

GORGOS' CUP: AN ESSAY IN CONNOISSEURSHIP*

(PLATES III–IX)

IN 1954 a small red-figured cup was found in the Athenian Agora.¹ Its style of drawing resembles that of one of the greatest Athenian vase-painters—the Berlin Painter, active shortly before 500 BC to around 460 BC. Any of his vases, newly discovered, excites scholarly interest; if the vase is possibly his earliest, and a shape which he is not known previously to have decorated, interest is very great. Martin Robertson, to whom this article is affectionately dedicated, argued persuasively for an attribution of the cup to the Berlin Painter.² Sir John Beazley agreed, although with reservations.³ The cup has continued to attract attention and provoke controversy:⁴ no one denies a close connection with the Berlin Painter but some feel that the stylistic similarities are not sufficiently compelling to attribute the cup firmly to his hand. The cup is, therefore, an excellent example of the difficulties inherent in connoisseurship.

My interest in the Berlin Painter was deepened by preparing for publication drawing (PLATES VI*d*, VII*c–d*) which Beazley 'traced' off more than fifty of the artist's vases. *The Berlin Painter* (Oxford 1983) presents Beazley's Berlin Painter. It attempts to show how Beazley looked at the painter's vases and what criteria he valued most highly in their attribution; it does not enter into the controversy over Gorgos' cup or other vases of the artist's earliest years whose attributions have been questioned. Elsewhere⁵ I discuss connoisseurship in Greek vase-painting; here my purpose is an explanation of method. My 'conclusion'—that the Berlin Painter probably did not decorate Gorgos' cup—is relatively unimportant.

I. THE CONNOISSEURSHIP OF GREEK VASES

In Greek vase-painting, as in free painting of the Renaissance and later, attribution can at times assume such importance that it appears to be synonymous with connoisseurship instead of being one aspect of it. Beazley's remarkable success in assigning vases to artists has encouraged the belief that all figured Greek vases can, and ought to be, attributed. In fact, Beazley left many

* Bernard Ashmole, John Boardman, Herbert Cahn, Hugh Lloyd-Jones, and Martin Robertson read the article in an earlier version. The Editor suggested that I publish the first part of that version, which considers connoisseurship in Greek vase-painting, in a journal of broader art-historical coverage. It will appear in *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*. I should like to give special thanks to Mrs Rhys Townsend, Secretary of the Agora Excavations, for xeroxes of Beazley's correspondence on the cup. Beazley apparently did not handle the cup in Athens but worked from photographs of it.

The following abbreviations are used:

Berl. (1930): J. D. Beazley, *Der Berliner Maler* (Berlin 1930)

Berl. (1974): *id.*, *The Berlin Painter* (Mainz 1974)

Berl. (Melbourne): *id.*, *The Berlin Painter* (Melbourne 1961)

Berl. Drawings: D. C. Kurtz, *The Berlin Painter* (Oxford 1983)

FR: A. Furtwangler, K. Reichhold *et al.*, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich 1904–32)

Langlotz: (Graef) and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (Berlin 1925–33)

Para.: *Paralipomena* (Oxford 1971)

VA: J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge, Mass. 1918)

¹ *Hesp.* xxiv (1955) 64–5.

² *AJA* lxii (1958) 55–66.

³ *ARV*² 214.

⁴ Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases* (London 1975) 35, placed it in the following of the Pioneers. Carol Cardon, *The Berlin Painter and his School* (PhD thesis, New York 1977), left it unassigned; later, *AJA* lxxxiii (1979) 169–73, she proposed a new artist—the Gorgos Painter. Martin Robertson has now withdrawn his attribution (Robertson, forthcoming). After I completed this article (summer 1980) Gloria Pinney sent me 'The Nonage of the Berlin Painter', *AJA* lxxxv (1981) 145–58, in which she argued for an attribution to the Berlin Painter whose earliest work she identified with cups which Beazley had assigned to the Carpenter and HP painters. I have worked exclusively with vases which Beazley assigned to the Berlin Painter; I have, therefore, excluded many of the vases discussed by Dr Pinney and our conclusions are inevitably very different.

⁵ See above, title note *

vases unassigned, and many of these are masterpieces.⁶ Attribution is a personal appraisal:

I neither expect that all my attributions will be unhesitatingly accepted, nor wish that they should. Some of them will be self-evident, most of them require to be studied and checked.⁷

One looks at an object through one's own eyes and subconsciously applies criteria for judging it. Bernard Berenson wrote:

. . . Morellianism might be expected to come to our aid, for it is only a more refined and subtler archaeology than we have yet made use of. It is, however, so delicate an instrument, requiring from him who uses it such natural skill, and such elaborate training, that, more often than not, it bends and twists in the hand that wields it, and in some mysterious way blinds and stupifies the practitioner.
Three Essays in Method (Oxford 1927) 83

The method used by Berenson and Beazley was introduced by Giovanni Morelli almost a century ago.⁸ Morelli wrote about 'a language which expresses itself in form' and urged aspiring connoisseurs of Italian paintings to learn the forms characteristic of each artist in order to recognize his work.

It is not as easy as might be supposed to recognize the forms characteristic of each painter, and in order to learn to see correctly the eye must be trained by long and constant practice.

Italian Painters—Critical Studies of their Works (London 1907) ii 3

Beazley's unqualified success, essentially unchallenged authority, and general reluctance to explain in print how he looked at vases, concealed the subtleties—and perils—of attribution from many classical archaeologists who now expect an attribution from any 'vase specialist'. They also tend to over-estimate the value of attribution, as do many 'vase specialists'. The greatest tribute to Beazley's stylistic work on Greek vases is that it is possible for others, after long familiarity with the vases, to recognize the artistic personalities he identified and to appreciate his criteria for attribution. In preparing his drawings from Berlin Painter vases for publication, I was working with more than eighty figures of various sizes and quality from all phases of the artist's long career. These pencilled drawings record both the black relief lines and those painted in dilute brown: they enable us to see, more clearly than we could on even the finest photograph, those renderings which distinguish an artist's hand. I would like to apply to Gorgos' cup the familiarity with the Berlin Painter gained from studying the drawings, and also a knowledge of human anatomy which, like Morelli, I acquired from studying with clinicians over many years. Five of the nine human figures on the cup are nude males with a wealth of inner detail, finely painted, describing musculo-skeletal features. In Athenian vase-painting the human body, naked and clothed, is the single most important subject; a knowledge of its form is, therefore, essential to stylistic analysis.

II. GORGOS' CUP

The cup is small and not quite canonical in shape.⁹ Gorgos' name, which is painted in red letters around the figure in the tondo of the cup (PLATE IIIa), is otherwise unknown among the artisans of the Athenian Kerameikos. We can suspect, but have no positive assurance, that special

⁶ The proportion of red-figured cups of the late archaic period left unassigned by Beazley is very large. Excellent pieces, roughly contemporary with ours, stand alone, or nearly so. For example, the Gotha cup (*ARV*² 20. *CVA* i pls 42 and 43.1–3); Sosias' (Berlin 2278. *ARV*² 21.2. FR pl. 123); Athens, Ephoria Gamma, A 5040 (E. Serbeti, "Ἐρυθρόμορφη κύλικα ἀπὸ τῆν ὁδοῦ Λέκκα", *Stele*, Fests. N. Kondoleon [Athens 1980] 321–7 and pls 146–7); and Athens 1666

(*ARV*² 1567.13. *CVA* i pls 4–5) about which Beazley wrote (*ARV*² 1568): 'The cup was attributed to Douris, as an early work, in *ARV*¹ (218 no. 25), but was always hard to place in the list.'

⁷ *VA* p. v.

⁸ See above, title note *.

⁹ Robertson, (n. 2) 55–6, describes the shape, technique and figure-style of the cup. I have not felt it necessary to repeat these details.

features are due to his hand. There is no patternwork, but the figure decoration is rich. Inside, within a tondo defined by a thin band reserved in the clay, a youth crouches with a hare. On the exterior eight human figures and one animal rest on a thin reserved ground-line which encircles the lower bowl (A: fight, Achilles and Memnon, PLATE IV; B: Dionysos with maenad and satyrs, PLATE IIIb). A thin reserved band, encircling the exterior of the lip, balances and frames the figure composition. The vertical surface of the disc member of the foot and its horizontal resting surface are reserved, as are the insides of the handles and the area between the handle joins. The figures are broadly outlined by a thick contour band,¹⁰ and given further definition by the wiry black relief line. Dilute brown paint is used extensively for details of anatomy, and more selectively, for drapery. In broader washes it is applied to the tondo youth's side-whiskers and to the pelt of the animal which he holds. Incision is used for the outline of the hair of all the human figures; also, exceptionally,¹¹ for a guide line under the handles. Thick strokes of black paint are used for the frontal tail of the satyr, the shaggy part of the goat's skin, and for Memnon's beard. There is a small amount of added red paint for details like wreaths and head bands, and for the letters of the inscriptions. In addition to the maker signature in the tondo, large letters, set just below the reserved part of the lip, proclaim *KPATEΣ* (side A) *KΑΙΙΟΣ* (side B). Krates is praised for his beauty on three other red-figure cups of about this date, and one of them (PLATE VIg) has been connected stylistically with Gorgos' cup.¹²

The general schemes for the disposition of the figures and for the rendering of their anatomy and drapery give a date in Athenian red-figure of about 500 BC. This is the time when the 'Pioneers'—artists like Phintias, Euthymides and Euphronios—had already experimented with the disposition of the human body in space, and explored the rendering of its anatomy, and younger men—like the 'pot painters', the Berlin and Kleophrades painters, and 'cup painters', like Onesimos—were just beginning to develop their styles.¹³ One observes among these younger men a tendency to specialize in cup or pot, although the two are not mutually exclusive (earlier the Pioneers had decorated both, although pots are far more numerous).¹⁴ A few cups by the Kleophrades Painter have long been known,¹⁵ but until the discovery of Gorgos' cup, no vase of the shape by the Berlin Painter was known. This is significant because the Berlin Painter's work is exceptionally well preserved and has been studied in greater detail by Beazley and others than any other Attic vase-painter's. Not long after the discovery of Gorgos' cup another was found in the Athenian Agora.¹⁶ Beazley entered it in the Berlin Painter's list and commented on the patternwork: 'not the least like the Berlin Painter's'.¹⁷ This cup has attracted little attention, and its attribution has not been publicly questioned. I cannot see the Berlin Painter's hand on the fragment which preserves part of the hips, groin and lower limbs of a nude youth, nor can Martin Robertson. Dyfri Williams has recently assigned it to the Foundry Painter.

In addition to shape and patternwork, the technique of the decoration is an important consideration when studying a figured Greek vase. Gorgos' cup presents two highly significant aberrations from the Berlin Painter's practice: the relief line is used throughout to give the figures greater definition (the Berlin Painter is sparing in use of the relief line for contour¹⁸) and incision for the outline of the human hair (which the Berlin Painter regularly reserves¹⁹). The

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 55–6.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 55.

¹² Florence 5 B 1. *ARV²* 1590.1 (Krates). *CVA* i pl. 5.47. Beazley, *Campana Fragments in Florence* (Oxford 1933) pl. 5.1. Robertson (n. 2) 56–7 gives reasons for attributing the Florence fragment to the Berlin Painter. I can see some points of similarity, but would be reluctant to associate the fragment with Gorgos' cup. See also Cardon, *art. cit.* (n. 4) 172.

¹³ Stylistic trends at this time have been reviewed by Beazley, *VA* 27–8, and more recently by Boardman (n. 4) 29–31, 89–91.

