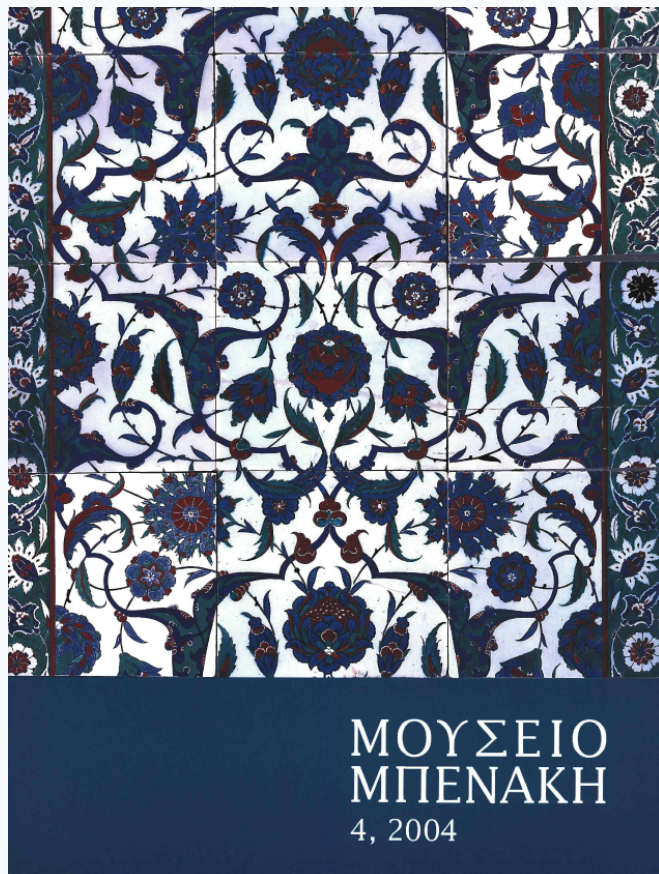


Μουσείο Μπενάκη

Τόμ. 4 (2004)



Ερυθρόμορφα αγγεία στο Μουσείο Μπενάκη: ανασυνθέτοντας fragmenta disjecta

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Red-figured vases at the Benaki Museum: reassembling *fragmenta disiecta*

In memory of Semni Karouzou

THE BENAKI MUSEUM houses a collection of Attic red-figured fragments which were donated in 1986, 1991 and 1995 by Peggy Zoumboulaki in memory of her husband, Tassos. Detailed study in the course of preparation of the Museum catalogue eventually led to the realization that several fragments belonging to a loutrophoros and a hydria join with others, now in the Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich and in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, respectively.¹ Both these vases can be attributed and appended to Beazley's lists of 5th century B.C. vase-painters and both display interesting features of iconography which form the subject of the discussion in the following pages.

Fragments at the Museum of a foot, handles and approximately half of the neck (figs 1, 2) belong with the truncated body of a loutrophoros-hydria in Munich, which was recently published as a work by the Naples Painter² (figs 3, 4). The fragments consist of the upper part of the neck with its mouth including the spring of the vertical handle, both side handles and the stepped foot including part of the lower body of the vase.³ Two bands, of zig-zag and of wavy lines, encircle the underside of the mouth,⁴ the latter recalling the clay snakes found on earlier specimens. On the neck, below a zone of maeanders alternating with saltires, are depicted three women holding, respectively, an alabastron, a container (probably a kalathos, though it is restored as an alabastron)⁵ and a sash. The lower part of the body bears rays. The scene on the body is bordered on top by an egg-and-dart band above which is a partially preserved tongue-band and, below, by a band of maeanders

alternating with saltires, identical to that on the neck.

The continuous register of the body depicts a wedding scene with nine figures in all⁶ (figs 5, 6). Side A is the focal point with the depiction of the bridal couple in the emblematic scheme of *cheir epi karpō*, with the groom clasping the bride's wrist while both gaze solemnly at each other. The couple is elaborately dressed, the groom wearing a myrtle wreath and a long himation which leaves one shoulder bare and the bride a belted chiton with an overfold and edged at the neck with two rows of dots within double lines, a veil on her head and jewellery consisting of a leafed hair-diadem, round earrings and a necklace. The couple is flanked by the two key figures of wedding imagery, the *nymphēutria* and the torch-bearer. The former is the bride's primary attendant, a supportive figure usually represented in the act of adjusting the bride's veil and touching her reassuringly on the elbow, while the latter, a woman holding a torch in each hand, is usually identified as the groom's mother: the newly married couple resided in the groom's parental home and his mother had a prominent role in welcoming the young daughter-in-law and integrating her into the family. Both these attendants wear peploi, and the torch-bearer is additionally adorned with a necklace. The rest of the vase is decorated with the paired figures of a woman proffering a kalathos to a youth and another holding out a sash to a female enveloped in her mantle. These are stock figures, commonly used to fill the secondary areas of the vase and comparable to those on the neck. All are carrying accoutrements linking them with the



Fig. 1. Neck, handles and foot of loutrophoros-hydria. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 35421 (photos: K. Manolis).

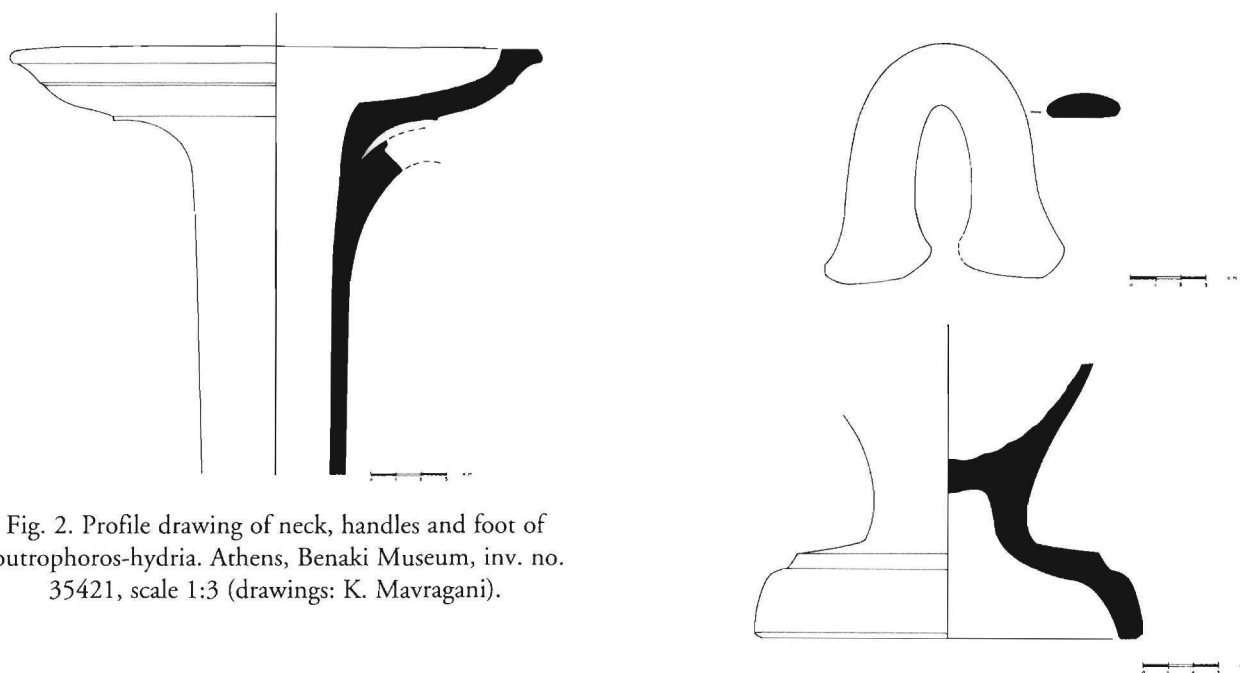


Fig. 2. Profile drawing of neck, handles and foot of loutrophoros-hydria. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 35421, scale 1:3 (drawings: K. Mavragani).



Fig. 3. Body of loutrophoros-hydria. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, inv. no. NI9493 (courtesy Staatliche Antikensammlungen Munich).

