

fragments attributed to Exekias,¹ and long recognised by scholars as deriving from an amphora which in the subject of both obverse and reverse scenes was close to the type A amphora signed by Exekias in the Vatican Museum.² Unfortunately the fragments were lost during the war; W. Herrmann has recently published them as war losses, listing all the information available on their history³—the provenience is unknown. Three of the fragments bear a clear resemblance to side A of the Vatican amphora, which shows Achilles and Ajax intent on a board game, but the Dioskouroi scene on side B was identified only on the very slender evidence of T. 391 (PLATE IV*a*), a small fragment bearing the head of a white dog.

This identification is now supported by the discovery that T. 391 joins cleanly with a hitherto unpublished fragment in Cambridge⁴ as may be seen in PLATE IV*c*. The join is substantiated by the portion of the hand of 'Polydeukes' appearing on both fragments, by the leash held in that hand, and by the dog's paw, all of which bridge the break. This, then, gives us a 'Polydeukes' to stand perhaps at the left-hand edge of the scene, besides establishing that the dog is leaping up in just the same manner as on the Vatican amphora. The only difference is the position of the hand, and the fact that the Leipzig dog is wearing a collar and leash, while the Vatican dog (which was once equally as white, but has been more harshly treated by time) is not.

The fragment in Cambridge was presented to the Museum in 1956 by Miss Anna Bidder,⁵ together with other pieces from her late father's collection. Although the provenience is again unknown, it was almost certainly bought early this century in the Rome market, which indicates a strong likelihood that it was found originally in Italy, perhaps at Vulci or Orvieto, where so many of Exekias' vases have been found. It is curious that Beazley, while uncertain whether the Leipzig fragments originated from a type A or B amphora, implies later that the Cambridge fragment should be considered together with Boulogne 558, a type B amphora which has aroused some controversy over its place in the Exekian chronology.⁶

The importance of the join between U.P. 114 and the inaccessible T. 391 lies principally in what it adds to our understanding of Exekias' choice of subject matter, though it also enhances by a little our picture of the chronology of his extant works. Since the identification of the reverse subject rests on a firmer foundation, the connection between the fragmentary amphora and Vatican 344 is more clearly established, so that we can be a little more certain that Exekias adopted the unusual

procedure of repeating, with a few minor changes, both the scenes from one amphora in his decoration of another.⁷

Which came first? The amphora in the Vatican is usually regarded as one of Exekias' latest works. Our fragments have much in common with the later vases, such as London B. 210, Vatican 344, Philadelphia 4873,⁸ in, for instance, the clarity of execution (the outer incision corresponds almost exactly with the edge of the black silhouette), the consistency of the black slip (none of his latest works have the patchiness common in black figure decoration—the result of watery slip), and the presence on his later vases of a relief outline around his figures. However, it seems, so far as can be judged from such small samples, that they lack the precise and detailed decorative incision of the Vatican amphora, together with its crisp and forceful economy of composition: for example the frontal shields seem clumsy and cluttering in comparison with the Vatican profile presentation, and it is worth noting that the slender line of the latter continues the line of the outer curve of the handles on either side of the scene, uniting pot and picture in a way the Leipzig shields could not. Hence I am inclined to place these fragments together with London B. 209, just a little before Exekias achieved his greatest works.⁹

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⁷ Compare Herrmann, *loc. cit.*

⁸ *ABV* 144, 8; 145, 13 and 16.

⁹ I acknowledge with gratitude the help afforded me in my research for this paper by Professor R. M. Cook and staff of the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge; Miss Anna Bidder; Professor E. Paul of Karl-Marx Universität, Leipzig; the New Zealand University Grants Committee and the Internal Research Committee of Victoria University for their considerable financial support; and most recently Dr D. von Bothmer and Dr Joan Mertens, for making available publications and photographs which would otherwise have been inaccessible.

The Provenience of the Cambridge Skyphos by the KX Painter

(PLATE III*d-e*)

The Attic black-figure skyphos (or perhaps rather more strictly, kotyle) of c. 580 B.C. shown here has already been published as of unknown provenience as the frontispiece of Sir Arthur W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (sides A and B) and in *CVA* Cambridge i pl. 2, 8*a-b* (side A and one of the handle zones).¹ The purpose of this note is to draw attention to the extremely interesting provenience now established for it. At the same time, the opportunity has been taken to publish views of the side and handle zone not illustrated in the *CVA* and to add a few further comments on the condition of the vase, since such considerations have proved vital to its identification.

