a* and it will be obvious that they are both by the same hand, and no one would suspect the vase from which the latter is taken of being Lakonian.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Poulsen *Etruscan Tomb-Paintings* 9, and plate facing p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Examples: Ducati *Pontische Vasen* pl. xvi *b*; Munich 1006 (Sieveking-Hackl pl. 44); Brit. Mus. B. 54; unpublished krateriskoi in the Louvre. <sup>3</sup> *A.M.* 1920 pl. v 3.

<sup>4</sup> Boston 551, Fairbanks *Catalogue* pl. lxi. I am deeply obliged to Dr. L. D. Caskey for the photograph here reproduced, and for sending me notes on the vase.

<sup>5</sup> These details of shape are regular on Attic black-figure hydriai of the third quarter of the sixth century.

<sup>6</sup> Though the slip on the lip alone occurs on the Attic hydria Brit. Mus. B. 316, by the Antimenes Painter.

<sup>7</sup> Berlin 1885, *Führer* pl. 20. Foot lost and replaced by that of a low Attic b.f. eye-kylix (see Furtwängler in the *Vase-Catalogue* of 1886). Most of the decoration on the lower part of the vase and of the group on *B.C.H.* 1893, 434 had disappeared through damp, and was repainted by a cunning restorer; but all of the group on *Führer* pl. 20 is original, except the hind-quarters of the bull and the right-hand lion's feet, and our PLATE 49 *a* was taken after the vase had been cleaned. I have to thank Dr. Robert Zahn for assistance in studying this vase.

An additional proof that Boston 551 and Berlin 1885 came from the same workshop is given by the clay, which is in both cases very coarse, full of chalky lumps, and varying in colour from pale straw-yellow to dull purplish-brown.<sup>1</sup> The Berlin vase was recorded by Micali<sup>2</sup> as found at Tarquinia, but of the three drawings which purport to represent it only the first two actually do so, the third reproducing the vase in Boston. The assumption is that both were found at Tarquinia, and in working on them at the same time Micali's draughtsman confused the two. The group of a lion or panther felling another animal was extremely popular in Etruria about this time,<sup>3</sup> and the lion is of a type which can be definitely associated with East Greece, and not with the Peloponnese; notice particularly the pointed forelock, the folded and lowered ear, the forepaw splayed out on the victim's flank, and the treatment of the hind-quarters.<sup>4</sup> On the other side of the Boston vase is a monster with the body of a lion and the head of a wolf, an unhealthy creature which might naturally be conceived by an Etruscan mind. For the reasons given, I assign both Berlin 1885 and Boston 551 to an Etruscan potter working in the third quarter of the sixth century.

Since the above was put into type Mr. Payne has drawn my attention to yet a third example which stands beside the Boston and Berlin vases as an illegitimate descendant from the Lakonian hydria on PLATE 43. It is

<sup>1</sup> Berlin 1885 is covered with a thick orange slip, which, of course, never occurs in Lakonian pottery.

<sup>2</sup> *Storia* iii 172 pl. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Examples: Monteleone Chariot (*Richter Catalogue of Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum* 22); Brit. Mus. *Catalogue of Silver Plate* pl. I; Petersen *R.M.* 1894, 312 fig. 18, and no. 61. The group was of eastern origin and perhaps reached Etruria in the form of Island gems (*Furtwängler Gemmen* pls. VI, 44, 51, 52; VII, 18, 25); it is also a favourite with the 'Chalkidian' potters—Rumpf *Chalkidische Vasen* pls. CXXIII–V, CCX, CCXIV. The question whether the 'Chalkidian' vases were made in Etruria is treated by H. R. W. Smith, *The Origin of Chalcidian Ware*, 1932, and Kraiker *Gnomon* 1934, 241. The lion and bull group is found on Protocorinthian (Payne *Protokorinthische Vasen* pl. 26, 1) in the seventh century, and on Attic monuments early in the sixth (Buschor *A.M.* 1922, 92 ff.), but the Attic type of lion is noticeably different from that here under consideration.

<sup>4</sup> The folded ear and pointed forelock or side-whisker is first found on Assyrian lions (*J.C.* 68 fig. 14 A). It reappears in the small seated lions of limestone made in Cyprus and thence exported to Naukratis and Rhodes (*Fouilles de Lindos* ii pl. 77); these in turn are related to a group of bronze lions, of probable Etruscan origin, like that illustrated in Babelon *Catalogue des Bronze Antiques, Bibliothèque Nationale* 469 no. 1110 (another in Brit. Mus. no. 1752). In Etruria this type was susceptible to elaborate developments like Ducati *Storia dell' Arte Etrusco* pl. 107. A small, walking lion from the Athenian Akropolis (PLATE 49 d; de Ridder p. 172 no. 475) is certainly East-Greek; it should be compared with the seated lions and with that from a Clazomenian sarcophagus in Athens (PLATE 49 b). It is clear that the enormous shoulders, the domed foreheads and the dragging hind-feet of PLATE 49 a, c are nearer to these East-Greek lions than to any found on Lakonian vases; moreover, the saw-edged mane and the tufts of hair over the base of the tail are paralleled by lions on the Caeretan hydriai, which must have been made in Etruria (Berlin *Führer* pl. 18, and Morin-Jean fig. 105). Nor should the relationship with Ducati *Pontische Vasen* pl. 2 be overlooked.

an aryballos in the Walters Art Gallery at Baltimore (FIG. 27); again the 'turkeys' pass in staid procession, but now they have to contend with a hailstorm which has blown up unexpectedly from Corinth. The Etruscan who shaped and decorated this vase (he was already the inspired author of the vases in Berlin and Boston) indeed knew how to make the best of his archaic world. Here he has taken a common type of Corinthian aryballos

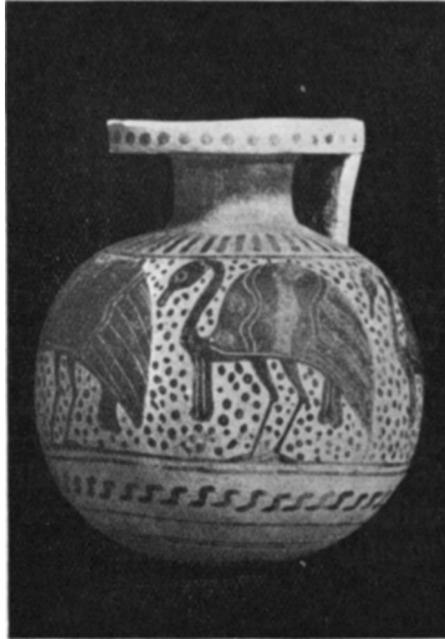


FIG. 27.—ETRUSCAN ARYBALLOS AT BALTIMORE.

for his model in shape and secondary decoration, but instead of warriors with round shields, he has filled the frieze with outlandish birds copied from a Lakonian vase. Perhaps this vase was the identical hydria now in the British Museum. Is it too much to hope that some day the Greek original of the lion and stag group will also come to light?

E. A. LANE.

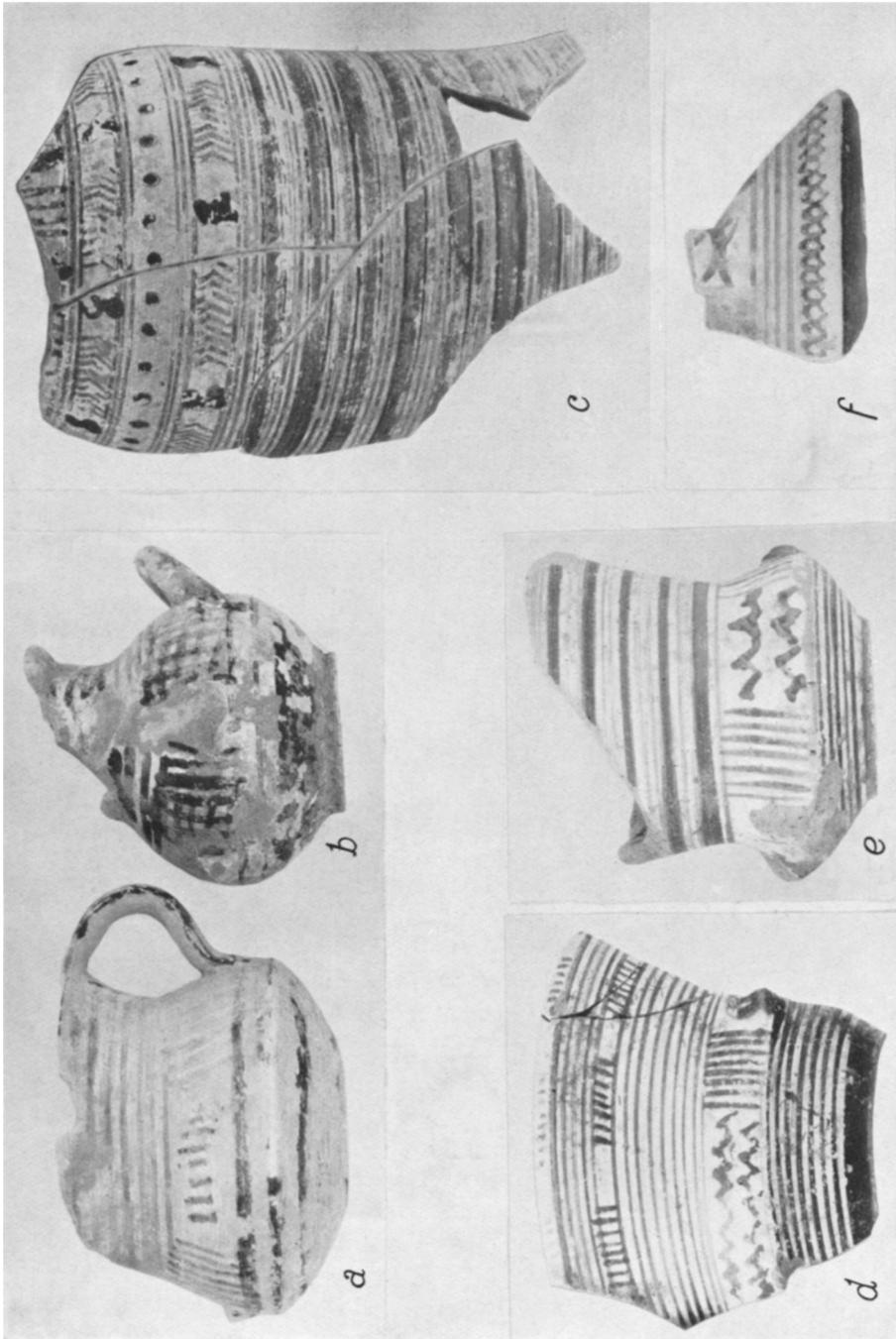
ADDENDUM (cf. p. 182).

