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ATHENIAN POTTERS AND PAINTERS
VOLUME III

EDITED BY
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This volume is dedicated to H. A. Shapiro

The honoree at the conference
(Photo: William Kahlenberg)

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The mesomphalic phiale in clay is a shape derived from Near-Eastern metalware. It was introduced into the Greek repertoire in the Geometric period and was soon copied in clay. Attic phialai in clay are occasionally known from the middle of the seventh century BC, but the shape becomes popular from the middle of the sixth century, most probably under the influence of the Nikosthenic workshop.\(^1\) In a previous paper, I proposed relating two important groups of Six polychrome phialai to the ambit of the Nikosthenic workshop through the work of the Krokotos Group and the Theseus Painter, both known to have used this special technique on other shapes than phialai.\(^2\)

In his study on the Phiale Painter, J. Oakley already noted that the shape was rare in red-figure.\(^3\) This paper examines a small group of red-figure phialai, dating from the last quarter of the sixth century to the first quarter of the fifth century BC.\(^4\) It further discusses the attribution of two pieces with ornamental patterns\(^5\) and a group of undecorated coral-red phialai, which belong to the type of the so-called “Attic Achaemenid phialai”\(^6\), all dated to the Late Archaic – Early Classical periods. The techniques and types of decoration associated with these vases might suggest unexpected workshop connections, and therefore, raise issues about the organization of Late Archaic Athenian workshops and the diversity of their production.

Two of these phialai bear complex, multi-figured decoration on both the inside and the outside.\(^9\) Such spectacular compositions, covering both the interior and the exterior of the vase, are rare on phialai since the shape usually displays decoration only in the interior zone and occasionally on some later examples on the omphalos.\(^10\) It has been already noted that crowded compositions on either side of large-scaled, open drinking vessels, such as the phiale and the cup, seem to be closely associated with Euphronios the potter’s workshop.\(^11\) Although the three phialai decorated with figures cannot be attributed to one vase-painter, they might be further related on stylistic grounds to painters who have been associated with the workshop of the potter Euphronios at one stage of their careers.

The fragmentary phiale at the Getty (Fig. 1),\(^12\) decorated with an Amazonomachy in the interior and with coral-red on the outside and on the interior side of the rim and tondo, was convincingly attributed to the Foundry Painter by M. Robertson,\(^13\) a painter who decorated several cups made by the potter Euphronios.\(^14\)

The large-sized phiale from the South terrace of the Etruscan sanctuary of Pyrgi\(^15\) was attributed to Onesimos by D. Williams.\(^16\) The distinctive ornamental border on the interior made of a frieze of adorbed palmettes with long pointed central fronts and lyre-formed surrounding tendrils is similar to that on several other cups by the painter.\(^17\) Furthermore, the figures on the Pyrgi phiale seem to resemble most closely those on several other cups, surely works by Onesimos: the frontal face of the symposiast on the interior of the Pyrgi phiale finds parallels in other works,\(^18\) and the distinctive rendering of straight strands and hair in dilute gloss on the beheaded youth on the outside are common with those of both the athlete on a cup at the Louvre\(^19\) and those of the scalp on a warrior’s helmet at the Getty, both pieces by Onesimos.\(^20\) The latter decorated nine cups signed Euphronios epoiesen and is, therefore, closely associated to the potter.\(^21\)
The third phiale is signed by Douris as a painter and bears an incomplete *epoiesen* inscription.22 Robertson suggested that the name ending in *...kros or ...chros* might be that of Smikros, who is known as a painter. I noted elsewhere that if it is, indeed, Smikros who potted the Douris phiale, he most probably did it in the ambit of Euphronios’ workshop.23 Smikros and Euphronios have close ties, and according to Beazley, Smikros was Euphronios’ imitator in the Pioneers’ Group.24 (See Hedreen in this volume) At the time when Euphronios regularly signed *epoiesen*, he made most of the contemporary oversized cups, which are the same kind of elaborate and exceptional products as the phiale signed by Smikros.25 Moreover, Douris, who signed the figured phiale in his early period, is also known for the decoration of vases for Euphronios’ workshop during the same period.26