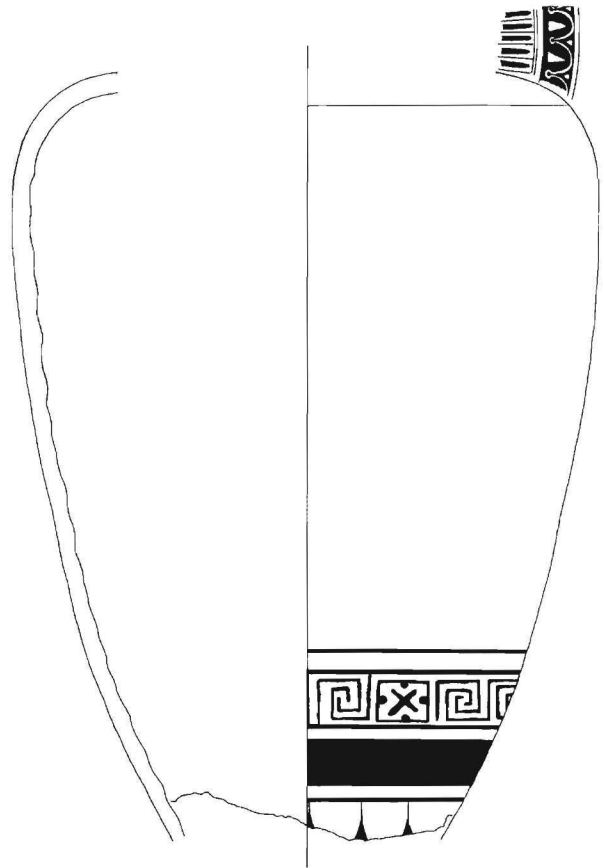


Fig. 4. Profile drawing of body of loutrophoros-hydria. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, inv. no. NI9493, scale 1:3 (drawing: F. S. Knauß).

wedding: the alabastron, a scent-container, alludes to the bride's bathing and adornment, the wool kalathos is a visual reference to the beautiful maiden and industrious wife, and the scarf suggests a festive ambiance.⁷

Of particular interest is the young beardless male wearing a himation and leaning on his staff in the standardized pose of the Athenian citizen. This figure occurs on occasion in the nuptial repertoire of the Naples Painter and his circle, and is located at the edge of the main register of nuptial lebetes, looking on at the bridal preparations.⁸ He also appears on hydriae with generic *gynaikeia* themes which recall the imagery of bridal adornment and display the same compositional scheme.⁹ A nuptial lebes in the manner of the Naples Painter is illuminating in offering clues as to the meaning of this male. On the front side are depicted two vignettes, one featuring the pairing of an attendant bringing a casket with a woman who is

seated in the typical posture of the primping bride; the second depicts a seated woman holding a baby boy on her lap and a man leaning on his staff, presumably her husband. If we read the image as centred on the dual motif of the seated woman, we may view the female as the same person, repeated to show her in different phases of her life. This unusual scene may be seen as an example of a continuous narrative depicting the two most important stages of a wedding: the adornment of the bride, which marks the onset of the ceremony, and the consummation of the marriage, suggested by the portrayal of the same woman mothering her son in his father's house.¹⁰ The transformation of the maiden into a wife and mother of a legitimate male heir to perpetuate her *kyrios'* oikos underlies the Athenian nuptial ceremony and is the core value of the institution of marriage, which was strengthened by Pericles' citizenship law of 451 B.C.¹¹ The cardinal



Fig. 5. Reassembled loutrophoros-hydria. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 35421 and Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, inv. no. NI9493 (photos: R. Kühling).



Fig. 5. Reassembled loutrophoros-hydria. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 35421 and Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, inv. no. NI9493 (photos: R. Kühling).



importance of marriage in Athenian society may explain the increased popularity of wedding images in the 5th century B.C. Furthermore, the cultural idea of the transformation of the *parthenos* was central to Athenian ritual, and is celebrated by artists accordingly.¹² The inclusion of the male figure on the front side of nuptial lebetes from this workshop falls outside the regular pattern which favours scenes of adornment within a closed female circle. In the case of our loutrophoros, the young Athenian citizen as a prospective groom is bound to occupy the back of the vase, since he has already been depicted as a groom leading his bride on the front. A similar arrangement of a groom occupying the back of a loutrophoros, the front side of which depicts a seated bride with her attendants, also appears on a specimen at the Benaki Museum (figs 7, 8).¹³ It is a fragmentary loutrophoros-hydria attributable to the Naples Painter, of roughly the same size, date and excellence of draftsmanship as the Benaki-Munich vase.¹⁴ On the front side the bride, seated in the centre, receives a peplophoros carrying a tray of fruits (figs, pomegranate, bunch of grapes) and two caskets, while another woman behind her bears an *exaleiptron*, an oil or perfume vessel.



Fig. 6. Details of reassembled loutrophoros-hydria. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 35421 and Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, inv. no. NI9493 (photos: R. Kühling).

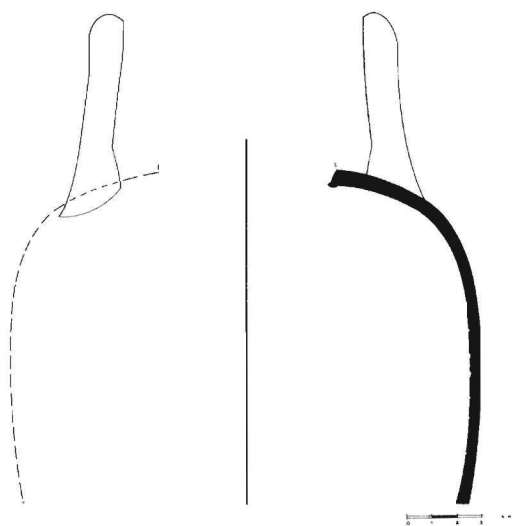
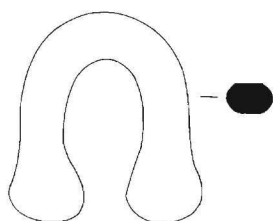


Fig. 7. Loutrophoros-hydria. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 35495 (photos: K. Manolis).

Fig. 8. Profile drawing of loutrophoros-hydria. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 35495, scale 1:3 (drawing: K. Mavragani).

The location is identified as the nuptial *thalamos* by a half-opened door leading to an elaborate bed which occupies the area below one of the side handles.¹⁵ On the back, but directed towards the bride, comes a winged woman with torches, a kind of benevolent, spiritual bridesmaid,¹⁶ followed by the groom. All attention is focussed on the bride, the scent-container referring visually to her nuptial bath, the seeded fruit to her fertility and the caskets to her treasured possessions, among them the jewellery which customarily adorns the ideal maidens of Attic imagery.¹⁷ A young man can be identified with certainty as a prospective groom when he appears in a context indicated as nuptial by bridal preparations. Groom-like figures occur in a wide range of domestic scenes and it is possible that they have the same semantic value as here, although it is not easy to establish that an image involving such a youth is nuptial when the painter employs too generic a scheme.¹⁸

Let us now turn to the painter. The characteristic rendering of the hooked line denoting the nostril is typical of the Naples Painter, and types of figures such as the *nymphethria*, the alabastron-bearer and the leaning youth of our vase have close parallels in this craftsman's surviving works, thus confirming the attribution.¹⁹

The Naples Painter (dated 440-420 B.C.) belongs to the second generation of a group of early classical and classical vase-painters²⁰ whose main speciality is the decoration of column craters for the export market,



Fig. 9. Loutrophoros-amphora. Kunstsammlung der Universität Erlangen, inv. no. I301 (courtesy Antikensammlung der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg).

with a sub-speciality in nuptial ware.²¹ In terms of style of drawing, he is related to the Polygnotans.²² Although the lack of surviving comparanda makes relative chronology tentative, in terms of vase form the piriform shape of our loutrophoros suggests a date early in his career, ca. 440-435 B.C. A later stage is represented by a group of loutrophoroi "near" the Naples Painter in Munich, Karlsruhe and Erlangen (fig. 9), dated by their more elongated proportions, lower foot and larger, spreading mouth to 430-420 B.C.;²³ a still later vase, in Athens, may be dated ca. 420 B.C. (fig. 10).²⁴ The Benaki-Munich loutrophoros represents a somewhat later stage than that by the Sabouroff Painter in Copenhagen (relatively dated ca. 450 B.C.)²⁵ and a slightly earlier one than the specimens by the Washing Painter,²⁶ with whom the Naples Painter is associated at several different levels.

John Beazley attributed nine loutrophoroi to the Naples Painter,²⁷ of which five are listed as dedications to the nuptial shrine of the Nymphe, south of the Acropolis.²⁸ Unfortunately these are all in a fragmentary state, which makes the almost complete Benaki-Munich vase a welcome addition to the painter's oeuvre. Only one other well-preserved wedding loutrophoros exists by him, which is of the amphora type (fig. 11).²⁹ Smaller and inferior in quality of drawing, it bears a *cheir epi karpo* scene of the same pattern as ours on side A, but differs in the inclusion of a torch-bearer on side B and a Nike below each handle. Despite his limited production of nuptial ware, the Naples Painter is the most innovative of the column-crater painters and he introduces novel themes into the somewhat standardised nuptial repertoire of the period. In this respect, his scenes resemble those by the Washing Painter, whose work epitomises the pronounced interest in the female realm and nuptials which is characteristic of the last forty years of the 5th century B.C.³⁰ It should also be noted that, in addition to introducing novelties into wedding iconography, both these painters paid more attention to their nuptial vases aimed at the home market than to their other mass-produced vase-shapes produced for export.