Mr. T. J. Dunbabin kindly informs me that there are Lakonian lakainai from Sicilian sites in the Syracuse Museum—two from Megara, grave 770 (as *A.O.* fig. 70 *b*), one from S. Mauro, and one formerly in the Mammano Collection at Centuripe. See also Mingazzini *I Vasi Castellani* 186 nos. 31-49, 51 (kraters); *N.C.* 204 (aryballoi).

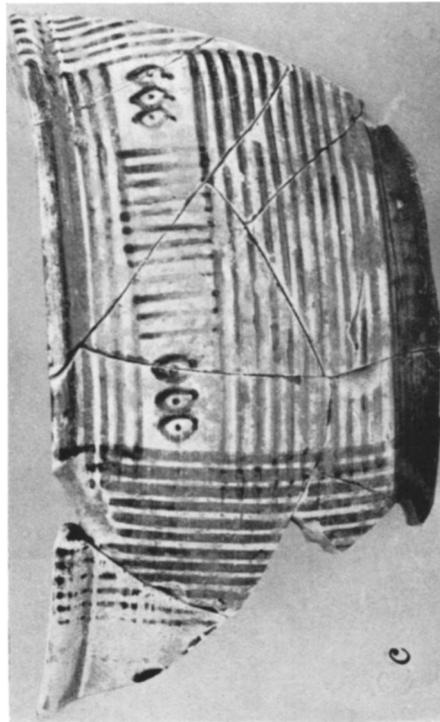
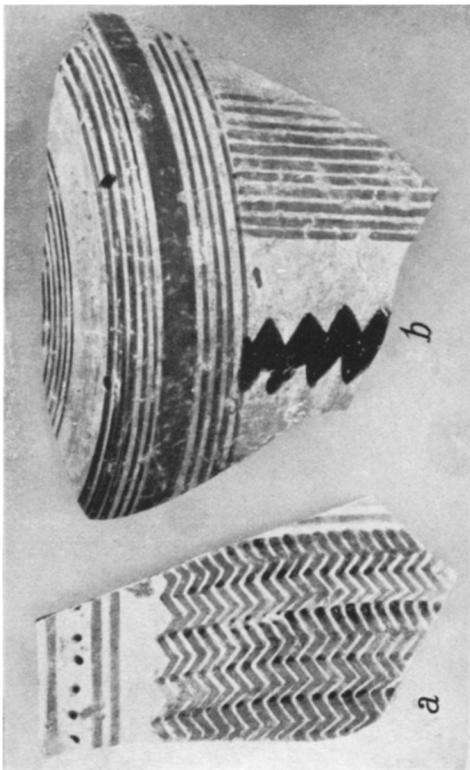
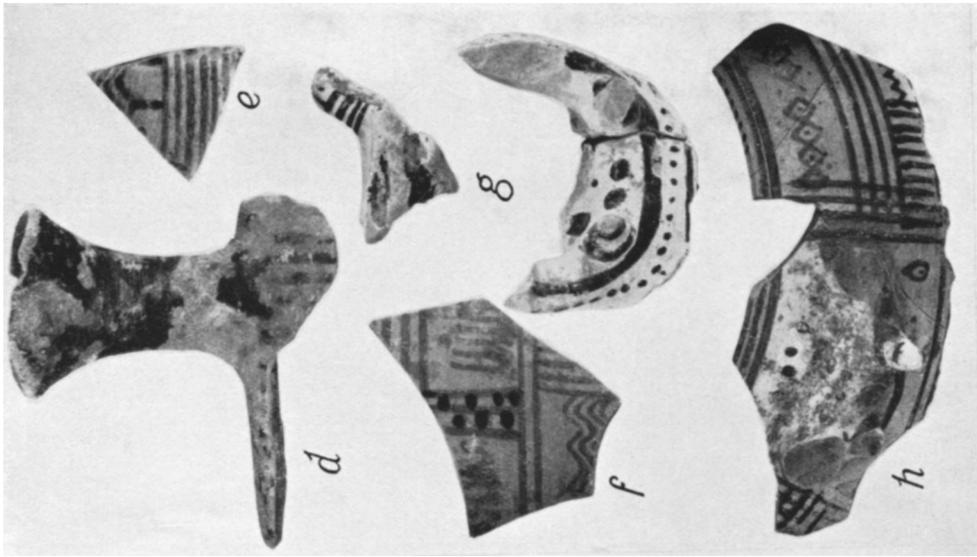
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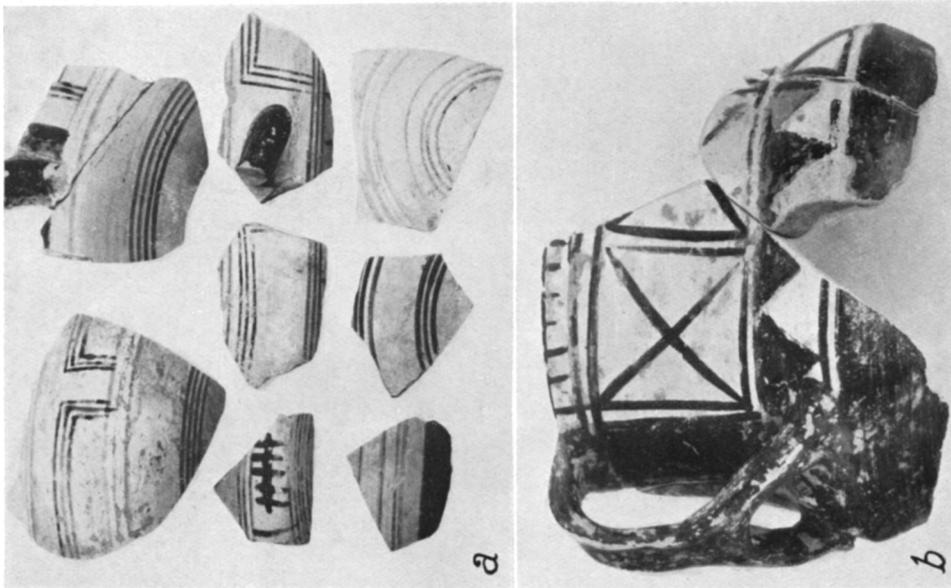
Berlin F 3917 (cf. p. 60).



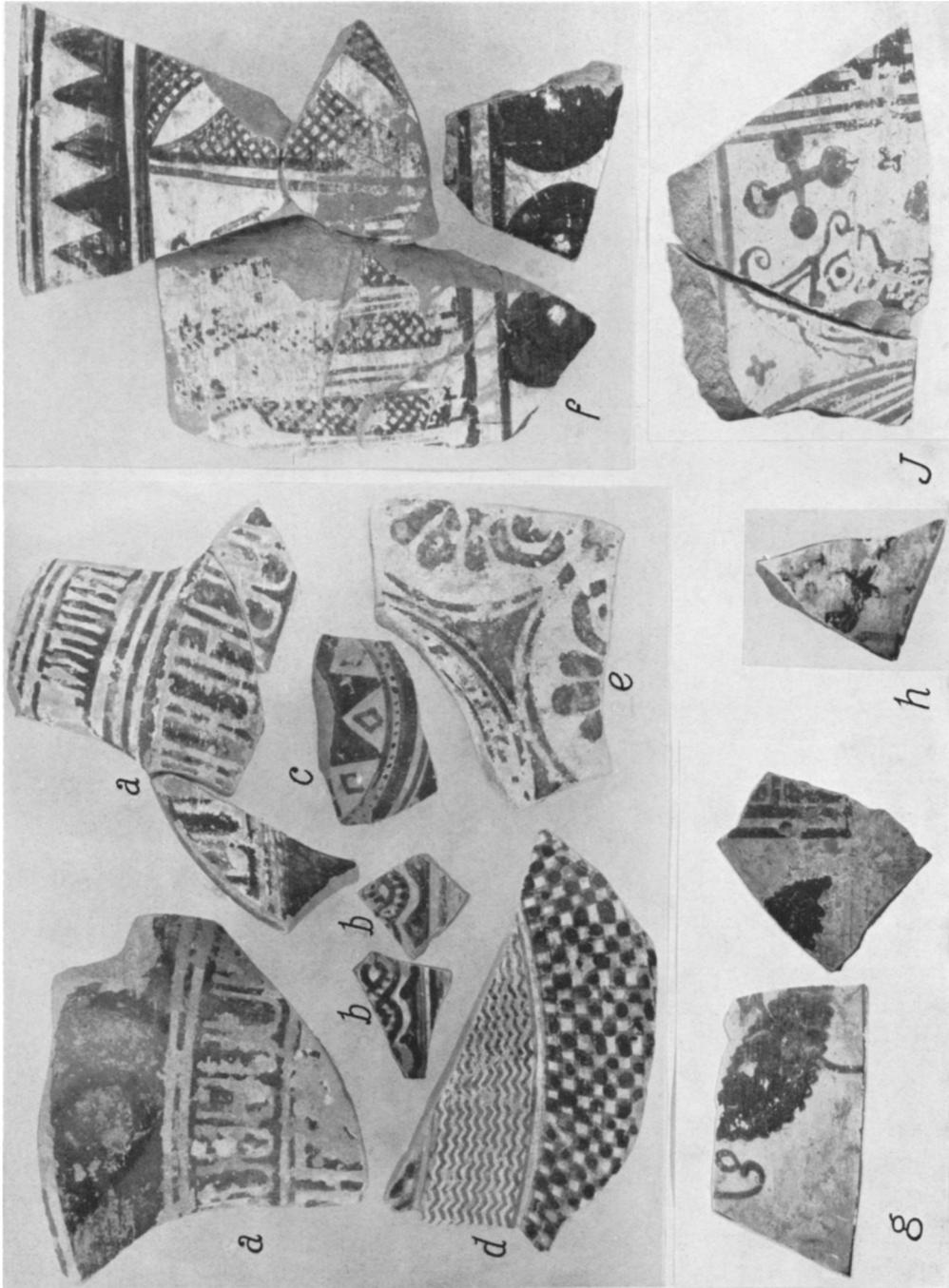
LAKONIAN POTTERY : LATE GEOMETRIC (pp. 102-5).



