



FIG. 1.

ON A GROUP OF EARLY ATTIC LEKYTHOI.

[PLATES IV.—VII.]

THE white lekythoi represented on Plates IV.—VII. and Figs. 1 and 2 are members of a series, twelve or more in number, all bearing a marked family likeness in style, subject, and inscription. They are of interest to the historian as presenting pictures of Athenian domestic life in the years of peace which followed the Persian War: to the student of sculpture as anticipating in a curious way many of the types and motives of later grave-reliefs: and to the student of vase-technique as bridging the interval between the white-ground kylikes of the 'severe' school and the 'Lécythes blancs attiques à représentations funéraires' on which M. Pottier has written. Here is the list. For the sake of clearness I have placed the inscriptions of the white-ground lekythoi on the left-hand side of the page, those of the red-figured on the right.

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|-----|---|---|----------|
| 1. | ΓΛΑΥΚ . Ν
ΚΑΛΟΣ
ΛΕΑΓΡΟ | From Attica : much broken. Plate IV. Now at Bonn. <i>Seated lady putting on necklace, and standing figure (maid?)</i> . Height originally about 40 m. | |
| 2. | From Eretria.
Athens, 1645. <i>Seated lady opening casket, and standing maid</i> . | ΓΛΑΥΚΟΝ
ΚΑΛΟΣ
ΛΕΑΓΡΟ | Ht. 31. |
| 3. | From ?
Oxford, 320. Catalogue, p. 32, fig. 35. <i>Nurse holding child</i> . | ΓΛΑΥΚΩΝ
ΚΑΛΟΣ
ΛΕΑΓΡΟ | Ht. 35. |
| 4. | ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ
ΚΑΛΟΣ Ο
ΜΕΛΑΝΟΡ | From Eretria. Plate V.
Athens, 1922. <i>Lady holding toilet-vase and maid holding casket, both standing</i> . | Ht. 30. |
| 5. | ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ
ΚΑΛΟΣ
ΜΕΛΑΝΟΡΟ | From Eretria. Plate V.
Athens, 1963. <i>Two ladies, standing, one holding basket of grave-offerings, the other alabastron and toilet-vase : between them a stork</i> . | Ht. 40. |
| 6. | ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ
ΚΑΛΟΣ
ΜΕΛΑΝΟΡΟ | From Eretria. Plate V.
Athens, 1923. <i>Seated lady holding toilet-vase, another standing and holding tray-basket</i> . | Ht. 36. |
| 7. | ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ
ΚΑΛΟΣ Ο
ΜΗΛΑΝΟΡ | From Eretria.
Messrs. Rollin and Feuarent.
<i>Seated lady and standing maid with casket</i> . | Ht. 37. |
| 8. | ΔΡΟΜΙΠΡΟΣ
ΚΑΛΟΣ
ΔΡΟΜΟΚΛΕΙΔΟ | From Halimus (Pikrodafni). Plate VII.
Berlin, 2443. <i>Nurse bringing child to seated lady</i> . | Ht. 368. |
| 9. | ΔΡΟΜ]ΙΠΡΟΣ
ΚΑΛΟΣ]
ΔΡΟΜΟΚΛΕΙ]ΔΟ | From Athens.
Van Branteghem Sale Catalogue, 174. <i>Two ladies standing, one holding basket</i> . | Ht. 36. |
| 10. | ΛΙΤΑΣ
ΚΑΛΟΣ
ΞΑΜ[ΙΟΥ | From Athens. Plate VI.
British Museum, D 50. <i>Seated lady, and standing maid with basket of offerings</i> . | Ht. 36. |

On all these white-ground lekythoi (1 and 4-9) the flesh is represented by white added on the yellowish-white ground. This is not the case with the two which follow.

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|-----|----------------------------------|--|---------|
| 11. | ΑΛΚΙΜ . ΔΗΣ
ΚΑΛΟΣ
ΑΙΞΥΛΙΔΟ | From Gela.
Oxford, 266. Catalogue, Pl. 20. <i>Two ladies with lyres, one seated, one standing</i> . | Ht. 35. |
|-----|----------------------------------|--|---------|

12. AΞΙΟΓΕΙ//// From Suessula, Campania. Ht. 35.
 ΚΑΛΟΞ Spinelli Collection, Acerra, *Röm. Mitth.* 1887,
 ΑΛΚΙΜΑΤΗ//// Taf. xii. 5. *Seated lady and standing maid.*

It will be most convenient to discuss them under the heads of

I.—Inscriptions.

II.—Subjects.

III.—Distribution.

IV.—Technique.

I.—*The Inscriptions.* The common characteristic of the series is the addition of the father's name to the usual 'love-inscription.' An apparent exception is the Lichas vase (No. 10, Plate VI. and Fig. 1), on which the third word has usually been read Σάμ(ιο)ς, 'the Samian.' This is possible; at any rate Lichas is not an Attic name. It seems better, however, to read Σαμ(ιο)υ, son of Samios, for several reasons:—

(α) The last letter is / and may fairly be completed γ.¹ It is true that the hastily written ξ on these vases often acquires a somewhat 'lunate' form; but, so far as I know, it is always a blurred zig-zag rather than a plain curve, as may be seen here in the two preceding words.

(β) In all the other three-line inscriptions of this kind the third word gives the father's name.