A few words should be said here about the use of the loutrophoros. This ritual vase-shape is associated with both weddings and funerals, which is understandable when one considers that both these ceremonies mark life transitions with similar structural elements.³¹ It is

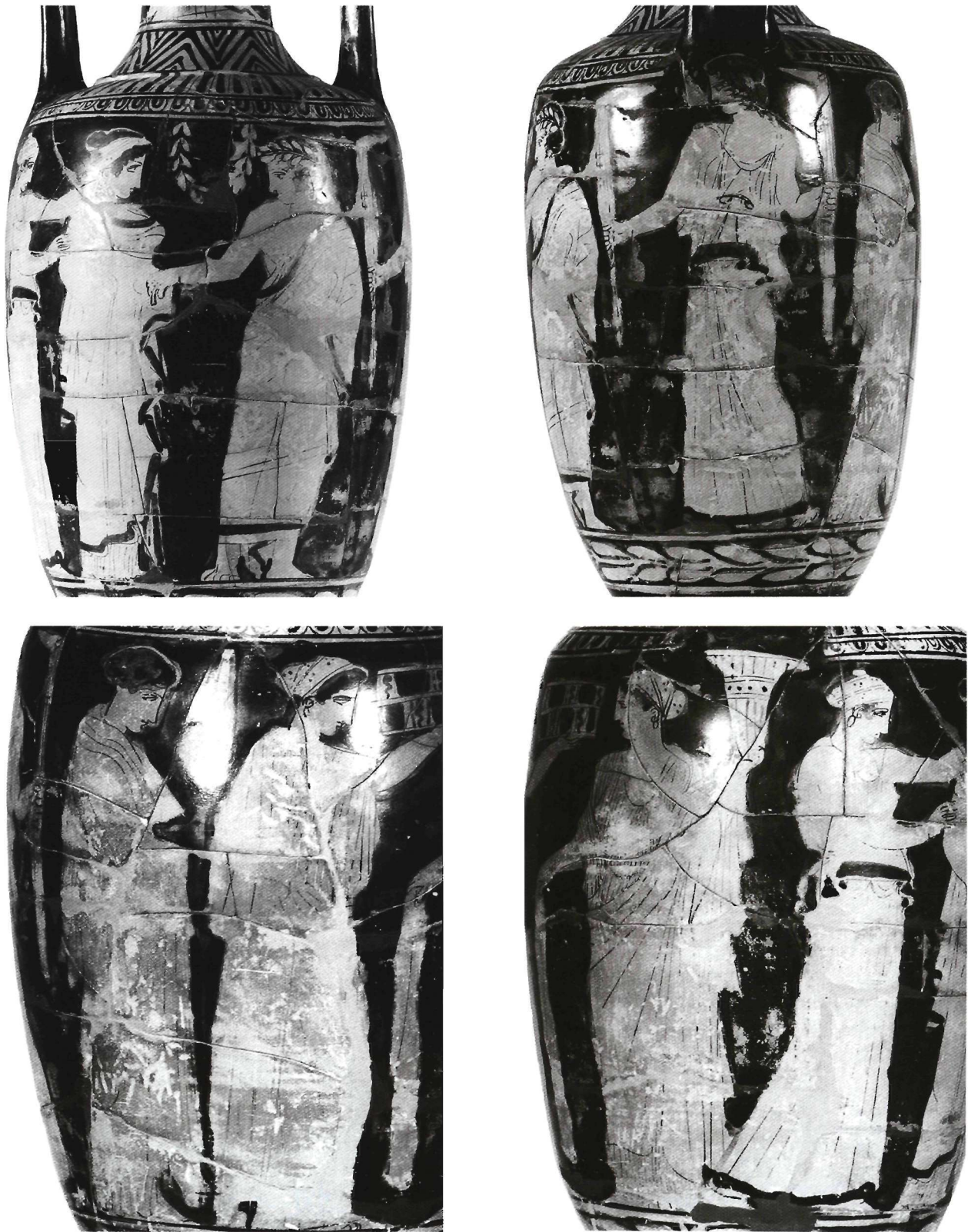


Fig. 9. Loutrophoros-amphora. Kunstsammlung der Universität Erlangen, inv. no. I301 (courtesy Antikensammlung der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg).



Fig. 10. Loutrophoros-amphora. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 13032 (photos: museum).

possible that the vase was not used in the physical event of bathing, but had a non-functional, symbolic use, this being especially the case with very large or very small specimens.³² In contrast to nuptial lebetes which were kept at home after the ceremony, loutrophoroi were dedicated to sanctuaries of nuptial divinities such as the shrine of the Nympe and caves of Pan and the Nymphs. Due to its close semantic link with the nuptial realm, the loutrophoros was by extension used in death to mark the graves of those who died prematurely,

before marriage. It is in fact possible that certain specimens were manufactured specifically for the grave, if we interpret the pierced foot and open bottom with which they are on occasion equipped as a device to communicate libations to the dead through the vase erected over their tomb.³³ The Benaki-Munich loutrophoros does not have a pierced bottom, and therefore it cannot be argued that it was intended as a sepulchral monument. Its relatively good state of preservation and the fact that it appeared on the antiquities market suggests that it was

placed in a grave, to accompany the burial of an *ἄωρος*, a special category of dead. In addition, its burnt fabric suggests that the loutrophoros came from a cremation burial into which it must have been thrown by the relatives of the deceased, possibly as a form of ritual killing of the object. Although the literary sources inform us that loutrophoroi stood on graves of unwedded individuals, their use was not limited to being markers, as our specimen as well as others, suggests. The fact that not all sherds present a uniform degree of burning indicates that the vase was thrown onto the funerary pyre when it was in its final stages.³⁴

Scholarly opinion is divided as to the significance of the distinction between the loutrophoros-amphora as a shape for males and the hydria type for females.³⁵ A gender-related function is supported by the imagery itself, which usually associates loutrophoroi-hydriai with women, but loutrophoroi-amphorae with men. In Red-Figure, loutrophoroi-hydriai are depicted in the laps of brides, or filled with sprigs, or merely as part of the background, in a kind of visual shorthand indicating the nuptial context of the scene. Also, the loutrophoros-hydria is usually decorated with the same iconographic schemes as the nuptial lebes, a shape associated exclusively with women and usually featuring scenes of the nuptial *gynaikeia* type. It should be noted here that the *cheir epi karpo* scheme of the Benaki-Munich vase is rare for a loutrophoros-hydria, and indeed it occurs almost exclusively on loutrophoroi of the amphora type. Yet it does also appear, though relatively infrequently, on other shapes, some of which definitely related to the female.³⁶ Given the unknown provenance and the now lost archaeological context of the Benaki-Munich loutrophoros, any explanation of this discrepancy can only be conjectural. One possible solution is to regard it as a peculiarity of the painter and his workshop, particularly as an analogous inconsistency may be observed on a loutrophoros-amphora depicting the rare, for this vase-type, scene of bridal preparation.³⁷ Yet the fact that a second contemporary loutrophoros (Benaki Museum, inv. no. 35495) by the same painter and of the same excellent quality and related iconography derives from the same source in the antiquities market may suggest that these two vases come from a single grave, where they might have been offered as a pair for a girl who became a premature bride of Hades. Indeed, if one views these loutrophoroi as a pair, their iconographic themes

emerge as complementary, one depicting the moment preceding the consummation of the marriage, the other the couple's solemn and emblematic union. The production of matched pairs is well attested both by evidence of manufacture and by grave deposits, especially in the case of nuptial lebetes, which have been excavated and are also depicted in pairs.³⁸ However, no actual loutrophoroi have, to my knowledge, been found in pairs and the only appearance of a paired set occurs on a fragmentary loutrophoros depicting Eros with a loutrophoros-amphora and a loutrophoros-hydria in each hand, presumably one for each spouse.³⁹ The Benaki loutrophoros-hydria inv. no. 35495 is slightly smaller and has different handles and ornament from its proposed Benaki-Munich pair. This may perhaps indicate that these vases were not potted as a pair,⁴⁰ but were matched and purchased as such by the client for the funeral of a young girl. Premature deaths of young people are usually unexpected events and one may imagine the relatives purchasing what was available as standard stock at the potter's workshop. Another possibility to explain the variation is that the painter may have been collaborating with more than one potter in the workshop.

Hypothetical though the matching of the two Benaki loutrophoroi by the Naples Painter may be, the fact remains that they are both important as providing us with a glimpse into the wedding imagery and metaphors which underlie the *ἄωρος θάνατος* of a young girl, who became a sour bride of Hades before she could taste the seeded fruit, be anointed with perfume or enter the nuptial chamber with her groom –and, most tragically of all, long before she could hold a child on her lap.