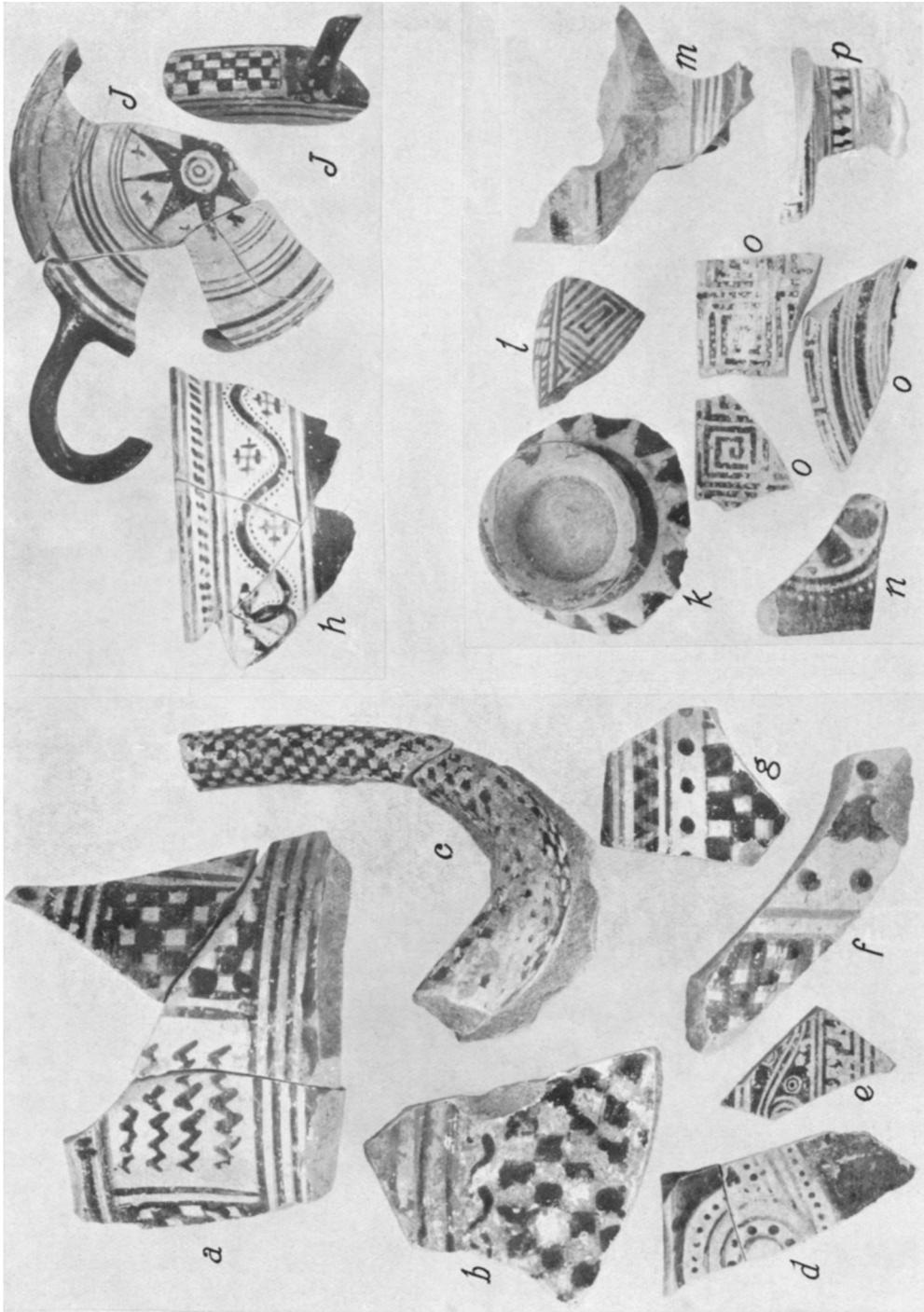
LAKONIAN POTTERY : LATE GEOMETRIC (pp. 102-7).



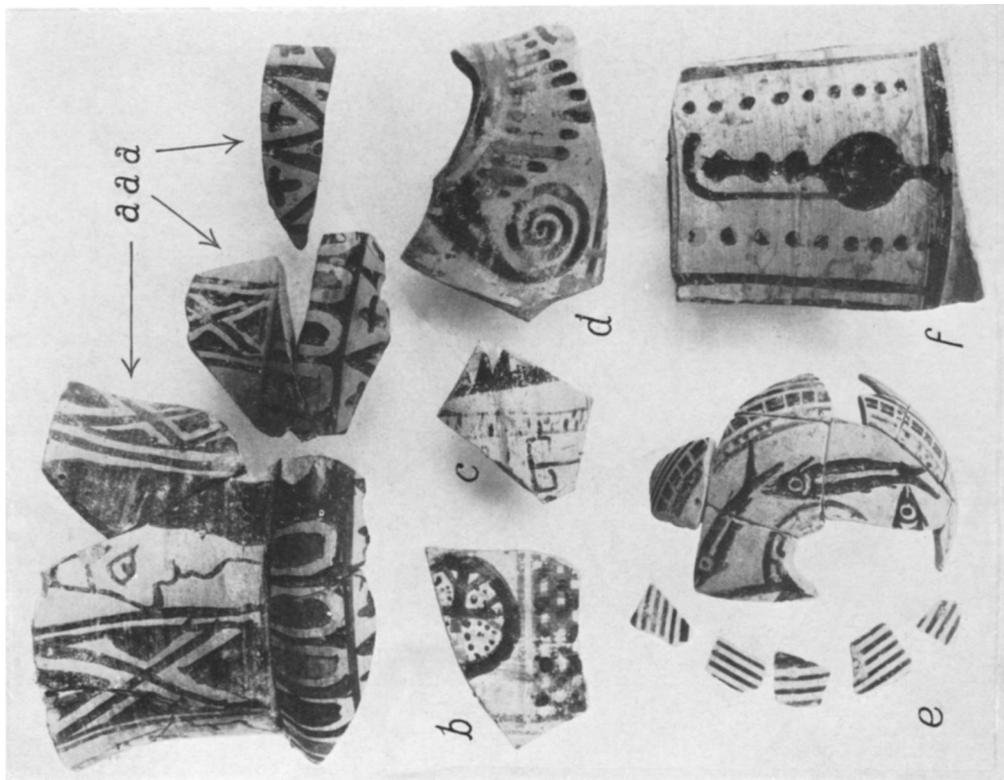
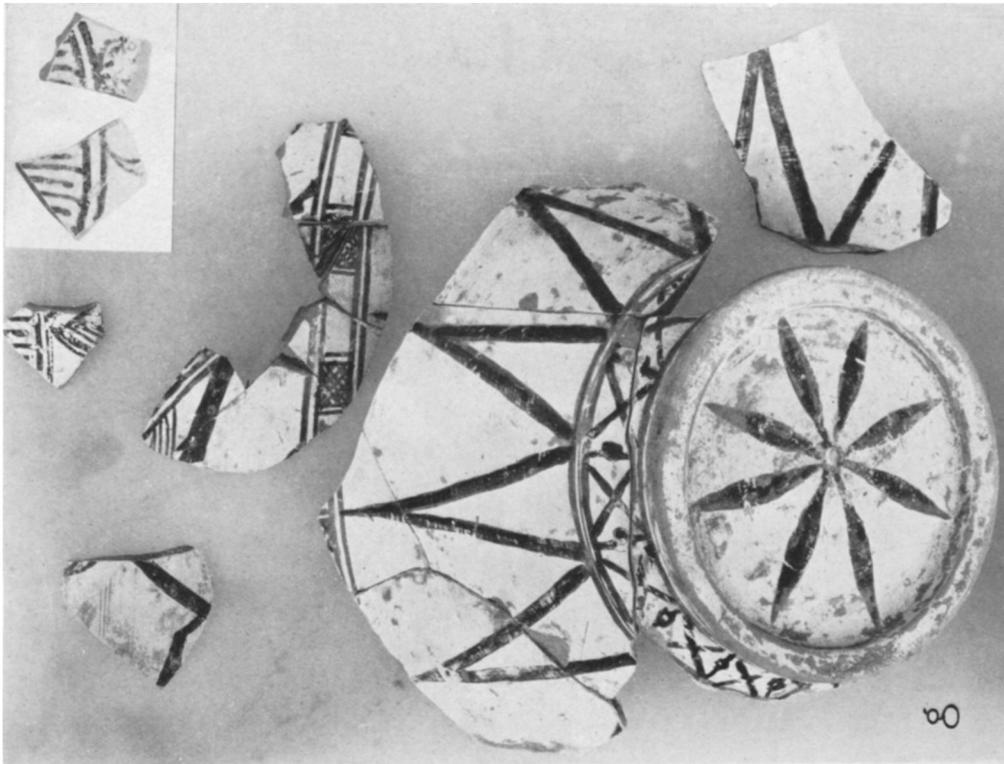
LAKONIAN POTTERY : TRANSITIONAL (pp. 110, 114).



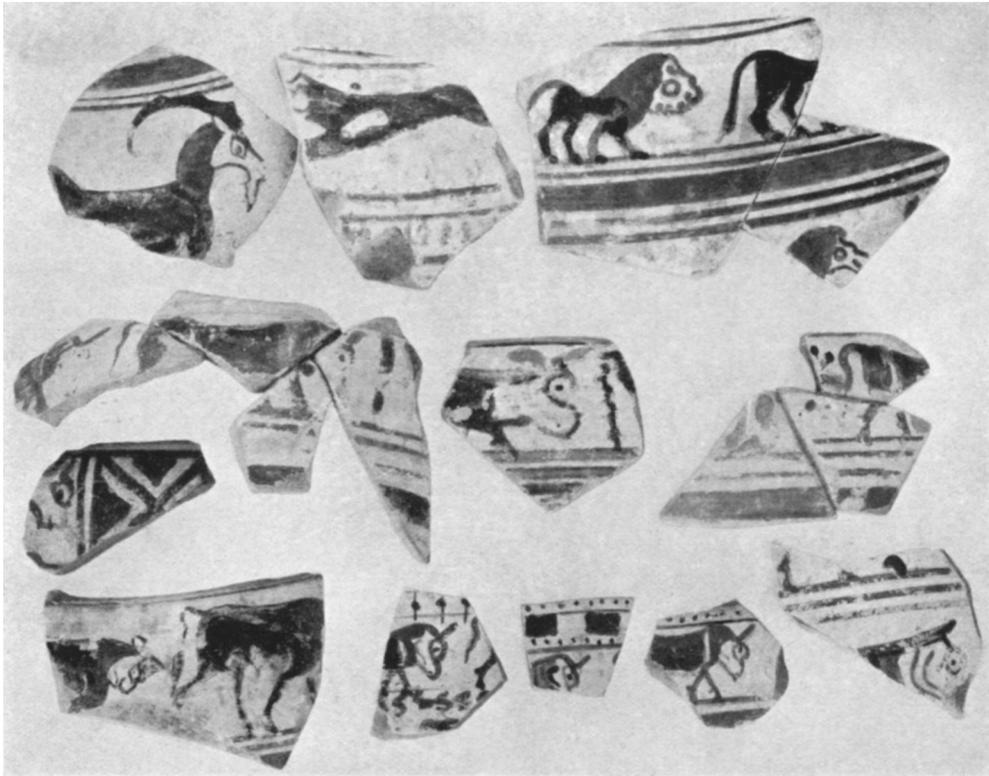
LAKONIAN POTTERY : TRANSITIONAL AND LAKONIAN I ORIENTALISING (pp. 111, 112, 118, 119, 121).



