

## EULIMENE

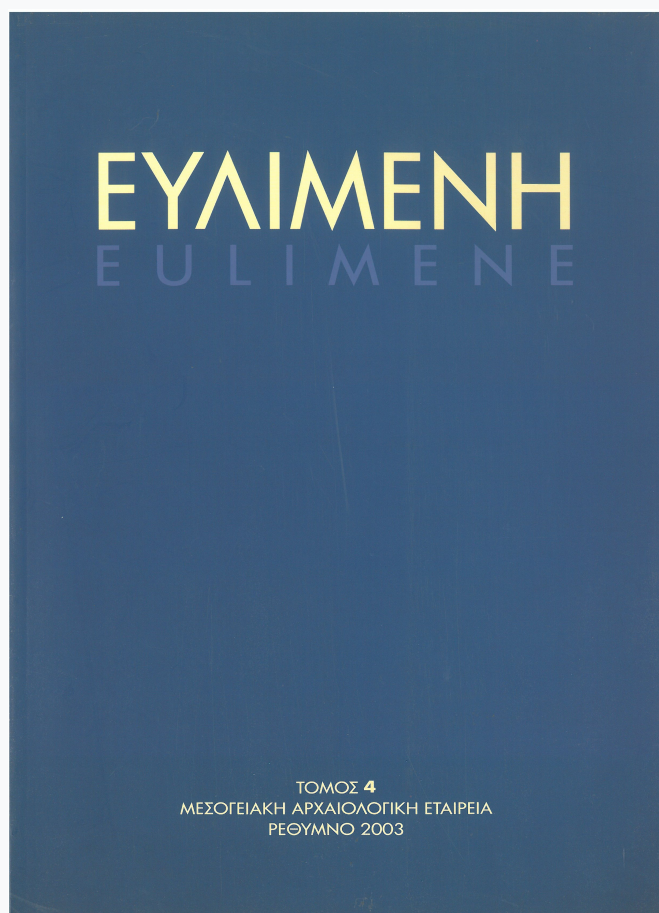
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### The Pithos painter

*Dimitris Paleothodoros*

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# ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,  
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

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**Περιεχόμενα**  
**EYΛIMENH 4 (2003)**

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## Περίληψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassunti

**Frédéric Davidovits**, *Circiter tertia parte ponderis* (Vitruve 2, 5), l'existence d'une chaux hydraulique dans l'architecture romaine, EYΛIMENH 4 (2003), 9-25

*Circiter tertia parte ponderis* (Vitruve 2, 5), the existence of an hydraulic lime in the Roman architecture. In his treaty on architecture, Vitruve (2, 5) explains how to make lime from a particular limestone. In 2, 5, 3, he indicates that during lime calcination, the limestone lost a third of its weight [*circiter tertia parte ponderis*]. One deducts that the original limestone contains 20% of silicates and the lime thus obtained is of medium hydraulicity. Vitruve recommends for the construction of walls to use a lime made from a compact and rather hard siliceous limestone [*ex spisso et duriore*], what implies the hydraulic character required for such an usage. For coatings [*in tectoriis*], the lime hardens by air and is made from porous stone [*ex fistuloso*].

**Christina de Domingo and Alan Johnston**, A petrographic and chemical study of east Greek and other archaic transport amphorae, EYΛIMENH 4 (2003), 27-60

*Πετρογραφική και χημική μελέτη διαφόρων τύπων ελληνικών αρχαϊκών αμφορέων*. Παρουσιάζονται τα αποτελέσματα μιας σειράς πετρογραφικών αναλύσεων διαφόρων τύπων αρχαϊκών ελληνικών αμφορέων, παράλληλα με κάποιες χημικές αναλύσεις. Σκοπός είναι να ελεγχθεί η πετρογραφική σύσταση των αγγείων συγκριτικά με την τυπολογία που έχει ήδη αναπτυχθεί από μη-συστηματικές μελέτες. Τα αποτελέσματα στηρίζουν σε σημαντικό βαθμό τις προηγούμενες έρευνες, και παράλληλα καταδεικνύουν ορισμένες ενδιαφέρουσες περιοχές για μελλοντική έρευνα, ειδικά όσον αφορά τους τύπους που αποδίδονται στη Λακωνία, τη Λέσβο και την Κόρινθο.