¹⁴ Euphronios: *ARV²* 13–7, 1619, 1705. *Para.*

321–2. Phintias: *ARV²* 23–5, 1620, 1700. *Para.* 323. Euthymides: *ARV²* 26–9, 1620–1. *Para.* 323–4.

¹⁵ *ARV²* 191–2, nos 103–7.

¹⁶ Athens, Agora, P 26245, fr. *ARV²* 214.243. *Hesp.* xxviii (1959) pl. 22a, c, and p. 106 n. 43 (in which Beazley's letter of 13 October 1958 is cited; legs are said to be in the style of the Berlin Painter, but not the black navel line).

¹⁷ *ARV²* 214.

¹⁸ *Berl.* (1930) 2; *Berl.* (Melbourne) 6. Very early and on small scale, however, the use of relief contour can be more extensive. See also Robertson (n. 47 below) 23.

¹⁹ *Berl. Drawings* 21.

draughtsmanship, upon which interest has tended to focus, also reveals renderings which are not characteristic of the Berlin Painter.

If the shape and technique present evidence against an attribution to the Berlin Painter, why did Beazley consider Robertson's suggestion, and in the end accept it? The design is like the Berlin Painter's and the collective impression of most details of draughtsmanship is more like his than any other painter's now known to us. There is, furthermore, the acknowledged difficulty of charting an artist's earliest years, when the influences of his teachers can still be detected in his developing style. The Berlin Painter's teachers are thought to have been Phintias and Euthymides, and his earliest work could be expected to betray their influence. A notable aspect of Beazley's Berlin Painter is his nebulous earliest phase; before looking at the figures on the cup, we need, therefore, to review the evolution of Beazley's Berlin Painter.

III. BEAZLEY'S 'EARLY' BERLIN PAINTER

In 1911 Beazley introduced the 'master of the Berlin amphora', assigned 38 vases to his hand, identified 29 school-pieces, and listed characteristic renderings.²⁰ In 1918 the number of assigned vases was increased, some of the school-pieces were given to the master, and his teachers were sought in Euthymides and Phintias.²¹ In 1922 his style of drawing was analysed more fully,²² and in the lists of *Attische Vasenmalerei* (1925) 148 vases were assigned,²³ one of which (a kalpis in New York, PLATE VIIa) was called 'Frühwerk';²⁴ this is the first published chronological tag on a vase by the painter. About the early years Beazley wrote:

Aus dem Kreis des Phintias und des Euthymides hervorgegangen; Vorgänger seiner Manier die oben erwähnten Peliken in Wien [PLATE Va-b] und Florenz [PLATE Vc-d].²⁵

And he recognized a related artist:

Nereusmaler. Nachdem ich die schöne Wiener Hydria gesehen habe, scheint es mir kaum mehr möglich, sie von den Werken des Berliner Malers zu trennen. Damit wird aber die Möglichkeit gegeben, dass der «Nereusmaler» nur eine Phase des Berliner Malers ist. Sicherheit würde die Aberdeener Hydria bringen, die ich bisher nur aus schlechten Photographien kenne.

In the publication of the vases in Castle Ashby (1929),²⁷ where some additions to the painter's lists are made, the identity of the two artists is confirmed. Beazley later had doubts,²⁸ but in the end retained the vases to which he gave the tag 'Early', not 'Very early'.²⁹

Der Berliner Maler (1930) briefly describes some of the painter's vases without significantly adding to the descriptions of his style of draughtsmanship given in 1922 and 1911. Throughout the essay there is mention of the chronological order of the artist's works, and tags ranging from 'Very early' to 'Very late' are given to virtually all of the 215 assigned vases appended to the end of the essay.³⁰ Five are called 'Very early' in the text:

Eines oder zwei der genannten Stücke nehmen als besonders früh eine Sonderstellung ein: die Hydria in New York [PLATE VIIa], die panathenäische Amphora München 2310 [PLATE VIa-d] die Volutenkratere in Cambridge [PLATE VIIIa-d] und Leipzig [PLATE VIIIe], ein Fragment im Louvre [PLATE IXa].³¹

²⁰ *JHS* xxxi (1911) 276-95.

²¹ *VA* 38.

²² *JHS* xlii (1922) 70-98.

²³ Beazley, *Attische Vasenmalerer* (Leipzig 1925) 76-88, 469.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 84.102. See also below, n. 66.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 64.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 471. See also below, n. 78.

²⁷ *PBSR* xi (1929) 20-1.

²⁸ Robertson (n. 47) 28-9 reviews changes in attributions of these vases.

²⁹ Beazley's alteration to the chronological classification within a painter's work seems less common than reattributions.

³⁰ *Berl.* (1930) 8-14.

³¹ *Ibid.* 14. The 1974 English edn of the text incorporates the revisions of the 1944 unpublished typescript. See below.

In the list that follows the essay two more vases are cited as possibly 'Very early'—a fragmentary calyx-crater recently found at Corinth, about which Beazley had incomplete information,³² and a heavily restored kalpis, formerly in the Holford collection in London.³³ In the typescript revision of *Der Berliner Maler* (1944), in the Ashmolean Library, only three vases are called 'Very early', and in the text Beazley says:

A few of these stand out as especially early: the calyx-crater in Corinth, the New York kalpis, the panathenaic amphora Munich 2310.³⁴

These changes to the lists reflect the publication, in 1942, of *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* in which 212 vases are assigned to the painter;³⁵ they also indicate that Beazley's criteria for judging the painter's 'Very early' period had undergone some change.³⁶ In the 1942 publication the 'Vienna Painter' is detached from Euthymides, recognized as a distinct personality, and assigned pelikai in Vienna (PLATE Va–b) and Florence (PLATE Vc–d), with which a fragmentary skyphos from the Athenian Acropolis (PLATE Ve) is compared.³⁷ The 'Nereus Painter' has dropped out. Gorgos' cup is added, without number, to the list of painter's vases in the 1957 typescript revision of *Der Berliner Maler* (Ashmolean Library);³⁸ the Vienna and Florence pelikai are added and numbered.³⁹ These adjustments to the lists reflect Martin Robertson's publication in 1950 on the 'Origins' of the Berlin Painter, and his article on Gorgos' cup which would be published within the year (see below). The lists of the second edition (1963) of *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*⁴⁰ retain the three 'Very early' pieces of the 1942 list, incorporate the two vases of the old 'Vienna Painter' and the Acropolis skyphos as 'Very early', and the Gorgos cup with the exceptionally full entry:

Miss Talcott saw that this cup was curiously close, in many respects, to the Berlin Painter, and she suggested that it might be from his hand, his earliest extant work. This view has been persuasively argued by Martin Robertson, and should, I think, be accepted. There are differences which made me hesitate, but the resemblances are so great as to outweigh them.⁴¹

Beazley's final published word on the painter is the Melbourne lecture of 1964, *The Berlin Painter*, in which the Gorgos cup figures prominently:

. . . of the many vases by the Berlin Painter, only one, as we shall see, is a cup,⁴² and that, though most probably, is not certainly his . . .⁴³

. . . I am much inclined to accept it. There are great differences, but the resemblances appear to outweigh them.⁴⁴

. . . The heads are not like the Berlin Painter; but the attitudes and the details of the bodies, especially in Achilles and Memnon, are very like those that we know from him.⁴⁵

He concludes his discussion: "The Gorgos cup has taken us into rather choppy sea."⁴⁶

To review the painter's earliest years as seen by Beazley: criteria for distinguishing the earliest phase changed between 1930 and 1942 (when the volute-craters in Cambridge [PLATE VIIIa–d], Leipsic [PLATE VIIIe], and Paris (PLATE IXa) were shifted from 'Very early' to 'Early'),

³² *Berl.* (1930) 18, after entry no. 88. See also below, n. 65.

³³ *Ibid.* 20, no. 130. Martin Robertson tells me that this vase is now in San Simeon and was reassigned by Beazley to the area of the Diogenes Painter (*ARV*² 248.3).

³⁴ P. 6.

³⁵ *ARV*¹ 131–46 and p. 952.

³⁶ The three volute-craters in the 1930 lists which are later shifted to the painter's 'Early' period are: Cambridge 5.1952. *ARV*² 206.127 (PLATE VIIIa–e); Leipsic T 762, fr. *ARV*² 206.128 (PLATE VIII f); Louvre, Cp 10799 and part of G 166, fr. *ARV*² 206.130 (PLATE IXa).

³⁷ *ARV*¹ 27.

³⁸ P. 58.

³⁹ Pp. 23–4.

⁴⁰ *ARV*² 196–214, 1633–5, 1700–1. *Para.* 341–5, 510.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 213–14, no. 242.

⁴² The second cup (see above, n. 16), known since 1958, is not mentioned.

⁴³ *Berl.* (Melbourne) 1.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 12.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 12.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 13.

and Martin Robertson's suggestions for attributions of the Vienna Painter's vases and Gorgos' cup were accepted.

Robertson's 1950 'Origins of the Berlin Painter'⁴⁷ presents arguments for equating the Berlin and Vienna painters. In particular, the mantled youth (PLATE VIIIb) on the reverse of the volute-crater in Cambridge (which Robertson calls 'Very early'⁴⁸) is compared with the mantled youth standing behind Theseus (PLATE Vc) on the Vienna Painter's pelike in Florence:

In view of the close resemblance of our youth to the young Athenian on the Florence pelike, it seems worth considering whether these splendid vases may not in fact be masterpieces of the Berlin Painter's extreme youth.⁴⁹

Robertson briefly considers other early vases, including the hydriai of the old Nereus Painter, and suggests a tentative chronological order. 'The Gorgos Cup'⁵⁰ of 1958 both describes the new vase in considerable detail and returns to the problem of ordering the painter's earliest works. Nineteen are listed,⁵¹ three of which Beazley left unassigned in the lists of 1963: a white-rimmed plate in Boston with a Nereid in a style which he called Euthymidean;⁵² a cup fragment in Florence preserving part of a satyr and the love name Krates (PLATE VIg);⁵³ a cup in Athens signed by Phintias as maker with a handsome youthful warrior crouching in the tondo.⁵⁴ Robertson's ordering of the other sixteen vases differs from Beazley's. The kalpis in New York (PLATE VIIa), which Beazley called 'Very early' in 1918,⁵⁵ and listed as such in 1925,⁵⁶ is placed ninth (after several vases which Beazley called 'Early'⁵⁷); hydriai of the old Nereus Painter (which Beazley called 'Early', while admitting some stylistic peculiarities⁵⁸) are placed before the Vienna Painter's pelikai which Beazley incorporated as 'Very early' (PLATES Va-d); the fragmentary calyx-crater from Corinth (PLATE VIIb; recognized by Beazley to be 'Very early' as soon as it was properly available for study) is put towards the end of the list (16th); the Cambridge volute-crater (which had been shifted to 'Early' by Beazley before 1942 (PLATE VIIIa-d) is 18th, and 19th is the Panathenaic in Munich (PLATE VIa-d) which Beazley dated close to the New York kalpis (PLATE VIIa) in 1918,⁵⁹ officially listed 'Very early' in 1930, and later cited as characteristic of the artist's earliest work.⁶⁰ In view of these differences it might be helpful to pick out the characteristic features of Beazley's three 'Very early' vases, and to compare them with details of draughtsmanship on the Vienna Painter's vases and Gorgos' cup.⁶¹

Beazley's three 'Very early' vases are the Munich Panathenaic (PLATE VIa-d), Corinth calyx-crater (PLATE VIIb) and New York kalpis (PLATE VIIa). The Panathenaic, although somewhat damaged,⁶² preserves the greater part of two nude males, one in profile (reverse) and the other in composite frontal and profile views (obverse). They are tall, slim youths, drawn with 'a certain hardness in the strokes';⁶³ lines are surely and carefully placed; there is a feeling of sparseness and, at the same time, of decisiveness. The system of renderings is 'canonical' (by which I mean it is wholly intelligible in terms of the painter's later work). The forehead-nose

⁴⁷ *JHS* lxx (1950) 23-34.