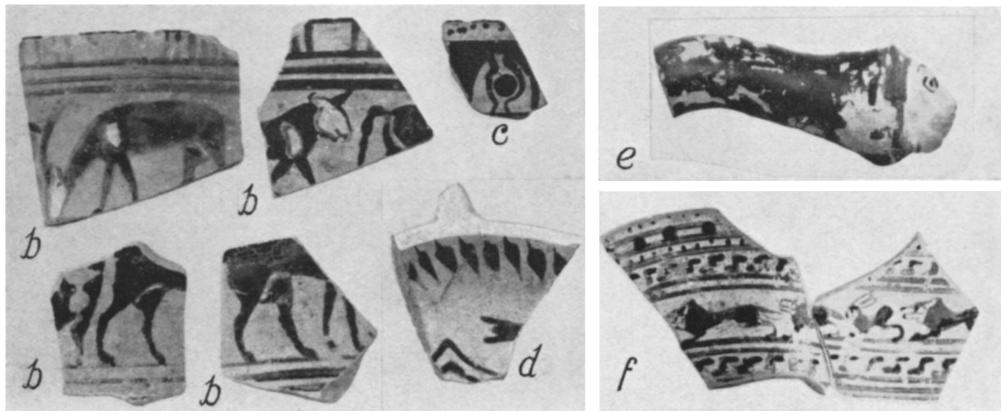
LAKONIAN POTTERY : TRANSITIONAL AND LAKONIAN I (pp. 108-13, 117, 118).



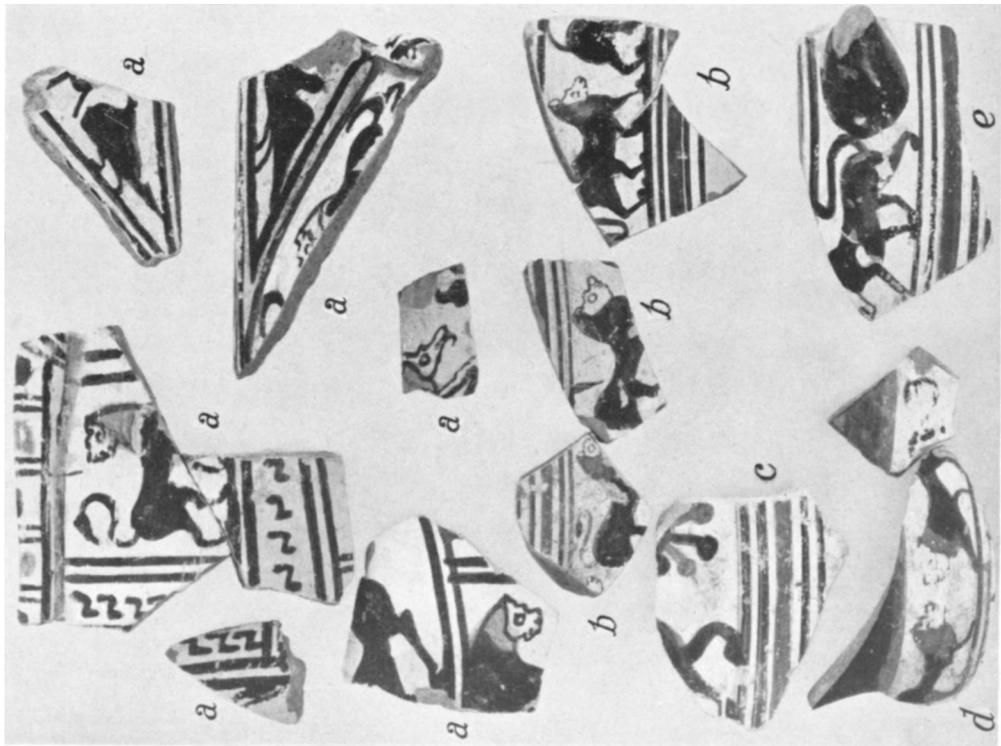
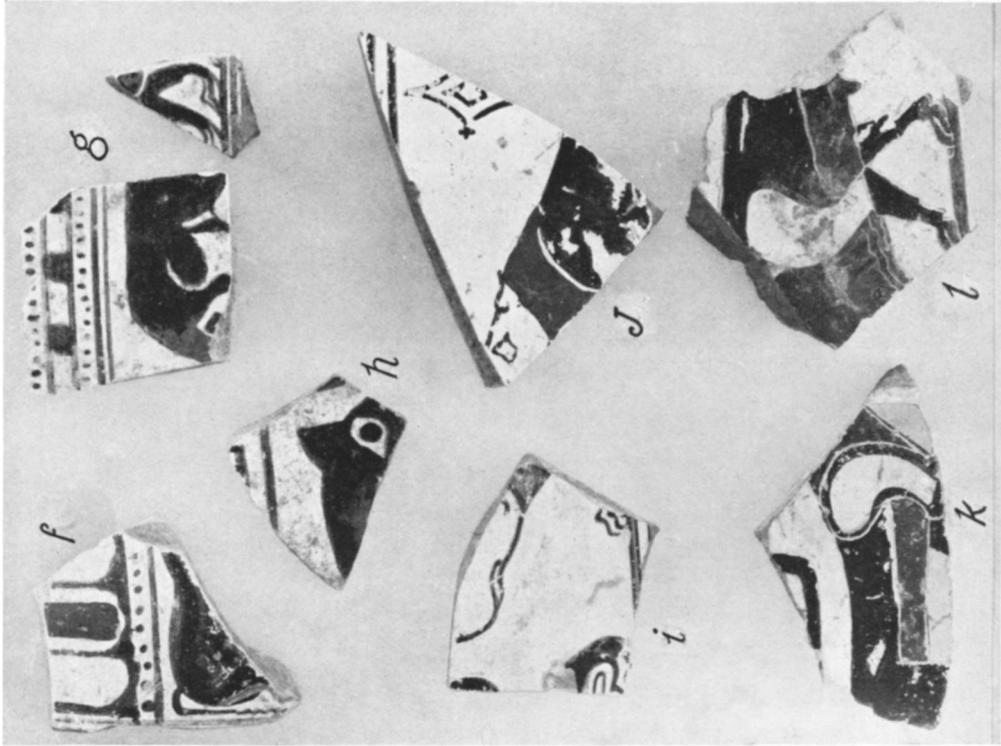
LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN I ORIENTALISING (pp. 112, 113, 118-21).