(γ) That a Lichas should be son of a Samios is peculiarly probable, since, while neither is Attic, both are known as Spartan names.²

It is not easy to account for this fashion of adding the father's name, which is the characteristic badge of our series.³ As the population of Athens increased the use of the patronymic to distinguish persons of the same name would become more necessary. But there may be a further reason. In the case of Glaukon the allusion to his illustrious father would be an additional compliment. In like manner the name of Samios had honourable associations. Herodotos tells how at the siege of Samos in 525 a Spartan named

¹ The form γ occurs on the kantharos of Epigenes (*Annali* 1850, Tav. H, I) and on the Alkimedes lekythos, our No. 10. For earlier instances of ΟΥ instead of Ο to represent the non-diphthongal ου, see Kretschmer, *Vasen-inschriften*, p. 108.

² See for Lichas, Herod. i. 67, Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2, 21. For Samios Herod. iii. 55, Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. Lichas occurs in other Dorian states; Samios seems peculiar to Sparta.

³ The only other instance seems to be a

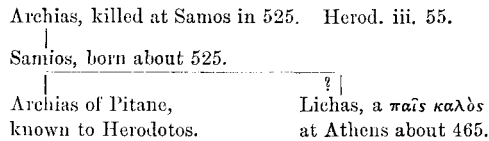
Nolan amphora, E, 330 in the British Museum (*Mon. d. Inst.* i. 9, 3), which has

ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΩΞ
 ΚΑΛΩΞ
 ΕΠΙΧΑΡΟΣ

As Wernicke suggests, this Epichares may be identical with one whose name appears on a kylix contemporary with the early work of Euphronios. See also his speculations as to the relationship of this Alkimachos and the father of Axiopeithes (No. 11 in the list above).

Archias charged with a single comrade through the gate and fell overpowered by numbers inside the town, where the enemy gave them honourable burial. In memory of his heroic end and of the chivalrous conduct of the Samians a son of Archias received the name of Samios. Herodotos heard the story from a younger Archias, son of Samios, with whom he conversed at Sparta.

As Samios, even at Sparta, was an unusual name, it seems possible that our Lichas belonged to this family; he may have been son of the first Samios and brother of the second Archias. A Samios who commanded the Spartan fleet in 401 would belong to the next generation. We get the following stemma:—



I venture to date the Lichas vases 'about 465,' because the presence and popularity of a young Spartan in Athens would accord admirably with the well-known *λακωνισμὸς* of Kimon,⁴ whose power was at its height between 470 and 464. We can hardly imagine such a case after the ignominious return of Kimon's expedition to the aid of Sparta against the Helots—*καὶ διαφορὰ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας πρῶτον Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις φανερὰ ἐγένετο*, says Thucydides (i. 102)—still less after Kimon's ostracism, which followed about 462.

This dating harmonizes with the Glaukon-Leagros chronology, which is based on No. 1 of our series, the beautiful fragment reproduced on Plate IV.⁵ Leagros was a favourite of the vase-painters about 500 and died in 467. His son Glaukon, who commanded the fleet about 432, is generally supposed to have enjoyed a similar popularity soon after the second Persian war. Now the Lichas lekythos, No. 10, is certainly later in style than the Glaukon fragment, No. 1; but the severe style of a Nolan amphora at Oxford which bears the name of Lichas and the comparative freedom of the two red-figured Glaukon lekythoi, our Nos. 2 and 3, warn us that in a period of rapid transition many different styles are in use together. We shall probably be safe in regarding the earlier Lichas vases⁶ as contemporary with the later Glaukon group.

⁴ Tangible proofs of it are the facts that he was proxenos of Sparta and called one of his sons *Λακεδαιμόνιος*. Cf. Plutarch's *Cimon, passim*.

⁵ After an admirable water-colour by Dr. Winter. For permission to reproduce it here I am indebted to the great kindness of Professor Loescheke. The fragment is well known by description (*Arch. Jahrb.* ii. p. 162 Studniczka, *Arch. Anz.* 1890, p. 11 Loescheke, and the collections of Klein and Wernicke).

⁶ Klein gives only our No. 10, besides the Nolan amphora from Gela, already referred to,

and a vase of unknown form. Add the following white lekythoi. All agree in the use of added white with our No. 10.

(a) ΚΑΛΟΣ
ΛΙ+ΑΣ

Oxford. Seated lady holding wreath. Behind her a column, at her feet a duck. Red-figured shoulder. Ht. '25.

(b) ΛΙ+ΑΣ
ΚΑΛΟΣ

Athens 1913. Found at Athens.

Woman offers fruit to youth. Between them a dog. Ht. '27.

A confirmation of this view is to be found in the love-inscriptions. The Ionic lettering and neat *στοιχηδόν* writing which characterize the Lichas vases only became common about halfway through the period of Glaukon's popularity. The straggling, ill-spelled inscriptions on earlier vases show that it was not until after the Persian wars that education reached the Kerameikos. There are exceptions, from Epiktetos onwards. Pistoxenos, on the Schwerin kotyle which shows Herakles at school, is at pains to exhibit his own schooling in a careful two-line signature.⁷ About the same time Duris in another school-scene uses the Attic alphabet with \vee for the 'love-inscription,' but the Ionic with Ω for the fragment of Epic poetry on the roll in the master's hand.⁸ We find the converse on a well-known amphora painted some years later. Then the inscription on the base of a tripod preserves the Attic \perp , still customary in public records, while the 'love-name' $\Gamma\Lambda\Delta\nu\kappa\Omega\Nu$ is in Ionic, now the ordinary hand-writing of the artist.⁹ On the white kylix at Berlin to which Euphronios put his name as master-potter, $\Lambda\vee\Delta\nu\kappa\Omega\Nu$ $\kappa\Delta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ stands in the old straggling fashion; but on the Acropolis kylix representing the death of Orpheus, in all likelihood the work of the same anonymous painter,