The second reassembled vase resulted from the joining of a fragment from the front side of a hydria in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens with the rest of the vase at the Benaki Museum (figs 12, 13).⁴¹ The National Museum fragment was acquired by government appropriation in 1938, and was published in full by S. Karouzou who assigned it to the Washing Painter, though it was later more cautiously attributed by Beazley to that craftsman's manner.⁴²

The hydria is a kalpis, a type potted as an one-part piece, as is the norm in the second half of the 5th century B.C.⁴³ The top of its mouth is horizontal with a very slightly rounded upper part joining the slanting rim. Its side bears an egg band. A band of diagonal op-



Fig. 11. Loutrophoros-amphora. Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum, inv. no. 4768 (photos: D. Harris).

posed running palmettes ornaments the neck, while a band of rightwards-running maeanders alternating with saltires frames the scene below. The scene can now be reconstructed as depicting three women at a tomb, the central one being the deceased, who makes her appearance in order to receive the gifts brought to her grave. In the middle, this woman (chiton, himation, earring) stands by a stele with her chin propped on her left hand in contemplation, and leaning on her left leg which rests on the upper step of the monument. The narrow stele is

erected on a two-stepped base and is topped by an egg moulding. It is bound with purple fillets and surmounted by a lekythos decorated with a figure(?) in dilute glaze. The deceased is approached by a woman (peplos, large hair-band) with a flat basket containing purple fillets and three lekythoi, two of the standard type and one of the squat. The tall lekythoi bear small figures in dilute glaze. Behind the deceased another woman (peplos, hair-band) approaches with an alabastron.

As Karouzou has already noted, this is a unique scene



Fig. 11. Loutrophoros-amphora. Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum, inv. no. 4768 (photos: D. Harris).

for a hydria. Indeed, the ‘visit to the tomb’ is a theme commonly found on white-ground lekythoi, but is extremely rare on red-figured kalpides, which are mostly decorated with genre and nuptial *gynaikeia* themes intended for women. A hydria reflecting the iconography of white lekythoi must therefore be a funerary item, presumably purchased to accompany a female burial, to be used as an ash-urn, or to be placed on a woman’s tomb. A small number of white lekythoi depict a hydria used for a libation at a grave, and in one case a

hydria surmounts the *krepis* of a tomb, or may itself form the grave monument.⁴⁴ In scenes where a woman bears a hydria on her head instead of proffering it, her identity is less clear, as she may be either a visitor or the deceased herself; such is the case with a white lekythos which depicts a hydriaphoros beside a stele looking at a lamenting woman, though here the former figure is best interpreted as representing the deceased, since the hydria is often the attribute of young maidens.⁴⁵

The difficulty in distinguishing the living from the

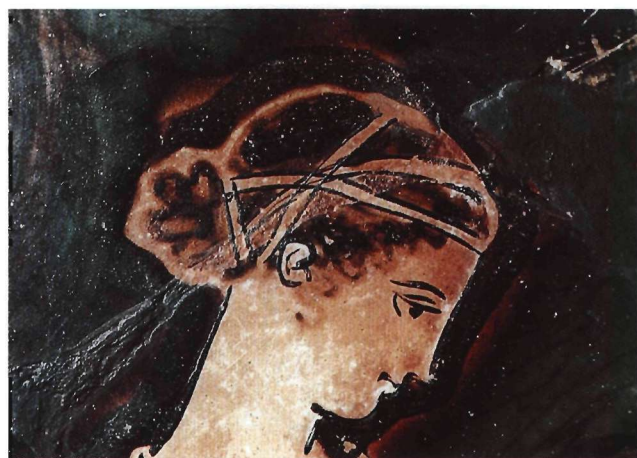
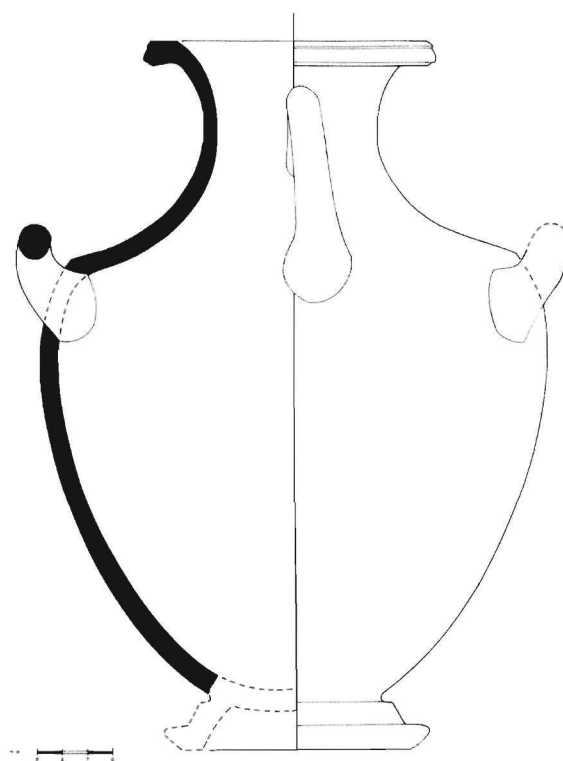


Fig. 12 a-b. (a) Hydria (side A with photomontage). Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 35414 and Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 17283, (b) detail of the Benaki Hydria.



Fig. 13. Profile drawing of hydria. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 35414, scale 1:3 (drawing: K. Mavragani).

Fig. 14. Fragment of hydria. Giessen, Antikensammlung der Justus-Liebig-Universität, inv. no. S-4 (photo: museum).

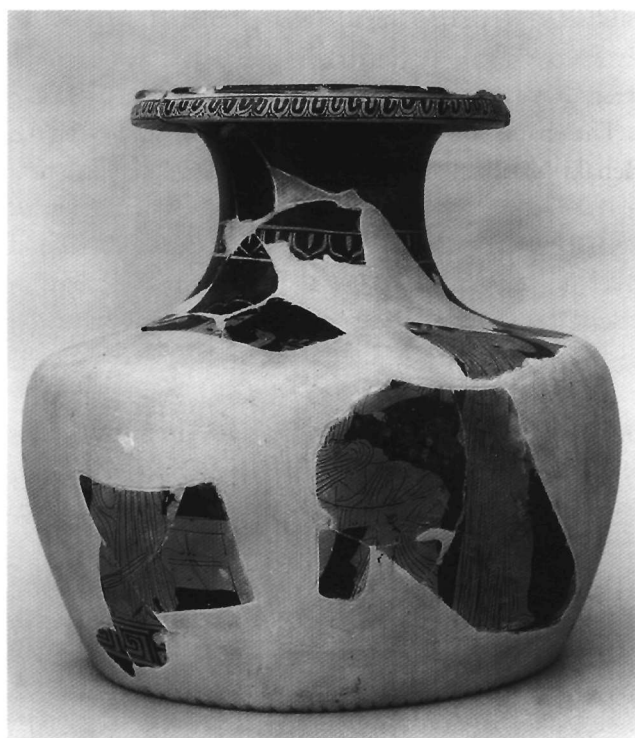
dead is a typical feature of white lekythoi imagery, in which the latter often appear by their stele in emblematic postures which refer to their ideal status in the Athenian polis during their lifetime. For women, the ideal status is that of bride and matron, and a range of scenes on white lekythoi is patterned upon the theme 'domestic-nuptial preparation', which commonly decorates red-figured hydriai. Nuptial motifs primarily drawn from the imagery of the Greek wedding occur in scenes depicting a usually seated woman and her attendants, who normally bring her caskets, fillets, wreaths and scent-containers.⁴⁶ The contemplative stance of the woman on our hydria and the items brought to her, an alabastron and a basket with scent containers and fillets, are appropriate offerings for a dead woman's tomb, but they also have connotations with bridal preparations and adornment. A similarly nuanced composition blending nuptial and funerary components may be seen on a white lekythos depicting a woman in front of her stele receiving a loutrophoros-hydria.⁴⁷ Such imagery, where the woman is surrounded by objects symbolic of nuptials and, metaphorically, also of death, may be understood in the light of the ancient belief that the death of a woman could be envisaged in terms of a wedding.⁴⁸ It is therefore possible that our hydria was a funerary offering for a dead woman, here depicted in the ideal guise of a bride.

