

WHO WAS THE TEACHER OF THE PAN PAINTER?*

(PLATES IX–XI)

I. PROLEGOMENA

THE study of the relationships between artistic personalities is considered by some a futile self-indulgence in irrelevant art-history. Beazley's lexicographical work provided a prosopographical, and therefore also chronological, framework for the use of the evidence provided by Attic vase-painting. Additions and further refinements are necessary, as Liddell and Scott Supplements are necessary. But the investigation of relationships between artists, such as the exploration of teacher-pupil connexions, is frequently believed to provide no more than a sterile piece of information of narrow interest. This view is, I think, wrong, for an investigation of this type can also shed light on problems of a wider interest at three levels.

Firstly, the understanding of the groupings of artists by workshops, and of the relationships between workshops, is relevant to the study of Athenian social and economic history, since vase-manufacture was one of Athens' most important craft-industries. The study of the 'origins' of an artist, with which I will be concerned here, can sometimes—especially if these origins are complex—throw some light on the early phases of the career-structure of Attic vase-painters. Thus it could also provide an example, of however limited validity, of the early structure of a classical Athenian craft-apprenticeship.

Secondly, the detection of a vase-painter's teacher can lead to an understanding of what part of his artistic creation he owes to that teacher, and whether and how he transformed it; so, his own contribution to the vase-painting of the period becomes clearer. Thus an artistic personality can be defined, and this is important, in so far as the understanding and appreciation of any artistic tradition is important.

The Pan Painter started working *c.* 480, and in a generation of artistic revolution he chose to cling to the forms of the past. This attitude has a different significance for the understanding of his artistic personality depending on who his teacher had been: Myson—as Beazley thought—an old-fashioned mediocrity, or—as I will argue—primarily the Berlin Painter, that exquisite draughtsman whose work is the quintessence of what is best and most distinctive in Late Archaic vase-painting.

Thirdly, through the consideration of the artistic personality thus defined, it may be possible, in exceptional cases, to get a glimpse of the man's overall personality, and through it of the type of person that become a vase-painter in classical Athens. This is an impossible task with the overwhelming majority of artists. But in the case of the Pan Painter, the more closely his artistic personality is defined, the more clearly he emerges as a man of exceptional artistic abilities. And this man chose vase-painting, a minor art, as his career, and adhered to his decision for what appears to be all his adult working life. It is possible that he did so for emotional/environmental reasons which we cannot hope to reconstruct. But it is more likely, especially in view of the fact that he is not the only vase-painter in that category, that this situation means that the vase-painters' career, at least between *c.* 480 and *c.* 450, could offer to the first-rate artist job satisfaction and considerable financial profits.

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II METHODOLOGICAL AND OTHER PREMISES.—A 'MISE AU POINT'
OF THE PROBLEM AND A HYPOTHESIS.

Our understanding of the criteria on the basis of which a teacher-pupil relationship should be postulated for two artists is less than satisfactory. Beazley did not set out in print explicitly the specific and tangible reasons which made him decide in each case that a certain vase-painter was the pupil of a certain other artist¹. In some cases the relationship is clear-cut and easy to see. Such is the case for example with Euthymides and the Kleophrades Painter. But often the similarities between alleged teacher and pupil are less tangible. Clearly, when basic things like the system of anatomical renderings of the early period of the younger artist is very similar to, or clearly derived from, that of the older one, there is good reason to think that the latter taught the former, especially if other similarities can also be detected: in the build of the figures, the type of compositions, the iconographical repertory. In the case of the Pan Painter the difficulties are greatly increased by the fact that he is an archaising mannerist who to a large extent drew his formal inspiration from the work of older artists. In order to find out who his teacher was, we have to spot *consistent sets* of formal similarities between him and an older artist, and even then we only have part of a case. It should be complemented by similarities in particular types of figures and in the composition of scenes, of a type which would suggest a good knowledge of the older artist's work. I will argue below that we can detect this combination of similarities between the work of the Berlin Painter and that of the Pan Painter, and that we can also spot, sporadically, a selective imitation of some of the Berlin Painter's work by the younger artist. This can have one of two explanations. Either the Pan Painter was going around shops and pottery collections observing and absorbing the Berlin Painter's work with a view to imitating it; or, more plausibly, he had seen the Berlin Painter's work in the Berlin Painter's workshop. And he knew it well enough both to feel inclined, and to be able, to relate to it in the way I will try to show he did, because, as an apprentice in that workshop, he had practised on it, learned how to draw by copying shop-specimens of the Berlin Painter's work.

Beazley thought that the Pan Painters' teacher was Myson.² There are indeed similarities between the two, of the basic type suggestive of a teacher-pupil relationship. But they only concern, in my opinion, some very elementary aspects of the vase-painter's craft, some basic renderings of a pictorial 'ABC' value. If Myson's influence was apparent in *all* the Pan Painter's basic pictorial renderings then we should have to assume that Myson was indeed his teacher, and that the influence of the Berlin Painter was of a different type, generated by admiration, but not involving a teacher-pupil relationship. But this is not the case. As I will try to show below, the similarities between the Berlin Painter and the Pan Painter include both basic elementary renderings and more complex and sophisticated aspects of the vase-painters' craft.

The discussion of the similarities between Myson and the Pan Painter is beyond the scope of this inquiry. I will give just one example of such a similarity, which typifies the elementary character of the connexion. The Pan Painter gives the *rectus abdominis* two vertical divisions, that is, he paints four 'bulges' altogether. This is unusual; normally vase-painters, including the Berlin Painter, give it three vertical divisions (six bulges in all).³ Myson often does not draw the 'bulges' of the *rectus abdominis*, but there are examples of

¹ He did give the reasons for which he considered the Eucharides Painter to be a pupil of the Nikoxenos Painter, in *BSA* xix (1912-13) 245-6. (I owe this reference to Professor C. M. Robertson.) But even there, there was no attempt to define in a general way the criteria for distinguishing a teacher-pupil

relationship between two artists.

² J. D. Beazley, *Der Pan-Maler* (Berlin 1931)—(hereafter *PanMal*)—18.

³ On this peculiarity of the Pan Painter cf. Beazley, *JHS* xxxii (1912) 364.

Mysonian figures with two vertical divisions of the rectus abdominis (four bulges in all) without the middle depression. *Cf.* e.g.

- (1) Column-krater Oxford 561 (*ARV*² 241, 52; *CVA* pls. 22, 5; 23, 1) side A.
- (2) Kalyx-krater London E 458 (*ARV*² 239, 16; *MonIned* ii, pl. xxvi), the figure of Heracles.
- (3) Column-krater Villa Giulia 984 (*ARV*² 239, 21; *CVA* pl. 15, 3), the figure of Heracles.

The types of stylistic relationship which, I have argued, are observable between the Pan Painter and Myson, and between the Pan Painter and the Berlin Painter, can find a satisfactory explanation if the real teacher of the Pan Painter had been the Berlin Painter; and if the Pan Painter, before he became an apprentice in the Berlin Painter's workshop, had picked up some rudiments of vase-painting from Myson. This situation could have arisen if the Pan Painter had started his working life as an errand-/shop-boy in Myson's workshop.