the fragmentary $\Omega\Nu$ seems to represent an original $\Lambda\vee\Delta\nu\kappa\Omega\Nu$ $\kappa\Delta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ written exactly as on the London kylix with the design of Aphrodite riding the swan. We can follow the same fashion and—if Dr. Hartwig is right—the same hand, on two exceptionally large red-figured kylikes at Munich, which bear the inscription $\acute{\omicron}$ *παῖς* *καλός* repeated many times as if for mere decorative effect. At this point the signatures of the great kylix-painters come to an end; but on larger vases we find Hermonax and Polygnotos signing in two lines *στοιχηδόν*, though still in Attic letters. The writing of Epigenes, Sotades, Xenotimos and Agathon shows the gradual advance of the regular Ionic method. A host of vases inscribed with $\text{HO}\Gamma\text{AI}\xi$ $\kappa\Delta\Lambda\omicron\varsigma$ and the two-line love-inscriptions of Alkimachos, Euaion, Hippon, Hygiaion, Nikon, Polyuctos, Sophanes, prove how fixed the rule became in the following years.¹⁰ The explanation is that about 475 the concurrent use of two alphabets made

(c) Same inscription. At a dealer's. Found near Peiraeus.

Seated lady, to whom maid brings casket. Much burned. Ht. .33.

(d) Same inscription. Boston 448. Found at Eretria.

Two women talking; one holds alabastron and toilet vase. Ht. .30. It appears from a photograph which Mr. Edward Robinson has been so kind as to send me that this is the vase published by le Vicomte de Caix de Saint-Aymour in *Mem. des Ant. de France*, 6me. série iii. p. 65, Fig. 2. Another vase there described seems to be No. 449 of the Boston Catalogue.

Of these Lichas vases (a) is about contemporary with the Glaukon lekythos (*Jahrb.* ii. p. 163) and uses black relief-lines. (c) closely resembles our No. 10. (d) is freer in style and has the later shoulder-ornament—see Fig. 5 below.

⁷ *Annali* 1871, F.

⁸ Berlin, No. 2285. *Mon. d. Inst.* ix. 54. *Arch. Zeit.* 1873, Taf. 1.

⁹ British Museum, E 298. Klein, *Euphronios*,² p. 103.

¹⁰ Cf. Gerhard, *A. V.* 189. $\kappa\Delta\Lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\text{E}\kappa\text{T}\Omega\text{P}$

systematic teaching necessary;¹¹ hence the neat *στοιχηδόν* writing became general. Then, as in modern Germany, the neat use of the foreign handwriting became a mark of superior education, and the Attic alphabet gradually dropped out of use.

Γ and Λ were adopted before Η and Ω. The curious misuse of Η for Ε on our No. 7 shows how insecure was the painter's knowledge of the new characters. It is an ambitious mistake parallel to the frequent misuse of Ω on vases of the same period (ΑΛΚΙΜΑ+ΩΣ, ΚΛΕΝΙΑΣ ΚΑΛΩΣ, ΔΙΩΝΥΣΩΣ and other instances collected by Kretschmer, *Vasenschriften*, p. 107).

II.—*The Subjects.* It is curious to trace the process by which the decoration of the lekythos came to refer almost exclusively to the cult of the dead. The majority of our series, 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 11 and 12, show scenes of domestic life and nothing more. The mirror and metal jugs which hang on the wall mark the scene as laid indoors; later they became conventional, and sometimes appear high in air in a tomb-scene. The figures and their attitudes hardly vary: a slight change in the accessories gives the graceful scene a fresh meaning: we see the Athenian lady trying on a new necklace, opening her jewel-box, welcoming her child, playing on the lyre, or conversing with her maid. The toilet-vase, so common in later grave-scenes, might be held in No. 4 to denote preparations for the bath. But in 5, 6, 9 and 10 the trays containing wreaths and sashes are offerings made ready for a visit to the tomb. There need not be any allusion as yet to the ultimate destination of the lekythos on which this scene was so appropriate; it was a natural variation of the common indoor-scene. In Athens, as in some Eastern countries to-day, the visits to the dead and the decoration of the grave were not only among the duties but in all likelihood among the chief interests and pleasures of women who otherwise seldom went abroad. At Athens and at Eretria the novelty seems to have been popular, and painters hit on other and more outspoken methods of dedicating the lekythos to its work. The earliest lekythos with a tomb-scene¹² and the earliest with Charon,¹³ though different in style, are shown by their peculiar shoulder-ornament, a triple palmette and two flowers on white ground (transitional between the usual red-figured shoulder and the triple palmette with volutes which appears on most of our three-line series, and is further developed on the later white lekythoi), to be nearly contemporary. We find the same transitional ornament on three white lekythoi at Berlin: the first¹⁴ represents a warrior parting from his wife and child—probably Hector and Andromache; the second,¹⁵ a lady and her maid starting to the grave, a tray on the maid's head containing lekythoi and other offerings; the third,¹⁶ in somewhat later style, a woman and a youth before a low tomb on which are placed a lyre, a casket, and a number of vases. Chronology and style alike

¹¹ See the remarks of Kretschmer, *Vasenschriften*, p. 104 ff. *Gr. u. Sic. Vasenb.* Taf. 27.