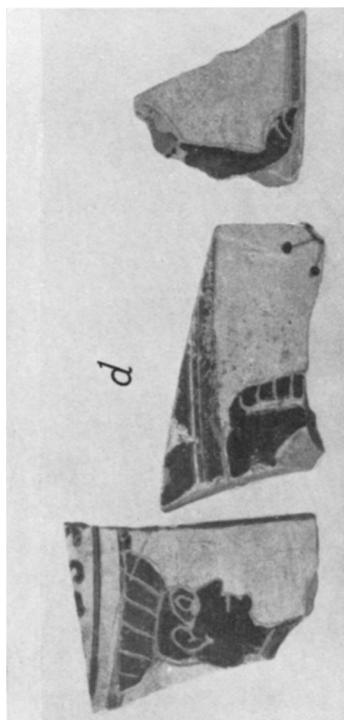
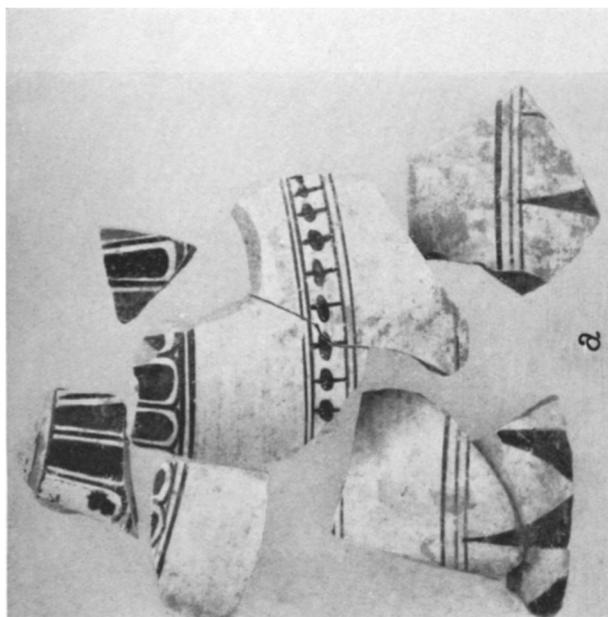
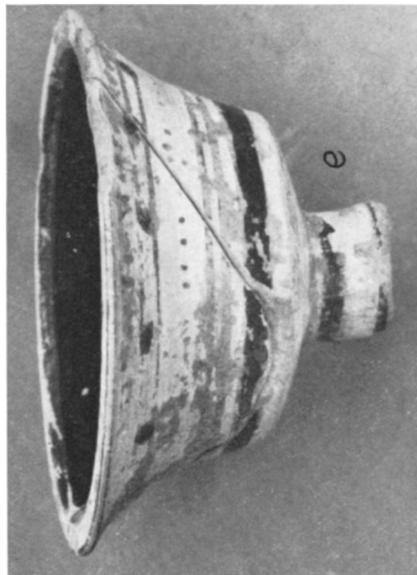
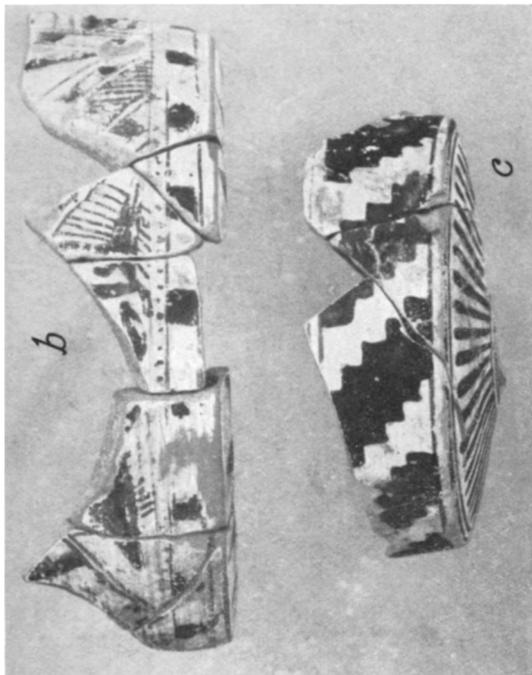
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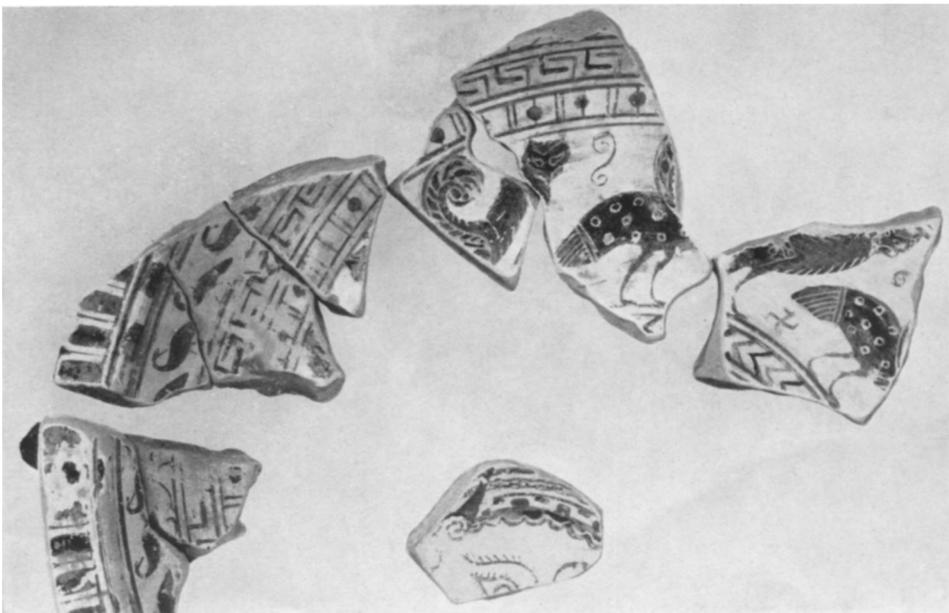
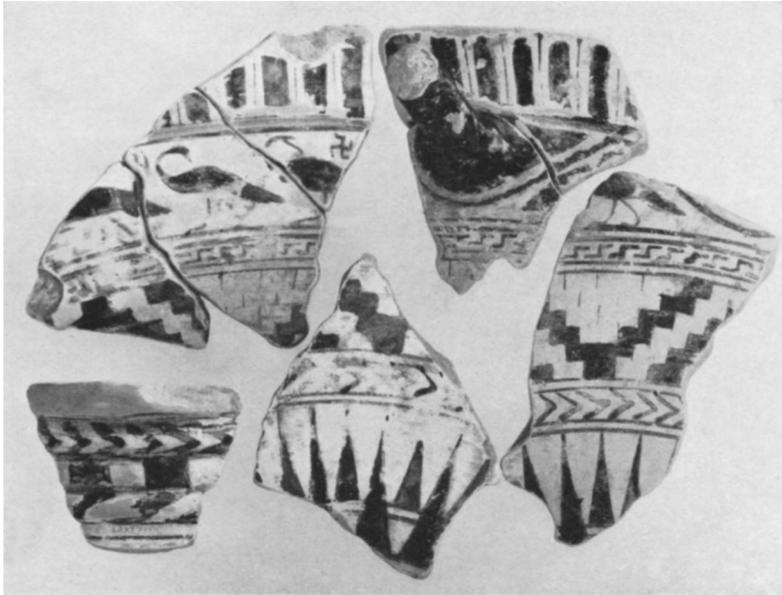
LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN I (*a-c, f*), II (*e*) AND III (*d*)  
(pp. 117, 119-21, 145, n. 2).



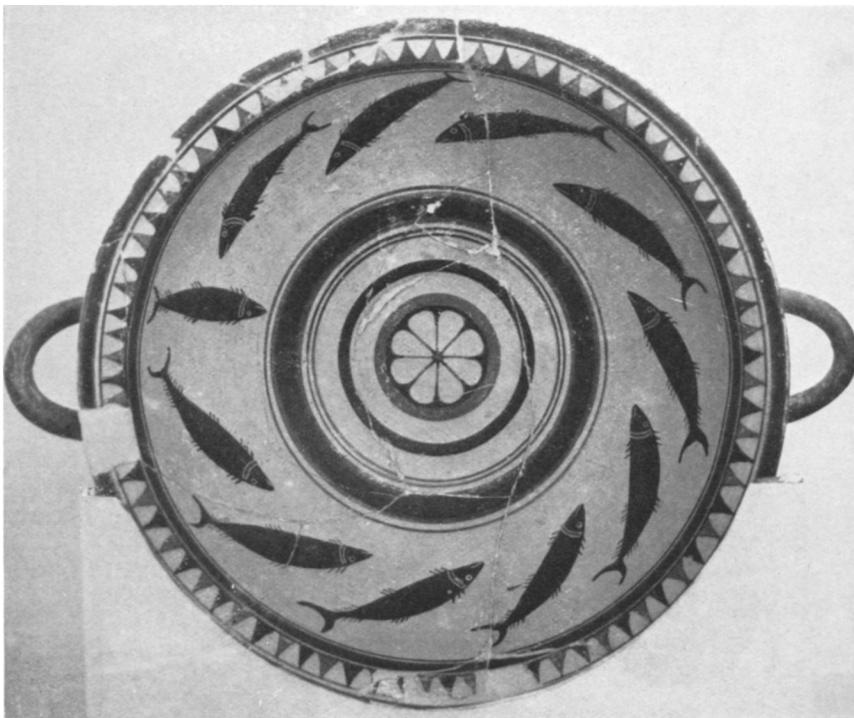
LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN I AND II (pp. 117, 121, 127).



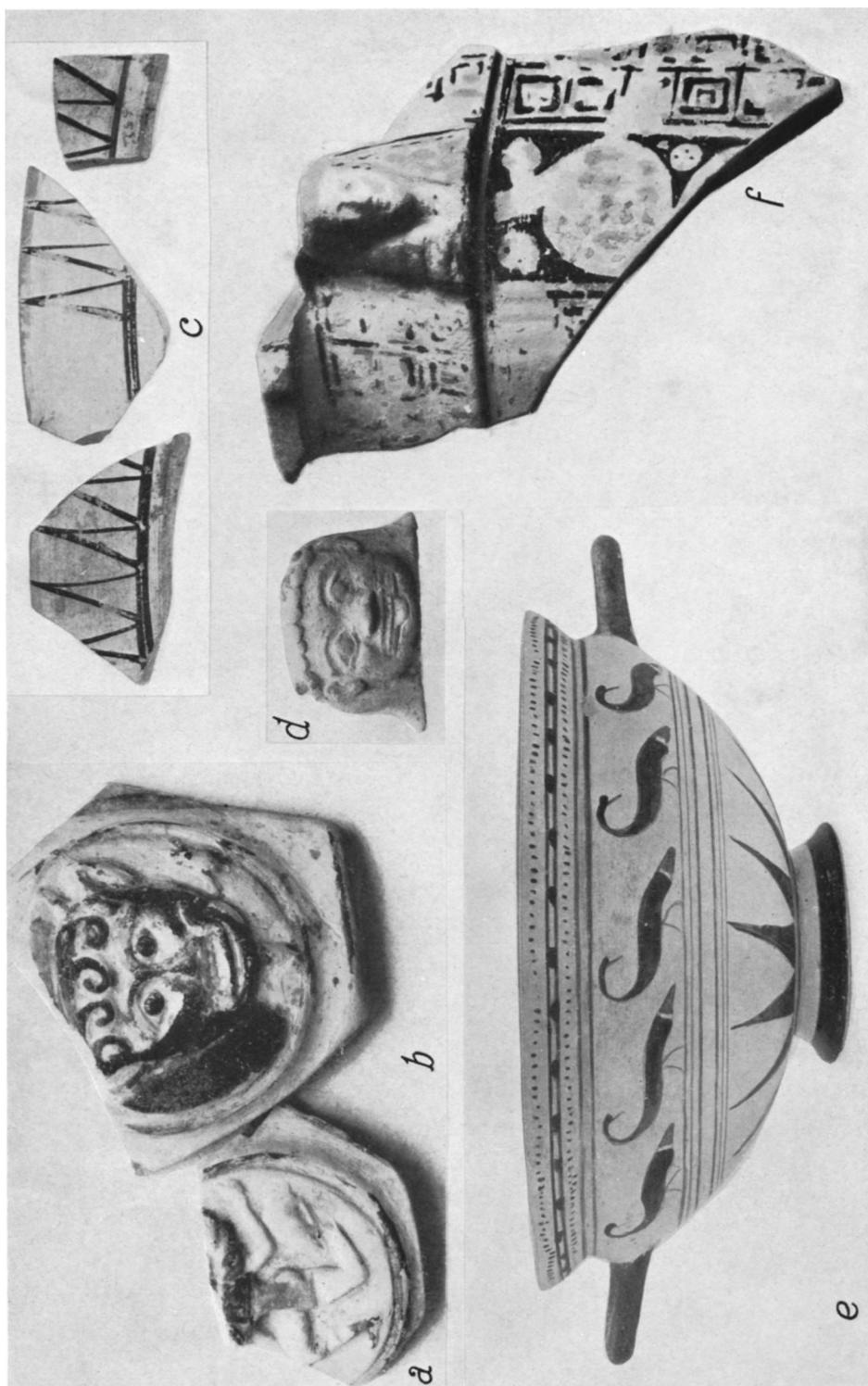
LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN I AND II (*a*, p. 116; *b*, p. 117; *c*, p. 125; *d*, p. 127; *e*, p. 116).



LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN II FRUIT-DISH (p. 122).

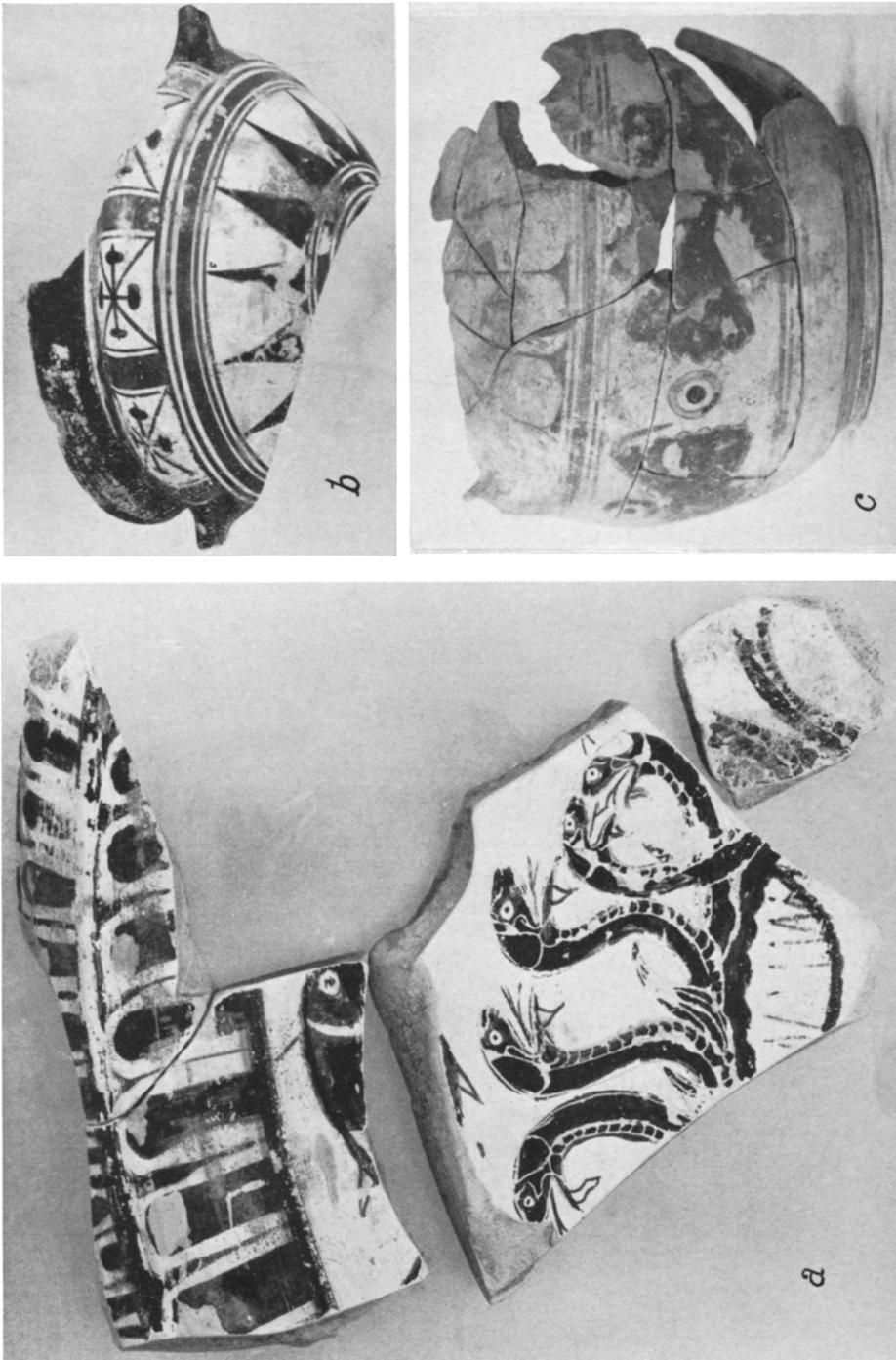


LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN II BOWLS AT TARANTO  
(pp. 122, 128, 181).



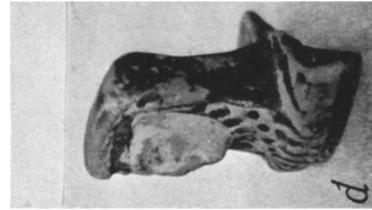
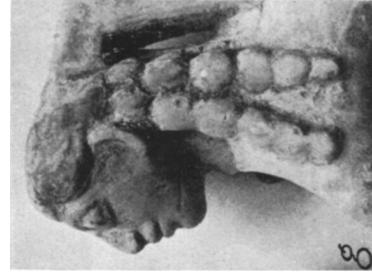
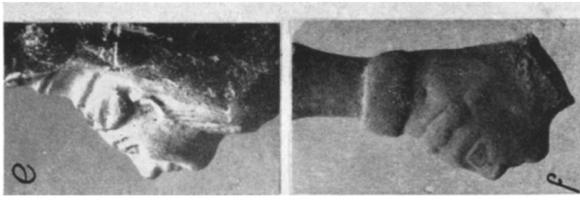
LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN I ORIENTALISING AND LAKONIAN II.

*a, b, d* at Sparta (pp. 126, 171); *c*, from Naukratis (p. 122, n. 2); *e*, at Taranto (pp. 122, 128, 181); *f*, at Sparta (p. 118).



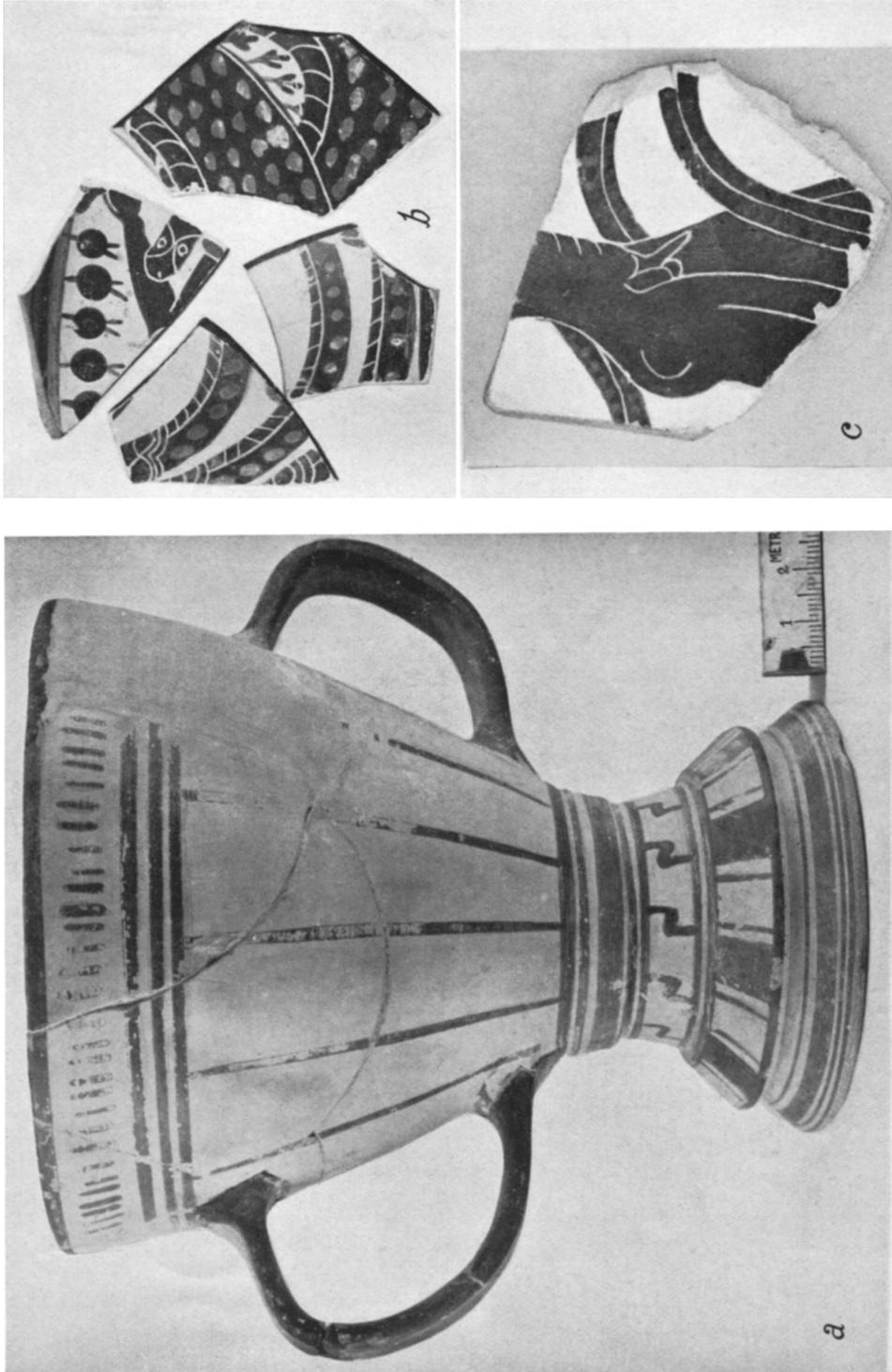
LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN II AND III (*a*, pp. 124, 128; *b*, p. 122; *c*, p. 125).

PLATE 33.