For this hypothesis to be tenable it is clearly necessary that Myson should have been established as an artist several years before the beginning of the Pan Painter's career. That this was the case was hitherto generally accepted, and is, of course, inherent in Beazley's view that Myson taught the Pan Painter. Myson is believed to have started his career c. 500 and the Pan Painter c. 480. However, this view was recently challenged by Follmann⁴ who argued that the Pan Painter should be updated into the second decade of the fifth century, and that Myson did not start his career before 490. This would make the two artists exact contemporaries. I will now consider briefly this problem of the absolute and relative chronology of the Pan Painter's career, since it impinges directly on my hypothesis concerning the artist's relationship with Myson—as well as being relevant to the assessment of his 'archaism'.

Perhaps the most important factor in the problem of the date of the beginning of the Pan Painter's career is the dating of the Marpessa psykter (Munich 2417; *ARV*² 556, 101), to which Follmann pays due attention. She concludes that this vase should be dated in the 480's, a date which I consider too high. With regard to the shape, Follmann's argument that the profile of the psykter would fit better a date in the 480's⁵ is, I think, not necessarily decisive, when we are dealing with an artist who looked to the past for inspiration. It would have been a different matter if the psykter *shape* had gone out of fashion altogether in the 470's, but this is certainly not the case⁶. L. Byvanck Quarles van Ufford⁷ has taken up the problem of the Marpessa psykter raised by Follmann, and considered it from the point of view of the style of the representations; this style, she argued convincingly, contains, together with the old-fashioned renderings, many advanced traits of the Early Classical Free Style. This would indicate that this vase is not a Late Archaic, but an Early Classical archaistic, work.

However, she, in her turn, goes further, and dates the Marpessa psykter at c. 460, although there is nothing in the advanced elements which she mentions that need be later than the 470's. As a matter of fact, no scholar has yet produced any convincing arguments for altering the two axioms established by Beazley, first, that the Pan Painter's career begins c. 480, and second that the Marpessa psykter belongs to an early phase of that career.⁸ L. Byvanck Quarles van Ufford's challenging of the second axiom is probably connected with her views on the vase-painting of the years around 460. She thinks, no doubt correctly,

⁴ A.-B. Follmann, *Der Pan-Maler* (Bonn, 1968) 71. She also challenged the view that Myson taught the Pan Painter (*op. cit.*, 70–2).

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 27–8. The Marpessa psykter is illustrated here in PLATE IX a–b.

⁶ *Cf.* list in L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Oxford, 1931–63) ii, 6–9, and D. von Bothmer, *AJA* lxi (1957) 310; *cf.* also Follmann 27–8. A list of the representations of the Marpessa legend is given

by Beazley in *Charites* (Festschrift Langlotz, Bonn, 1957) 139.

⁷ *BABesch* xlv (1969) 124–35.

⁸ *PanMal passim*. Diepolder, who tried to establish a relative (and to a lesser extent also an absolute) chronology for the Pan Painter's major works (*MünchJb* ix/x (1958/9) 13), also believes that the career of the artist started at c. 480, and that the Marpessa psykter is among his early, if not earliest, works.

that, starting at about 460, and for a few years, some archaising tendencies, a kind of mannerism, can be found in the work of most Athenian vase-painters⁹ She also thinks that the Pan Painter's mannerism and archaising style belongs to this period, and must be seen, understood and explained against this background. She does not, of course, deny that the Pan Painter had a particular predilection for archaising representations: 'les représentations en style archaisant ont signifié pour lui un défi qu'il a accepté en y mettant tout son art'.¹⁰ She attributes this general trend towards mannerism and the forms of the past to historical reasons: a reaction against Kimon and his protégé Polygnotus, a progressive and vanguard painter, after Kimon's ostracism at 461. It would not, she thinks, have lasted very long, and progressive and advanced trends would have resumed their normal course after a few years of archaising fashion.

It is important to consider whether she is correct in attributing the advent of mannerism to external, non-artistic causes. If, as I shall argue, she is not, we will have to adopt the *a priori* more plausible view that this advent is to be explained in purely artistic terms. This has a particular relevance for the assessment of the Pan Painter's mannerism. As we will see below, after we have considered the hypothesis of the historical/political causes, the explanation of the manneristic trends of the years around 460 in purely artistic terms fits the known facts better.

There are several objections to the theory championed by L. Byvanck Quarles van Ufford. To begin with, it is implausible that political events could have such a direct influence on artistic styles—as opposed to iconographical themes. However, in my opinion, the theory is not convincing even if it is considered in its own terms. At the purely political level, it would not be correct to assume that the radicals who came to power after Kimon's ostracism reversed Kimon's policies completely and indiscriminately, that they rejected *en bloc* everything connected with Kimon. Their internal policy was different, and in foreign affairs their policy towards Sparta was different, but they continued his anti-Persian policy.¹¹ But this is only a general point, meant to act as a cautionary note against using Kimon's eclipse for supporting various hypotheses, a process which has been used recently in a rather spectacular way.¹² If we turn to purely artistic matters, there are a few points which argue against the theory we are considering.

Firstly, we know that Polygnotus worked in the Stoa Poikile, or, as it was originally called, Peisianakteion, after Peisianax the Alcmaeonid, probably Kimon's brother-in-law.¹³ Meiggs has convincingly argued¹⁴ that the most plausible, indeed the only possible, date for the battle of Oinoe, which was the subject of the fourth painting of the Stoa Poikile, is a date soon after 461, probably just after the formation of the alliance between Athens and Argos. He also makes a good case for the painting being a later addition to the decoration of the stoa, painted to celebrate a victory on land over Sparta, which at the time was an amazing achievement. This would imply that, far from being hostile to the artistic creations of the circle promoted by Kimon, the radical party continued, added to, an artistic programme inspired by him. There is nothing in the brief mention of the representation in Pausanias¹⁵ which would suggest that the painting diverged in style and spirit from the tradition of Polygnotus and Mikon; if it did, we might have expected a mention of such a strange difference in the wall-paintings of one and the same building. Another indication that no rejection of the Early Classical artistic style and spirit, in favour of the older forms, accompanied the advent of the radical party after Kimon's ostracism, may be provided by the circumstances of the erection of the statue of Athena Promachos by Pheidias. The date

⁹ *BABesch* xxiv–vi (1949–51) 21–5; *Mnemosyne* iii (1950) 292–4.

¹⁰ *BABesch* xlv (1969) 135.

¹¹ Cf. Russell Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford, 1972) 92 ff.

¹² Cf. Rhys Carpenter, *The Architects of the Parthenon* (1970).

¹³ On Peisianax cf. J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford, 1971) s.v. 9688, viii (p. 377).

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, 96; 469–72.

¹⁵ i.xv.2.

of the completion of the statue is established within narrow limits, in the 450's, through the letter forms of the building accounts.¹⁶ Raubitschek and Stevens¹⁷ think that the erection of the statue was undertaken under Kimon, and that work on it may have begun *c.* 465, just after Kimon's victory at Eurymedon. Meiggs on the other hand argues¹⁸ that it was the radical democrats who commissioned the colossal bronze statue. In any case, either the democrats commissioned, very soon after Kimon's ostracism, a very important state monument from a progressive young artist, fed, to judge by his work, on Polygnotan ideals; or they continued and completed a work first commissioned by Kimon.