¹⁴ Cat. 2444.

¹² *Ath. Mitt.* xv. Taf. 1.

¹⁵ Inv. 3171. *Anzeiger* 1891, p. 118, No. 15.

¹³ Stackelberg, *Gräber*, Taf. 47. Benndorf,

¹⁶ *Ib.* 3262. *Anzeiger* 1893, p. 93, No. 55.

forbid us to draw a hard and fast line, as was formerly done, between the lekythoi with sepulchral and the lekythoi with domestic subjects. There are several instances of lekythoi evidently painted in pairs, of which one represents an indoor-scene, the other mourners at a grave. In this way the old types of mistress and maid, husband and wife, came to be associated with the idea of death, and even perpetuated in the marble grave-reliefs of the next generation.

III.—*Distribution.* M. Pottier's contention that funeral lekythoi in the strict sense are rarely found outside Attica (and, we must now add, Eretria) still holds good as a general rule.¹⁷ But the fact that the vases of our series have been found not only in Attica and Eretria, but in Sicily and Italy, shows that at the time when white lekythoi with domestic scenes were gradually acquiring a funeral significance, they were still articles of export. The frequency of lekythoi in the graves of Eretria and Gela has led various writers to suppose the existence of local fabrics. This hypothesis involves great difficulties, not the least of which is the occurrence of Attic love-names at both places. Thus of the Lichas vases enumerated above, two were found near Athens, one at Gela, one at Eretria. We can hardly imagine Gela supplying vases to Athens and Eretria, or Eretria to Gela and Athens. Moreover there are many points of contact between the early lekythoi and certain Nolan amphorae, which it is generally admitted were made in Athens for the Campanian market. This relationship is well illustrated by two white lekythoi found at Gela. The first bears the name of Akestorides,¹⁸ and represents two women with musical instruments; the second that of Timokrates,¹⁹ and represents a mother (Aithra ?) greeting her son. On both white is used for the flesh-parts, as on our three-line series, but the 'love-inscription' is written in a peculiar way characteristic of certain 'Nolan' amphorae, the *καλός* horizontally above, the name vertically between the figures.²⁰ Moreover, in spite of their very advanced drawing, they retain the red-figured shoulder with triple palmettes and double flower which characterizes Nos. 1-3 of our series. Evidently we have here a somewhat different class of white lekythoi, made in a 'red-figured' workshop for export to Gela, where lekythoi were especially popular, as is seen from the fact that two red-figured lekythoi of Attic style have been found there bearing the name of Charmides, which elsewhere occurs only on Nolan amphorae.

A curious testimony to this export trade is furnished by fig. 2, the fragment of a fine lekythos which pretty certainly belonged to our three-line series. It was found by Schliemann in the tumulus in the Troad called Hanai Tepeh, and is now in the Völkerkunde Museum at Berlin. We have the head and shoulders of a woman holding a white toilet-vase like those

¹⁷ Dr. Furtwängler tells me that the Museum at Palermo contains a lekythos from Gela, No. 157, red outlines on white ground, representing a mourner beside a grave-stele.

¹⁸ Van Branteghem Sale Catalogue, No. 171,

and Plate 43.

¹⁹ Ashmolean Catalogue, Plate 20.

²⁰ Compare *e.g.* the somewhat earlier Glaukon amphora, de Luynes, Vases Plate XXV., or that at Vienna with the name of Timonides.

held by the women on the Diphilos lekythoi. In the upper left-hand corner close to the break there remains the final ξ of a long proper name, then after a space sufficient for $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ on the missing part, we find lower down the upper tips of two letters, possibly the final Δ and $\textcircled{\text{O}}$ of $\Delta\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\Delta\textcircled{\text{O}}$.



FIG. 2.

IV. *Technique*.—We have seen that the inscriptions and the subjects of our vases exhibit such uniformity as to justify the belief that the greater part of the series proceed from a single workshop. Upon examining their technique we find the same fixity of tradition along with a constant progress in method and design.

The first on our list, the Glaukon fragment (Plate IV.), is the immediate successor of the great white kylikes; like them it is a show-piece produced in a r. f. workshop, and combines the externals of a r. f. vase with a fresco-like painting on prepared ground. In this case the yellow slip is so thin as to take from the clay below it a reddish tone, against which the face, arms, and feet of the seated lady stand out in brilliant white. The chair is purple, the Ionic chiton clear red, and the himation brown with touches of thinned-out glaze-paint for the folds. On her head she wears a close-fitting white embroidered cap; the locks that fall over the forehead are drawn in thinned glaze, the knot that escapes behind in black. The artist has lavished remarkable care upon the delicate lines of the face; in the eye, not yet in true profile, with its long lashes and drooping upper lid, it seems as if he had

sought to portray the languor of a fashionable lady. There is the same suggestion in the drawing of the slender fingers, which hold a necklace, taken no doubt from a casket held by the maid whose left foot alone remains at the edge of the fragment; at sight of it her lips part in a smile of pleasure. The face, beautiful as it is in drawing, is somewhat weak, and the unusual attempt at expression leaves a sense of something like caricature; but it is interesting that the attempt should have been made.