¹ Other bibliography: *JHS* xlvii (1927) 148; A. Greifenhagen, *Eine attische schwarzfigurige Vasengattung und die Darstellung des Komos im 6. Jahrhundert* (Diss. Königsberg 1928) 12 no. 22; *NC* 196 no. 27; *Hesperia* xiii (1944) 46 no. 1; *ABV* 26 no. 24 (where closely related to Athens 528, for which see *Hesperia* xiii 45 no. 14, pl. 5.2; Beazley, *Development* 20, pl. 7.3; J. Charbonneau, R. Martin, F. Villard, *Archaic Greek Art* [English version, 1971] 56, fig. 57). For recent bibliography on the Komast Group see W. Hornbostel in *Münch. Jb* xxvi (1975) 37–64.

¹ T. 355 a-c, attributed by F. Hauser, *Jdl* (1896) 178; T. 391, attributed by J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure, a Sketch* (Proc. Brit. Acad. xiv 29, 9. All four were published together by W. Technau, *Exekias, Bilder griechischer Vasen*, IX (Leipzig 1936) pl. 19c-f.

² Vatican 344: J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford 1956)—hereafter *ABV*—145, 13. Whether the Leipzig fragments originate from a type A or B amphora is uncertain: *ABV* 145, 15.

³ W. Herrmann, *Wiss. Zeitschr. der Univ. Rostock*, 16 Jahrgang (1967) 456, pls. 30, 2; 31, 2.

⁴ Museum of Classical Archaeology, U.P. 144, attributed by Beazley, *ABV* 714.

⁵ To whom I am indebted for my information on the history of the fragment.

⁶ Boulogne: *ABV* 145, 18. Cambridge: J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford 1971) 60. Technau (*op. cit.* 14) considers that the Boulogne amphora is late because it has one solo figure on the obverse; Mary B. Moore (*AJA* lxxii [1968] 360) places it among the earliest works on the grounds that the horses on the reverse resemble the horses of Group E more closely than do other horses by Exekias. But compare H. Bloesch, *Wandlungen*, in *Ernest Homann-Wedeking Festschrift* (1975) 88.

Previously known under the interim serial, Fitzwilliam Museum X5, as an object completely lacking any record of source or acquisition, it has now been able to be fully documented and formally inventoried as no. GR.126.1892. The vase has been assembled from many fragments and its foot is completely missing, but the walls are largely intact down to a little above or below the base-line to the figured scene. Both sides show dancers and these are complete apart from tiny areas at the edge of their feet. On side A they are a man and a youth, on side B two men (PLATE III*d*), all clad in tight red tunics of a kind met with on Corinthian vases and in the Attic Komast Group. Small parts are missing from the bottom of the lotus ornament in both handle zones; on that shown in *CVA Cambridge* i pl. 2, 8*b*, two fragments are also missing from the lip of the vase and one from part of the tendril rising to the upper right volute and an attempt has also been made to conceal some of the joins; on the other handle zone (PLATE III*e*), a wall fragment is also missing from below the upper left volute. The dimensions of the vase are as follows: restd. h. 9.5 cm., diam. 13.2 cm., w. across handles 18.9 cm.

It has now been established, as will be shown in greater detail below, that this vase is from one of the so-called 'Royal Tombs' at Tamassos in Cyprus and that it forms part of the large collection of antiquities from the cemeteries of that city given to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1892 by Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G., H.B.M.'s Chief Commissioner in Cyprus—a gift augmented by further items from the same source in 1907.² The account of the original benefaction in the *Cambridge University Reporter*³ includes this paragraph: 'Pottery with paintings of human figures is but little represented in this collection. The only two vases of this class are a "black figure" cup of about the middle of the sixth century B.C., with pairs of dancers on a ground semé with rosettes of the usual type, and a "red figure" *kylix* of about 500 B.C., with a youthful athlete holding a spear and a basket.' The second of these vases is readily identifiable as Fitzwilliam Museum inv. no. GR.116.1892, an unpublished Attic red-figure type-C cup of the beginning of the fifth century B.C., whose distinctly coarse decoration is confined to the interior and shows a nude youth running to the right with a straight staff and a skyphos. Applied red is used for his garland and for a pseudo-inscription round the tondo, of which three 'signs' are fully preserved and remains of two other survive in areas where the 'glaze' has partly flaked away. This cup is clearly marked as from the Bulwer gift and carries a grave number indicating that it is from Tomb no. IV, 2, near the 'Royal Tombs'.⁴ The only item in the

Fitzwilliam Museum's collections that would seem possibly to fit the description of the first vase is the apparently undocumented skyphos republished here. Unfortunately, any markings that there may have been on the sherds seem to have been obliterated in the modern restoration.