Under these circumstances, it seems to me that the hypothesis that the appearance of manneristic trends in the vase-painting of the years following 460 was due to historical circumstances, to a reaction against anything Kimonian after Kimon's ostracism, is implausible. On the other hand, the view that this advent should be seen and explained in purely artistic terms, not only requires as a premise a more natural and frequently attested phenomenon, it also fits the character of the appearance of these manneristic trends, their distribution within the various artistic circles. L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford did not claim that the Penthesilea Painter or the Niobid Painter ever adopted an extensively and pronouncedly manneristic style like that of the Pan Painter and of the circle of inferior artists whom he influenced and whom Beazley called 'Mannerists'.¹⁹ When specific traits and tendencies, predominant in the work of a particular first-class artist of any period, occasionally crop up, in a limited way, in the work of most of this artist's contemporaries, they can best be explained through artistic influence: through the radiation of a successful, popular and fashionable artistic style. That manneristic trends in non-'Mannerist' artists are due to the influence of the Mannerists, and especially of the Pan Painter, is also implied by Lullies,²⁰ who attributes the manneristic trends in the Berlin Painter's later work to the influence of the Mannerists, and especially of the Pan Painter.

Consequently, there is no argument in favour of the hypothesis that the Pan Painter's manneristic phase does not start until *c.* 460, or just before, and that it should be considered a part of a general manneristic trend due to political and historical events. On the contrary, the advent of manneristic trends in other artists appears to presuppose the success and popularity of an established manneristic style which cannot but be that of the Pan Painter and his followers. Under these circumstances, it seems that Beazley was right in believing that²¹ 'Der Maler beginnt als Manierist und endet als Manierist; dazwischen ist er mehr'.

III. THE PAN PAINTER AND THE BERLIN PAINTER

The list of similarities between the Berlin and the Pan Painters' work that follows is by no means exhaustive. But it does, I think, illustrate rather clearly the type of relationship which in my opinion existed between the two artists.

I will start with a general point, the interest in contour displayed by both artists. It is well-known that, while for example the Kleophrades Painter was interested in, and concerned with, the content of the figure as expressed by its mass, its volume, the Berlin Painter, whose main preoccupation was beautiful drawing, harmonious design, graceful figures, took a great interest in contour, the line along which the black surface meets the red one. He took great care to create a harmonious, flowing, but at the same time interesting and varied

¹⁶ Cf. *infra* nn. 17-18.

¹⁷ A. E. Raubitschek and G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia* xv (1946) 112-13.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, 94-5.

¹⁹ On the Mannerist workshop cf. J. D. Beazley,

Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens (London, 1945, reprint from the *Proceedings of the British Academy* xxx) 13; *ARV*² 562-88.

²⁰ *AntK* xiv (1971) 53.

²¹ *PanMal* 17.

contour²², and the design of some of his figures was determined by this care; for example, he gave to his people, gods or satyrs, various objects to hold in their hands, often attached to outstretched arms, so as to have an opportunity for more, and more varied, contour. His harmonious, flowing contours enhance the sober grace of his figures. The Pan Painter uses the contour less generally, and in an entirely different way. He sometimes draws a consciously violent, sharply contrasted contour²³ in scenes and figures in which he wants to render the lively, jerky, movement and spirit of the Late Archaic age, and he uses it in order to enhance this lively staccato spirit. But my point consists in noting that he uses the contour to obtain a specific effect at all, in a period in which the content and volume, the surface and bearing of the figure were the elements which attracted the attention and concern of vase-painters who were now thinking in three-dimensional terms with regard to the whole scene, not just the figure. I am suggesting that it is possible that the Pan Painter got the idea that the contour could, and should, be used, from the Berlin Painter, and transformed it to suit his own aims. I can see no consistent use of contour in Myson's work.

I will now consider more specific similarities between the two artists.

1. *The system of anatomical renderings*

i. Clavicles. The Berlin Painter draws the clavicles with the inner ends curving gently inwards, not joining each other or the median line; the line of the clavicles is almost parallel to the line from the shoulders to the base of the neck.²⁴ The Pan Painter sometimes draws his clavicles in the same way,²⁵ while at other times he follows the sketchier scheme, more consistent with his own generation, but also found, for example, in the late Kleophrades Painter, of the clavicles joining each other and the median line in a simple way, without inner curve.²⁶ The more elaborate formula, the one similar to the Berlin Painter's, appears to have been more frequently used than the simpler one in the Pan Painter's more careful work.²⁷ Myson sometimes also depicts the clavicles as curving at the inner end and not joining each other or the median line, but he has them starting at, or just beyond, the base of the neck, and converging through much of their course. This only happens very rarely in the Pan Painter's figures, and even then, the clavicles converge only very slightly. Some of Myson's clavicles join each other and the median line and curve inwards to create a narrow and long hook.²⁸ The more summary renderings of clavicles by Myson²⁹ resemble the more summary design of the clavicles by the Pan Painter mentioned above, but given the commonness of this rendering at about that time this need not be significant. I should also mention that the Berlin Painter, especially in his later work, sometimes almost joins

²² J. D. Beazley, *Der Berliner Maler* (Berlin, 1930)—hereafter *BerlMal*—8; and especially *ib.*, *JHS* xlii (1922) 89.

²³ *PanMal* 19.

²⁴ He is not, of course, the only artist of his generation to follow this formula for the clavicles. In general, it is clear that there are similarities between the anatomical renderings of the Pan Painter and those of vase-painters of the generation c. 500–c. 480 other than the Berlin Painter. But they concern isolated elements, as e.g. the clavicles, or the clavicles plus the small triangle at the junction of the median line with the breast line. They are not consistent, they cannot be seen as a *system* of similarities. While in the case of the Berlin Painter, the similarities can be seen as arranged into a system of anatomical renderings, a system of renderings related to another system. The differences that

there are between the two systems appear in many cases to be the result of a development, an evolution depending upon the general evolution in style.

²⁵ A few examples: *PanMal* pls. 6.3; 25.2; 28.3; Follmann pls. 3; 8.5.

²⁶ Cf. e.g. Heracles on the Bousiris pelike (*PanMal* pls. 9; 10), Poseidon on the Nolan amphora Schwerin 1295 (*ARV*² 553, 37; *PanMal* pl. 20.1).

²⁷ It should be noted that in a few cases the Pan Painter's clavicles with curving inner ends just about miss joining each other or the median line, and, even more rarely, just about touch each other or/and the median line. Such renderings can also be found in the Berlin Painter's work.

²⁸ Cf. e.g. the pelike Syracuse 15709 (*ARV*² 238, 3; *CVA* pl. 1).