The use of white enamel-like paint to heighten the flesh of women and other details in the picture, has been discussed at length by Weisshaeupl, who published an instance of it, an Eretrian lekythos with a tomb-scene, in *Athen. Mitth.* xv. (1890). This excellent paper has one fault; it leaves an impression that the technique is rare, whereas it is very common on lekythoi of the period 475-445. The eighteen instances which he enumerates as known to him, some of them very insignificant—his nineteenth, the crater in the Museo Gregoriano, is not properly an instance of this technique—might easily be increased to fifty.

With our Glaukon fragment it will be enough to compare a few lekythoi, which in shoulder-ornament and drawing stand, like it, in close relation to r. f. work. Such are:—

British Museum, D. 20, from Gela. *Woman seated on diphros holding hoop.* Pink chiton, black mantle with pink fold-lines. Ht. .35. Inscr. $\kappa\Delta\Lambda\text{E}$. Transitional eye, earlier than on the Glaukon fragment.

Oxford, from Eretria. *Woman carrying casket.* Colours like the preceding. Ht. .37. Inscr. $\text{HE}\Gamma\text{A}\iota\zeta$. Upper eyelid and inner contour of lips given.

Athens, 1929, from Eretria. *Woman preparing tray of grave-offerings.* Described by Weisshaeupl, *l. c.* Ht. .32.

Athens, 1987, from Eretria. *Two women standing with grave-offerings.* Black chiton, red mantle. Toilet-vase, basket, and other accessories in black silhouette. Ht. .32.

The heavy black filling which appears on all these as on Nos. 4-9 of our series is simply a modified survival of the black-figure or silhouette style, which continued in occasional use far into the fifth century.²¹ The painters

²¹ A good instance is the b. f. lekythos, Athens, 1129, *Lamia tortured by Sileni*, published by M. Mayer, *Ath. Mitth.* ix. 1891. Its peculiar shape and ornament (vine-pattern on neck, very rare) link it with two outline lekythoi which must be nearly contemporary: Athens, 1983, *Amazons*, and 1982, an early *tomb-scene* with white flesh and details in black. In the case of the well-known Diitrephes vase, I cannot agree with Furtwängler, who says (*Masterpieces*, p. 124, Fig. 48): 'The lekythos to judge from its shape is almost contemporary with the red-figured vases of the fine period, and cannot therefore be much earlier than about

450 B.C.' This lekythos is one of a well-defined group, however, identical in shape and ornament, and marking various stages of transition from b. f. to outline technique. They usually have black neck, bars and 1+3+1 palmettes on red shoulder, white body, and very peculiar meander-band as in *J.H.S.* xiii., Plates II. and III., where (1) and (2) are published:—

(1) Athens, 1132. <i>Odysseus</i> and <i>Kirke.</i>	} From Eretria.
(2) Athens, 1133. <i>Herakles</i> and <i>Atlas.</i>	
(3) Athens, 1809. <i>Eros flying among tendrils.</i> From Aigina. Dumont, <i>Céramiques</i> xi.	

of the white kylikes belonged to a school which had emancipated itself from b. f. traditions in the sixth century; they imitated the effect of larger paintings, on which black silhouette was now, we may be sure, disused; hence we find no black-filling on the Glaukon fragment, which is, as I have said, akin in style to these kylikes. On the other hand, the painter of Nos. 4-9 clung to the old habit of enlivening his design with boldly-distributed patches of black and white, using the very materials which he necessarily had by him, the black glaze with which he coated the foot and neck, the fine white slip which he applied to the body and shoulder. To these he added purple, like all his predecessors in the Kerameikos, employing it for such details as a head-band or the folds of a black mantle,²² and vermilion, with which he picked out the alternate petals of the shoulder palmettes and filled in the Doric peplos of the maid on No. 5. He obtained other tints by thinning his original pigments, various shades of yellow for his outlines from the black glaze, and a pinkish brown, used to express the polished wood of the chairs, from the purple. I emphasize these facts because they show that the lekythos is still a product of the potter's shop and not of a painter's studio; if potter and painter were not one and the same, they were at least fellow-craftsmen working side by side. This goes far to explain the great perfection of form and accessory ornament which distinguishes our series and

These three are b.f. with purple touches.

(4) Vienna, Hof-Mus. 195. *Duel over fallen warrior, women r. and l.*

Free b.f. : no purple.

(5) Cab. des Méd. *Wounded 'Diitrephes,'* b.f. with helmet and shield left in outline; incised lines even finer than those on the Eros (3), which however is freer in drawing.

(6) Athens, 1827. *Nike flying r. over altar.* From Eretria. Outline drawing, with black accessories. 'Severe' eye. The tendril below her recalls those round the Eros (3).

(7) Louvre. *Bust of woman to r. playing lyre. Columns behind.* Collignon, *Céramique Grecque*, Pl. X. 'Severe' eye.

Of these, (1) and (3) have a projecting black rim on the foot; (2) and (5) have a foot with concave profile; the foot of (4), (6), (7), is a plain disc.

We may find a lower limit for dating this series in the Glaukon lekythos (*Jahrb.* ii. p. 163), which has some affinity in shape and decoration, but is far less severe in drawing. To the same period as the 'Diitrephes' vase I would assign the white outline lekythoi with severe drawing in black relief-lines. The subject is usually a woman preceded by an animal in black silhouette, e.g. :—

Oxford, 265. *Nike and black doe.* From Eretria. Ht. .29. *Ashmolean Catalogue*, Pl. 25.