⁴⁸ Cambridge 5.1952. *ARV*² 206.127. Robertson tells me that he still considers the vase very early.

⁴⁹ Robertson (n. 47) 28.

⁵⁰ Cited in n. 2.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 63-4.

⁵² Boston 00.325. *ARV*² 30. L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 1 (Oxford 1931) pl. 2.3.

⁵³ Florence 5 B 1. See n. 12.

⁵⁴ Athens 1628. *ARV*² 25.1 (alpha). Pfuhl fig. 386. See below, n. 100.

⁵⁵ *VA* 35.

⁵⁶ Beazley (n. 23) 84, 102.

⁵⁷ Boston 03.838, fr. *ARV*² 209.162; Louvre, Cp 10799 and part G 166, fr. *ARV*² 206.130; Leipsic T 762, fr. *ARV*² 206.128.

⁵⁸ See n. 27.

⁵⁹ *VA* 39.

⁶⁰ *Berl.* (1930) 16, no. 4; *Berl.* (Melbourne) 4.

⁶¹ When I had completed this essay, Martin Robertson gave me the typescript of his chapter on the Berlin Painter's style of drawing for a monograph with Carol Cardon, in which he has retracted some of the pieces from the 1958 list and substantially altered the chronological order of many of the others.

⁶² Munich 2310. *ARV*² 197.6. Beazley's drawing (*Berl. Drawings* 64, pls 2, 37b-c) of the figure on the reverse displays some deviations from the present figure. The painter's canon is described in *Berl. Drawings* 18-46, with anatomical drawings and a Glossary of anatomical terms.

⁶³ *Berl.* (Melbourne) 4.

line is straight. A small black hook marks the wing of the nose. The line of the mouth is straight. The chin is full and the lower jaw is prominent. There are two brown lines in the neck (the anterior curvature of which is slightly concave). The clavicles are black, and they hook tightly at the pit of the neck. The midline over the sternum and the lower boundary of the pectoral muscles are both black. A triangular interspace overlies the pit of the stomach and the nipples are rendered as six dot rosettes. Brown lines define details of the deltoid's musculature (deltoideopectoral line, and fullness arcs above it) and a small arc the impression which this muscle's insertion creates about one third of the length along the upper arm. Opposed brown arcs define contours of biceps and triceps, a small brown arc the tip of the elbow, three or more straightish lines the forearm's musculature. On the thumb-side one of these lines curves towards the bend of the arm. In the trunk, loops effect the transition from the chest, ovoids approximate to the surface reliefs of rectus abdominis (all of these in brown), doubled black arcs on the chest wall the interdigitations of serratus anterior with external oblique, and a black line on either side on the chest wall, above the doubled arcs, the reliefs of latissimus dorsi. In the (profile) hip, a sinuously curving black line stylizes the relief of the flank region, and a small triangular area towards the groin represents the depression over the anterior superior iliac spine. In the (profile) thigh there is a calyciform stylization over the greater trochanter, with a 'stem' line approximating to the lateral furrow of the thigh, and slightly curving lines anteriorly and posteriorly corresponding to the surface reliefs of quadriceps and the hamstrings respectively. (In the frontal thigh two looping lines define quadriceps.) All of these lines are brown, as are those in the knee and lower leg, except the two black lines at the ankle. In the frontal leg the kneecap, the subcutaneous anterior border of the tibia, and the frontal toes are painted in black; black arcs for other muscular features of the lower leg are painted in dilute. The frontal knee and lower leg have the kneecap and subcutaneous anterior border of the tibia in black, and black arcs for the frontal toes; brown lines describe the other muscular features of the lower leg.

I take to be characteristically 'Very early', in Beazley's classification, the hardness of the strokes, the strained pose (especially of the obverse figure,⁶⁴ and his uncertain ponderation), the stylization and precision of, for example, the profile flank line and hip, the great loops in the frontal thigh, the arcs in the frontal ankle and the tendons in the frontal foot.

The Corinth crater fragment (PLATE VIIb) preserves part of the head, face, shoulders and upper arms of a warrior.⁶⁵ The lines are again fine, sure, and somewhat hard. The attention to detail is part of a carefully thought out, regular system, which can be paralleled readily in the painter's later work. The forehead-nose line is straight; the brow and eye are thin (the eye is dotted, as a sign of special care); there is a small black hook at the wing of the nose and the same lines define the musculature of the upper arms as on the Munich athletes. In addition, the sleeves of the chiton have a single button on each side, many evenly set and parallel black fold lines, and accessory brown fold lines on the underside of the material. The sleeve is rendered with great care without fussiness, and the fall of the material around the far side of the limb is natural. There is a feeling of grandeur that approaches the sculptural. The warrior is dying, losing his grip on his shield, but the agony of his death is indicated only by the parted lips and elevated pupil (like the New York Penthesilea, PLATE VIIa).

The kalpis in New York⁶⁶ on which Achilles strikes the Amazon queen Penthesilea exhibits

⁶⁴ Perhaps the more natural posture of the figure on the reverse initially kept Beazley from considering the vase 'Very early'.

⁶⁵ Corinth CP 436, fr. ARV² 205.115. Para. 342. *Hesp.* xxxv (1966) 312. Other crater fragments from Corinth, published by Boulter (*Hesp.* xxxv [1966] pl. 74), and some of which might belong to this crater are: Athena (in part—CP 2617, fr. ARV² 205.115 bis. Para. 344); helmet, crest and spear grasped by a hand (CP 1675, fr. ARV² 205.115 ter. Para. 344) and shin of a male (CP 1716, fr. ARV² 205.115 quater. Para. 344).

The countenance of the Corinth warrior may be compared with Aigisthos' on the Vienna pelike and Memnon's on the Gorgos cup. His armour may be compared with the similar treatment of the warrior's on the body of the Paris crater (see above, n. 92). The Corinth warrior may also be compared with another on a fragmentary crater in the Getty Museum (77AE.5.1-4, 6-7, 9-12) which will be published by Robertson in *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*.

⁶⁶ New York 10.210.19. ARV² 209.169. G. Richter and L. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropoli-*

the features of the other two vases, and many more, which is perhaps why Beazley felt an early confidence in assigning it to the painter's youth when the chronology of his career was still uncharted. The anatomical features of the Munich athletes are reproduced exactly. The shaft of Achilles' spear probably 'conceals' a sinuously curving flank. The bodies are elongated and incorrectly proportioned. The poses are sculptural yet rather lifeless. The contours are not angular, yet one would not say the defining line was fluid or that disposition of the body in space came easily to the artist. The drawing does not, however, reveal uncertainty about anatomy or drapery; in both the renderings are what one finds later in the painter's work—the straight forehead—nose line, thin brow and eye, nose wing, prominent lower jaw, curvature of the anterior line of the neck and the two lines within defining its musculature, the modelling of the breasts and nipples, the renderings of the frontal knee, thigh, lower leg and foot; the forms of the hands and feet; the neckline and sleeve of the chiton, engrailed (doubly), with single button hole, black fold lines and brown on the under side; the rising and falling hem-line, with the far side shown foldless; the decorative band whose course follows that of the rising and falling hem. These three vases share:

(1) regularity in the system of renderings corresponding closely to the Berlin Painter's later work and wholly intelligible in terms of it;⁶⁷

(2) clarity and simplicity in design and draughtsmanship;

(3) technical hardness, within a high level of competence;

(4) difficulty in disposing the body in space.

(3) and (4) I take to be evanescent manifestations of youth and inexperience, (1) and (2) features characteristic of the artist's personality discernible throughout his career.

IV. THE 'VIENNA PAINTER'

I shall now examine the pelikai in Vienna and Florence (PLATES *Va-d*) and the fragmentary skyphos from the Acropolis (PLATE *Ve*). If these (or if Gorgos' cup, to which I shall then return) are the Berlin Painter's, they ought to display (3) and (4)—possibly more prominently, if indeed they are even earlier works—and (1) and (2) no less prominently, unless the artist's personality has changed. This is possible, especially in a young man, but in the Berlin Painter it seems less likely because the very large number of vases, firmly assignable to him, span nearly forty years and are remarkably homogeneous in concept of design and system of forms.

The obverses (PLATES *Va, c*) of both pelikai are densely figured and amply patterned; the reverses (PLATES *Vb, d*) are more simply decorated and patterned. Physical contact between principals (Theseus and the Minotaur, Theseus and Skiron in Florence; Orestes and Aigisthos, Talhybios and Chrysothemis in Vienna) and gestures of the hand of secondary 'spectators'⁶⁸

tan Museum of Art (New York 1936) pl. 16.

⁶⁷ With the 'Very early' athletes on the Munich Panathenaic compare: 'Early' fine athletes on Panathenaics in the Vatican (*ARV*² 198.13. *Berl.* [1930, 1974] pl. 7.1) and in Munich (2313. *ARV*² 198.12. *Berl.* [1930, 1974] pl. 7.3); 'Early' smaller athlete on a Doubleen in Madrid (11114. *ARV*² 200.46. *Berl.* [1930, 1974] pl. 15.1. *Berl. Drawings* 74, pls 8, 43b); 'Middle' large komast on a neck-amphora in London (E 267. *ARV*² 199.28. *Berl.* [1930, 1974] pl. 17.2. *Berl. Drawings* 68, pls 4, 39d).

With the 'Very early' Achilles on the New York kalpis compare: 'Early' fine Apollo on a Panathenaic in Würzburg (500. *ARV*² 197.8. *Berl.* [1930, 1974] pl. 9.2, left); 'Early' more cursory satyr on a neck-amphora in New York (07.286.69. *ARV*² 201.70. *Berl.* [1930, 1974] pl. 15.2. *Berl. Drawings* 82, pls 13, 47c, e); 'Still early'

Ajax on a Doubleen in Madrid (11118. *ARV*² 200.50. *Berl.* [1930, 1974] pl. 18.1. *Berl. Drawings* 76, pls 9, 44a).

With the 'Very early' Penthesilea on the New York kalpis compare: 'Early' fine Medusa on a Panathenaic in Munich (2312. *ARV*² 199.11. *Berl.* [1930, 1974] pl. 9.1, right) for the bodice of the chiton; 'Early' Europa on a kalpis in Oxford (1927.4502. *ARV*² 210.172. *Berl.* [1930, 1974] pl. 23.2. *Berl. Drawings* 102, pls 29, 58a-b) for the skirt; 'Early' Polyxena on a kalpis in Leningrad (B200 (628) *ARV*² 210.174. *Berl.* [1930, 1974] pl. 24.1. *Berl. Drawings* 103-4, pls 30, 58c-d) for the bodice and skirt of chiton.