Accordingly, in order to confirm the identification of the vase, it has been necessary to turn to the unpublished records of M. Ohnefalsch-Richter's excavations at Tamassos, now preserved in the archives at Berlin-Charlottenburg. There photograph no. XXIV of the excavator's series shows the sherds of the Cambridge vase, with the gaps as detailed above. A jotting on it in Ohnefalsch-Richter's hand, 'Wenn in Zypern, photographieren!', shows that he realized that his own picture of the sherds was not clear enough for publication. But even so, on this inadequate photograph, which will be reproduced as a document in the near future in the *Arch. Anzeiger*, one can make out the Attic komasts and the decoration of the left handle zone, so that the identification of the Cambridge kotyle is secure. Ohnefalsch-Richter took the vase to be Corinthian. In describing 'Grab 11, das Grab mit schrägem Dromos, Grab der geschnittenen Steine, 6 Juli 1889', he wrote as follows on p. 64 of part IV, section iv of his unpublished report: 'Die für viele Leichen bestimmte Grabanlage muss nur für Vornehme und Reiche bestimmt gewesen sein und sehr viele wertvolle Beigaben enthalten haben; denn nur in diesem Grab fand ich eine Anzahl guter geschnittener Steine, goldener und silberner Drehringe und die einzige korinthische Vase, die ich je aus der Erde Zyperns hervorkommen sah, eine der wenigen, die überhaupt je auf Zypern gefunden worden sind und voraussichtlich je gefunden werden. . . . Ich fand diesen Skyphos in lauter kleinen Stücken beim Durchlesen der Erde.'⁵ Page 59 of the same report makes it clear that the sherds must have come from the chamber, not from the dromos of that tomb: '. . . der Dromos wurde um Wochen später gereinigt. Auch dauerte es geraume Zeit, bis alle Erde aus dem Innern des Grabes zur Erdoberfläche gebracht und mit den Händen durchsucht war. . . . Ich brachte nämlich die Erde nach oben, als ich die Fragmente der korinthischen Vase und der verschiedenen Ringe und geschnittenen Steine gefunden hatte. . . . Ohnefalsch-Richter naturally followed the common trend of the time in regarding this Attic Komast Group vase as Corinthian. But in its true setting it is of some historical significance as evidence of pottery trade between Athens and Cyprus in the time of Solon.⁶

The tomb in question was completely destroyed by the excavator and his team. The stones were sold to the villagers and the finds distributed between the Cyprus Museum, the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, the Fitzwilliam Museum and some other collections. The tomb, which was one of the most prominent of the so-called 'Royal Tombs' at Tamassos, was dated by Ohnefalsch-Richter 'höchstens in die letzte Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.'⁷ More recently E. Zwierlein-Diehl has mentioned 'Mittelfunde, vorwiegend aus dem 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.' in

² *Ann. Report Fitzwilliam Mus. Syndicate* 1892, 1, 4; *ibid.*, 1907, 4. For a selection of the Cypriot vases see *CVA Cambridge* ii pls. 7–14.

³ 1 March 1892, 564–5.

⁴ Recently this vase has been identified among the photographs from M. Ohnefalsch-Richter's excavations of 1889 at Politiko-Tamassos. These are in the archives of the Antikenabteilung of the Staatliche Museen at Berlin-Charlottenburg. They clearly show the Cambridge cup, GR. 116.1892, as from Tomb 2 within the necropolis of Chomazoudia (cemetery IV or D), which is in the area of the 'Royal Tombs' of Tamassos. In the excavator's unpublished report of 27th June, 1889, there is mentioned 'eine Kylix mit Inschrift, die nur teilweise erhalten ist. Drei Zeichen sind hinter dem Rücken der Figur, zwischen dem rechten Fuss und dem Haarschopf, zu erkennen. . . . Rote Gestalt auf schwarzem Grunde, ein nackter laufender Mann hält auf der Linken ein grosses Gefäss, in der Linken [sic] einen Stab. Firnisfarbe teilweise abgesprungen. . . . Dm 23 cm von Henkel zu Henkel, H 8,3 cm.' This tomb (no. IV, 2) may be recognized on the sketch of that area, *AA* 1973 303, fig. 6, near upper right corner. Complete report in *AA* 1978 (forthcoming).

⁵ For number of tomb (XII) see *AA* 1973 322 ff. (esp. 324), 303 fig. 6, centre of left side, most westerly of four tombs in one line. It was mentioned by Ohnefalsch-Richter in *AM* xl (1915) 56. Its location is to be seen on the photograph, *BCH* lxxxviii (1964) 214 fig. 8.