²⁹ Cf. Oxford 561 (*ARV*² 241, 52).

the clavicles to each other and the median line. In those cases, the curve at the inner end is almost, or totally, imperceptible as an independent phenomenon, but appears to contribute to the tendency of the clavicles to join the median line. As a result, the effect is not dissimilar from that of the Pan Painter's more summary clavicles.³⁰

Consequently, the Pan Painter's rendering of the clavicles, especially the most frequently used variety, appears, I think, to be quite consistently related to that of the Berlin Painter. Any differences that may exist between the two can, perhaps, be seen as due to internal variations, or development, within the work of the quaint younger artist.

ii. The Pan Painter, like the Berlin Painter, often, but by no means always, draws a *small triangle* at the joint of the median line with the breast-line, created through the addition of a small horizontal line joining the two curves of the breast-line below the joint.³¹ This trait can also be found in Myson's work, but not very often.³²

Myson, when the stance is appropriate, brings the breast-lines to reach the upper arms;³³ this trait is also found in some of the Pan Painter's work, but in a more refined form,³⁴ and it is precisely in such a refined form that we find the same trait in the Berlin Painter's figures.³⁵

iii. The Pan Painter draws the upper part of the *rectus abdominis*—when he depicts it in detail at all—as two adjoining, but separate and self-contained bulges.³⁶ The Berlin Painter draws the whole of the *rectus abdominis* as a series of adjoining but separate and self-contained bulges; Myson occasionally does the same, but his bulges are inelegantly designed, inelegantly arranged, and too widely spaced.³⁷

iv. *The ankle.* The ankles of the Pan Painter's figures, although they sometimes assume an almost horseshoe-like shape, are mostly drawn with two lines,³⁸ in the tradition, that is, which outlined the protuberance of the ankle-bone at the lower and upper end; this tendency is most consistently found, in the generation *c.* 500-*c.* 480, in the Berlin Painter's work. The two curving lines of the Pan Painter's ankles may join, or remain separate. Often they join, and the ankle resembles an open hook, as in the figures of Oxford 1879.173, but examination reveals clearly that there are two separate lines. Sometimes the Pan Painter's ankle can be a simple line slightly hooked at the lower end,³⁹ and although I have not examined any vase with such an ankle, I assume that a single line is used. As far as I know, it is in the Pan Painter's later works that the second trend of the single hooked line is found, not in his earlier ones.⁴⁰ This, and the fact that within the 'first trend' there are cases in which the lower line is placed in a way that makes the ankle resemble a hook, suggest that the single hooked line is a simplification taking place within the artist's work.⁴¹ Myson does not always draw the ankles. When he does, he makes them horseshoe-like, and places them variously; the emphasis here is mostly—but not always—on the roundness of the space enclosed in the hook.

v. *Neck and upper arms.* The Berlin Painter normally draws two brown lines at the

³⁰ Cf. e.g. the lekythos Palermo V 671 (*ARV*² 212, 211; *CVA* pl. 20.5); the Nolan amphora New York 07.286.69 (*ARV*² 201, 70; Richter and Hall pl. 18); the stamnos Louvre G 192 (*ARV*² 208, 160).

³¹ Cf. e.g. *PanMal* pls. 18.2; 25.3.

³² Cf. the pelike Syracuse 15709 (*ARV*² 238, 3; *CVA* pl. 1.2); the krater Louvre CA 1947 (*ARV*² 240, 44; *Paralipomena* 349; *AntK* ix, pl. 23.2).

³³ Cf. the krater Louvre CA 1947; Oxford 561 (*JHS* xxviii, pl. 31).

³⁴ Cf. *PanMal* pls. 18.1; 21.1.

³⁵ Cf. the satyr on the amphora Berlin 2160 (*ARV*² 196, 1; Arias-Hirmer-Shefton pls. 150-3); Ganymede on the bell-krater Louvre G 175 (*ARV*² 206, 124).

³⁶ Cf. Heracles on the Bousiris pelike, and some of the figures on the outside of the cup Oxford 1911.617 (*ARV*² 559, 152).

³⁷ Cf. e.g. on Oxford 561 (*ARV*² 241, 52).

³⁸ Cf. e.g. *PanMal* pl. 30.1.

³⁹ Cf. e.g. the Bousiris pelike (Athens 9683; *ARV*² 554, 82).

⁴⁰ Cf. *PanMal* 17 on the difficulties in attributing the Pan Painter's work to phases.

⁴¹ It may perhaps be noted that Hermonax, acknowledged pupil of the Berlin Painter, also displays the same simplified type of ankle, L-shaped, with the corner of the L rounded.

neck, converging, but not meeting, at the top. The Pan Painter often shows no muscles on his thick necks; but sometimes he does, and in those cases he draws the same brown lines converging, but not meeting, at the top.⁴² Myson shows such brown lines very rarely, and in those cases his lines differ slightly from the other two sets in that there is a stronger curve near the base of the neck. Occasionally in the Pan Painter's figures,⁴³ two brown lines, convex to each other, indicate the muscles of the upper arm. This of course is the norm in the Berlin Painter's figures.

vi. Often, when a figure wearing an ankle-long garment is either striding forwards, or has simply one leg in front of the other in a restrained or arrested movement, the Berlin Painter underlines—under the garment—in a flowing relief line the front profile of the thigh and leg nearer the spectator if this happens to be the rear one. This device adds greatly to the grace of the figure. It is also used by the Pan Painter for those figures depicted in a similar stance to whom he has not given an over-elaborate and fussy drapery.⁴⁴

2. Other detailed renderings

i. *The drapery.* Apart from the general late archaic stylisations in the drapery, the Pan Painter also uses a particular type of stylisation which is often found in the Berlin Painter's work, but not, as far as I know, elsewhere with any frequency or consistency. This consists in drawing a perfectly simple garment, with a naturalistic fall determined by the bearing of the body, but decorated with groups of straight parallel lines/stylised folds ending at the same (or, in some cases almost the same) level as the rest of the dress; such 'folds' have inevitably an unnatural two-dimensional appearance.⁴⁵ Myson, who can, occasionally, use a similar scheme, contrives to give some depth to his folds which are not, at least at their lower end, two-dimensional.

ii. *The club of Heracles.* The club of Heracles in the Bousiris pelike⁴⁶ reminds one very vividly of the club held by the Berlin Painter Heracles on the Ciba amphora.⁴⁷ The two are similar in general shape and in the arrangement of the knots of the surface of the club, as well as in the spatial depth, the three dimensional relationship between knots and club.

We can contrast the very different clubs held by other Heracles, by Myson,⁴⁸ the Kleophrades Painter,⁴⁹ the Niobid Painter⁵⁰ and the Penthesilea Painter.⁵¹

iii. Both the Berlin Painter and the Pan Painter show a predilection for the following decorative scheme: the himation is thrown loosely at the back of the figures, then it comes round both sides over the arms, almost always at the height of the elbows at least on one

⁴² Cf. e.g. *PanMal* pls. 16.3; 24.1.

⁴³ Cf. e.g. *PanMal* pls. 18.2; 28.3.

⁴⁴ Cf. e.g. *PanMal* pls. 22; 28; Follmann pls. 8.5; 9.1.

⁴⁵ For the Berlin Painter cf. e.g. the neck-amphora Oxford 274 (*ARV*² 203, 100), here *PLATE X a*; and the stamnos Oxford 1965.123 (*ARV*² 208 154; *Paralipomena* 343).

⁴⁶ Pelike Athens 9683 (*ARV*² 554, 82).

⁴⁷ *ARV*² 1634, 1 bis; *Paralipomena* 342.

⁴⁸ Cf. the column-krater Villa Giulia 984 (*ARV*² 239, 21; *Paralipomena* 349; *EAA* v, 317 fig. 430).