British Museum, D 23. *Priestess and black snake.* From Gela. Ht. .27.

Athens, 1792. *Woman playing lyre, and black dog.* From Attica. Ht. .22. *Ath. Mitth.* xvi., Pl. X. 2.

Louvre. *Artemis (?) and black bull.* From Eretria. Ht. .27.

Compare also :—

Athens, 1964. *Ephēbus putting on greave.* From Eretria. Ht. .30. Described, *Δελτιον*, 1889, p. 76, 5. This figure is contemporary in drawing with the designs ascribed by Hartwig to Amasis; note especially the eye and the beaded edge of the hair on the forehead. It is evident that Furtwängler puts the period of transition too late when he says (*Masterpieces*, p. 124, note 5): 'Just at this time,' i.e. about 450 B.C., 'purely outline designs first make their appearance on lekythoi.' In spite of the weight of his authority I would place the Diitrephes lekythos, with the others which I have enumerated, considerably before 460.

²² We also find white fold-lines, as on Brit. Mus. D 47 (*Catalogue*, vol. iii. Plate XXV.). I used to believe that this vase, found at Gela, must, owing to its technical and stylistic peculiarities, be a Geloan imitation. But I lately saw a lekythos from Southern Attica which exhibited most of these peculiarities, including the white fold-lines. Same style and period. It is the earliest instance known to me of a tomb-scene—a man and woman before a slender four-step stele, which is painted white.

the succeeding series of early polychrome lekythoi from the later classes—a perfection which endured just so long as the design continued to be executed with the old glaze-paint. The gradual encroachment of other pigments marks the increasing division of work between the potter, who drew palmettes and meander in glaze-paint, and the painter who now sketched his outlines in dull black or red, and filled them in with a wash of palette-colour. In time this division becomes complete separation; the potter leaves even the accessory ornament to the painter, he is a mere journeyman furnishing material to the studio. From this time the lekythoi lose all distinction of form; the body becomes convex and unnaturally slim, the shoulder and the neck are elongated, as though it were wished to increase the apparent size of the whole without enlarging the surface to be covered by the picture. Palmettes and meander become hasty, ragged, and conventional, and their lines no longer show that subtle relation to the surface that they adorn which characterizes ornament on the best Greek work, pottery as well as architecture; so unimportant had they become that on the later lekythoi they are at times left unfinished, as on one of the 'pathetic' type with red outlines at Vienna (Benndorf, *Gr. und Sic. Vasenb.*, Plate XXXIV.), or omitted altogether (Furtwängler, *Berlin Vase Catalogue*, 2680—2682). Even at this stage there remains an indication of their former presence in the girdling lines which framed the meander above and below. These, being made by holding the brush against the vase as it turned on the wheel, were necessarily made by the potter (they are well seen on Plate VI., where the circles close just above the head of the standing woman); and the potter with the conservatism of his class continued to prepare this frame for the meander, always in glaze-paint, after the painter had ceased to use it. On some of the latest lekythoi the design mounts from the body to the shoulder, and is cut horizontally by these now meaningless lines.

The vases of our series belong to the period of glaze-outlines, in which the lekythoi are still an organic whole in shape, ornament, and design. The shape (Fig. 1 and Plate V.) hardly varies. The height generally approximates to one of three standard sizes, .30, .35, and .40. Of these, .35 was the favourite size for elaborate pieces.

The closing up of the neck (discussed by Weissbacupl, *loc. cit.*: *Brit. Mus. Vase Cat.* iii. D. 48) appears only as a caprice. In the case of No. 5, the air-hole in the lower part of the body is well seen on Plate V. I have also seen vases in which the hole occurred on the shoulder, between neck and handle.

Of the meander-band we have several varieties. On Plate VI. may be seen an early instance of an invention which relieved its monotony. Instead of couplets running to the right divided by cross-squares as on Plate VII., we have couplets running alternately to right and to left, and the cross-square is alternately attached to the upper and lower line.

The shoulder-palmettes appear in three principal forms (Figs. 3-5). Form A differs only from the r. f. scheme (Nos. 1-3 of our series, figured Klein, *Lieblingsinschriften*, p. 81) in that a double volute takes the place of the

flower at either side of the middle palmette. It appears on 4, 5, 7, and 8 of our series, and by exception on three lekythoi of the fine glaze-outline period, all from Eretria, and now at Athens:—

1818. *Warrior, with eye as device on shield, parting from seated lady.* *Bonner Studien*, Plate XI.

1945. *Parting-scene—woman pours wine for youth.*

1943. *Two women preparing to visit the tomb.*

The two latter were evidently made as a pair. This shoulder-ornament is also retained on some of the r. f. funeral lekythoi found at Eretria, e.g. on the fine pair 445 and 446 in the Boston Museum.

Form B (Fig. 4) is an unsuccessful variation; it appears on our No. 6 and on a white funeral lekythos from Eretria, Athens, 1960. It is interesting as showing that at this time the painter had the power of improvising, and it



FIG. 3. FORM A.

suggests by what stages of experiment the more satisfactory design (Form C, Fig. 5), was brought about.