The interiors of the bowls of two phialai without figural decoration are covered with deep coral-red gloss and are adorned with two decorative friezes around the now missing omphaloi (Figs. 2, 3; Color Pl. 32A).27 On the basis of ornament, they were both associated either with the early work of the Berlin Painter (because of the distinctive lotus buds with double leaves)28 or with the early work of Douris (because of the running spirals with drops).29 Despite the slight difference noted in the profiles of their shape, 76.AE.96.1 being thicker and curving more than the flatter 76.AE.96.2,30 C. Cardon compared the potter’s work with that of the oversized coral-red cup in Munich, decorated by Euphronios and made by Chachrylion.31 Stylistic links were acknowledged between Euphronios and the Berlin Painter, and Euphronios is further associated with the coral-red technique in his later career as a potter.32 For both reasons, Cardon considered him as a likely candidate for the potter who made the two coral-red phialai.33

Both the painting and the potting of these phialai suggest a link with a single workshop, most probably that of the potter Euphronios. This association may be further reflected in the distinctive coral-red applied on three of these vases.34 In a recent article, clay analysis of the coral-red applied on these vessels showed that the clay used to make the special gloss was the same as that used to make the rest of the vase, and that the potter used a single three-stage firing, two features that might be considered characteristic of the workshop.35

The Attic “Achaemenid phialai” in Clay and Cups of the Class of Agora P10359

I would like now to turn to another group of phialai that often used coral-red as part of their decoration, namely, the so-called Attic Achaemenid phialai in clay, a shape that has an offset high concave rim and often horizontal flutes on the bowl.36 Some samples may be entirely black (Fig. 4), but most of them bear bichrome decoration made of coral-red on the bowl (inside and outside) and black gloss on the rim (Fig. 5). According to B. Sparkes who first
studied the group, the production started in the first quarter of the fifth century BC. The date is provided for several phialai from the material assemblage of their context in well-deposits from the Agora and in a tomb group from Valle Pega in Spina. Based on the similarity of shape, these early pieces may be grouped together and attributed to one workshop. They all display a similar shallow bowl decorated with horizontal shallow flutes made of slightly concave grooves and shallow edges, and they exhibit a sharply angled articulation of the bowl’s rim. A few other phialai with similar features might be also attributed to the same workshop and dated to the same period (Fig. 6).

Although previous scholarship compared these phialai to the fluted phialai by Sotades and dated them to the middle of the fifth century BC, Sotades adopts a very different rendering of horizontal flutes, and does not use the distinctive, lustrous intentional coral-red gloss applied on the Late Archaic Achaemenid phialai. On the Sotadean phialai, the flutes join a more protruding edge and have distinctly curved mouldings (Fig. 7, London, British Museum 1894, 0719.2), while the red used on them is a matt colour applied after firing. This distinctive rendering of the flutes might be considered as a transitional type between the early fifth-century Achaemenid phialai and a later and distant parallel, Agora P31465, from a “Public Dining Place” in the Athenian Agora (Fig. 7). This later phiale, dated to 420’s, is grooved to create the effect of gadrooning. The wall composed of a series of convex flutes is rare in Attic pottery and is only known from a black-glossed pyxis from the Athenian Agora, also dated to the last quarter of the fifth century BC. The grooves on the phiale from the “Public Dining Place” alternate black-gloss and dark red, but, as on the Sotades phialai and mastoi, the colour used here only superficially resembles the coral-red and is obtained by a matt gloss.
The phialai, attributed to the early fifth-century workshop, might be organized into two sub-groups (Fig. 6). Those, more numerous, in sub-group 1, are small-scaled, with an average diameter of 10–11 cm. They either lack the omphalos or display a very shallow central button, and are regularly decorated with coral red on the bowl. Although clearly from the same workshop, since they display a similar profile of the fluted bowl and their rims are strongly offset, the phialai in sub-group 2 (Fig. 6) have a larger diameter of ca. 15–6 cm, a higher rim, and bear an omphalos. They may be either entirely black or bichrome. In his study of the black-gloss pottery from...
the Athenian Agora, B. Sparkes related these Achaemenid phialai in clay with a contemporary Class of small and stemless cups, he named the Class of Agora P10359 (Fig. 6, Agora P16001). He attributed both products to the same workshop on the basis of the potter’s work and the common use of coral-red.57

**Figured and Non-figured Phialai**

In her study of coral-red, B. Cohen notes that “throughout its history this glaze has been a function of potters rather than painters”, and that “it [this glaze] is also strongly associated with artisans who might be called painters-potters”.58 Recent scientific investigation further confirmed that the elaborate technology used to make coral red was not commonly held knowledge.59 If this special technique is the result of only a few skilled potters, are there any other elements that might suggest links between contemporary coral-red phialai decorated with figures, such as the oversized vessels attributed to the potter Euphronios, and the non-figured, coral-red, Achaemenid phialai and cups?