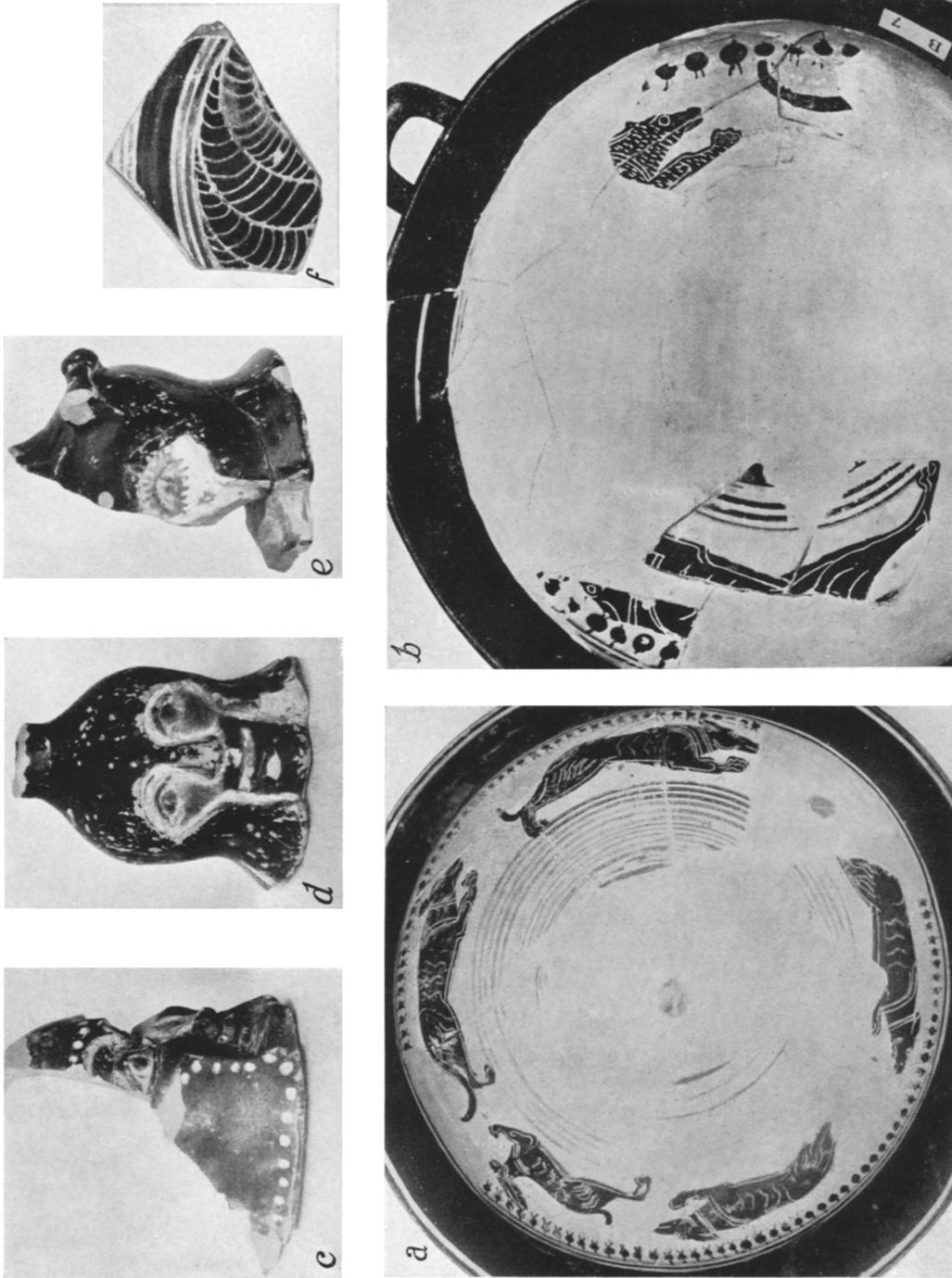


LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN II AND III (*a-b* at Gytheion, *c-h* at Sparta; pp. 118, 124, 145, 156).

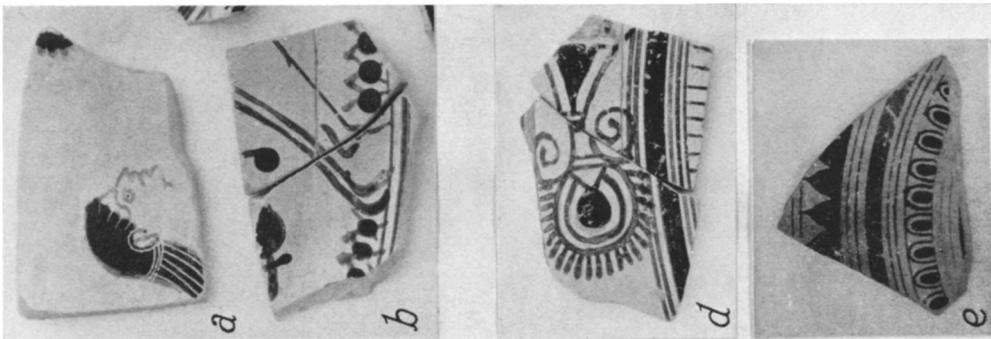
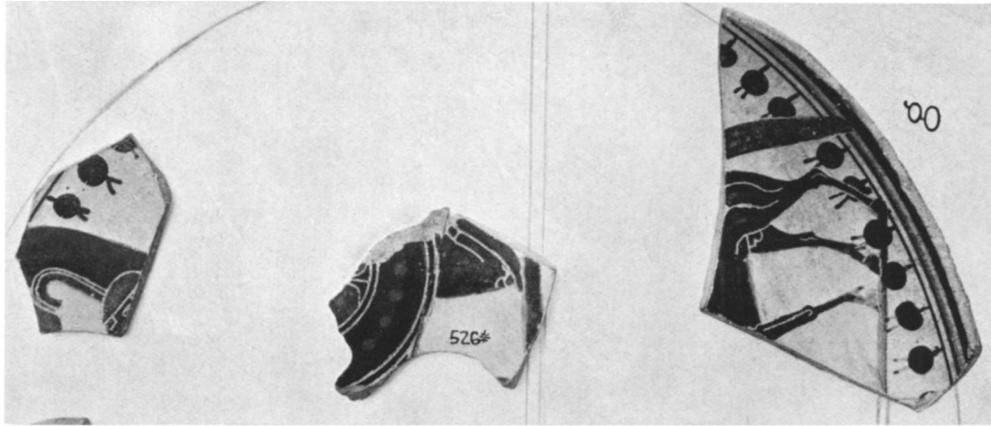
PLATE 34.



LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN II AND III (*a* at Taranto, pp. 126, 181; *b* at Leipzig; *c* at Oxford, pp. 131, 163).



LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN III (*a*, Paris; *b, f*, London, p. 130; *c-e*, Sparta, p. 156).

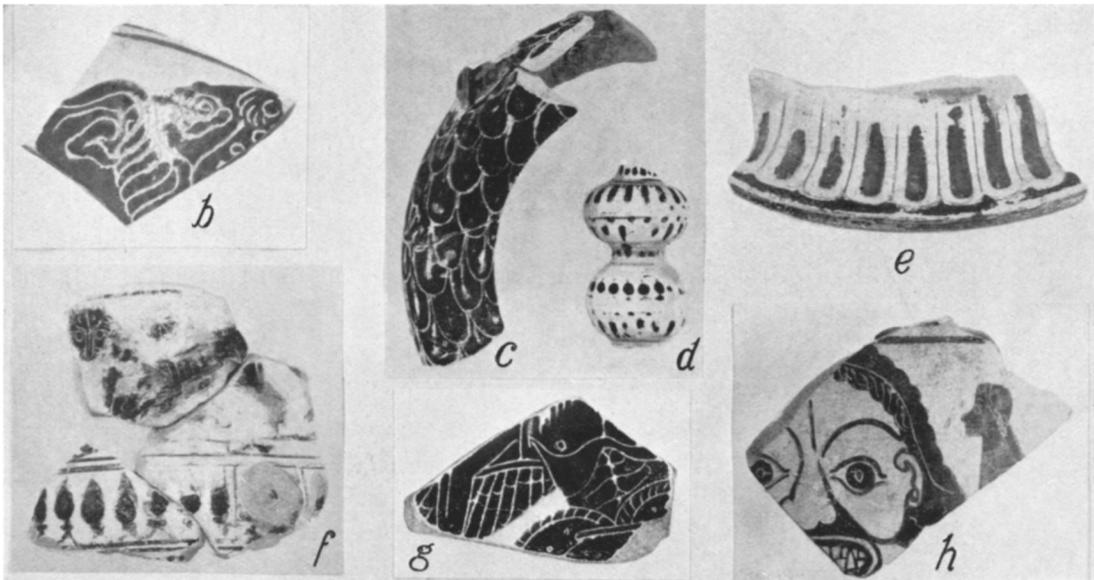
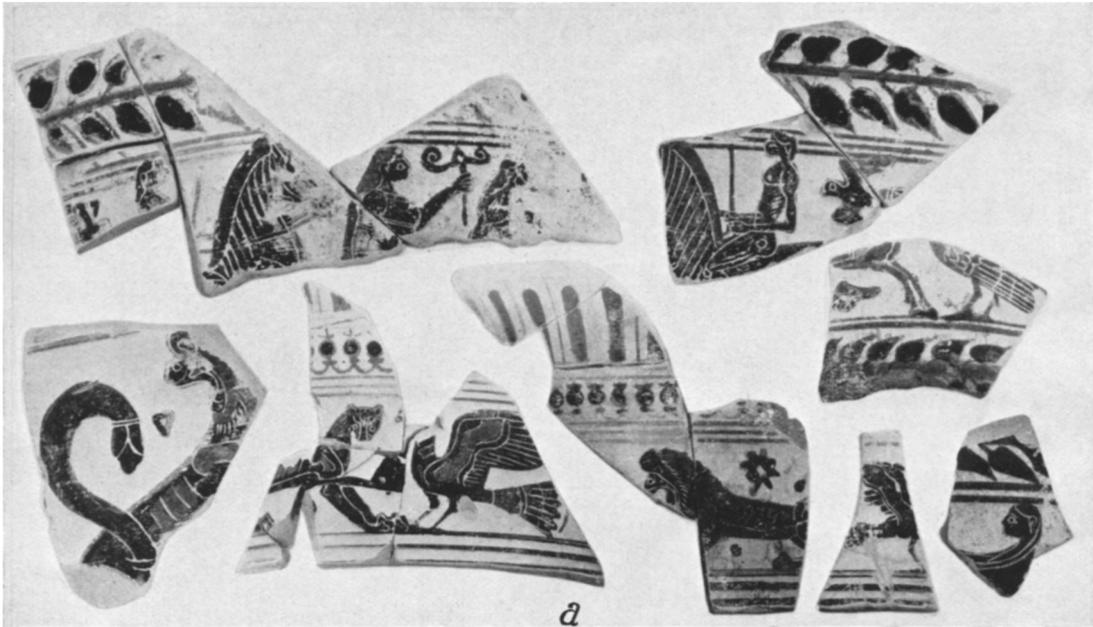


LAKONIAN III AND EAST-GREEK FRAGMENTS.  
(*a, b, d* at Samos, p. 130; *c*, in London, p. 130; *e*, at Samos, p. 185; *f*, at Samos, p. 131; *g*, in London, p. 131.)