⁴⁹ Cf. J. D. Beazley, *Der Kleophrades-Maler* (Berlin, 1933) pl. 29.3. At a superficial glance, the fragmentary club of Heracles on the Agora fragment P 7241 (*ARV*² 189, 79; *Paralipomena* 341) by the Kleophrades Painter may appear similar to the clubs of the Berlin Painter and the Pan Painter. How-

ever, a more careful examination, and a comparison with other clubs by the Kleophrades Painter (cf. Beazley, *KleophrMal* pls. 22; 29.3), make clear that the fragmentary club on Agora P 7241 is, like all clubs by the Kleophrades Painter, much thinner than those of the Berlin Painter and the Pan Painter, and that the knots stop too high up on the club by comparison to the clubs by the two other artists. (The superficial resemblance is caused by the fragmentary state of the Agora club: since only part of its length is preserved, its thinness is at first less apparent, and of its lower part which is devoid of knots only a small part is preserved.)

⁵⁰ Cf. kalyx-krater Louvre G 341 (*ARV*² 601, 22), side A.

⁵¹ Fragmentary cup from the Astarita Collection in the Vatican (*ARV*² 880, 13).

side, and again it turns to go under the arms, passing between body and arm; finally its two ends are shown flying backwards, rather stiffly, and along an oblique line.⁵²

The figures to be compared with regard to this trait are the following.

By the Berlin Painter:

- (1) Boy and man on the neck-amphora London E 266 (*ARV*² 198, 21; *Berl. Mal* pl. 14).
- (2) Boy on the neck-amphora London E 267 (*ARV*² 199, 28; *Berl. Mal* pl. 17.2).
- (3) Peleus on the stamnos Munich 8738 (*ARV*² 209, 161 and 1633; *AntK* xiv (1971), pl. 21.2).
- (4) Poseidon on a lid of lekaneis at Taras Museum (*ARV*² 212, 215; *AntK* xiv (1971) pl. 22.1).
- (5) Running girl on the same lid as 4. (*AntK* xiv, pl. 22.4).
- (6) Nike on a neck-amphora at Zurich, Roß Collection (*ARV*² 202, 79; *AntK* xiv, pl. 10.3).
- (7) Boy with a cithara on the oinochoe New York 22.139.32 (*ARV*² 210, 186; G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven 1936), pls. 17, 177).

By the Pan Painter:

- (1) Two boys on the column-krater Syracuse 12781 (*ARV*² 551, 16; *PanMal* pls. 29.2; 30.2).
- (2) Boy on the bell-krater Palermo V 778 (*ARV*² 550, 2; *PanMal* pl. 31.2).
- (3) Woman with a cithara on a neck-amphora in Bonn, private Collection (*ARV*² 554, 45; *Paralipomena* 388; Folman pl. 4).
- (4) Apollo on the psykter Munich 2417 (*ARV*² 556, 101; *PanMal* pl. 12.1; here *PLATE IX a-b*).
- (5) Perseus on A and boy playing the flute on B of the pelike Munich 8725 (*ARV*² 554, 85; *MünchJb* ix/x (1958/59) 8 figs. 2, 3).

This treatment of the himation is also found in other vase-painters. It is the exact form in which it occurs, frequently and consistently, in the Berlin Painter's and the Pan Painter's work that may perhaps be considered significant.

With regard to spirit, stances, and composition in general—I shall discuss the similarities in the particular figures below—the following remarks can be made.

The Berlin Painter abandons occasionally his sober grace, to express the lively, 'daintily violent' spirit of the Late Archaic period, chiefly rendered through a staccato, jerky movement, as in the Panathenaic amphora with Medousa and Perseus.⁵³ On the other hand, one of the two main trends in the spirit of the Pan Painter's work is precisely the same lively, daintily violent spirit with staccato movements and affected gestures—the other trend being the grandeur and restrained pathos of, e.g. Actaeon on his name-vase. The lively Late Archaic spirit of the Pan Painter can be illustrated by his representation of the same Perseus and Medousa subject on a hydria in London.⁵⁴

I shall now discuss some individual figures by the Pan Painter which, in my opinion, reflect the influence of the Berlin Painter, as they are, I believe, quite closely related to figures painted by this latter.

i. Citharoedus

I shall compare two figures of citharoedi by the Berlin Painter, one on the amphora New York 56.171.38 (*ARV*² 197, 3; *JHS* xlii (1922) 71 fig. 1) (1), and one on the Panathenaic amphora Montpellier 130 (*ARV*² 197, 10; *JHS* xlii, 75 fig. 3) (2), with the following three figures of citharoedi by the Pan Painter: (1) Panathenaic amphora New York 20.245 (*ARV*² 552, 30; *PanMal* pl. 28.2); (2) neck-amphora in Bonn, private Collection (Follmann pl. 4: a woman playing the cithara); (3) column-krater Sydney 42 (*ARV*² 551, 19; A. D. Trendall and J. R. Stewart, *Nicholson Museum Handbook* (Sydney 1948²) pl. vii).

The starting points of the comparisons will be the Pan Painter's three musicians.

(1) A bearded man plays the cithara on one side of the pot, while on the other a judge is represented. The same arrangement of figures is also found on the Berlin Painter's (1): a

⁵² This line of inquiry was kindly suggested to me by Professor C. M. Robertson.

⁵³ Munich 2312 (*ARV*² 197, 11; *BerlMal* pl. 9.1; here *PLATE X b-c*; early work).

⁵⁴ Hydria London E 181 (*ARV*² 555, 96; *PanMal*

pl. 5.1; here *PLATE XI a*). Cf. also the abduction of Oreithyia on the oinochoe London E 512 (*ARV*² 557, 125; *PanMal* pl. 5.2; here *PLATE XI b*) in which only the seated figure is conceived in the new ethos and rendered in the new spirit.

citharoedus on one side, a judge or instructor on the other. The citharoedus on the Berlin Painter's (1) though is a youth; the Pan Painter's bearded citharoedus corresponds to the Berlin Painter's bearded citharoedus on (2). If we now compare the stance of the Pan Painter's citharoedus (1) with the Berlin Painter's two figures, we find that the curve of the body expressing the absorption in the music is much less pronounced in the Pan Painter's musician, the head is thrown backwards considerably less, but that the curve is there all the same, built on the same line and principle as in the older painter's figures. The man holds the musical instrument in a way not dissimilar to that on the Berlin Painter's pots, and a 'shawl', which is in fact an ornament attached to the plektron,⁵⁵ is falling from behind the cithara here, as there; this falling 'shawl' is a recurrent theme in the Pan Painter's musical figures,⁵⁶ but it had also been used frequently by others besides the Berlin Painter in the preceding generation. In both the Berlin Painter's citharoedi and the Pan Painter's figure discussed here a relief line marks, under the garment, the front outline of the thigh and leg nearer the spectator.