As mentioned above, red-figured hydriai with cemetery scenes are extremely rare. Only one other red-figured hydria is known with explicit funerary subject-matter, a contemporary hydria by the Kleophon Painter which combines the prothesis of a woman and the visit to the grave.⁴⁹ A funerary setting is posited for another hydria in Baltimore, but the subject-matter there is unusual and open to discussion. In the centre, a woman bears a basket similar to ours, containing eight lekythoi, fillets and wreaths, while in front of her a hydria rests on the ground. This hydria was probably found in the same grave in Vari as another depicting a seated woman with a baby flanked by a man and an attendant, which has been interpreted as a family scene, but arguably may also refer to the realm of nuptials.⁵⁰ The funerary meaning of the scene on the former hydria can be surmised from the gestures of the women flanking her, which are thought to indicate a lamentation. Although the Baltimore hydria may be thematically associated with the Benaki-National Museum vase, the funerary character



Fig. 15 a-b. (a) Hydria. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 29753, (b) detail of the Benaki hydria (photos: K. Manolis).

of our specimen is made much more explicit through the inclusion of the stele,⁵¹ a landmark that was less a simple marker and monument than the place of tomb-cult and veneration. Painters of white lekythoi in general, and the painter of our hydria in particular, treated it as the imaginary point of encounter between the living and the beloved deceased. The custom of grave visitation and its depiction in art reflects the basic values of Athenian eschatology, which consisted of a special bond between the living and the dead of the same family and



a believed interaction between the upper and the lower world.⁵²

The unusual combination of theme and vase-shape is not the only peculiarity of our hydria, as is indicated by a stylistic comparison with other works by the Washing Painter, to whom it was perceptively assigned by Karouzou. Beazley accepted her attribution, but placed it under the heading "manner"⁵³ of the Washing Painter, while tactfully giving Karouzou the credit for it. His view seems justified particularly because, stylistic affinity apart, ornament, shape-form and imagery differ from this craftsman's known output.

The two bands ornamenting the vase are very unusual in hydriai by the Washing Painter, but occur in the Nio-bid Painter and the Polygnotans.⁵⁴ I know of only one specimen bearing a band of diagonal palmettes on the neck that can be associated with the Washing Painter, a fragment in Giessen depicting three women (fig. 14), one of whom is making a wreath (dated 420-415 B.C.).⁵⁵ On the mount of its photograph at the Beazley Archive, Beazley noted: "*recalls Washer*".⁵⁶ The style of drawing of the Giessen fragment is itself very close to the fragmentary loutrophoros inv. no. 86.78 in the Noble Collection for which Beazley, again on the mount of its photograph, noted: "*related to the Washer. Late*".⁵⁷ Furthermore, the

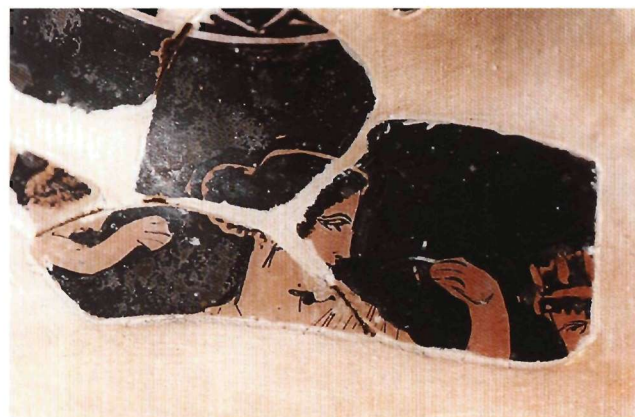


Fig. 16. Hydria. Delos, Mykonos Museum (photos: École Française d'Athènes and author).

Giessen and Noble fragments compare closely with a hydria in the Benaki Museum depicting a scene in the women's room, which should be added to this group of late pieces by associates of the Washing Painter (fig. 15).⁵⁸ The star-like ornaments decorating the women's garments on the Noble and Benaki pieces also occur on a recently published loutrophoros in the Piraeus Museum, which should be attributed to the Washing Painter or to his manner. It is an impressive late work depicting the

bridal couple clasping each other on the shoulder, while Eros sits on their outstretched arms to fix the groom's wreath.⁵⁹ All these specimens are later than our hydria.

The band of ornament below the scene of the Benaki-National Museum vase is only paralleled in a hydria by the Washing Painter in Paris (ca. 420 B.C.), and in another 'akin' to the Washing Painter, found in the Rheneia deposit from the purification of Delos in 426-425 B.C. (fig. 16).⁶⁰ A date ca. 430-420 B.C. also seems appropriate for our hydria.

The curly hair of the women on our hydria (fig. 12) and the absence of black borders on their garments are features which occur on occasion in the late stages of the Washing Painter's activity.⁶¹ Yet the hair-bands, the pleating of the peploi and the flat mouth of this hydria are unparalleled in his work and set it apart from his currently known corpus. Accordingly, as Beazley realized, this piece should probably be associated with another hand in the same workshop, which comprised at least four other painters.

The two reassembled vases at the Benaki Museum are interesting additions to the work of the Naples Painter and to the workshop of the Washing Painter. The former is the only high quality loutrophoros-hydria by the Naples Painter in such a good state of preservation, and, together with its suggested pair at the Benaki, it indicates this craftsman's potential in the treatment of nuptial imagery. The latter is a very rare specimen of a red-figured hydria borrowing from the repertoire of white lekythoi and it is the only extant example of its kind from a work-



Fig. 17. Loutrophoros fragment. Athens, Fethiyé Mosque, inv. no. NA-1957-Aa 1877 (photo: author).



Fig. 18. Loutrophoros fragment. Athens, Fethiyé Mosque, inv. no. NA-1957-Aa 3271 (photo: author).

shop which almost without exception decorates such vases with themes glorifying nuptials.

APPENDIX

Loutrophoroi by the Naples Painter from the Shrine of the Nymphe, south of the Acropolis

A search in the Fethiyé Mosque in Athens, where the material from the Shrine of the Nymphe is stored,⁶² allowed us to identify three of the pieces listed in *ARV*, namely nos 1098, 40 (fig. 17); 1099, 41 (fig. 18) and 1099, 44 (fig. 19). Nos 1099, 42 and 43 have not been located. Further, a fragmentary loutrophoros was found that was not listed in *ARV*, but bears Beazley's notation "*Naples Painter*" pencilled on its reverse (fig. 20). The neck fragment NA-1955-Aa 108 (fig. 19) does not bear any pencilled

note and was kept in a separate crate together with other loutrophoros necks, yet it can be recognised as a piece that Beazley saw and listed as a work by the Naples Painter (*ARV* 1099, 44).

1. NA-1957-Aa 1877 (fig. 17)

Fragment from body of loutrophoros (three mended pieces). Max. dimensions: 0.097 x 0.058 m.

ARV 1098, 40.



Fig. 19. Loutrophoros-hydria fragment. Athens, Fethiyé Mosque, inv. no. NA-1955-Aa 108 (photo: author).

Fig. 20. Loutrophoros fragment. Athens, Fethiyé Mosque, inv. no. NA-1955-Aa 2020 (photo: author).

Part of egg band. Eros, only the wing of whom is preserved; woman, presumably the seated bride, preserved from chest to head, wearing chiton, himation and diadem; behind her, woman in peplos, partly preserved from waist to nose, bearing wool-basket. Both women face left. Red or white line on top of the kalathos to denote wool inside it.

2. NA-1957-Aa 3271 (fig. 18)

Single fragment from body of loutrophoros. Max. dimensions: 0.062 x 0.035 m.

ARV 1099, 41.

Woman, preserved from nose to chest, seated(?) to right. She wears chiton and himation; before her part of basket decked with sash. On the upper break, hanging

sakkos and traces of a palm(?).

For a similarly draped casket with a sash by the Naples Painter, see ARV 1098, 35 bis: G. Steinhauer, *Ta μνημεία και το αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο του Πειραιά* (Athens 1998) 121 no. 176.

3. NA-1955-Aa 108 (fig. 19)

Single fragment from neck and part of shoulder of loutrophoros-hydria. Max. pres. height: 0.178 m., max. diam. 0.063 m.

Pair of women facing each other. Both wear chiton and himation. The head of the left-hand one missing; the right-hand one holds an alabastron. On the base of the neck four blob-like rosettes. On the shoulder, below a band with tongues-and-dots, traces of heads of two figures.

The piece does not bear a pencilled identification on its reverse, but, firstly, matches the description in ARV 1099, 44 ("on the neck, two women, the right-hand one holding an alabastron") and, secondly, is comparable to a neck fragment by the Naples Painter in Prague: ARV 1099, 45; CVA Prague 1, pl. 39,6-7.

4. NA-1955-Aa 2020 (fig. 20)

Fragment from body of loutrophoros-hydria (11 mended pieces). Max. pres. height: 0.133 x 0.151 m.

Part of tongue band. In the middle bride seated on *klismos* to right. She wears a chiton, himation draped around her thighs, sakkos and earrings and holds a basket. In front of her a peplophoros approaches with a bundle of cloth, presumably the bridal garment. In her left hand she probably held an object decked with a sash, or, alternately, an object and a sash, of which the white fringe may be seen at the level of her knee. Behind the bride, Nike with kalathos. She wears a triple hair-band in white.