The name piece of the Class of Agora P10359 is the only known cup from the Class that is decorated with a figure on the inside. The black-figure Melitean dog on the medallion, although difficult to attribute (Fig. 8; Color Pl. 32C),60 may provide some evidence of connections with painters who worked in the Chachrylion/Euphronios workshop.

It is generally acknowledged that the Melitean breed is more commonly depicted in Attic iconography from the 480s onwards,61 while the few known representations of the dog on late sixth-, early fifth-century vases seem to concentrate on cups. From the 304 entries of dog representations on Attic vases listed in the BAPD, there

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**Fig. 7 Profile drawings of Achaemenid phialai in clay, Kassel T500 and Agora P23118 (ca. 500–480 BC), London British Museum 1894.0719.2 (D8), Agora P31465a-b (ca. 430–420 BC) (Drawings: Author: Illustrator and plate: A. Stoll – N. Bloch, CReA-Patrimoine, ULB).**
are only a few examples of Melitaean dogs dated to the Late Archaic period. A significant part is attributed to cup-painters, such as Skythes, Euphronios, the Hegesiboulos Painter and Onesimos, all vase-painters associated with either Chachrylion, Hegesiboulos or Euphronios the potter.

On technical and stylistic grounds, the dog on the cup from the Class of Agora P10350 recalls those seen on late sixth- and early fifth-century cups, attributed to the Hegesiboulos Painter, Euphronios or Onesimos. The luxurious coat of the animal is indicated by the use of a few incisions and numerous relief lines, and its eye is incised. The combination of these two techniques, incision and relief line, suggests that the vase-painter was familiar with both black and red-figure, a characteristic of some pottery workshops active at the turn of the fifth century. The rendering of the dog resembles that of the dogs attributed to either the Hegesiboulos Painter or Euphronios. They share the large paws, the bushy tail and the alert ears. The almond-shaped eye with an elongated lachrymal canal of the Agora dog may be further paralleled with that of the dog on the coral-red cup from the 3rd Ephoria, attributed to Euphronios or the Hegesiboulos Painter (Fig. 9). The short ground line on which the animal stands on the Agora cup is indicated by a narrow black gloss band, a rather rare device, known from a few earlier cups and plates by Psiax, or from single figures depicted on contemporary amphorae or cups attributed to Euphronios.

Another possible link connecting Euphronios’ workshop with the production of the early fifth-century Achaemenid phialai and cups of the Class of Agora P10350 may be found in the distinctive device used on the interior of the coral-red cups of the Class of Agora P10350. The interior of these vases is covered with coral-red and decorated with a black dotted circle within two larger glossed circles (Fig. 10; Color Pl. 32B). Two similar black circles border the interior coral-red band of the fragmentary phiale attributed to the Foundry Painter (Fig. 1), while, on the same vase, a smaller glossed circle frames the, now missing, omphalos.

The profiles of the few small coral-red cups of Type C with a concave lip, attributed to the workshop of Euphronios, are different from that of the coral red cups from the Class of Agora P10350. The former has an offset rim on the interior, while this feature is missing from the latter. Yet, they share a similar display of coral-red and black gloss on the exterior: the bowl is covered with coral-red and the offset lip is black.

The evidence of the assemblage of pottery from an early fifth-century grave in Spina might also point to a connection with the workshop of Euphronios. The unspoiled grave T41D from the Valle Peggia at the Ferrara Museum contains three Attic imports: an Achaemenid black-gloss phiale (sub-group 2 in our Class), a red-figure kylix attributed to the Antiphon Painter and a rare early type of neck-krater attributed to the Berlin Painter. Although there are several known burials in Spina which yielded vases that had been kept by the deceased or his family for more than one generation, in grave T41D all the Attic vessels date to the early fifth century. The red-figure cup and the pelike were decorated by painters who were associated with Euphronios. The modelling of the cups decorated by the Antiphon Painter is generally attributed to Euphronios the potter, while the red-figure neck-krater of special shape is only known by another “replica” also from Spina, decorated by the Berlin Painter in an early stage of his career, and by three unattributed...
Fig. 10 Athens, Agora Museum P 16001 (Photos: Author).