(2) A woman playing the cithara is standing on a maeander band on one side of the pot. Her stance, the bearing of her body, which almost seems to be moving forwards and upwards in its absorption in the music, with the head thrown backwards, is identical to that of the youth playing the cithara on the Berlin Painter's (1). The body of the two musicians forms the same curve, enhanced by the successful sweeping behind of a small part of the drapery at the lower end of the garment, just above the feet. The instrument is held in a slightly different manner by the two figures, and there is another minor difference, reflecting the general difference in spirit between the two artists: the Pan Painter's woman has a himation falling and moving behind her; the Berlin Painter's youth does not have this, but he has something else which she lacks, the 'shawl' falling from the plektron, which curves as it falls, repeating the curve of the body for the distance in which the two run parallel. This, of course, intensifies the graceful and harmonious effect of the Berlin Painter's figure, while the woman's himation creates a contrast with her body's harmonious curve, a contrast appropriate to the Pan Painter's pictorial idiom and spirit.

(3) Bearded citharoedus among spectators. Both the type and conception of the figure, and the stance, the curve of the body in absorption, compare very closely with the Berlin Painter's musician on the Montpellier pot (2). There is a slight difference in the way in which they hold the cithara and plektron; also, the head of the Berlin Painter's figure is thrown backwards slightly more than the Pan Painter's one. In both a relief line marks the front outline of the profile leg and thigh nearer to the spectator, under the garment.

ii. Achilles

Achilles portrayed as a naked warrior, wearing an Attic helmet and holding a shield and a long spear, striding forwards, or in arrested stride, hitting, or about to hit, an enemy. He has a profile head, frontal shoulders and upper part of the torso, a three-quarter lower torso, and profile legs.

The Pan Painter did not paint many warriors. The figure which interests us here is that of Achilles on the kalyx-krater with Achilles and Penthesilea (*Basle Auktion* xxxiv (1967) pl. 51 no. 157; now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: *Fitzwilliam. The Annual Reports of the Fitzwilliam Museum Syndicate and the Friends of the Fitzwilliam*, Cambridge for 1971, p. 10). I shall compare it with the figure of Achilles by the Berlin Painter on the following vases:

(1) Kalpis New York 10.210.19 (*ARV*² 209, 169; *BerlMal* pl. 22.1; Richter and Hall pl. 16; very early work): Achilles and Penthesilea.

⁵⁵ Cf. the cup Munich 2646 by Douris (*ARV*² 437, the plektron.

128) side A, where Heracles is attacking Linos with ⁵⁶ Cf. also, for example, Follmann pl. 7.2.

- (2) Volute-krater London E 468 (*ARV*² 206, 132; *BerlMal* pl. 30.2; pl. 31.2: A: Achilles and Hector (pl. 31.2); B: Achilles and Memnon (pl. 30.2).

Of the three figures of Achilles by the Berlin Painter listed here, it is (1) which offers the closest similarity to the Pan Painter's Achilles. To begin with, of course, the subject is the same in the two scenes, the death of Penthesilea at the hands of Achilles. In both, Achilles is moving forwards, a long spear in his hand,⁵⁷ his actual movement arrested just before the moment of the action in the scene, towards Penthesilea who has already fallen. In both representations Penthesilea has already been hit by Achilles' spear. The Pan Painter's Penthesilea is to some extent ruined, but she wears, like her *alter ego* on the Berlin Painter's pot, a pointed Scythian cap and a short chiton. One of her legs is extended outwards in the direction of Achilles, to give her some stability in her fall, while she is crouching on her other, boldly foreshortened, leg which is supported by the foot shown behind the thigh. There is a difference between the two figures in the function of the arm and hand further away from the enemy (those nearer the enemy are, on both scenes, extended towards him in supplication); in both 'further hands' a bow is held, but the Pan Painter's Amazon is supporting herself with that hand on the ground, while the Berlin Painter's Penthesilea is not. The Pan Painter's stance is clearly more realistic.

The stance and iconography of the Pan Painter's Achilles recalls vividly those of all three figures by the Berlin Painter mentioned above; the stance is particularly close, indeed identical, to that of Achilles in the Hector scene: one leg extended straight behind, the other bent at the knee as the hero arrests his stride. The manner in which the Pan Painter's Achilles holds his shield is similar to that on the Berlin Painter scenes, particularly (1), the kalpis with the death of Penthesilea.

iii. Poseidon by the Pan Painter, Triton and other gods of the bearded majestic type by the Berlin Painter

The following vases will be considered.

By the Pan Painter:

- (1) Fragment of nuptial lebes Athens Akro 675 (*ARV*² 552, 25; *PanMal* pl. 28.3; Follmann pl. 12.4).
- (2) Column-krater Bari 4402 (*ARV*² 550, 4; Follmann pl. 12.1).
- (3) Nolan amphora Schwerin 1295 (*ARV*² 553, 37; *PanMal* pls. 19.1; 20.1; Follmann pl. 12.2; *CVA* pl. 29.1).

By the Berlin Painter:

- (1) Triton on the neck-amphora Harvard 1227.150 (*ARV*² 200, 49; *BerlMal* pl. 17.1).
- (2) Hermes on the kalyx-krater Athens Akro 742 and London E 459 (*ARV*² 205, 117; *BerlMal* pl. 32; early work).
- (3) Zeus on the stamnos Castle Ashby, Northampton 25 (*ARV*² 207, 141; *BerlMal* pl. 27.3).

By Myson:

- (1) Croesus on the amphora Louvre G 197 (*ARV*² 238, 1; P. E. Arias, M. Hirmer and B. Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase-painting* (London 1963) pl. 131).
- (2) Bearded man on fragments from Adria, Adria B 515 and B 1412 (*ARV*² 242, 81; *RIA* v-vi (1956-7) 34 fig. 8).

The head and upper part of the torso of the three figures of Poseidon by the Pan Painter are quite closely related to the above listed figures by the Berlin Painter; more so than they are to the figure of Croesus by Myson. This last is of the same general type, and has the same kind of coiffure, including the wreath, as the Pan Painter's figures on (2) and (3), and the Berlin Painter's (1)—and (2) but for the wreath. But the head and upper torso, as well as the whole figure of Croesus, has a kind of angular daintiness, alien to the Pan

⁵⁷ Achilles on the Berlin Painter's (1) is wearing (2A) and (2B) and in the scene by the Pan Painter. greaves, which he is lacking in the Berlin Painter's

Painter's figures—and his garments are of course completely different. The face of the bearded man on Myson's (2) has a different structure; it is coarse and much less dignified.⁵⁸

The Pan Painter's Poseidon in Athens (1) recalls, in my opinion, both the Triton, another sea-god, by the Berlin Painter (1)—except with regard to the nose—and especially Hermes by the same Berlin Painter (2) in the structure and renderings of the head and face. With Hermes he shares a certain robustness, and he has a similar coiffure, different from the rest of the figures considered here. With the Berlin Painter's (1) and (2) he shares an identical arrangement of the two brown lines indicating the muscles of the neck. The clavicles of the Pan Painter's Poseidon (1) are in the best Berlin Painter tradition, starting at the shoulders, running almost parallel to the line joining the shoulders to the base of the neck, and curving at the inner end, not joining each other or the median line. Also, as is characteristic of the Berlin Painter—although not shown in his figures considered here because they have sleeves reaching to the elbow—two brown lines convex to each other indicate the muscles of the upper arms. The double series of arcs at the neckline and arm-hole of his softly wrinkled chiton recall the single series of arcs at the neck-line and sleeves of the Triton and the double series of arcs at the sleeves of Hermes' garment—the neck-line here, to some extent ruined, is covered by a cloak. There is also a similarity in the soft quality of the folds/wrinkles of the chiton itself, which does not deteriorate into elaborate grace.⁵⁹

The Berlin Painter's Zeus (3) provides a parallel for the Pan Painter's other figures of Poseidon (2) and (3), both in coiffure (although he has no wreath), and in the arrangement of the neck-line of the chiton, as well as in the general rendering of the face—*cf.* especially the moustache.