⁶ H.-G. Buchholz and V. Karageorghis are preparing a study of Greek imports to Cyprus from the beginning of the Iron Age to the end of the Archaic Period.

⁷ *Zeitschr. für Ethnologie* xxxi (1899) Verhandlungen 360.

republishing one of the finest scarabs found there.⁸ When Professor O. Masson reconsidered the evidence then available for the necropolis in question, he concluded that Tomb no XII (or XI as it is called more often than not by Ohnefalsch-Richter) was identical with Tomb no. IV, thus conflating the two separately existing tombs into one.⁹ The German Tamassos Expedition has recently managed to relocate both tombs and has completely re-excavated no. IV.¹⁰ In the light of this, Masson's conflation of the tombs must be discounted and the early Attic black-figure skyphos in the Fitzwilliam Museum can henceforward be assigned with confidence to 'Royal Tomb' no. XII at Tamassos, which lies to the west of no. IV.

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⁸ E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Museen* i, Berlin (1969) 65 no. 135, pl. 32; see also A. Furtwängler, *Beschr. der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* (1896) pl. 3 and AG i pl. 7.19; discussed also by M.-L. Vollenweider, *Cat. Mus. d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève* i (1967) 123 under no. 157.

⁹ 'Recherches sur les Antiquités de Tamassos', *BCH* lxxxviii (1964) 199 ff.

¹⁰ Buchholz in *AA* 1973 299, 322, 330 ff., figs. 23, 32; *AA* 1974 578.

Phocylides

Phocylides was famous as a poet of admonitory or gnomic verse. Isocrates names him together with Hesiod and Theognis, saying that they are praised as the best counsellors for human life, though their advice is seldom followed (ii 43). He is again bracketed with Theognis by Dio of Prusa (ii 5), Athenaeus (632d), and Cyril (*c. Iul.*, *Patrol.* lxxvi 841d). Theophrastus quoted a line of Theognis (147) in different works as 'Theognis' and as 'Phocylides': we should not infer that it occurred in both poets, but simply that people tended to muddle them. And when Phocylides is dated as *σύγχρονος Θεόγνιδος*, we must suspect that this was a guess based on nothing more than the similar tendency of their work, for certainly neither named the other.¹

Phocylides' maxims, like Theognis', have a nominal addressee (3.8 Bgk. *φίλ' ἑταίρε*), but they are clearly intended to be of general utility; Dio *loc. cit.* represents him as giving advice *τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ἰδιώταις*. They differ from Theognis' in being in hexameters, not elegiacs.² They were not, therefore, sung to the aulos at symposia, as Theognis expects his verses to be (237-43), but recited.³ Whatever kind of occasion is to be imagined, it seems likely that they were recited not as isolated apophthegms of two or three lines but in connected series, as they were later to be found in books.

¹ *Suda*, from Hesychius of Miletus. Cf. my *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (1974) 65 f.

² They are collected in Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, ii 68-72; Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.* i, i 57-60. I follow Bergk's numbering. The evidence that Phocylides also wrote elegiacs is unreliable; see my *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, ii 93, and *Studies* 171.

³ Chamailleon fr. 28 Wehrli (Ath. 620c) knows of performers who sang (*μελωδεῶν*) οὐ μόνον τὰ Ὀμήρου ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ἀρχιλόχου, ἐπεὶ δὲ Μυμνέρμου καὶ Φωκυλίδου. These were presumably citharodes who had lost the art of composing for themselves; see CQ xxi (1971) 307 ff.

This point requires amplification. It appears at first sight to be in flat contradiction to the testimony of Dio of Prusa xxxvi 11 f.:

καὶ τῆς τοῦ Φωκυλίδου ποιήσεως ἕξαστί σοι λαβεῖν δείγμα ἐν βραχεῖ· καὶ γὰρ ἔστιν οὐ τῶν μακρὰν τινα καὶ συνεχῆ ποιῆσαι εἰρόντων, ὥσπερ ὁ ὑμέτερος [Homer] μίαν ἕξῃς διέξεισι μάχην ἐν πλείοσιν ἢ πεντακισχιλίοις ἔπεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύο καὶ τρία ἔπη αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρχὴν ἢ ποιήσεις καὶ πέρασ λαμβάνει. ὥστε καὶ προστίθεισι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον διανόημα, ἅτε σπουδαῖον καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἡγούμενος.