⁶⁸ Antecedents for the spectator figures can be found on slightly earlier vases like Euphronios' crater in the Louvre (G 103. *ARV*² 14.2. Pfuhl fig. 392). On a fragmentary loutrophoros from the Acropolis (636, fr. *ARV*² 25.1 (a). Langlotz pls 50-1) which Beazley

charge the atmosphere and impart a feeling of movement and vitality which is reinforced by postures and facial expressions⁶⁹ of the principals. Neither the design nor the content is exactly paralleled in the Berlin Painter's work. On the other hand, the technical competence, slim figures—which Beazley described in 1917 as less 'ample' than the Euthymidean they resembled⁷⁰—and some details of draughtsmanship, are nearer to the Berlin Painter's than to any other artist known at this time. There are, however, details which are sufficiently different from those on the three 'Very early' vases for the attribution not to be beyond question. As an example, let us return to the youth standing behind Theseus on the Florence pelike. Of the ten figures on the two pelikai he resembles the Berlin Painter's most closely. He is certainly very much like the youth on the reverse on the volute-crater in Cambridge (PLATE VIII*b*), but are they brothers? Both are tall and slim, and both are wearing a long mantle⁷¹ draped over the far shoulder so as to reveal the near one. Both are also, regrettably, incompletely preserved. The Cambridge youth's facial profile is just as the Munich athletes' (PLATE VI*a, b*), Corinth warrior's (PLATE VII*b*) and New York Achilles' (PLATE VII*a*): a straight forehead—nose line; full nose with rounded lobe and wing marked by a small black hook; full lower jaw, large in proportion to the rest of the face. Looking at the Florentine youth, we observe similar facial details (eye, brow, mouth line, nose wing) but different profile and proportions; the root of the nose is indented and the lower jaw is not prominent. The details of surface anatomy on both youths are few and incompletely preserved (we shall find better sources for anatomical comparisons on other figures on the pelike), but what remains on the Florentine is not incompatible with the Berlin Painter's system of forms. This is less true of drapery. The Berlin Painter's rendering of the male mantle figure (PLATES VII*c–d*, VIII*b*) profiles the near leg beneath the material and with few exceptions (until later in his career), permits three black lines over the near leg, and two over the far.⁷² The Florentine mantle seems to have been drawn to a different, well established, model; the rendering is neither incompetent nor indecisive.⁷³ The material clings to the instep of the advanced foot in tight folds, instead of falling freely over it in the Berlin Painter's manner. It also clings to the shoulders, instead of standing up in 'peaks', and to the abdomen and advanced leg, instead of modelling the body contours, but at the waist, it forms peaks with triangular folds in the Berlin Painter's manner: the latter, however, is not a rendering peculiar to him; Euthymides, for example, defines some folds similarly.⁷⁴

On the basis of the youth standing behind Theseus, the Florentine pelike is reassuringly similar to the Berlin Painter's type generally, but worryingly atypical in a few details which, to my eye, seem significant. It would take quite a long time to compare each of the ten figures with the Berlin Painter's, and the result would probably be inconclusive in the same fashion. For this reason I shall concentrate on features of anatomy and drapery which are shared by figures on both pelikai, and compare them with the Berlin Painter's.

described 'related to Phintias, and might be late work of his' there are similar ladies. Cardon would give the latter to the Berlin Painter but Robertson dissociates it, and corrects his earlier suggestion ([n.47] 32 n. 45) that these fragments and 766 (ARV² 25.2 (a)) might be from the same vase.

⁶⁹ See above n. 65.

⁷⁰ *JHS* xxxvii (1917) 236.

⁷¹ These approach the 'mantle figure'. See following note.

⁷² *Berl. Drawings* 48–51. 'Early' deviations are usually minor simplifications occasioned by small scale or haste. For the former compare the standing youths on the neck of the volute-crater in the Louvre (see below, n. 92): the near leg is profiled but there are three continuous black fold lines. These youths may be compared with those on the small neck-amphora in Oxford (see below, n. 94) whose mantles display the canonical fold-system and the additional brown fold-

lines reserved for special work which are also found on the Louvre crater. An 'Early' deviation occasioned by haste is, for example, the continuous fold-line in Demeter's mantle on a Nolan in Dresden (289. ARV² 201.69. *Berl. Drawings* 81–2, pls 13 and 47a). Less easily explained are the deviations on a large 'Early' neck-amphora in the Louvre (Cp 10841. ARV² 199.32), which is fragmentary and unpublished. There are numerous continuous black fold-lines, and between them brown fold-lines. The near leg is not profiled, and the hem-line is low. On the other hand, there are slight peaks in the material over the shoulders, possibly brown lines over the flexed near arm (judging from the absence of black lines here), and the hem does not cling to the instep of the advanced foot.

⁷³ Compare what seems to be another system, coherent but less accomplished, on the Acropolis loutrophoros cited above, n. 68.

⁷⁴ Compare Pfuhl figs 366, 368, 369.

There are three nude male figures on the Florence pelike (Minotaur, Theseus and Skiron) and one partly nude male (Aigisthos) on the Viennese, although on the latter both Orestes and Talthybios have largely bared upper and lower limbs. The limb musculature on these figures is generally similar to the Berlin Painter's, although there are renderings which I do not recognize as his: tendency towards straightness in all lines of the forearm; two brown lines in the lower leg contiguous and apparently continuous with those defining the ankle; Y-shaped configuration in the medial thigh; shape of the feet. The contours of the limbs are similar to the Berlin Painter's figures, but those of the nude trunk are much more supple.

Looking first at the chest, we notice the absence of the black midline over the sternum. In its place there are several brown lines, somewhat sketchily painted, giving an impression more of nature than of indecisiveness.⁷⁵ Brown lines continue from the hook of the clavicle towards the shoulder. There are renderings somewhat like these on vases by the Berlin Painter, but not on careful, fine works, and the painter's usual way of rendering the surface reliefs of the chest region is quite different.⁷⁶ Look at the Munich athletes (PLATE VIa-d) and New York Achilles (PLATE VIIa)—the black line over the sternum, triangular configuration below (over the pit of the stomach), rosette nipples, brown deltoideopectoral line and additional lines above to give fulness to deltoid, and on either side of the sternal line, to give fulness to pectoralis major. There are doubled arcs on the chest wall, suggesting the interdigitations of serratus anterior with external oblique, in the Berlin Painter's manner (a characteristic rendering, but not peculiar to him), and a black line for latissimus dorsi's relief. The abdominal musculature, as preserved, is similar, although the loops effecting the transition from the chest are not clearly visible. The navel is well defined in black paint; this is not the Berlin Painter's practice.⁷⁷ The frontal flanks are distinctive. The 'bulging' flank is common among the artists of the Pioneer period, but the Berlin Painter does not like it. His most nearly similar rendering, to my knowledge, occurs on the hydria in Aberdeen, which is certainly early, although not 'Very early' in Beazley's classification. The Aberdeen Peleus,⁷⁸ however, displays renderings in the trunk highly typical of the Berlin Painter (chest triangle, rosette nipples, loops between chest and abdomen) which are absent from the figures on the pelikai.

Drapery is less well represented on Beazley's three 'Very early' pieces than anatomy. On the Corinth crater (PLATE VIIb) the sleeves on the warrior's chiton are preserved,⁷⁹ and on the New York hydria (PLATE VIIa) the complete short chiton of Penthesilea. In the sleeves of both chitons there is a single, circular, button, from which the material splays naturally over the far side of the shoulder and hangs freely below so as to reveal the underside in which folds are drawn in brown. Folds on the exterior are drawn in black; the warrior's are evenly set parallels, terminating in a zigzag, whose under-surface is clearly defined. The edge of the Amazon's sleeve is doubly engrailed (as is the neckline) and the folds splay out over her breasts. Both systems are reproduced in the Berlin Painter's early and mature work of quality; on small, pedestrian, and late work they are simplified. The sleeves on the pelikai are broadly similar (Talthybios' is the most like) but the material generally clings (as the Florence youth's mantle), and the far and underside are less clearly defined. The simpler, rather angular, flat sleeves of Chrysothemis and the woman in the background in the Minotauromachy are not typical of the Berlin Painter. Chrysothemis' and Klytaimnestra's breasts are modelled beneath the drapery, but not as sensitively as the New York Amazon's. Their engrailed sleeves and neckline are popular with the Berlin Painter, but also with other painters.⁸⁰ Some details are familiar from the Berlin Painter

⁷⁵ Similarly realistic renderings of the surface features of the chest regions are not very common at this time. Compare a black-figure example, by the Madrid Painter—Herakles feasting, on a neck-amphora previously in Castle Ashby (ABV 329.5. CVA pl. 10.4).

⁷⁶ *Berl. Drawings* 23-4.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 24.

⁷⁸ Aberdeen 695. *ARV*² 209.164. *Berl. Drawings* 107, pls 31 and 59b.

⁷⁹ For other details preserved on fragments which may belong to this vase see n. 65.

⁸⁰ Euphronios: Pfuhl figs. 368, 369; Phintias: Pfuhl fig. 381; Euthymides: Pfuhl fig. 392.

(the skirts of the chiton, ear-rings, bracelets, diadem), others are less familiar (the necks of the Viennese, and the hair around Chrysothemis' ear).⁸¹

Additional features of the drapery on the pelikai can be mentioned more briefly; for example, the rendering of the long skirt and mantle of the female, and short chiton of the male. The long skirt clings to the limbs, and to the instep of the advanced foot (as the long mantle of the male). The contours of the advanced leg are not well modelled beneath the skirt; those of the trailing leg are, and the anterior profile is lined in black. The latter is a regular feature in the Berlin Painter's work, but also occurs earlier. There is a gathering of folds over Klytaimnestra's left shank; the Berlin Painter does not like to obscure the leg line beneath folds. The system of folds is much as his, including the decorative band at the calf, whose course follows that of the hem. The long mantle worn shawlwise is not fashionable for Berlin Painter women, although it was earlier, in the Pioneer period. The Aberdeen Thetis wears her mantle in this way; the principal difference is the draping at the nape of the neck, where there are substantial 'peaks' of material rising to frame the head. This type of rendering is retained by the painter for some time on fine work, even on very small scale; compare Thetis on the neck of the 'Early' volute-crater in London (PLATE IXb-d).⁸²

The Vienna Orestes and Talthybios, and Florence Theseus wear short chitons. The draping of material round Theseus' waist is more like that of Pioneer work than the Berlin Painter.⁸³ The fold system in the skirts is like his, but flatter and less curvaceous. Early the Berlin Painter likes to enliven material with billows and swirls, whether it hangs over the body or freely in space.

In conclusion, I find the style of drawing on the Vienna and Florence pelikai very like the Berlin Painter's in some respects,⁸⁴ and less like his in others. I also find that there are more divagations of a more variable type on them than on the three vases which Beazley considered 'Very early'.⁸⁵ If they are earlier than Beazley's three, a greater range of renderings could be explained by the inexperience and indecision of youth. But to my eye the pelikai are accomplished works which betray maturity and a well developed personality.⁸⁶ This artist can compress a densely figured, lively and emotionally charged scene into a frame with success. His foreshortening is not expert, but neither was anyone else's at this time. His most apparent weakness is rather shapeless drapery, but his fold systems are fully coherent. If this is the Berlin Painter in his youth, as it may well be, he began with a well formed style which he soon largely abandoned.

⁸¹ The rendering of the hair around Chrysothemis' ear is very unusual. Compare a somewhat similar rendering on a fragmentary loutrophoros from the Acropolis (636; see n. 68). Less close, but still similar is the rendering on an amphora by Euthymides in Munich (2309. *ARV*² 27.4. FR pl. 33). In the Berlin Painter's work the treatment of the strand of hair, echoing the hair mass, can be paralleled on a fragment of a crater in Winchester College (444, fr. *ARV*² 205.118. *Berl.* [1930, 1974] pl. 13.4).