Although not listed in ARV, the piece bears Beazley's notation "*Naples Painter*" pencilled on the reverse of two sherds (fragment with knees of bride and shanks of peplophoros; fragment with face and kalathos of Nike).

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ABBREVIATIONS

Add.: T. H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda* (Oxford 1989²).

Moore 1997: M. B. Moore, *Attic Red-figured and White-ground Pottery* (= *The Athenian Agora* 30, Princeton 1997).

Oakley – Coulson – Palagia 1997: J. H. Oakley – W. D. E. Coulson – O. Palagia (eds), *Athenian Potters and Painters* (Oxford 1997).

ARV: J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford 1963³).

Boardman 1988: J. Boardman, Sex Differentiation in Grave Vases, *AnnArchStorAnt* 10 (1988) 171-79.

Ferrari 2002: G. Ferrari, *Figures of Speech* (Chicago-London 2002).

Kokula 1984: G. Kokula, *Marmorloutrophoren* (= *AM Beih.* 10, Berlin 1984).

Lewis 2002: S. Lewis, *The Athenian Woman* (London-New York 2002).

Moesch 1988: R. M. Moesch, Le mariage et la mort sur les loutrophores, *AnnArchStorAnt* 10 (1988) 117-39.

Para: J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford 1971).

Reeder 1995: E. D. Reeder, *Pandora* (Princeton 1995).

Sabetai 1993: V. Sabetai, *The Washing Painter* I-II (diss. University of Cincinnati 1993).

Sabetai 1997: V. Sabetai, Aspects of Nuptial and Genre Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens: Issues of Interpretation and Methodology, in: Oakley – Coulson – Palagia 1997, 319-35.

Sabetai 1998: V. Sabetai, Marriage Boiotian Style, *Hesperia* 67 (1998) 323-34.

Sgourou 1994: M. Sgourou, *Attic Lebetes Gamikoi* (diss. University of Cincinnati 1994).

Sgourou 1997: M. Sgourou, Λέβητες γαμικοί. Ο γάμος και η αττική κεραμεική παραγωγή των κλασικών χρόνων, in: Oakley – Coulson – Palagia 1997, 71-83.

Sutton 1981: R. F. Sutton, *The Interaction Between Men and Women Portrayed on Attic Red-Figure Pottery* (diss. University of N. Carolina, Chapel Hill 1981).

Weiss 1988: C. Weiss, Ein bislang unbekanntes Detail auf dem Hochzeitsbild der Karlsruher Loutrophoros 69/78, in: J. Christiansen – T. Melander (eds), *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Copenhagen, August 31-September 4, 1987* (Copenhagen 1988) 652-64.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to Prof. A. Delivorrias, director of the Benaki Museum, for inviting me to publish the collection of red-figured vases and to curator E. Papageorgiou for facilitating my research in the most effective way possible. A trip to Germany financed by the Benaki Museum verified that these pieces were once part of the same pot. Thanks are due to the staff of the Staatliche Antikensammlungen Munich, especially Drs R. Wünsche, F. Knauss and conservators U. Starnisch and V. Apostolopoulou for assistance in assembling and studying the vase. For their help in collecting photographic material I thank the staff of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, P. Kranz (Erlangen), D. von Moock (Giessen), Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem, S. Klinger and École Française d'Athènes. The drawings of the Benaki Museum pieces were prepared by K. Mavragani and those of the Munich loutrophoros body by F. Knauss.

2. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen inv. no. NI 9493. Provenance: Swiss art market (acquired in 1992). Reconstructed from several small fragments. The front side of the Munich vase initially appeared in a short note in F. W. Hamdorf, *MJb* 45 (1994) 206, where it was associated with the Washing Painter by the author and D. von Bothmer, but with the Naples Painter by J. H. Oakley. Photos of all

sides were published the next year in Reeder 1995, 332-33 no. 102. My attribution of the Benaki pieces to the Naples Painter occurred independently of Oakley's attribution of the Munich piece to the same craftsman and before knowing of its publication record. A. Delivorrias, who had seen the Munich fragment on display before its publication, also suspected a possible join of the Benaki and Munich pieces. Beazley's method of identifying hands of painters can often prove a helpful tool as a first step in the process of bringing dispersed material together.

3. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 35421. Max. pres. height of neck: 17 cm; diam. mouth: 21.4 cm; diam. neck: 6.1 cm; diam. foot: 15.5 cm; diam. handles: 7.5 cm. Missing few chips and one fragment from the woman in the middle which are restored. Interior of mouth glazed except for the rim and a 2 cm band at the join with the neck. Interior of neck glazed at its uppermost 5 cm only. Burnt.

4. The vertical handle prevented the painter from applying glaze and drawing the ornament properly at this area of the mouth.

5. A neck fragment including a small part of the woman's upper body (nose, chin and chest) and the object she held is

missing. Although this is reconstructed as an alabastron, the straight line above the woman's palm line suggests that she held a wool kalathos instead. Cf. the rounded line for the bottom of the alabastron held by the woman behind her and *CVA* Prague 1, pl. 39,7. See also Appendix, no. 3.

6. The reassembled loutrophoros is still missing the lower half of its neck and large fragments from its shoulder (especially at the back side) and lower body (front side continuing to left handle area). The missing body parts are filled in with plaster, as are parts of the neck, especially at its lower edge and on the middle figure, which are, in addition, overpainted. Fig. 5 illustrating the loutrophoros with its neck overhanging is the result of photomontage, but originally the neck would have been a little higher than shown here (to comprise the lower body of the women and one or two ornament bands). Height to handles: 42.8 cm; max. diam. body: 19.2 cm. The vase is extensively misfired red at its back side and is, in addition, burnt. White: ornament on side of mouth; suspension cord of alabastron held by woman on the neck. Red (faded): flames of torches. Dilute glaze: bride's necklace, groom's musculature, necklace and details on torch-bearer's garment. Preliminary drawing visible on the faces and naked parts of all figures. The figures occupying the handle areas are taller than those of side A, which had to be accommodated below the ornament bands and are therefore shorter.

7. For the iconography of the Athenian wedding, see Sutton 1981, esp. 177-96 and, in general, J. H. Oakley – R. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (Madison 1993). On particular iconographic aspects, see more recently Sabetai 1993 and 1997; Sgourou 1994; M. Söldner, *Erzählweise auf Spätclassischen Vasen als Deutungsfälle. Zur Relevanz ikonographischer Hermeneutik* in: R. F. Docter – E. M. Moormann (eds), *Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Amsterdam, July 12-17, 1998* (Amsterdam 1999) 393-97; E. Parisinou, 'Lighting' the World of Women: Lamps and Torches in the Hands of Women in the Late Archaic and Classical Periods, *GaR* 47 (2000) 19-43. For the affinity of the alabastron and the kalathos as symbols of femininity and maidenhood, see Ferrari 2002, 56-60.

8. See *ARV* 1098, 35; *ARV* 1098 35 bis: G. Steinhauer, *Το αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Πειραιώς* (Athens 2001) 121 nos 176, 177. For other examples of nuptial lebetes depicting a man with himation and staff on one side, or below the handle, or on the stand, while the other side depicts a nuptial *gynaieia* scene, see *ARV* 552, 27 (Pan Painter) and *ARV* 833, 45 (Amphitrite Painter).

9. See, e.g., *ARV* 1100, 59 and 60 (Naples Painter); *ARV* 1085, 25 (Cassel Painter). Also further on other shapes: *ARV* 1082, 21 (Clio Painter, *epinetron*).

10. See *ARV* 1102, 5; A. Kauffmann-Samaras, *Mère et enfant sur les lébètes nuptiaux à figures rouges attiques du Ve s. av. J.C.*, in: J. Christiansen – T. Melander (eds), *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Copenhagen 31 August - 4 September 1987* (Copenhagen

1988) 287 fig. 2; for the meaning of the motif, see Sabetai 1993, 49-69. It seems that the Naples Painter favoured the compositional scheme of two pairs, each featuring a standing and a seated figure; see further a newly published nuptial lebes attributed to the manner of the Naples Painter: J. H. Oakley, *Classical Athenian Ritual Vases* in: J. M. Fossey – J. E. Francis (eds), *The Diniacopoulos Collection in Québec* (Montréal 2004) 43-45, 110 no. 24. A similar interpretation to the one advanced here, that the repeated seated woman is the bride depicted performing the duties of a parthenos and a wife in the company of her attendants, may also apply to this wedding scene.