What Dio found in his Phocylides was a sequence of short, apparently independent items, marked off one from another by the phrase *καὶ τότε Φωκυλίδεω* which appears in four of our fragments. But they stood together in one book, and there is no reason to suppose it was any different with the Phocylides known to Isocrates and Plato. It is not hard to imagine a fifth-century schoolmaster reciting such a Phocylides to his class and hearing them recite it back; or a rhapsode giving a recital of Phocylides' collected wisdom in the same catalogue form.

I suspect that it was intended as a coherent composition from the start. It is usually thought that the purpose of the *καὶ τότε Φωκυλίδεω* was to label each separate utterance in the hope of preventing misappropriation—the kind of misappropriation that Theognis alludes to in 19-23, and that Thestorides of Phocaea is said to have practised with certain poems of Homer.⁴ But it must have been obvious to anyone who thought twice about it that such a device offered no protection whatever. A plagiarist had only to substitute his own name, or, if that could not be fitted in, some other phrase such as *εἰδ' μοι φράζεσθαι*. It is further to be noted that *καὶ τότε* places each item so introduced in relationship to others already given. The particle itself implies, not a wholly independent utterance, but an addition to a series.

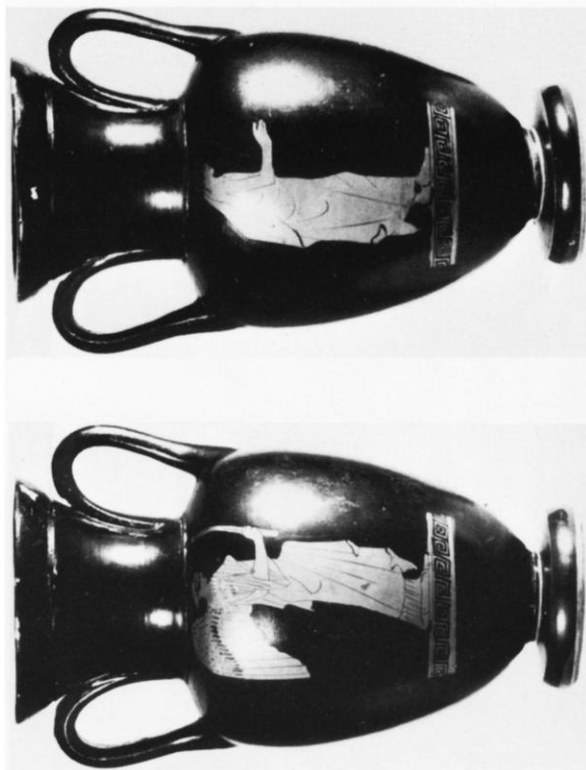
Phocylides is named not merely to give credit where it is due but to lend authority to the precepts; I think we may take it as axiomatic, whenever precepts are presented in association with a name, that such is the intention. If we look about in the field of gnomic and didactic literature without limiting our gaze to classical Greece,⁵ we see that it is usual for the source of the advice to be identified, whether as a god, a king, some other respected personage, or simply an anonymous wise man. It is a feature of some texts that we are reminded of this source repeatedly. Two thousand years before Phocylides, a Sumerian poet composed the *Instructions of Šuruppak*, in which the antediluvian sage Šuruppak was represented as instructing his son Ziusudra.⁶ The line

šuruppak dumu na na-mu-ri
'Šuruppak gave instructions to his son',

⁴ Ps.-Hdt. *vit. Hom.* 15-17. Much has been written on the supposed device of the *sphragis*, a pseudo-technical term constructed on a misinterpretation of Thgn. 19 and idle speculation about the meaning of *sphragis* as a part of the citharodic nome (Poll. iv 66). Poets mention their own names for a variety of reasons. To put all such mentions under the single heading *sphragis* is to succumb to that love of formulaic labels that so often serves as a curb to thought. J. Geffcken, *Gr. Literaturgeschichte* i (Anmerkungen) 96 n. 2 diagnoses Phocylides' repetition of his name as a 'Mangel an Originalität'.

⁵ I have made a short survey of this literature, with particular emphasis on the ancient Near East, in the introduction to my edition of Hesiod's *Works and Days* (Oxford 1978).

⁶ B. Alster, *The Instructions of Šuruppak* (Copenhagen 1974); *Studies in Sumerian Proverbs* (Copenhagen 1975).



(a)-(b) Nike and youth on Richmond Painter vase, Dunedin E48.68.



(c) Hand of youth on Richmond Painter vase, Dunedin E48.68.



(d)-(e) Attic Black-figured skyphos by the KX Painter, GR 126.1892: (d) side view B, dancing komasts, and (e) view of handle zone (Courtesy, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.)

A VASE PAINTER IN DUNEDIN? (a-c)
THE CAMBRIDGE SKYPHOS BY THE KX PAINTER (d-e)