⁸² London E 468. *ARV*² 206.132. *Berl.* (1930, 1974) pl. 30.1.

⁸³ Compare Phintias' rendering on the fragmentary volute-crater in Berlin (2181) and the Villa Giulia (fr.), *ARV*² 23.4. *JHS* xxxv (1925) 117, fig. 3. Also, on the fragmentary calyx-crater in Leningrad (1843. *ARV*² 23.5. FR 3, 234) and the Phintian cup in Athens (1628. *ARV*² 25.1 alpha. Pfuhl fig. 368).

⁸⁴ The red-figure florals above the figures on the obverses of the vases are in the Berlin Painter's manner. The nearest to their form, although not exactly the same, occurs on the fragmentary calyx-crater from Corinth (see n. 65) where the rendering is more detailed. The black florals above the figures on the reverses of the

vases are not in the painter's manner. On the latter see Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi* (Oxford 1975) 124 n. 7. See also Carol Cardon's discussion of the painter's florals, *J. Paul Getty Mus. J.* vi-vii (1978-9) 135. Regina Becker, *Formen attischer Peliken* (Tübingen 1977) 5, 7, 98, has shown that the two pelikai go together in shape and are probably by the same potter. They follow closely on the Pioneer sequence and stand apart from the other pelikai decorated by the Berlin Painter.

⁸⁵ Compare Robertson's criteria (n. 2) 63.

⁸⁶ If the Vienna Painter is distinct from the Berlin Painter, it might prove possible in the future to associate other vases with him, but I would not see the Acropolis skyphos (454, fr. *ARV*² 213.242. Langlotz pl. 38) in this position. Carol Cardon, *art. cit.* (n. 4) 170, has compared the flanking female figures on the obverse of the Vienna pelike with the Nereid on the unassigned plate in Boston (see above, n. 52). Martin Robertson (Robertson, forthcoming) has pointed out that the 'ghost' on the Vienna pelike came from another vase by the same hand which sat next to it in the kiln. He has also observed that stylistically the hydriai of the old 'Nereus Painter' are close to the pelikai.

The fragmentary skyphos from the Acropolis (PLATE V*e*) is more difficult to judge because so little remains: the heads of a male and female, part of a finial on a chair (presumably throne, therefore deities); and part of, presumably, one figure's fingers. The fragment has floated with the pelikai, as much for date and high quality as for close stylistic similarities. These people have rather thin noses with the root slightly indented, well formed eyes with lachrymal ducts and lashes (rather more like some Phintian than Euthymidean people), an irregular mouth line terminating in a vertical line at the fossette, and, apparently, a weaker chin.⁸⁷ The outline of the hair is reserved, in the Berlin Painter's manner, and the dots of relief⁸⁸ for the male forehead hair, and the 'blond' female hair can be paralleled in his work, but these faces set beside his create a different impression. The skyphos must have been a grand vase, but I do not see the Berlin Painter's hand on it.

We have looked at the three vases which Beazley long considered 'Very early' and compared the renderings on them with those on the pelikai and skyphos. I have given reasons for examining the pelikai more closely before attributing them firmly to the Berlin Painter, and expressed doubts over the attribution of the skyphos. Turning now to Gorgos' cup, I shall try to explain why I feel more confident in questioning its attribution to the Berlin Painter. My reasons are different from those given for the pelikai; broadly speaking there is expertise in the rendering of some details of anatomy and incompetence in the rendering of many details of drapery.⁸⁹

V. CONCLUSIONS: THE ATTRIBUTION OF THE CUP

Comparing the figures on the cup is more difficult in one respect: those on the exterior are very small, and the youth in the tondo is still not large.⁹⁰ An accurate comparison and test of attribution of the figures on the exterior would be small, 'Very early' figures by the Berlin Painter, but no small figures are known from this period.⁹¹ Throughout his long career small, fine vases are relatively rare, but there are small figures on some large, fine 'Early' vases; like patternwork, they occupy the necks of volute-craters, three of which Beazley once considered 'Very early'.⁹² These three craters, in Cambridge (PLATE VIII*a-e*), Leipsic (PLATE VIII*f*), and

⁸⁷ Among the renderings uncharacteristic of the Berlin Painter is the clear definition of the lachrymal duct (*Berl. Drawings* 21-2). Cardon associates the skyphos with Phintias (*art. cit.* [n. 4] 170) and this may be correct, although so little remains.

⁸⁸ On the mount of his photograph of the skyphos Beazley compared the hair with the treatment on the Gotha cup (see above, n. 3) and on the Berlin Painter's bell-crater in Tarquinia (RC 7456. *ARV*² 206.126. P. Arias, M. Hirmer, B. Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* (London 1962) pls xxxvi and 154). *Berl. Drawings* 21.

⁸⁹ I feel that this somewhat lessens the degree of Phintian influence on the cup. Phintias seems to have had a good deal more difficulty rendering the anatomy of the human body than drapery. His poses are often strained and details of anatomy are incorrect. Cf. Pfuhl fig. 381 (fine drapery) and figs 382-3 (misunderstood anatomy). In this I differ from Cardon who would place the cup near the mature work of Phintias (*art. cit.* [n. 4] 169-73). Her observations on the potting of the cup and its Phintian associations seem entirely reasonable.

⁹⁰ Cardon, *ibid.* 172, makes most comparisons with the youth on the tondo.

⁹¹ Small figures on large vases are discussed in nn. 92 and 94.

⁹² The decoration of one of the registers of the neck

of a volute-crater goes back to black-figure; Nikosthenes' signed example in London (B 364. *ARV*² 229, vi. Pfuhl fig. 256) has black body, patternwork on the upper registers and figures in a frieze on the lower.

When there are figures on the neck and body of a volute-crater, as on the Berlin Painter's in Cambridge and Paris (see below), there is an excellent opportunity to compare draughtsmanship on large and small scale and to observe what differences scale imposes. The Berlin Painter maintains quality in the neck frieze where the system of forms is substantially unaltered. This is not always the case, as Euphronios' volute-crater in Arezzo (1465. *ARV*² 15.6. FR pls 61-2) demonstrates: here figures on the neck are less carefully painted than those on the body, but they are more lively—thus showing two aspects of the painter's 'personality' which on different vases might be assigned to different periods in his career or even to different hands. On another early volute-crater with figures on the neck, Euthymides also takes less pains on smaller scale (Serra Orlando. *ARV*² 28.10. *AJA* lxiii [1959] pls 43, fig. 24 and 44).

The following volute-craters are now assigned to the Berlin Painter:

*ARV*² 206.127: Cambridge 5.1952

*ARV*² 206.128: Leipsic T 762, fr.

*ARV*² 206.129: Louvre C 10799, fr.

*ARV*² 206.130: Louvre, Cp 10799 and part of G 166

Paris (PLATE IXa), offer good comparisons for the figures on the exterior of the cup. On the neck of the Cambridge crater there are nude, helmeted warriors, seen from the front and behind, who form rather static pairs, not that far in advance of battle compositions like Psiax's in Berlin and New York,⁹³ and on the body a single large figure (A, komast; B, youth). The surface of the Cambridge vase is damaged, and many details are no longer clear, but the Leipsic crater is even less well preserved; parts of the neck with nude athletes remain. The figures on the neck of the Paris crater (PLATE IXa), partly draped men and youths, standing and seated, are the most fully preserved, and the head and shoulders of the warrior on the body offer comparisons on larger scale. Taken together the figures on the three craters display the painter's system of forms for anatomy and drapery of the male surprisingly fully. This is because the vases are fine, early works, on which small scale has imposed few modifications. Later, and on less ambitious works, the modifications are more drastic, but still intelligible in terms of the standard system of forms. Another vase which might be compared is a small neck-amphora of special shape in Oxford (PLATE VIIc-d):⁹⁴ although a later 'Early' vase, and more modest, certain details of draughtsmanship betray special care, and some renderings, like those for female drapery, may be of help to us in assessing Gorgos' cup.

Looking at the Cambridge and Paris figures (the Leipsic athletes are too incomplete and damaged to be included in an examination of details) we notice that the contours of the body are much less supple than those on the cup, and that inner details are exactly alike, but different from those on the cup. For example, the clavicles are black; the line is indented, mid-course, suggesting the curvature of the collar-bone, and there are no hooks at the pit of the neck. This is the type of clavicle which the painter draws on fine, early vases, when he is working on a smaller scale; he reserves the hooks for larger figures.⁹⁵ Compare the renderings on the cup: Achilles' and Memnon's clavicles are painted in brown and their medial hooks continue laterally to describe the deltoideopectoral line.⁹⁶ The Berlin Painter usually omits the latter from small figures but not on the Paris vase, where the small arc above, giving fulness to deltoid, also occurs. The tondo youth's clavicles are black, and more like the Berlin Painter's type, but those of the tail-less satyr on side B of the cup are black, with brown hooks, and not like his.

The chests of the figures on the craters are bisected by the black line over the sternum. The lower border of the pectorals has minimal curvature. Compare the pectoral line on the figures on

ARV² 206.131: Villa Giulia

ARV² 206.131 bis: Carlsruhe 68.101 (*Para.* 344)

ARV² 206.132: London E 468

ARV² 206.132. bis: Naples, Astarita, 703 (ARV² 1634)

In 1930 Beazley considered one of the Louvre fragments (Cp 10799, fr. *Berl.* 21, no. 180) 'Sehr früh' and the other (G166, part, fr. *Berl.* 18, no. 94) 'früh'. In ARV² he suggested that the two might belong to the same vase, as Herbert Giroux (*RA* 1972, 243-50) has shown to be correct, but the handles associated by Giroux (*ibid.* 246, fig. 6) are now known to belong not to this vase but to another. I assume that the warrior's head on G166, fr. was thought to be 'Very early' because of clear similarities to Achilles' on the New York kalpis, and the neck-figures on Cp 10799 too advanced for such an early date on small scale.

⁹³ Compare Berlin 1897 (*ABV* 293.8. FR pl. 154.2) and New York 14.146.1. (ARV² 8.9. Richter-Hall [n. 66] pl. 1).

⁹⁴ Oxford 1924.3 ARV² 200.43. *Berl. Drawings* 72-3, pls 6 and 42a-b. Another large vase by the Berlin Painter with small figures on the neck (as on the volute-craters), is a black-bodied amphora of Type A (on vases of this type see H. Hoffmann, *Jb. d. Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* xii [1967] 9-14) in Bothmer's collection (ARV² 196.2 bis. *Para.* 520). The drawing is very

fine and the iconography (Dionysos, satyr, maenad, animal) is related to that of Gorgos' cup. The maenad's dress, as preserved, illustrates the painter's system on small, high quality work. The folds in the bodice are parallel brown vertical lines, those in the sleeves (which are doubly engrailed) diverge from evenly spaced buttons, in straight and looping lines. The near leg is well-profiled beneath the skirt of the chiton whose hem rises and falls three times, with a decorative black band at the calf following its course. For the same quality on larger scale, compare a calyx-crater fragment in Cahn's collection (ARV² 205.116 bis and *Para.* 344) which differs only in elaborations; the subject, satyr and maenads, also invites comparisons. This fine, early, work looks near to Phintias, who would have approved of the intricate drapery. Other fragments of this vase are in the Louvre (G 193, fr.) and Getty Museum. They will be published by Robertson in *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*. Another vase by the Berlin Painter with subject similar to the cup which might be mentioned here, is a kalpis in Boulogne (449. ARV² 210.175): on the shoulder Dionysos is joined by a maenad and animal. See also below, n. 121. I should like to thank Dietrich von Bothmer and Herbert Cahn for allowing me to mention their unpublished vases.