11. On the Athenian wedding, see A.-M. Vêrilhac – C. Vial, *Le mariage grec* (= *BCH* Suppl. 32, 1998).

12. See most recently Lewis 2002, 13-42.

13. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 35495. Donated by P. Zoumboulaki in 1995. Max. pres. height: 19.5 cm; max. diam.: 19.2 cm; height of handles: 6.5 cm; diam. of handles: 7 cm. For its original appearance in print (but there overpainted), see *Sacred Foods* (exhibition catalogue, Barcelona 2001) 143, 230-31 no. 140 (V. Sabetai).

14. M. Robertson (*The Art of Vase-painting in Classical Athens* [Cambridge 1992] 216) assesses the Naples Painter as "of consistently undistinguished achievement", but the quality of drawing of both these loutrophoroi is notable and indicates another aspect of this craftsman's capabilities. His column craters tend to be rather mass produced and repetitive. The size, potting (requiring several stages of manufacture for its parts) and refined draftsmanship of such loutrophoroi reveals these as non-functional and, possibly, luxury (for ceramics) items.

15. For the nuptial *thalamos* signified by door and bed, see Sabetai 1998, 325 n. 13 (with collected bibliography to which add Fossey – Francis [n. 10] 108 no. 21).

16. For such 'Nikai', see Sabetai 1993, 85-90; Sgourou 1994, 108-09; E. Kunze-Götte, *Beobachtungen zur Bedeutung der Bilder auf Grabgaben*, *AM* 114 (1999) 73.

17. For fruits used in the wedding ritual as a symbol of fertility and as denoting a rite of passage, see Sutton 1981, 197-201. For caskets, see most recently Ferrari 2002, 52-56. On some examples it is the groom himself who bears the casket: see, e.g., *ARV* 1224, 2 (loutrophoros-amphora, Painter of Würzburg 537).

18. Sabetai 1997, 321; Lewis 2002, 183-85.

19. For the Naples Painter, see *ARV* 1096-1102, 1683; *Para* 450-51; *Add.* 328. For parallels cf., e.g., R. Lullies, *Der Dinos des Berliner Malers*, *AntK* 14 (1971) pl. 23,2; *ARV* 1098, 35 bis: Steinhauer (n. 8.); *CVA* Karlsruhe 1, pl. 22,1-2; *CVA* Prague 1, pl. 39,6-7.

20. To the first generation belong the Boreas and Florence Painters and the Painter of London E 489: *ARV* 536-49; *Para* 384-86; *Add.* 255-56. To the second, the Painter of the Louvre Centaureomachy, the Naples Painter, the Ari-

ana Painter, the Painter of London 1923 and the Orpheus Painter: *ARV* 1088-1105; *Para* 449-51; *Add.* 327-29. For this workshop, see Sgourou 1997.

21. Close similarities have been detected between the potting of a calyx crater by the Naples Painter and that of specimens by some Late Mannerists, one of whom, the Painter of Oxford 529, is narrowly, though relatively, dated to 440-430 B.C.: Th. Mannack, *The Late Mannerists in Athenian Vase-Painting* (Oxford 2001) 55 and 113. Two nuptial lebetes by the Naples Painter, both later and sloppier in style than our specimen, were found at the Rheneia deposit from the purification of Delos in 426-425 B.C., which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the later stages of his activity (*ARV* 1098, 38 and 39).

22. Sgourou 1994, 113.

23. *ARV* 1102, 1-3.

24. *ARV* 1099, 47.

25. G. Kavvadias, *Ο Ζωγράφος του Sabouroff* (Athens 2000) 44; 186 no. 80, pls 70-71.

26. e.g., Sabetai 1993 II, 95 pl. 18 (ca. 435 B.C.). The Naples and the Washing Painters collaborated with the same potter of nuptial lebetes: Sgourou 1994, 149-50.

27. And three to his manner. In the first edition of *ARV* (706, 32) but not in the second, Beazley further included a loutrophoros-amphora with the rare (for the amphora type) scene of bridal preparation. See *CVA* Cambridge I, pl. 36,3.

28. See Appendix.

29. *ARV* 1099, 46 bis. Cat. *Sotheby's* 18 June 1962, pl. at p. 44; G. M. Bernheimer, *Glories of Ancient Greece. Vases and Jewellery from the Borowski Collection* (Jerusalem 2001) 63 no. 72.

30. Sgourou 1994, 110-18, 162-63.

31. For the loutrophoros, see most recently Kokula 1984; Boardman 1988; Moesch 1988; Sabetai 1993, 129-74; V. Pirenne-Delforge, La loutrophorie et la "pretrêsse-loutrophore" de Sicyone (= *BCH* Suppl. 28, 1994) 148-50; Moore 1997, 14-16; R. M. Moesch, *Loutra* und *Loutrophoros* im Totenkult. Die literarischen Zeugnisse, in: Docter – Moormann (n. 7) 273-75. For a recent critical assessment of earlier research on the nomenclature and function of the loutrophoros, see J. Bergemann, Die sogenannte loutrophoros: Grabmal für unverheiratete Tote?, *AM* 111 (1996) 149-90. His conclusions require discussion beyond the scope of the present study.

32. See further Sabetai 1997, 320. Literary sources mention nuptial water being transported in procession from the Kallirhoe spring, and since the loutrophoros is depicted in processions comprising a fountain and Eros, it has been associated with wedding rites involving the nuptial bath.

33. For an example, see Weiss 1988, 661. For other possibilities of interpretation, see Boardman 1988, 176.

34. For burnt loutrophoroi from cremation burials, the con-

dition of which has attracted little comment so far see *ADelt* 18 (1963) Chron. 34 pl. 34d; M. Platonos-Giota, *Axapvaí* (2004) 428-29 fig. 15b. Cf. further *CVA* Athènes 2, III.1d pls 21-23. For loutrophoroi smashed as a form of ritual killing and placed in offering trenches see, e.g., V. Stais, Ο τύμβος εν Βουπβά, *AM* 15 (1890) 318-19, esp. 322; 324; pl. XI.

35. Kokula 1984, 116-18; Boardman 1988; Moesch 1988; Sabetai 1993, 145-46; 157-59; 163. Bergemann (n. 31) 185-87. For a scene on a loutrophoros-amphora depicting a woman offering this vase-type to a groom, see *CVA* Nantes, pl. 27.

36. *ARV* 585, 33 (nuptial lebes, Earlier Mannerist). *ARV* 841, 75; *Para* 423 (loutrophoros-hydria, Sabouroff Painter); *ARV* 899, 146 (pyxis, Splachnopt Painter); *ARV* 924, 33; *Add.* 305 (pyxis, Wedding Painter); *ARV* 527, 73 (oinochoe, Orchard Painter); *ARV* 640, 76; *Add.* 274 (lekythos, Providence Painter); *ARV* 831, 20 (cup, Amymone Painter). See also an unattributed hydria in the London market (Spink) depicting the bridal couple *cheir epi karpō*; what is remarkable here is that the groom, who is wreathed and wears a long himation, also holds a staff in his left hand, just like the males we previously identified as prospective grooms. Behind the bride is a *nymphēutria*, next to the groom part of a bed with cushions and footstool. Photo in the Beazley Archive (box of unattributed hydriai).

37. See above, n. 27.

38. See S. Rutherford-Roberts, Evidence for a pattern in Attic pottery production ca. 430-350 B.C., *AJA* 77 (1973) 435-37 for nuptial lebetes from a Kerameikos offering trench, and Sgourou 1994, 144-47, 150, 154. For depictions of such pairs in vase-iconography, see Sgourou 1994, 35-38, nos 5-7, 9-10, 19-20, 23-24, 26 and 28. For two lekythoi bearing what should be seen as complementary nuptial iconography referring to different stages of the bridal preparations, see E. Simon (ed.), *Mythen und Menschen. Griechische Vasenkunst aus einer deutschen Privatsammlung* (Mainz 1997) 126-29 no. 35 (I. Wehgartner).

39. Boardman 1988, fig. 32.

40. Roberts (n. 38) specified matching ornament and complementary iconography as the basic criteria for considering two vases a pair; yet these criteria are relevant to a pair manufactured by the potter, rather than one formed by the client.

41. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 35414. Donated by P. Zoumboulaki in 1995. Max. pres. height: 28.5 cm; diam. mouth: 11.7 cm; max. diam. at body: 20.3 cm. Missing all of its foot, half of its right handle, large fragments below the handles, parts of the lower body of the alabastron holder, lowest part of the right leg of the woman to the left of the stele, left lowest part of the stele's step. Top of mouth reserved, interior of neck glazed. Glaze thin, misfired gray-greenish and reddish in places. Reserved areas under the handles which are circled by thin reserved bands. Some preliminary drawing on naked parts of the figures.

42. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 17283: *ARV* 1134, 17; *CVA* Athènes (n. 34) pl. 28.