The Poseidon in Athens (1), and a Dionysos by the Pan Painter on the bell-krater Palermo 2554 (V 778; *ARV*² 550, 2; *PanMal* pl. 31.1), can also be compared, especially with regard to the head, with the figure of Dionysos on a dinos by the Berlin Painter in the Ludwig Collection at Aachen, now on loan to the Antikenmuseum, Basle (*AntK* xiv (1971) 44-56 pls. 17-20.1). This Dionysos on the dinos by the Berlin Painter is also recalled by two other figures of Dionysos by the Pan Painter, on the column-krater New York 16.72 (*ARV*² 551, 6; Richter and Hall pl. 67), and on a column-krater recently discovered at Aleria (*Mon Piot* lviii (1972) 25-41 pls. iv-v; especially p. 29 fig. 2).

iv. Perseus

Perseus in two Perseus and Medousa scenes. The similarities are not limited to the figure of Perseus, but include, to some extent, the composition as a whole. The two scenes are the following.

Panathenaic amphora Munich 2312 by the Berlin Painter (*ARV*² 197, 11; *BerlMal* pl. 9.1; here *PLATE X b-c*; early work).

Hydria London E 181 by the Pan Painter (*ARV*² 555, 96; *PanMal* pl. 5.1; here *PLATE XI a*).

The two representations depict different moments of the action; the Berlin Painter depicted the moment preceding Medousa's decapitation, the Pan Painter that immediately

⁵⁸ It should, of course, be remembered that the coiffure mentioned above and found on the Berlin Painter's Triton, on Myson's Croesus and on two of the figures of Poseidon by the Pan Painter considered here, is not peculiar to these artists but is also used by others. The exact rendering of the coiffure depends, obviously, on the individual artist's style, and can even vary from figure to figure in the work of the same man.

⁵⁹ It is perhaps conceivable that some echo of the Berlin Painter's Triton may also be found in the Pan Painter's Zeus on the Marpessa psykter (*ARV*² 556, 101)—in the same way that it may be possible to see, in the build of the figure and the bearing of the body of Artemis on the same vase, a faint echo of Athena by the Berlin Painter on a Panathenaic amphora in the Vatican (*ARV*² 197, 5; *BerlMal* pl. 11.1).

following. The Pan Painter does not, like the Berlin Painter, represent the scene all round the pot with a single figure on each side; his scene is composed out of three elements, the two protagonists and Athena, Perseus' divine helper. Both scenes express the lively affected Late Archaic spirit, except, perhaps for the headless figure of the Pan Painter's dying Medousa, which expresses a certain ethos by her stance, as often dying or grieving figures by the Pan Painter do, even if they are contained in generally non-dignified, affected scenes.⁶⁰ In both scenes Perseus moves in the staccato, jerky, lively movement typical mostly of the years before the turn of the century, a type of affected movement reminiscent of a motion film suddenly arrested at one shot. In the Pan Painter's Perseus, this trait, because consciously manneristic, is more exaggerated, particularly with regard to the bearing of thighs and legs. His Athena has more daintiness than jerkiness. On both pots Perseus has one arm extended forwards in an affected manner, with an empty hand, and on both pots a sickle is held on the other hand; but the Berlin Painter has represented the arm and hand with the sickle behind the hero's body, the Pan Painter has it extended forwards like the other one. The kibisis of the Pan Painter's Perseus, hanging at the side of the hero nearer the spectator, contains Medousa's head; that on the Berlin Painter's pot, because of the difference in the moment of the action depicted, is empty; it hangs at the hero's back, partly concealed by his body.

v. *Varia*

(a) There is a definite similarity between the figures of *boys playing the flute* painted by the two artists, as can be seen if the following boy-flutists are compared.

By the Berlin Painter: hydra fragment Athens Acr 934 (*ARV*² 210, 176; *BerlMal* pl. 13.5; early work). By the Pan Painter: (1) Flutist on the column-krater Syracuse 12781 (*ARV*² 551, 16; *PanMal* pl. 30.2; Arias-Hirmer-Shefton pl. 165); (2) Flutist on a kantharos fragment, Athens 2038 (*ARV*² 558, 142; Follmann pl. 2.1).

(b) The Pan Painter's adolescent *Apollo* on the lekythos London E 579 (*ARV*² 557, 117; *PanMal* pl. 25.1) has something of the delicate dignity of the Berlin Painter's *Apollo* on the Vatican hydria from Vulci (*ARV*² 209, 166; *BerlMal* pl. 26).

(c) A comparison between the abduction of Oreithyia by the Pan Painter on the oinochoe London E 512 (*ARV*² 557, 125; *PanMal* pl. 5.2; here *PLATE XIb*) and the representation of the same subject on the column-krater Berlin 2186 by the Berlin Painter (*ARV*² 208, 150; *Annali dell' Instituto* xxxii (1860) pl. L. M.; late work) reveals a distinct similarity in the treatment and stances of the fleeing girls, as well as in the spirit of the whole scene. The Pan Painter's forms appear as an exaggerated—almost comical in their extreme daintiness and jerkiness—version of those of the Berlin Painter; as though the younger master was making friendly fun of the older man's scene.

It should be noted that Oreithyia's father, a grieving figure, is rendered in a fully Early Classical style and spirit. This indicates that the Pan Painter was deeply conscious of what style and spirit was appropriate for what type of figure.

We can also find a connexion between the Berlin Painter and the Pan Painter in the shapes decorated by the two artists. This connection may be significant, in so far as it may denote a workshop relationship.

The Pan Painter decorated the following shapes: bell-kraters with lugs, calyx-kraters, column-kraters, volute-kraters, stamnoi, nuptial lebetes, a dinos, an amphora of type B, Panathenaic amphora, neck-amphorae including Nolan amphorae, loutrophoroi, pelikai, hydriai, a psykter, lekythoi, alabastra, oinochoai, a kantharos, skyphoi, cups, a stemless cup. There is a very considerable overlapping between these and the shapes decorated by the Berlin Painter, which are the following: amphorae (types A and C), Panathenaic amphorae,

⁶⁰ Cf. the oinochoe London E 512 discussed *infra* in v(c).

neck-amphorae including Nolan amphorae, a loutropyhoros, pelikai, kalyx-kraters, bell-kraters with lugs, volute-kraters, column-kraters, stamnoi, hydriai, oinochoai, lekythoi, a lekane, a skyphos, cups, plates. Myson on the other hand decorated few shapes: an amphora of type A, a Panathenaic amphora, pelikai, calyx-kraters, column-kraters, a psykter, oinochoai, a cup. He did not decorate, as far as is known at present at least, either bell-kraters with lugs, a rather unusual shape painted by both the Berlin and the Pan Painter, or lekythoi, a favourite shape of both the Berlin Painter and the Pan Painter.