⁹⁵ *Berl. Drawings* 23.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 23.

the exterior of the cup; it is composed of two arcs. One of the figures on the Paris crater has a more curvaceous pectoral line; he also preserves a triangular interspace over the pit of the stomach—a rendering which the painter usually reserves for larger scale figures.⁹⁷ Both the simpler rendering and the one with the triangular interspace can occur on different figures on a single vase during the painter's early period; the inclusion of the elaboration on small scale is a sign of the high quality of the crater.

On the chest wall some of the figures on the crater have a black line for the relief of the *latissimus dorsi*, others have a brown line. Focusing on this line, observe the contours of the chest wall, and compare the greater suppleness of the figures on the cup. The interdigitations of *serratus anterior* with external oblique are often omitted from small figures, because the pairs of arcs are quite difficult to draw. They are omitted from some of the figures on the craters, rendered singly and rather straight on others, and on at least one doubly (the seated man on the Paris crater conversing with a youth). On the figures on the exterior of the cup (PLATE IIIb, IV) the same variety exists, although the form of the rendering is not exactly the same; the larger youth in the tondo (PLATE IIIa) has pairs of arcs, rather more like the warrior's in the tondo of the Phintian cup in Athens⁹⁸ than the Berlin Painter's. Loops effect the transition to the abdomen where ovoids suggest the features of *rectus abdominis*; all of these lines are brown, and not unlike those on the cup. The frontal groin is well displayed on two of the figures—Achilles and the satyr with the frontal tail. The midline is black, the lateral borders of *rectus abdominis* are brown, and the flank line is black. The black midline is rare in the Berlin Painter's work;⁹⁹ it occurs on the obverse of the name-vase because the painter has taken the trouble to render the growth of hair which follows the midline in the male.

Occasionally, in the early period, he defines the lateral borders of *rectus abdominis*;¹⁰⁰ the nude athlete on the small Oxford neck-amphora could be cited as one example. The form of the rendering is not the same, but the observation of the muscular feature is not very common.¹⁰¹ The painter's rendering of the frontal flank has been mentioned earlier in connection with the *pelikai* in Vienna and Florence. Notable on the cup is the differentiation in the form of the flank according to the ponderation, and the rounded contours. This, like the rendering of the abdominal musculature below the navel, is a realistic observation, in advance of Pioneer anatomy, and a link to the Berlin Painter, whereas the supple contours and precise form of the renderings are at variance. The definition of the genitals in the frontal view is also different from the painter's, although their disposition to the weight-bearing side is typical.

Three figures on the cup (Memnon, tail-less satyr, and tondo youth) are seen largely in profile, and the rendering of their flank is very distinctive—a doubly curving black line. This distinctive rendering has been taken as strong evidence for the Berlin Painter's hand, since a very similar type of flank line can be found on some of his vases. The rendering is not, however, common in his work;¹⁰² it is confined to large early figures of quality and is a fancy stylization of his more usual form. It is also regularly combined with a triangular configuration over the anterior superior iliac spine—a detail which does not occur on the cup. On the craters those figures whose flank is seen in profile (none is shown frontally) have a brown line without the double curve, and, apparently, without the triangular addition. This is the painter's usual modification for smaller figures.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 24.

⁹⁸ See n. 54. Cardon says of the cup and Gorgos', *art. cit.* (n. 4) 172: '... while both are closer to each other than to the Berlin Painter's work, it is difficult to attribute them to the same hand.' I think she is probably correct.

⁹⁹ *Berl. Drawings* 25. This rendering, in the frontal abdomen and groin, can be found on some vases by Pioneers. Euthymides seems to have liked it (*cf.* Pfuhl figs 365, 367, 368). Phintias represents it with stylized hair (Pfuhl fig. 383) as does Euphronios (Pfuhl fig. 392).

¹⁰⁰ *Berl. Drawings* 24. This is another rendering which Euphronios seems to like: *cf.* Pfuhl figs 365, 367, 369.

¹⁰¹ *Berl. Drawings* 24–5. The definition of *rectus abdominis* below the navel is a notable feature of some Euthymidean figures (*cf.* Pfuhl figs 365, 367, 369).

¹⁰² *Berl. Drawings* 25–6. Among the high quality examples of approximately this date preserving this distinctive rendering, is an unassigned cup in Athens (1666; see above n. 7) by an artist of quite different temperament.

The limb musculature on the craters is reproduced with the same regularity that is characteristic of the painter throughout his career. Owing to the scale, there are certain minor modifications, like two lines in the forearm instead of three, and a general tendency towards the rectilinear, which can be observed on slighter figures of his early period and more generally later.¹⁰³ Also notice that the shanks of nude and draped males have two brown straight lines and that the ankle has a single black one. The brown shank lines and black ankle lines are standard throughout his career,¹⁰⁴ and the single-line ankle is the regular simplification for the more elaborate two-line form, which prevails in the painter's later years. All limbs are shown in profile and the medial and lateral aspects are virtually identical; this too is standard for the painter. Looking now at the cup we see profile, rotated, and foreshortened limbs. Achilles' left arm is foreshortened with considerable success; so is the rim of his shield.¹⁰⁵ But foreshortening of objects like shield rims defied the Berlin Painter, and that of limbs seems not to have held his interest for long.¹⁰⁶

Although parallels can be found for the poses of Achilles and the satyr with the frontal tail, there are more details of anatomy atypical of the Berlin Painter. First, in the upper arm, the lateral and medial aspects are distinguished; the Berlin Painter very rarely does this (for example, on the obverse of the name-vase), and when he does, he combines these unusual renderings with a great amount of detail in the forearm.¹⁰⁷ Here the forearm is not distinguished in this way. The aspects of the profile thighs are also differentiated. The loops recall the Berlin Painter's renderings for quadriceps, but he is not alone in using the looping form for these muscular reliefs. There are, however, minor details in the rendering of the thigh musculature, just below the level of the groin, that are typical of the Berlin Painter and are not very common elsewhere.¹⁰⁸ These can be observed best in Achilles (PLATE VIIa): a shortish brown line in the left thigh suggests the contraction of sartorius in the flexed, weight-bearing limb; a slightly longer brown line in the right, the medial rotators. These are realistic observations, like that of the abdominal musculature below the navel, mentioned above; they are in advance of Pioneer anatomy and link the cup to the draughtsmanship of the Berlin Painter. The profile hip of the tail-less satyr preserves opposed arcs over the greater trochanter; in this position on the larger youth in the tondo there are opposed angular arcs, approximating to a lozenge formation. The calyciform stylization over the greater trochanter and the 'stem' line over the lateral furrow of the thigh, which we saw on the 'Very early' vases, is not in evidence. But in the medial thigh of the youth two short brown lines, just below the level of the groin, indicate the contraction of sartorius and rectus femoris. This too reflects the Berlin Painter's practice. Other features of the knees and lower legs are generally like his, although there are minor differences, mostly in precision of line. The greatest difference is the lack of the black line in the ankle of the figures on the exterior of the cup. (Brown ankles, like those on the pelikai in Vienna and Florence, are more in the manner of Euthymides than Phintias, whose two-line ankle is distinctive.)¹⁰⁹ The youth in the tondo of the cup has a single angled black line in the ankle, roughly the same sort of rendering as the smaller figures on the necks of the Berlin Painter's volute-craters (*cf.* PLATES VIIIb-f, IX). Given the larger size of the youth, and the attention to other details of his feet (the great toe has a nail; the Berlin Painter is sparing in his addition of nails), we might have expected the two-line, roughly triangular ankle which he regularly gives to fine early figures.

The form of the hands and feet is also different from the Berlin Painter's figures, who usually flex their fingers to hold an object, and frequently lack the full number of joints in the thumb.¹¹⁰ When fingers are extended, they are usually not abducted and are displayed palmwards with the lines of the digits painted in. Extended abducted fingers may rest on hips—there are examples on

¹⁰³ *Berl. Drawings* 26-7.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 20-1, 29-30.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 20, 93. Foreshortening of shields is also discussed by Robertson (n. 2) 59.

¹⁰⁶ *Berl. Drawings* 26, 30. See also n. 105 for

Robertson's remarks on foreshortening of limbs.

¹⁰⁷ *Berl. Drawings* 26-7.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 28-9.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 30. *Cf.* Pfuhl figs 381, 383.

¹¹⁰ *Berl. Drawings* 27.

both the Paris and Leipsic craters, and on the Oxford neck-amphora. Compare their form with Dionysos' right hand: his fingers are long, thin and rather spidery. Similarly, the fully extended hands of Eos and Thetis on the cup can be compared with the Berlin Painter's representation of them, in similar poses, on the volute-crater in London (PLATE IX*b-d*), to which we shall return. They are thin and insubstantial on the cup, more naturally rounded and expressive on the crater. The gesture of Dionysos' left hand (PLATE III*b*) may also be compared. The affected disposition of the fourth finger, fully extended, when the other digits are flexed around an object (in this case the handle of the kantharos), occurs occasionally in the Berlin Painter's work,¹¹¹ but had been more fashionable in earlier Pioneer days. Looking at the left hand of the larger youth in the tondo (PLATE III*a*), we are surprised to see such shapelessness in contours and apparent lack of interest in inner lines of the forearm.

The feet are long, thinnish and rather rubbery, with flattish soles. Looking at the feet of the figures on the craters we see that scale has imposed some modifications, but that the contour of the sole has not been sacrificed (as it is on the more modest Oxford neck-amphora, PLATE VII*c-d*), and that the digits are fully lined in the lateral aspect, the great toe in the medial.

Lastly, the head and neck¹¹² of the figures on the cup. The necks, even of the youth in the tondo, are without muscular detail; on the craters many of the small figures preserve the painter's standard two brown lines here, and even on the modest Oxford vase these lines can be seen in the neck of the nude athlete. The anterior line profiling their necks, however, lacks the fluidity of the people on the cup. (We have already observed that the contours of the body generally are drawn with a greater fluidity than the Berlin Painter's.) The use of relief to define the facial contour and of incision for the outline of the hair has also been mentioned. Here we concentrate on the shape of the face and its proportions. The forehead-nose line is more sharply indented on some figures than on others (for example, Dionysos and Memnon), but the noses of all the figures have roots, whereas the Berlin Painter's people tend to lack them. His small people can have somewhat misshapen features; compare the set of the eyes and mouths on the Oxford neck-amphora (PLATE VII*c-d*).¹¹³ Most of the figures on the craters do not suffer in this way because the painter has taken special care with them. There is a tendency for the inner corner of the eye to be closed, because it is easier to draw it in this way on small scale, and for the eye as a whole to assume an almond shape. The size of the dot pupil varies, but it is usually small. Turning now to the figures on the exterior of the cup we notice a less regularly, more naturally shaped eye, whose pupil can be quite large. The nose is finer and rather thin towards the tip; the wing is not marked (except in the tondo youth), nor is it in most small figures by the Berlin Painter, although some on the Paris crater have the characteristic black hook.

The mouth of the Berlin Painter's little people is usually shut, drawn in a straight black line. Occasionally the lower lip is defined, and occasionally the slant of the mouth is diagonal, like some of the figures on the Oxford neck-amphora. All the figures on the cup part or purse their lips, and this gives their faces greater expression. Compare Memnon's face with the Corinth warrior's, Eos' and Thetis' with the Berlin Painter's rendering of them on the volute-crater in London (PLATE IX*b-d*). The profile of the lower jaw is less easy to judge on the cup, owing to beards (Memnon, Dionysos, satyrs) and the spear shaft crossing Achilles' face.¹¹⁴ Judging from the women, and the youth in the tondo, the lower jaw is quite prominent, but somewhat more angular than the Berlin Painter's usual form. Also, the line defining its inferior position does not extend beyond the line profiling the contour of the neck. The latter has a fluidity (a tendency noticed in limb and body contours) which seems to come less easily to the Berlin Painter.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 27. See also below n. 131.