Some Concluding Remarks about the Organization of LA Workshops

Earlier scholarship acknowledges that workshop associations remain a complex matter, and there is a significant amount of literature discussing the size and organisation of workshops producing wares decorated with figures in the Athenian Kerameikos.\textsuperscript{71} Although the works of B. Sparkes, L. Talcott,\textsuperscript{72} and S. R. Roberts,\textsuperscript{73} to name but a few, demonstrate that plain black-gloss and cups decorated with figures were made within the same workshops, this question is not often fully considered in studies of red-figure production. In this paper, the analysis of a range of products that goes from the fine and elaborate oversized phialai to the small undecorated fluted phialai and stemless cups, makes us wonder if the same large workshop was not responsible for their production.

Recent studies confirm the association of Chachrylion the potter and Euphronios the painter in the production of small coral-red cups bearing figural decoration in the tondo.\textsuperscript{74} They further point to the expertise of the potter Hegesiboulos in coral-red through several signed vases and his association with Euphronios through similarities in the potter’s work on cups.\textsuperscript{75} In addition to the special technique, stylistic and iconographical features allow us to relate the black-figure dog on the stemless cup of the Class of Agora 10359 with the animals depicted on coral-red cups attributed to Euphronios or Hegesiboulos, and to point to a common workshop for the production of both of the vases decorated with figures and those without.

In an article published in APP II, M. Padgett already associated the production of the cups from the Class of Agora P 10359, the Achaemenid phialai and the later Rheneia coral-red cups with the Sophocles workshop.\textsuperscript{76} We have seen that the main group of Achaemenid phialai and the cups from the Class of Agora P 10359 must be dated to the first quarter of the fifth century, a generation earlier than Sophocles’ activity, and that it is, most probably, related to the contemporaneous workshop of Euphronios. Yet, the close study of the Attic Achaemenid phialai and the cups from the Class of Agora P 10359 sheds further light on a possible affiliation between the workshops of Euphronios and Sophocles. While a first link between Euphronios and Sophocles may be already seen through the potter Hegesiboulos and the coral-red production,\textsuperscript{77} the present paper points to the transitional role played by Sophocles in the making of fluted phialai and mastoids (Fig. 7). The analysis of the potter’s work suggests that the Sophocles workshop continued the production of Achaemenid phialai but changed the concave fluting into convex ribbing, developing the distinctive feature of the few later Achaemenid phialai, dated to the second half of the fifth century.

It is important to note that these different products seem to address different geographical and cultural areas. The elaborate, oversized phialai were found in Etruscan sanctuaries and graves, the small coral-red cups decorated with figures seems to have been made for a local Athenian clientele, while the fluted phialai and the coral-red cups of the Class of Agora P 10359 were mainly distributed to the eastern and western regions of the ancient Mediterranean world.\textsuperscript{78} If this distinctive distribution pattern is valid, it might explain the association of these different products with one workshop for economic reasons. A diversified production caters to a wider variety of markets and demands, and helps the workshop to be profitable and remain a viable business.
Acknowledgements