iv. Conclusions

It has, I hope, become clear that there are extensive similarities between the work of the Pan Painter and that of the Berlin Painter, and that the similarities are, as I claimed at the beginning of this paper, of the type suggestive of a teacher-pupil relationship. It has also become clear that the Pan Painter had a very good knowledge of the Berlin Painter's work, including some of his very early work which had been painted before the Pan Painter had been old enough to have joined the workshop as an apprentice. This is something which we can detect thanks to the Pan Painter's idiosyncratic artistic personality which made him use old forms and play about with references to his master's old compositions. And this type of knowledge suggests, I think, that some of the workshop's master's works were kept in the workshop for a long time—probably duplicates of other pots that had been sold; and that the apprentices may have learnt how to draw by copying these, as well as any of the master's works that were not for immediate sale, probably in some material which allowed erasure and reuse. The older pots of the master need not have been kept for the use of the apprentices only, they could also have been used as an iconographical repertory. Such a repertory could be useful in two ways. Firstly, the customers intending to commission vases could, if they wished, choose from this repertory the scene or scenes they wanted painted. And secondly, the less skilled craftsmen of the workshop could reproduce the repertory scenes devised by the master, faithfully or in an adapted form, for the less exigent markets or lower income customers.

I claimed in part II of this paper that the Pan Painter's connexion with Myson can best be explained if the latter did not properly teach the former, or at any rate, not for long. In other words, if the Pan Painter started working as a shop-boy in Myson's workshop, perhaps carrying the clay and turning the potter's wheel, but served his real apprenticeship with the Berlin Painter. This could mean either that he did not begin an apprenticeship with Myson at all, or else that he started to be taught by him, but (was) soon (dissatisfied and?) left to join the Berlin Painter's workshop. After his very individual style had been developed, and he had established himself as a first-class artist, the Pan Painter exercised a very considerable stylistic influence on his old work-mates who had stayed on in Myson's workshop. These are Myson's 'real' pupils, the other 'Mannerists', who probably became 'Mannerists' under the double influence of their teacher's old-fashioned conservatism and their former work-mate's genius in giving life and a new significance to these forms of the past—which Myson, out of artistic inertia, had not abandoned. If my reconstruction of the Pan Painter's early career is correct, it would entail that masters of first-rate workshops were not averse to taking on as apprentices promising youngsters from other workshops. And there may perhaps be several other cases of such 'double apprenticeships' which could throw some additional light on various other artistic personalities in whom more than one trend could have converged.

With regard to the Pan Painter's artistic personality, his 'mannerism' or 'archaism' takes a very different complexion, wholly in agreement with his genius, when he is seen as the pupil of the Berlin Painter. If his teacher had been Myson, this 'mannerism' would have been 'mechanical', as it were: he would have followed the old-fashioned tendencies

of the mediocrity who happened to be his teacher; and those old-fashioned tendencies, in the work of the Pan Painter whose career began after the formulas he adopted had ceased to be current, became 'archaism' or 'mannerism'. But it is not easy to understand why such a genius⁶¹ should have followed this uninspired course in a period of artistic revolution. However, when the Pan Painter is seen as a pupil of the Berlin Painter, his 'mannerism' can be understood in a way that accords with his genius and originality. The Berlin Painter, who was himself a different kind of genius, had expressed the spirit, or at least one of the trends in the spirit, of the opening decades of the fifth century in most exquisite pictorial forms. But by *c.* 480, both his pictorial forms had been rendered obsolete by the new aims set by the developments in free painting, and his spirit was outdated by the grandeur and the restrained force and pathos, the new ethos which pervaded Greek, and especially Athenian, art after the Persian Wars—hence no doubt the sharp decline in the quality of his late work. Now, if the Berlin Painter had a pupil with genius and originality like the Pan Painter, this latter may have seen the task of preserving and revitalising the spirit and formulas of the old age, as represented by his master's work, in the middle of an artistic revolution, as a challenge suited to his ambitions.

In my opinion, there can be no doubt that the Pan Painter's 'archaism' was fully conscious and selective in an inspired way. The way in which he uses the old and the new elements, the manner in which he blends them, testifies to this. While for abductions and pursuits, for example, he amuses himself by preserving the old formulas and dainty spirit in an exaggerated form which renders the scenes almost comical, as I mentioned above, to the dying and grieving figures he gives all the pathos and the grandeur which their circumstances require, and which stylistically could only be rendered in a satisfactory way in the advanced style of the Early Classical period.

CHRISTIANE SOURVINOU-INWOOD

St Hugh's College, Oxford

⁶¹ Cf. M. Robertson, *Greek Painting* (Geneva, 1959) 120: 'a backward-looking genius'.

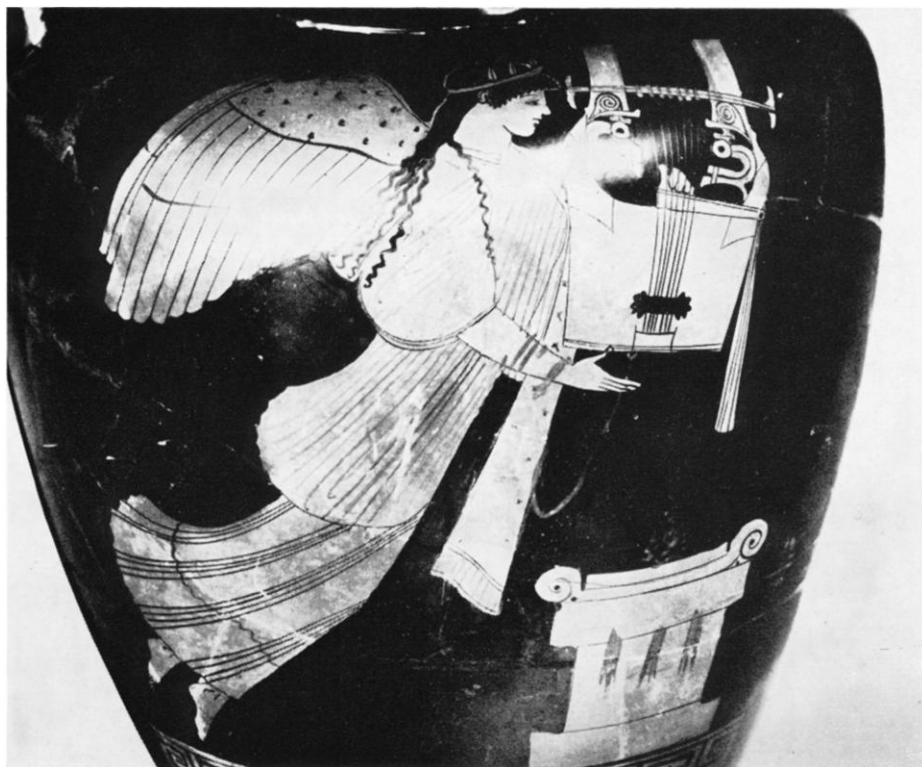


(a) The Marpessa psykter



(b) The Marpessa psykter

WHO WAS THE TEACHER OF THE PAN PAINTER?



(a) Small neck-amphora, Oxford 274



(b) Panathenaic amphora, Munich 2312



(c) Panathenaic amphora, Munich 2312



(a) Hydria, London E 181



(b) Oinochoe, London E 512

WHO WAS THE TEACHER OF THE PAN PAINTER?