43. E. Diehl, *Die Hydria* (Mainz 1964) 59.
44. See Kavvadias (n. 25) 141 pls. 130, 161; 182 no. 292 (with earlier bibliography). For a hydria atop a *krepis*, see E. Buschor, Haus und Grab, *ÖJh* 39 (1952) 12-17. For a marble hydria as grave monument, see C. W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* (Kilchberg 1993) 484 no. 1.887.
45. See ARV 1230, 42 (Thanatos Painter): E. Pfuhl, *Male-rei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (München 1923) III, pl. 211 no. 546; S. Pfisterer-Haas, Mädchen und Frauen am Wasser, *JdI* 117 (2002) 1-79.
46. J. Reilly, Many Brides: "Mistress and Maid" on Athenian Lekythoi, *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 411-44. For a white lekythos with the prenuptial/erotic motif of a woman tying her belt while holding the edge of her garment between her teeth beside a tomb, see Buschor (n. 44) 12-17 (ARV 1200, 40, Klüggmann Painter); Sabetai 1997, with addenda by E. Böhr, CVA Berlin 9, text to pl. 21, to which add A. Cambitoglou – J. Chamay, *Céramique de Grande Grèce. La collection des fragments Herbert A. Cahn* (Kilchberg-Zürich 1997) 185 no. 79 (garment clasped between the teeth, but no girdle-binding).
47. ARV 1238, 25 (Quadrat Painter).
48. See Reilly (n. 46) 431; R. Seaford, The Tragic Wedding, *JHS* 107 (1987) 106-30.
49. Oakley (n. 10) 47-50, 134 no. 72, where it is tentatively suggested that a number of vases in this collection with nuptial and funerary iconography may have come from the same family plot in Koropi, Attica. It is interesting to observe that some of the Diniacopoulos pieces are comparable to ours in date, subject-matter (nuptial/funerary), vase-shape (wedding vases, hydriai), craftsman (Naples Painter), rarity of combination of vase-shape and imagery (hydria with funerary theme) and date of formation of the collection (our hydria fragment was appropriated in 1938; the Diniacopoulos collection was formed by 1950 at the latest, while the clandestine activity at Koropi is estimated as having occurred in the mid 1940s: see J. M. Fossey, A Family of Lamptrai, Attike, in: Fossey – Francis (n. 10) 95.
50. For the former, already adduced as a parallel by Karouzou, see ARV 617, 13: CVA Baltimore, Robinson Collection 2, pl. 35; Reeder 1995, 219-21 no. 52; M. Pedrina, *I gesti del dolore nella ceramica attica (vi-v secolo a.C.)* (Padova 2001) 120-22; for a similarly enigmatic hydria with three standing women and a hydria on the ground, see CVA British Museum 5, III.Ic pl. 82,1 (Villa Giulia Painter). For the latter, see Reeder 1995, 218-19 no. 51; although the representation is almost unanimously interpreted as a family scene with a maid, the youthfulness of the man and the hanging myrtle wreath could be interpreted as indicating the realm of nuptials. The attendant wearing a sleeved overgarment need not necessarily be a servant and the loom behind her could be explained as a symbol of wifedom. Babies in the laps of brides are a new motif that becomes popular in the last third of the 5th century B.C. For the long-sleeved chiton, see M. C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century B.C.* (Cambridge 1997) 160-61; for babies in the laps of brides, see Sabetai 1993, 49-69.
51. The stele of our scene topped by a lekythos is rare. Karouzou cites only one parallel, a stele by a Lesbian called Emporion: CVA Athènes (n. 34). For the suggestion that the round holes on top of some relief-stelai and pedimental naiskoi supported marble lekythoi, see Bergemann (n. 31) 177-78.
52. See R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1985) 104-20.
53. For the use of this term, see M. Robertson in: L. Burn – R. Glynn, *Beazley Addenda* (Oxford 1982) xvi. Of the various nuances given there it seems to me that for our vase we should, on present knowledge, choose "like the painter's work, but can be safely said not to be from his hand".
54. For examples, see M. Prange, *Der Niobidenmaler und seine Werkstatt* (Frankfurt 1989) pl. 4, pl. 23, N60; O. Tzachou-Alexandri, A Kalpis from Piraeus Street by Polygnotos, *BSA* 97 (2002) 297-308.
55. CVA Giessen 1, pl. 41, 2.
56. For the use of the term 'recalls', see Robertson (n. 53) xvii: a word "used of pieces not seen to have enough of the painter about them to justify 'near' or 'close to', let alone 'manner of'".
57. See R. F. Sutton, Nuptial Eros: The Visual Discourse of Marriage in Classical Athens, *JWArtGal* 55-56 (1997-1998) 36 fig. 14 (assigned by D. von Bothmer to the Talos Painter). For the term 'related', see Robertson (n. 53), xii: word used "rather for affinity of temperament than for direct association".
58. See A. Delivorrias – D. Fotopoulos, *Greece at the Benaki Museum* (Athens 1997) 95 fig. 136 (part).
59. See Steinhauer (n. 8) 128-29 nos 189-91 (attributed to the Meidias Painter).
60. Paris: ARV 1131, 169. Delos: ARV 1135, 2. The term 'akin' is synonymous with 'related', for which see above, n. 57. Yet the maeanders are leftwards-running on these examples and this ornament band is combined with a leaf-and-dart band on the neck.
61. Among the pieces attributed by Beazley to the Washing Painter and his manner are early and late examples, which allow us to reconstruct his period of activity as being from ca. 440-435 to 415-410 B.C.; see Sabetai 1993, 218-30.
62. I am very grateful to M. Tsoni-Kyrkou for allowing me to publish these fragments and to the Acropolis Ephorate for facilitating my study.

ΒΙΚΤΩΡΙΑ ΣΑΜΠΕΤΑΪ

Ερυθρόμορφα αγγεία στο Μουσείο Μπενάκη: ανασυνθέτοντας *fragmenta disjecta*.

Στο άρθρο αυτό παρουσιάζονται θραύσματα ερυθρόμορφων αγγείων του Μουσείου Μπενάκη, τα οποία αναγνωρίστηκε ότι συνανήκουν –τα μεν με λουτροφόρο στην Αρχαιολογική Συλλογή του Μονάχου (Staatliche Antikensammlungen), τα δε με θραύσμα υδρίας στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο στην Αθήνα– και συζητούνται θέματα σχετικά με την εικονογραφία τους και τους αγγειογράφους που τα διακόσμησαν.

Συγκεκριμένα, μέρος του λαιμού, οι οριζόντιες λαβές και το πόδι λουτροφόρου-υδρίας του Ζωγράφου της Νεαπόλεως συνανήκουν με το υπόλοιπο σώμα του αγγείου, σήμερα στο Μόναχο· επιπλέον, το μεγαλύτερο μέρος υδρίας “με τον τρόπο” του Ζωγράφου του Λουτρού συνενώνεται με θραύσμα, σήμερα στο Εθνικό Μουσείο, το οποίο διασώζει περίπου τα 2/3 της διακοσμημένης επιφάνειας του αγγείου.

Το σχήμα της λουτροφόρου-υδρίας σχετίζεται κυρίως με το λουτρό της μελλοννυμφής κόρης το οποίο σημειοθετεί τον βασικότερο σταθμό στη ζωή της Αθηναί-

ας αστής, δηλαδή τον γάμο, και συνήθως διακοσμείται με σκηνές από τον νυφιάτικο στολισμό της· ωστόσο, το αγγείο των Μουσείων Μπενάκη-Μονάχου απεικονίζει αντί αυτού το συζυγικό ζεύγος στο εμβληματικό της ένωσής τους μοτίβο “χείρ επί καρπώ”, θέμα το οποίο συνήθως απαντά σε λουτροφόρους-αμφορείς. Πρόκειται για ένα από τα καλύτερα σωζόμενα έργα του Ζωγράφου της Νεαπόλεως (440-430 π.Χ.). Η υδρία του εργαστηρίου του Ζωγράφου του Λουτρού φέρει εξίσου ασυνήθιστο για το σχήμα αυτό εικονογραφικό θέμα. Η “επίσκεψη στον τάφο” δανείζεται εικονογραφικά στοιχεία από το θεματολόγιο των λευκών ληκύθων, και προσδίδει στην υδρία εμφανή ταφικό χαρακτήρα, ενώ μαρτυρεί αλληλεπίδραση ανάμεσα στις δύο αυτές κατηγορίες σχημάτων. Η στυλιστική και εικονογραφική ανάλυση επιβεβαιώνουν την κατάταξη της υδρίας στην κατηγορία “με τον τρόπο” του Ζωγράφου του Λουτρού (περ. 430-420 π.Χ.). Και τα δύο αγγεία θα πρέπει να προέρχονται από τάφο, μάλλον γυναικείο.