Of Form C, I cannot give an instance among the twelve vases of our series. On No. 11, where we should expect to find it, the shoulder-pattern is obliterated; about No. 12 I have no information. We find it for the first time on the Boston Lichas-vase and on the fine lekythos with Demeter and Kore (Athens, 1754, Dumont XXXVII.), which are among the latest instances of the use of white for women's flesh. Broadly speaking, Form A disappeared at the same time as this white-flesh technique and was replaced by Form C. The transition is well illustrated by two vases bearing the love-name of Hygiaion. The first, which is in the Louvre (from Eretria, ht. .31), has practically the same design as Plate VI., with the difference that the direction of the figures is reversed and the lady sits on a chair instead of a diphros. The chair is brown, the lady's mantle black with purple fold-lines. The maid

wears a red Doric peplos, with folds drawn in dull black, and a red sakkos crossed by a band now blank (once blue?); the contents of the basket which she holds are woollen fillets, like those seen on Plate VI., tied in wreath-shape; just such fillets are seen hung on the lowest step of a tomb on funeral lekythoi of the glaze-outline series. The flesh is still painted white and the shoulder-pattern is still Form A. The better known Hygiainon lekythos in the British Museum (D. 48, from Athens, ht. .37) offers a complete contrast; the patches of white and of black silhouette have disappeared and the drawing has gained in decision and purity. At the same time Form C has taken the place of Form A on the shoulder.

It is not hard to account for the change. The quality of the white engobe had gradually been improved, until it came from the kiln pure white instead of yellow. Possibly this improvement was hastened by the increasing use of delicate palette colours to take the place of the heavy black



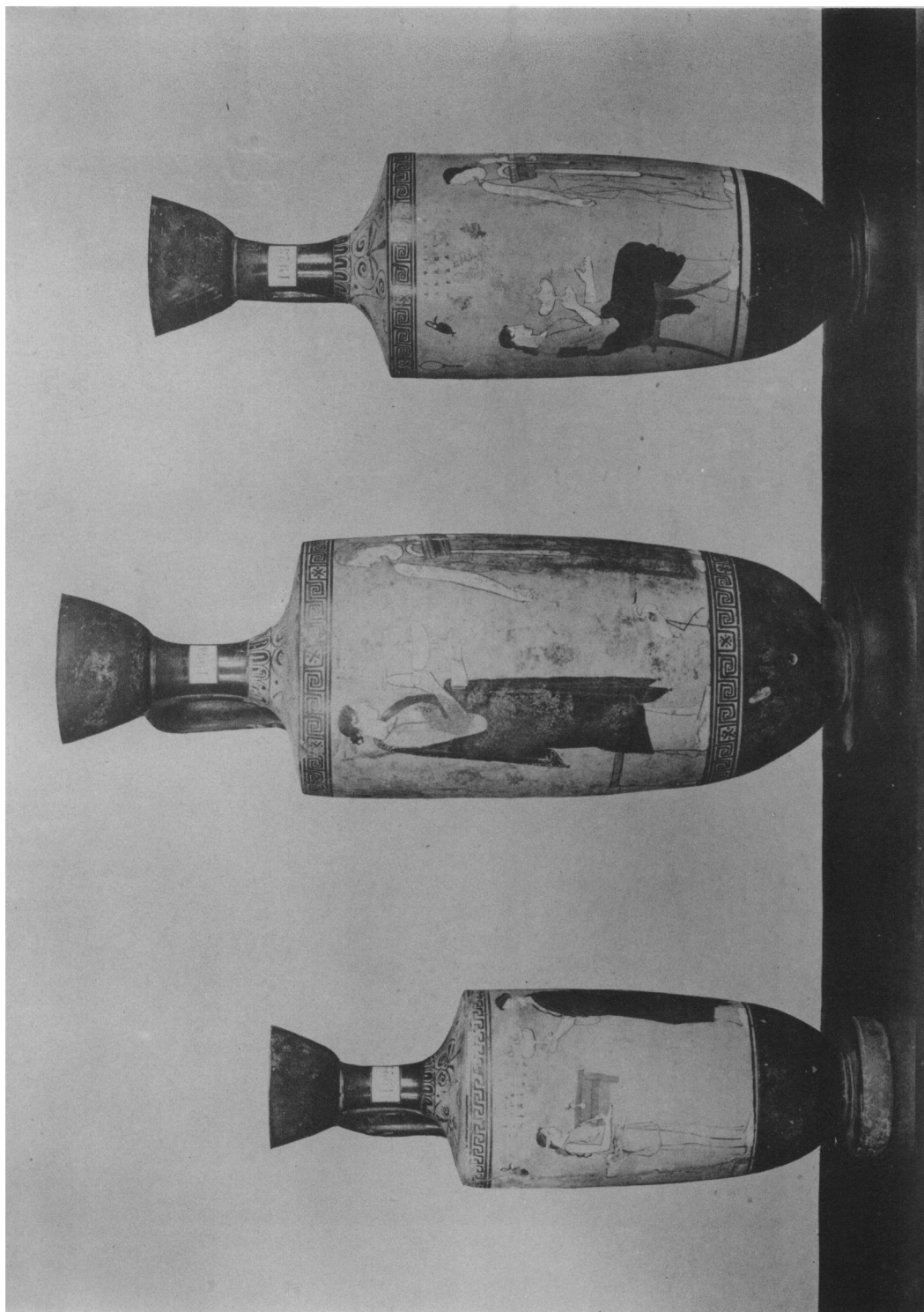
FIG. 4. FORM B.

and purple fillings. On a white slip the addition of white pigment was useless, and no doubt potters and painters dispensed with it the more willingly because it was brittle and difficult to work with, having a tendency to scale off when applied in narrow strips or to an irregular contour. This necessitated the blunt and clumsy outlines of face and hands and feet, seen on Plate VI. and Fig. 2. Moreover, when the white paint had been applied it was necessary to send the vase a second time to the kiln before the inner drawing could be added. The potter's art once freed from these conventional trammels, it was an easy step to the pure and graceful outlines of No. 11. At the same time Form C of the shoulder-palmettes was adopted and was retained as a formula almost without modification throughout the later developments of the lekythos.