¹¹² *Ibid.* 21-2.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 72-3, pls 6, 42a-b.

¹¹⁴ *Cf.* the rendering on the Cambridge crater (PLATE VIII*c-d*) and the somewhat similar treatment of a spear shaft crossing the face on Phintias' fragmentary volute-

crater in Berlin (2181. *ARV*² 23.4. *JHS* li [1931] 41). Phintias, working on larger scale, has drawn face and shield more successfully. The unusual detail of spear's point piercing the shield occurs here and on Gorgos' cup.

Beazley found the faces on the cup unlike the Berlin Painter's,¹¹⁵ and I have tried to explain that this is due as much to their expressiveness as to details of draughtsmanship.

The three craters, like Beazley's 'Very early' vases, offer less drapery for comparison than anatomy. Apart from a badly preserved short mantle draped over the arm of one of the athletes in Leipsic (PLATE VIII*f*), there are long mantles, loosely draped, worn by the seated and standing men on the crater in Paris (PLATE IX*a*). Apart from the short chiton of the New York Penthesilea (PLATE VII*a*), there are no 'Very early' parallels for female drapery.

Characteristic of the mantles worn by the standing Paris youths are the peaks which the material forms at the nape of the neck and around the exposed flank, the free fall of material over the instep, the profile of the near leg, and the modelling of the body contours beneath. The fold system is simple, but coherent. Observe the system over the extended left arm of the youth with his right hand on his flank,¹¹⁶ and the system arising from the concealed clasped hand of the youths with right arms flexed.¹¹⁷ Simplifications due to scale are reduction in the size of the peaks in some places and flatness of material in others (for example, in the folds passing diagonally from shoulder to flank) and the continuation of the three black fold lines over the advanced leg. The latter is a simplification which haste generally encourages; it is rare on small early vases but is standard on slight late pieces.¹¹⁸ Compare the Oxford neck-amphora (PLATE VII*c-d*) on which the standard system prevails for the mantle (two black lines over the advanced leg, three over the trailing) despite the small scale. And then compare the system in the mantle of the youth on the body (reverse) of the Cambridge crater for amplifications on large scale. On the Paris vase there is a minimal amount of dilute brown paint for secondary fold lines; for example, over the abdomen of the youth standing behind the seated man (who Martin Robertson suggests may be trying to read at long sight). Brown lines like these in mantles are signs of special care which the painter adds in early years, but soon abandons. On small scale they are rare, but not unknown: compare the mantles of the men on the Oxford neck-amphora. On Gorgos' cup this type of line is discernible only in the mantle of Dionysos, to whom we now turn: he is the best figure for a comparison of drapery since his dress and posture are somewhat like the seated men's on the Paris crater.

The Paris men sit on folding stools. Their bodies are long and thin (if they stood up, they would dwarf the youth in their company) and the stools have similarly elongated proportions. There is no cushion, and the rounded contours of their buttocks are clearly distinguished. The stool has black pins, and its long legs terminate in leonine paws; the position of the central pin is concealed by the fall of the mantle. Just as the contours of the human body are clearly defined, so are the parts of the stool. Dionysos is a chunky figure whose stool seems barely adequate for support. Both the contours of his body and the parts of the stool become lost beneath drapery. The stool's short legs, which are bound, terminate in leonine paws; the central pin is black, the upper pin is voided. Dionysos' buttocks were probably neither well rounded nor clearly distinguished from the line of the stool. The contours of his body are not defined, and the proportion between the upper and lower parts is incorrect. Despite this, he is a lively figure. The potential of imminent movement is indicated by the rotation of the head, the flexion of both arms, the lateral rotation of the trunk, and the retraction of the flexed right leg. The Paris men are drawn better but they are languid.

Dionysos wears a chiton, whose neck is doubly lined and sleeves doubly (loosely) engrailed. There is a single circular button, in the Berlin Painter's manner, but the folds in bodice and sleeves are hastily painted in brown, and loosely grouped in triads. The Berlin Painter renders folds here in equidistant, parallel brown lines on most early vases.¹¹⁹ When he is being especially

¹¹⁵ *Berl.* (Melbourne) 12.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *Berl. Drawings* 51.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* 50.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* 50-1.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* 53-4. Compare Dionysos' chiton on a

fragment in Florence (7 B 14, fr. *ARV*² 213.237. *CVA* i pl. 7 B 14. PLATE VI*e*). Compare also the head, face and neck of this Dionysos (and Dionysos on the Astarita crater fragment; see nn. 94 and 127) with Dionysos' on the cup.

careful, he renders them in looping lines which group themselves around buttons.¹²⁰ He also uses the material to emphasize the contours of the body and differentiates the chiton from the mantle.¹²¹ Dionysos' costume is muddled. The mantle clings to the right shoulder and left flank, without the peaks which the Berlin Painter likes here; observe the extent of the peaks around the waists of the Paris men. The folds passing over their laps are rather flat, and this is a concession to scale, but notice that the outline, against the black ground, is rounded, and that each fold is distinct and part of a well-defined system; similarly the folds over the thighs and lower legs, some of which are added in brown. Still looking at the Paris men, notice that the lines of their legs are visible beneath the drapery. The fold system of Dionysos' mantle is incoherent. The artist of this cup can delineate the nude human body successfully, but drapery is not his forte.

It would take too long to consider the drapery of other figures on the cup in detail, but some general observations can be made on the short mantle draped over the arms (worn by the maenad and tondo youth)¹²² and the long mantle worn over the long chiton (Eos and Thetis).¹²³ The former is much loved by the Berlin Painter, not so much for its part in the costume of his figures as for the decorative use which it can serve, filling the field with peaks and swirls. It is not worn by any of the figures on Beazley's three 'Very early' vases, but it is prominently displayed on the body (obverse) of the Cambridge volute-crater. On smaller scale the peaks are smaller and the flourishes less dramatic, but the material has substance, and folds enhance the design of the figure as a whole.¹²⁴ This is not true of the tondo youth's mantle, and even less so of the maenad's. The mantle of Dionysos on a crater-fragment in Naples may be compared for the latter,¹²⁵ and the youthful komasts in Madrid for the former.¹²⁶ Eos' and Thetis' costume can be compared with that of Thetis on the neck of the volute-crater in London (PLATE IXd)—a small, carefully drawn figure of early date. Her chiton is clearly distinguished from her mantle; there are equidistant parallel brown fold lines in the bodice, and loosely looping ones in the sleeves, gathered around the buttons. The sleeve hangs naturally over the bend of the arm and its lower outline is scalloped. The fold lines in the skirt are brown, and they loop loosely. The near leg is profiled, with the knee well modelled. The hem, singly engrailed, descends to the ankles (where the bony reliefs are drawn in black), splays out behind in a flourish characteristic of the painter, and falls behind in a line parallel to the hem in front. The mantle is worn shawlwise, with a substantial peak at the nape of the neck and rounded folds over the upper arm. Observe that the posterior line of the mantle is not vertical, but slightly concave, echoing the backward splay of the hem. This is careful, clear draughtsmanship, without excessive detail. Turning now to Eos and Thetis on the cup (PLATE IVa) we find that we cannot be certain what is chiton and what is mantle; also, body contours are obscured by a system of drapery which lacks coherence. Details do not clarify the design: for instance, the trebly lined selvage of the mantle and the multitude of folds in the rising and falling hem. Atypical also of the Berlin Painter is the shortness of the skirt and the length of hem in the background, the lack of decorative black band following the course of the hem-line, the lack of definition of bones in the ankle region, the flat and rectilinear quality of folds, and the loss of body contour. Compare any of the four women on the London crater (each dressed somewhat differently from the other) and the impression is one of delicacy of body enhanced by drapery. On the cup a lively little figure, like Eos—gesticulating with garment rent and breast bared—is lost in her voluminous garments.

The London crater (PLATE IXb-d) is the most obvious comparison for one side of Gorgos' cup, owing to the similar iconography, scale and quality, but close inspection reveals enough

¹²⁰ *Berl. Drawings* 54-5. The maenad's sleeve on Bothmer's amphora (see above n. 96) is rendered in this manner.

¹²¹ *Berl. Drawings* 96, pls 25, 56c (seated figure, dressed in chiton and long mantle).

¹²² *Berl. Drawings* 51-3.

¹²³ *Ibid.* 53-4.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* 51-3.

¹²⁵ Naples, Astarita, 703. *ARV*² 206.132 bis and p. 1634. *Berl.* (Melbourne) pl. 7a. Some features of the Dionysos are like those on the cup, but there are no significant features on the crater fragment uncharacteristic of the Berlin Painter whereas there are many on the cup.

¹²⁶ Madrid 11200. *ARV*² 204.112. *Berl. Drawings* 88-9, pls 19, 51a.

differences in the renderings of drapery and anatomy to question the attribution. Also, the Berlin Painter is not the only artist to have represented this sort of scene early in the fifth century¹²⁷ (the London crater is not early in Beazley's 'Early' classification, and the system of forms is fully represented and wholly canonical), and when he paints similar figures again, on large scale,¹²⁸ they are still more like those on the crater than on the cup. The draughtsmanship of the Dionysiac scene on the other side of the cup offers fewer close parallels.¹²⁹ The elements of the composition are familiar from Pioneer pots,¹³⁰ and were taken up by cup painters.¹³¹ The composition of the tondo—a largely nude youth wearing a short mantle and holding a knobby stick and hare—is also found on contemporary cups.¹³² To my eyes the painter of Gorgos' cup worked with the Berlin Painter at some time, and like him learned from the Pioneers Euthymides and Phintias. The fluidity of line and developed knowledge of anatomy and foreshortening suggest that Euthymides' influence was greater than Phintias',¹³³ and the competence of draughtsmanship suggest maturity and experience. The temptation to search for other vases by his hand is great, especially since this would tell us more about the Berlin Painter, but the purpose of this essay has been an explanation of method and reassertion of the subtleties of attribution.

Throughout the business of ascription and dating, the difficulty is to keep a sense of proportion. Too often the mere excitement of the chase, quite apart from ulterior motives inspired by ownership or marketing considerations, leads to evidence being strained or twisted to establish that A. was author of a work, when at best only a probability that he is so can be established. It is particularly necessary to be on guard against the trap lurking in the question, 'Well, if it is not by A., by whom *is* it?' There are many works of art the conditions of whose production practically prohibit definite attribution. Where, for example, two considerable artists similar in outlook are in close contact, . . . their work may have so many elements in common that distribution between the two can only safely be made on the basis of documentary evidence . . . So, to trace a work to a particular studio or group of artists may be all that is possible; and such uncertainty of attribution is far better than the appearance of certainty, which is unattainable and therefore false.

W. G. Constable, *Art History and Connoisseurship* (London 1938) 46–7.

D. C. KURTZ

*Beazley Archive,
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*

¹²⁷ Among cups which could be cited is an unsigned, fragmentary one divided between New York, Amsterdam and Paris (*ARV²* 1600, 'Memnon').

¹²⁸ Cf. e.g. the scene on the obverse of a stamnos in Munich (2406. *ARV²* 207.137. *Berl. Drawings* pl. 54a).