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Notes

4. Pyrgi, Excavations of the southern area of the sanctuary; Gravisca, Excavations 73.10301; Malibu, Getty Museum 90.AE.38; Rome, Villa Giulia (ex-Getty Museum 81.AE.213; 85.AE.18).
5. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.96.1; 76.AE.96.2.
6. For this group, its distinctive features and chronology, see Agora XII 105–106. For the name see n. 36.
8. Robertson (supra n. 7) 93.
10. Dated to the second half of the fifth century BC: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 97.371: Oakley (supra n. 3) pl. 120; Berlin, Antikenmuseum F2310: CVA Berlin 3 Germany 22 pl. 135,3.
11. A. Tsingarida, in: Tsingarida, Shapes 194, and more generally, on the attribution of large scaled cups and phialai to the workshop of the potter Euphrônios, 188–193.
13. Robertson (supra n. 7) 93.
17. E.g.: London, British Museum GR 1867.5-8.1061, ARV² 455,9; 1654; CVA British Museum 9 Great Britain 17 23; Berlin F 2280–2281 and Vatican fri.: ARV² 19,1–2; D. Williams, JbBerlMus 18, 1976, 9–32; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.17 & 19 (BAPD 7507).
18. E.g.: Rome, Villa Giulia (ex-Getty Museum 83.AE.362), BAPD 13363: the young Astyanax in the tondo; Paris, Musée du Louvre G291 and fr: the athlete in the tondo, ARV² 322,36; BAPD 205386.
21. ARV² 313,2, 318,1; 318,2; 319,5; 319,6; 322,27; 325,79; 320,8; Rome, Villa Giulia (ex-Getty 83.AE.362), and probably ARV² 330,4.
22. Rome, Villa Giulia (ex-Getty Museum 81.AE.213; 85.AE.18)
24. ARV² 20.
27. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.96.1; 76.AE.96.2; BAPD 5732. 5733.
29. Robertson (supra n. 7) 94–95.
30. For a photo that shows the two phialai in side view, Cardon (supra n. 28) 132 figs. 3. 4.
31. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2620, ARV² 16,17; 1619; Para 322. 379; BAdd² 153; BAPD 20080.
33. Cardon (supra n. 28) 137 and more recently Cohen (supra n. 32) 64–65 nos. 11. 12.
34. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 90.AE.38; 76.AE.96.1; 76.AE.96.2.
36. The term was taken from Strong’s typography of the phialai in metalware: D. E. Strong, Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plates (1966) 76–77.
39. Spina, Valle Pegga Tomb 41D.
40. In addition to the phialai reproduced in Fig. 6, one must add the following: Agina, Archaeological Museum 1675 (I. Margreiter, Alt-Aegina I.3 [1988] no. 255); Agina Archaeological Museum B51. B52 (D. Williams, AA 1987, 661 figs. 33. 35); two phialai from Olbia, Grave 30.
(AA, 1914, 132 fig. 208); Phanogoria no. 335 (C. Morgan, Attic Fine Pottery of the Archaic and Hellenistic Periods in Phanogoria [2004] no. 335); Ruscino 0530 (J. J. July – P. Rouillard, La céramique attique de Ruscino, RANarb suppl 7 [1980] 174 no. 15); Ampurias no. 23 (E. Sammarti-Grego – R. A. Santiago, RANarb 21, 1988, fig. 2 no. 23); Sardis, Att393 (J. S. Schaeffer – N. H. Ramage – C. H. Greenewalt, The Corinthian, Attic and Lakinon Pottery from Sardis [1997] pl. 52 Att393); Oriia nos. 663. no. 664 (G. Semerario, Ceramica greca e società nel arcaico Lecce [1997] 209 nos. 663–664 fig. 186); Trachones, Geroulanos Collection (G. D. Weinberg, Hesperia 30, 1961, pl. 91a); Ferrara, Museo Nazionale Archeologico T41D, from Valle Pegas (ARV² 1669,772d).

41 See for instance, Berlin Antikensammlung V.I. 4499: CVA Berlin 1 DDR 3 80 and Kassel Staatliche Museen T550, CVA Kassel 1 Germany 35 68 both dated to the middle of the fifth century BC.

42 For the difference between the coral-red and the matt red on the Sotadean fluted phialai and mastoi attested by stereomicroscopy examination, Cohen (supra no. 32) 312.


45 The following are part of the sub-group 1: Aigina, Archaeological Museum 1675 (Margreiter [supra no. 40] no. 255, black-glossed); two phialai from Olbia, coral-red and black-glossed, Grave 30 (AA 1914, 132 fig. 208); Phanogoria no. 335 (Morgan [supra no. 40] no. 335); Ruscino 0530 (July – Rouillard [supra no. 40] 174 no. 15); Ampurias no² 23 (Sammarti-Grego – Santiago [supra no. 40] fig. 2 no. 23); Sardis, Att393 (Schaeffer – Ramage – Greenewalt [supra no. 40] pl. 52 Att393); Oriia nos. 663. 664 (Semerario [supra no. 40] 209 n. 663–664 fig. 186).