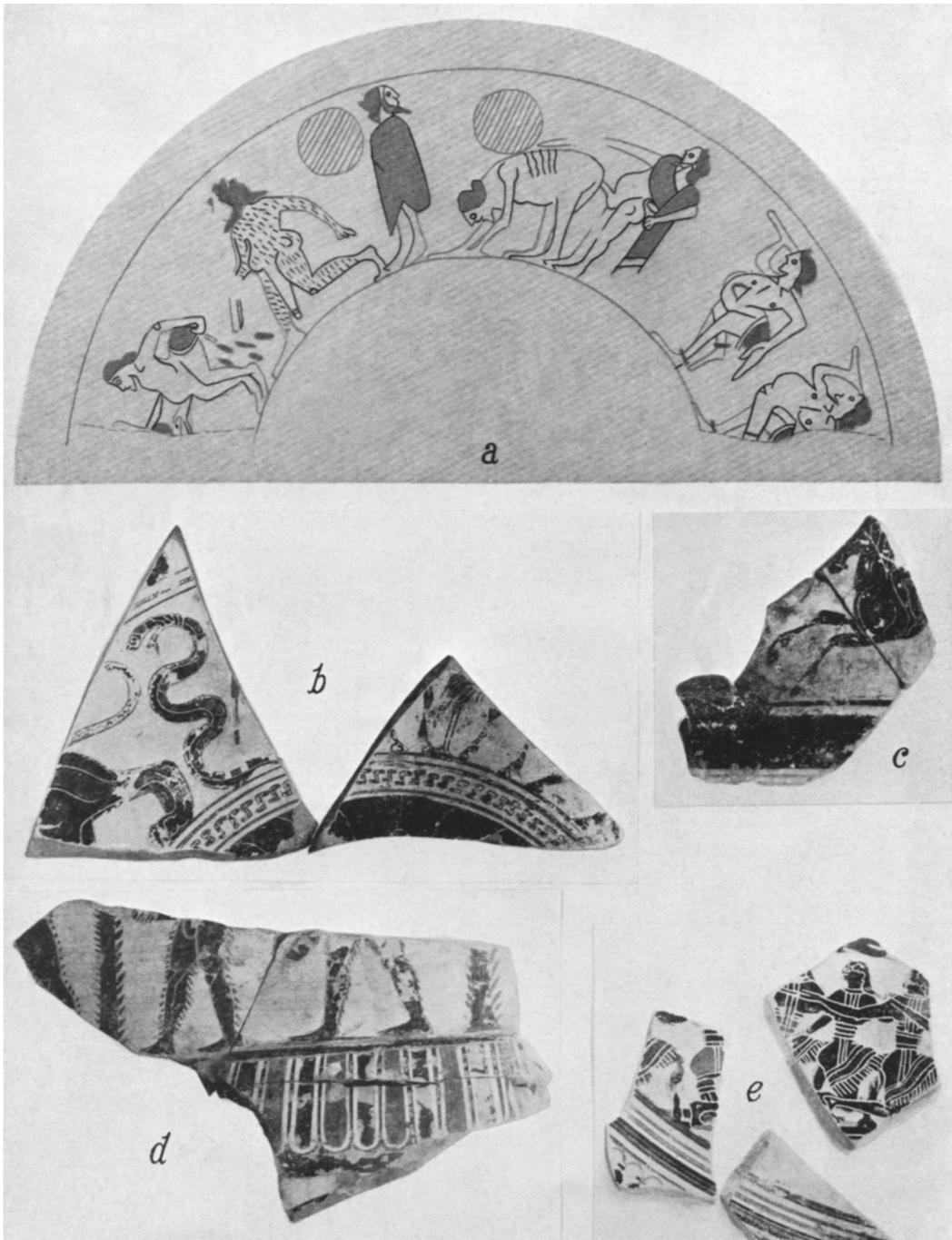
PLATE 37.



LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN II AND III (*a*, in London, pp. 131, 171; *b*, at Taranto, p. 137; *c*, at Sparta, p. 156).



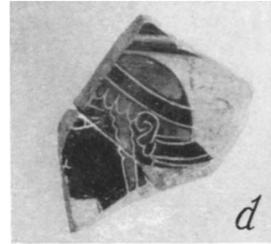
LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN III (*a, c-f, h* at Sparta; *b* from Perachora; *g* in London; pp. 144, 147-8, 168, 172).



LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN III (*a-d* at Sparta, *e* at Samos ; pp. 137, 145, 148).



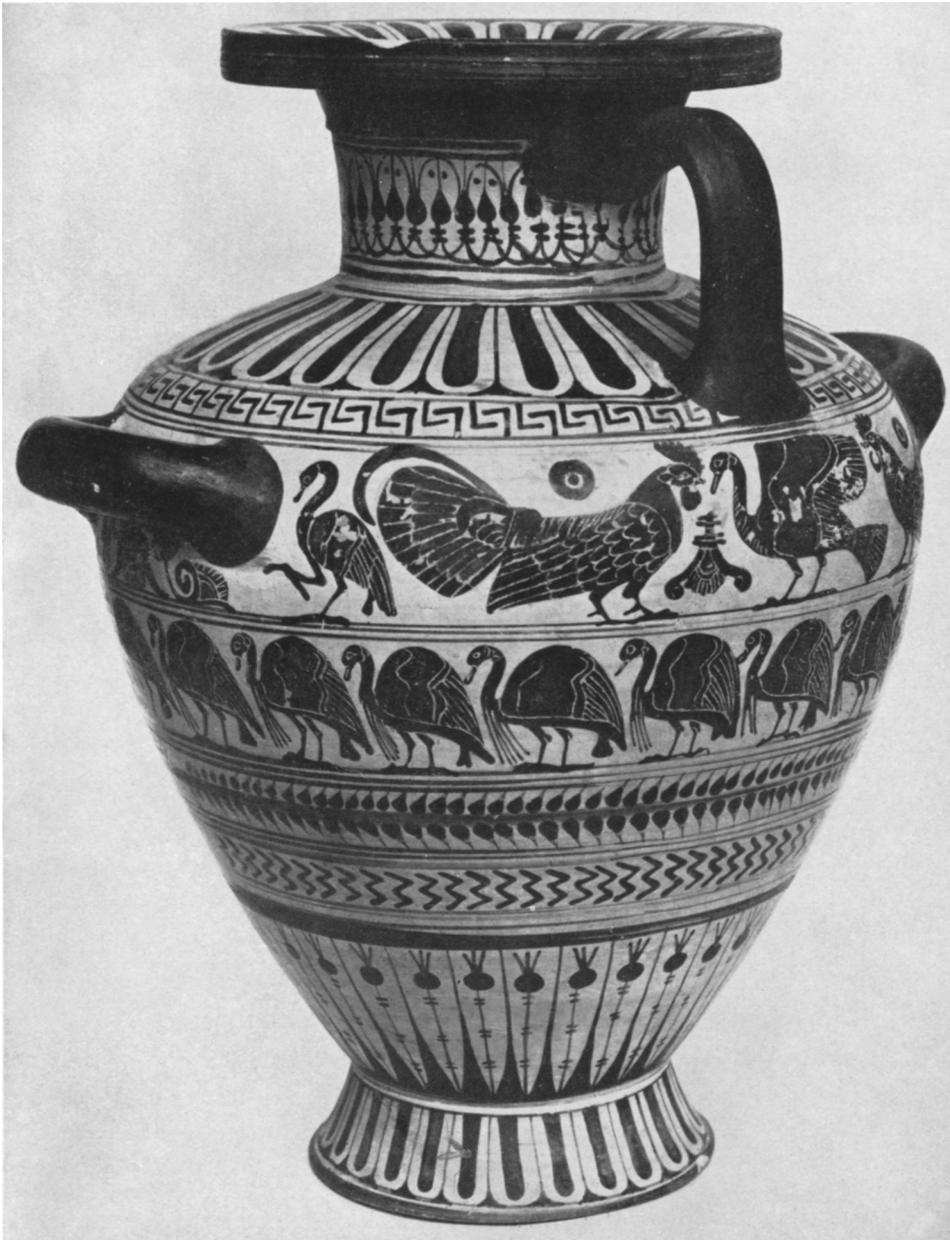
LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN III KYLIX AT SPARTA (pp. 137, 160).



LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN III AND IV (*a* in Paris, p. 141; *b* at Sparta, p. 144; *c* in London, p. 139; *d* at Sparta, p. 141; *e* at Sparta, p. 169).



LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN III (*a*, *Dinos in Paris*, pp. 146, 164; *b*, *Kylix in Paris*, pp. 139, 158).



LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN III HYDRIA IN LONDON (pp. 146, 187).



LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN III (*a, b*, details of Plate 43; *c* in Paris, p. 144).



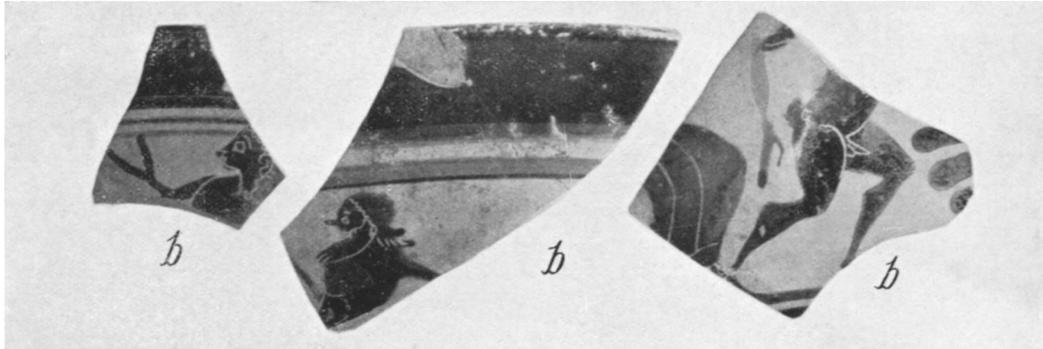
LAKONIAN IV POTTERY AND STATUETTE (*a* in New York; *b* in London, pp. 150, 151, 167; *c* in Berlin, p. 151).



LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN IV (*a*, in London, pp. 150, 160;  
*b* in Kassel, pp. 153, 166).



LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN IV KYLIX AT TARANTO (pp. 152, 161).



LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN IV (*a* at Taranto, pp. 152, 161; *b* at Sparta, p. 154).



LION TYPES (pp. 187-8).  
*a*, Detail of Etruscan Amphora in Berlin; *b*, Detail of Clazomenian Sarcophagus in Athens; *c*, Detail of Etruscan Amphora in Boston; *d*, Bronze Lion from the Akropolis at Athens.