¹²⁹ Robertson (n. 2), 61, found the style of maenad especially like the Berlin Painter's but I still cannot see the closeness of the connection. The 'spread pose', as Cardon has pointed out, *art. cit.* (n. 4) 171, is popular with other artists.

¹³⁰ Cardon *ibid.* offers some parallels.

¹³¹ A cup recently on the Basle Market (Münzen und Medaillen, *Sonderliste N*, no. 70) looks like a less accomplished artist's version of Gorgos' cup: within, a

youth with hare and dog; outside, Dionysos seated, holding vine and kantharos, attended by satyrs and maenads (A) and youths (B).

¹³² Robertson (n. 2), 60 n. 44, has given some examples. Others are: Philadelphia Market. Black exterior; within, a youth in long mantle with knobby stick, holding a hare by the ears. Copenhagen 14268. *ARV²* 1583, 1654 (where Beazley has already made the comparison with Gorgos' cup), *Para.* 377 (possibly the Ashby Painter). Within, a youth in short mantle over his back holding a hare in both hands; exterior, Herakles and centaurs (A), chariot and warriors (B).

¹³³ See n. 89.



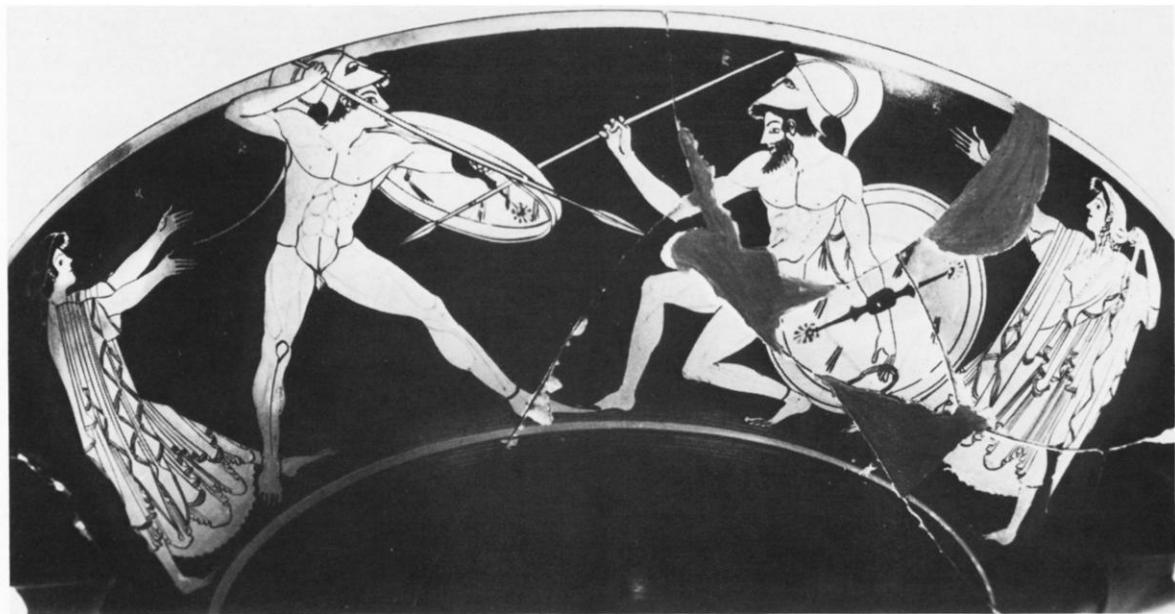
(a)



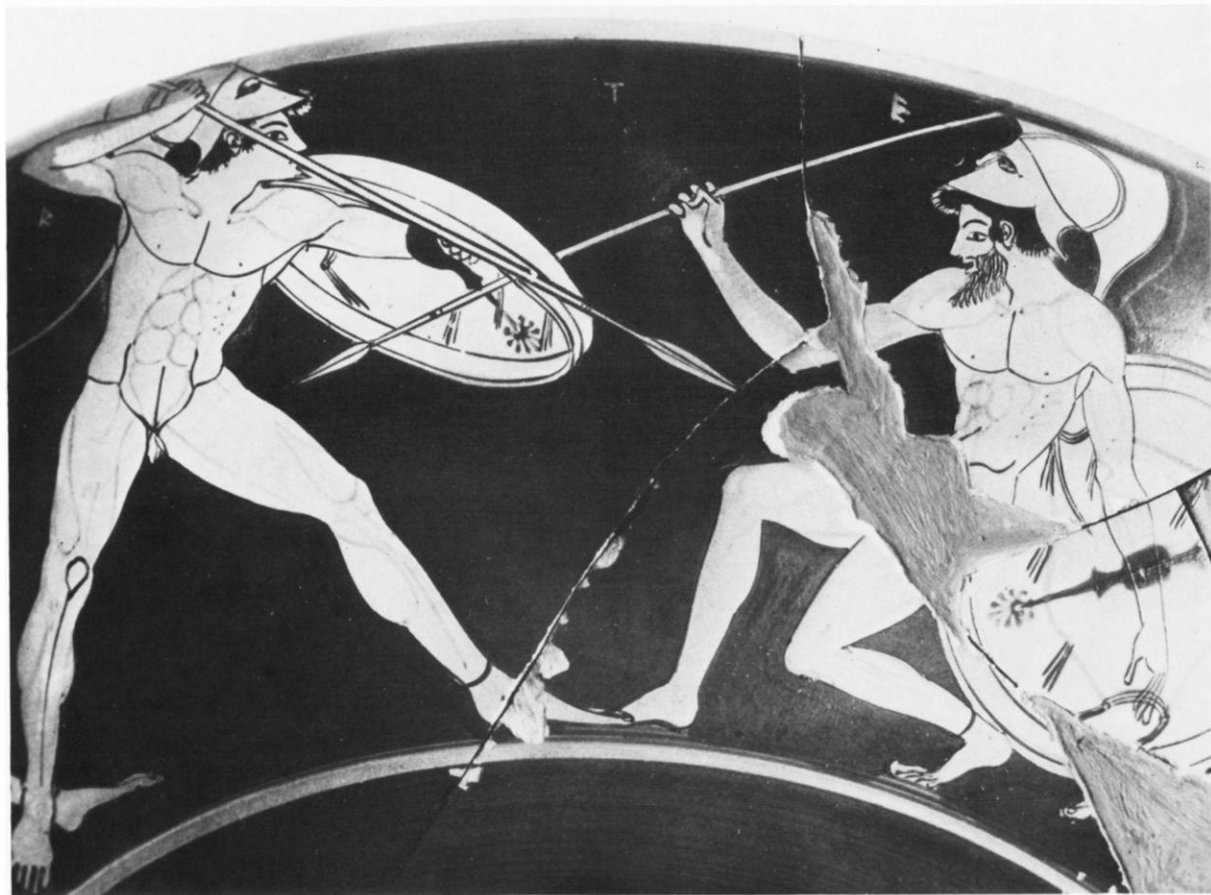
(b)

Gorgos' cup: Athens, Agora P 24113.

GORGOS' CUP



(a)



(b)

Gorgos' cup: Athens, Agora P 24113.

GORGOS' CUP



(a)



(b)

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3725.



(c)



(d)

Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3985.



(e) Athens, National Museum (Acropolis Collection) 454, fr.

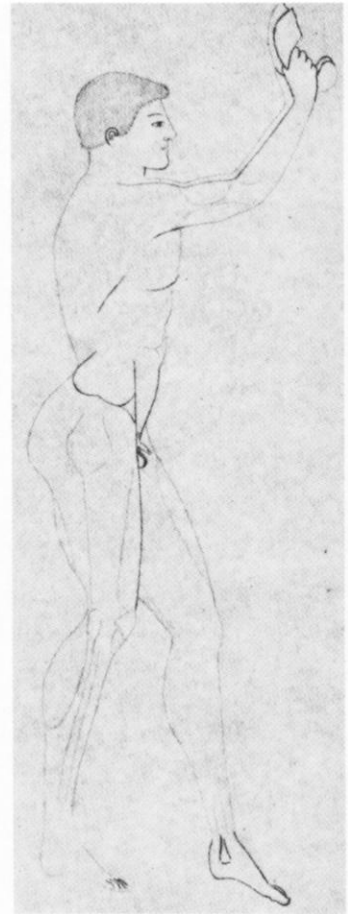
THE VIENNA PAINTER
GORGOS' CUP



(a)



(c)



(d)



(b)

(a)-(d) Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 2310.



(a)-(e) THE BERLIN PAINTER

(e) Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 7 B 14, fr.



(g) Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 5 B 1, fr.



(f) Gorgos' cup: Athens, Agora P 24113.



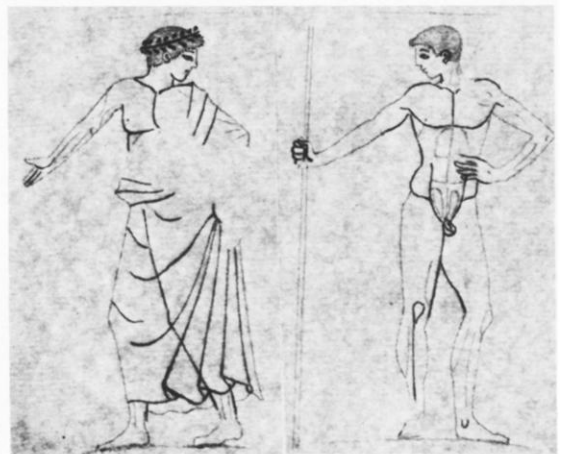
(a) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Rogers Fund, 1910) 10.210.19.



(b) Corinth, Archaeological Museum CP 436, fr.



(c)



(d)

(c) and (d) Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1924.3.

THE BERLIN PAINTER

GORGOS' CUP



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

(a)-(e) Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 5.1952.



(e)



(f) Leipsic, Archäologisches Institut der Karl-Marx-Universität T 762, fr.

THE BERLIN PAINTER

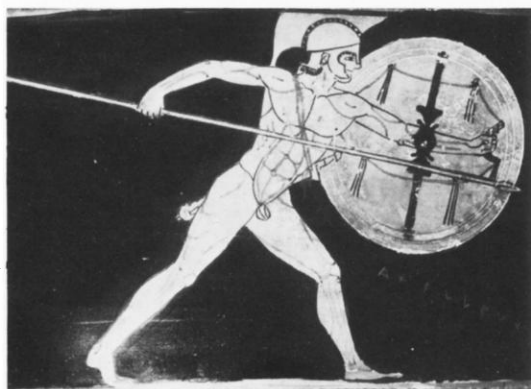
GORGOS' CUP



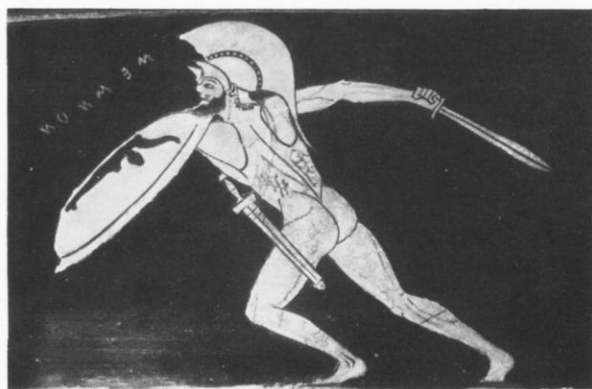
(a) Paris, Musée du Louvre G 166 and Cp 10799.



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)

(b)-(f) London, British Museum E 468

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GORGOS' CUP