46 Aigina Archaeological Museum B51. B52, black-glossed (Williams [supra no. 40] 661 figs. 33. 35); Trachones, Geroulanos collection (Weinberg [supra no. 40] pl. 91a); Ferrara, Museo Nazionale Archeologico T41D, from Valle Pegas (ARV² 1669,772d). The phialai from Trachones and Yale were considered by Beazley to be “replicas” and shaped from a different potter than Sotades (ARV² 1669,772d).

47 Agora XII 99. B. Sparkes dates the production of the cups to the first quarter of the fifth century BC/beginning of the second quarter.

48 Cohen (supra n. 32) 52.


50 J. Busuttil, Gar 16, 1969, 205–208.


53 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.47: Moore (supra n. 50) 12 fig. 2.

54 Ex N. Hunt collection no. 8, attributed to Onesimos, Proto-Panaetian (current location unknown): Add² 393; BAPD 8839; Heidelberg, Ruprechts-Karl Universität 54; ARV² 328,116; Athens, Acropolis Museum 205: ARV² 329,133.

56 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.47 (The Hegesiboulous Painter); Athens, Third Ephoria, A5040 (Euphorios or the Hegesiboulous Painter); Ex N. Hunt collection no. 8 (current location unknown), attributed to Onesimos, Proto-Panaetian.

57 Psiax: St Petersburg, Hermitage B 9270, cup, ABV 294,22; BAPD 320368; Cohen (supra n. 32) 54–56 no. 7; Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig Kä 421, plate, ABV 294,21; BAPD 320367; Cohen (supra n. 32) 199–200 no. 52.

58 Paris, Musée du Louvre G106, ARV² 18,3; Euphorios peintre à Athènes au VIe siècle avant J.-Chr (1990) 134–136 no. 18.

59 Paris, Musée du Louvre G106, ARV² 18,3; Euphorios (supra n. 58) 134–136 no. 18; in a tondo, London, British Museum GR 1837,6–9,58, ARV² 58,51; Euphorios (supra n. 58) 174–177 no. 36.

60 Although a single figure without patternwork is a distinctive feature of the Berlin Painter’s compositions, when he adds a groundline the painter used short patterned strips to serve as a plinth for his images and not a simple reserved line as on the cup from the Class of Agora P 10350. For the development and use of single figures on open framed compositions, J. M. Hurwitt, AJA 81, 1977, 15–17.

61 For the profiles of two coral-red cups of Type C, Athens Agora Museum P32344 and Athens, Agora Museum P33221, attributed to Euphorios, see K. Lynch, The Symposium in Context, Pottery from a Late Archaic House near the Athenian Agora, Hesperia Suppl. 46 (2011) 228–229 figs. 84–85a.

62 Only the Attic figured vases were published. The complete material assemblage of the tomb may be seen on display at Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Room 1.


64 Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale T41, ARV² 205,114bis.

65 Bloesch (supra n. 14) 78–80 with one exception, Naples, Astaria 658, potted by Python, the regular potter of Douris, ARV² 340,71; BAd² 1646; CVA British Museum 9 Great Britain 17 28.

66 Ferrara, Archaeological Museum T867, ARV² 205,114 (J. D. Beazley called T41 a replica of T867).

67 Eton College 16646, BAPD 16646; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.72, see Moore (supra n. 50) 39 fig. 28; Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 233: for the group and further bibliography, see D. von Bothmer, JHS 71, 1951, 46 nos. 4–6.

68 Von Bothmer (supra n. 67) 47.


71 Already by J. D. Beazley, in: Kurtz (supra n. 14) 39–59. “Workshop associations are still a complex matter, and in the relatively small area of the Kerameikos, shops must have been close together, movement between one and the next easy, and industrial espionage a daily occurrence”; B. Sparkes, in: G. Bolter (ed.), Greek Art. Archic into Classical (1985) 19.
72  E.g. for the Aerocups, Agora XII 96.
74  Cohen (supra n. 32) 48–51; Lynch (supra n. 61) 93–95.
75  Cohen (supra n. 32) 50; D. Williams, in: Cohen (supra n. 32) 296.
77  Williams (supra n. 75) 296.
78  A. Tsingarida, in: Lapatin (supra n. 35) 193–199.