My debt of gratitude to Professor Loeschke and Dr. Winter I have already mentioned. Mr. Cecil Smith has helped me with many suggestions. I have to

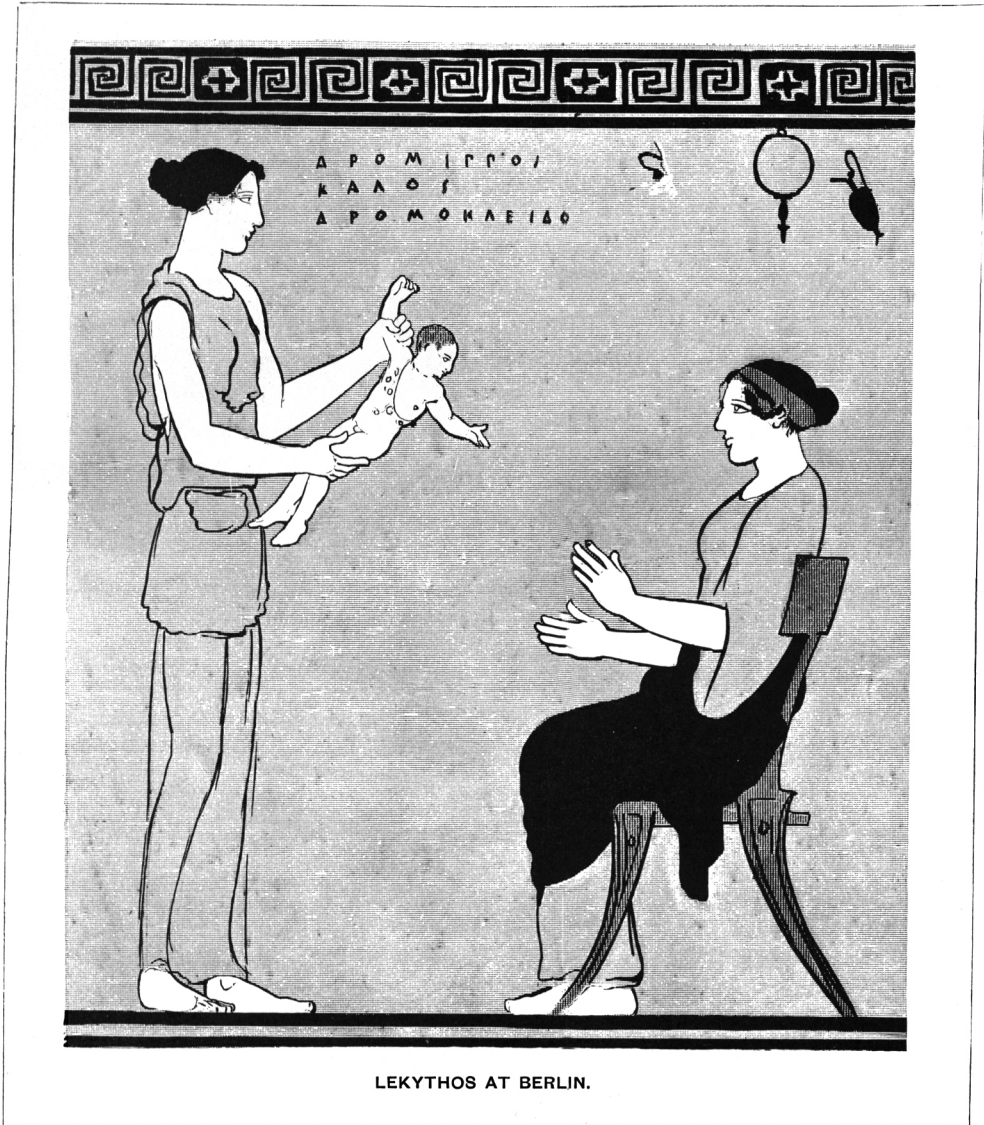


LEKYTHOS FROM ATHENS.



LEKYTHI FROM ERETRIA.





LEKYTHOS AT BERLIN.

thank Mr. Ernest Gardner for the negative of Plate V., Mr. F. Anderson for the drawing of Plate VII., and Mr. C. R. R. Clark of the British School for the diagrams of palmettes.

R. C. BOSANQUET.

Athens.

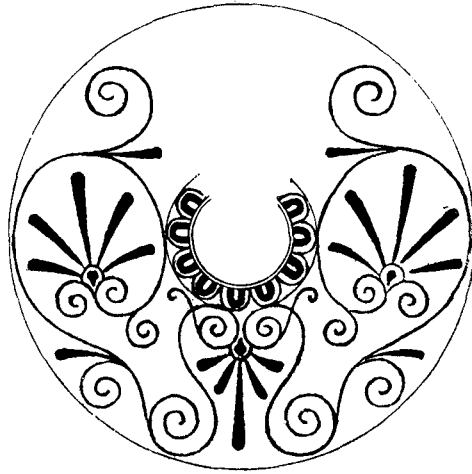


FIG. 5. FORM C.