**Dimitris Paleothodoros**, The Pithos painter, EYΛIMENH 4 (2003), 61-76

*Ο Ζωγράφος του Πίθου*. Ο Ζωγράφος του Πίθου είναι ο χειρότερος αθηναίος αγγειογράφος του ύστερου 6<sup>ου</sup> αι. π.Χ., του οποίου όμως οι κύλικες γνωρίζουν πολύ μεγάλη διάδοση στην Μεσόγειο. Το αγαπημένο του θέμα, ο συμποσιαστής που φορά σκυθικό σκούφο, απαντά σε όλες τις περιοχές όπου βρίσκουμε αγγεία του ζωγράφου, ιδιαίτερα όμως στην Ανατολή και τη Μαύρη Θάλασσα. Αφήνοντας ανοικτή την πραγματική ταυτότητα του συμποσιαστή, ο ζωγράφος επιτρέπει διαφορετικές ερμηνείες από τους αγοραστές των αγγείων, που ανταποκρίνονται στις τοπικές ιδιαιτερότητες.

**Nicholas Víctor Sekunda**, The stele of Thersagoras of Polyrrhenia from Demetrias, EYΛIMENH 4 (2003), 77-80

Η στήλη το Θερσαγόρα, ενός Κρητικού από την Πολυρρήνια, η οποία βρέθηκε στην Δημητριάδα, χρονολογείται συμβατικά γύρω στο 200 π.Χ. Ο Θερσαγόρας παριστάνεται με πλήρη στρατιωτική εξάρτηση. Στο παρόν άρθρο υποστηρίζεται ότι ο Θερσαγόρας ανήκε στο συμμαχικό τάγμα που εστάλη από «τους Πολυρρηνίους και τους συμμάχους τους» στον Φίλιππο Ε' της Μακεδονίας το 220 π.Χ. Ο Θερσαγόρας πιθανότατα σκοτώθηκε και τάφηκε στη Δημητριάδα κατά τη διάρκεια της παραμονής του στρατού των Αντιγονιδών εκεί, πριν μεταβεί στην Εύβοια και κατεθυνθεί στη συνέχεια στην Κόρινθο, στις αρχές του 219 π.Χ. Άλλωστε, η στήλη δεν είναι προσεγγμένη και αυτό ίσως να υποδηλώνει ότι κατασκευάστηκε βιαστικά, ενώ η κρητική μονάδα προήλαυσε.

**Βίλη Αποστολάκου** «...ΚΑΙ ΛΑΤΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΕΓΚΑΤΟ ΤΟΝΔΕ ...» ή Λατιών Προσωπογραφία, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 81-133

«...ΚΑΙ ΛΑΤΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΕΓΚΑΤΟ ΤΟΝΔΕ ...» or the *prosopography of the Latians*. The inscriptions found in Lato, in Agios Nikolaos, the ancient Kamara, and in other areas that according to epigraphic evidence belonged to the territory of Lato are the unique source for the names of the Latoans. Most of the inscriptions are currently kept in the Archaeological Museums of Herakleion and of Agios Nikolaos, some in Museums outside of Crete, while a certain number recorded up to the end of last century, are lost and have not been located yet. The inscriptions in their vast majority have been dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. B.C. and moreover to its last quarter.

The names of the Latoans concentrated from seventy-three inscriptions are quoted in alphabetical order. In a total of 279 indexed names, not including twenty-six that are incomplete, we come across of 181 different Latoan names. Of those names at least eighty belong to the Kosmoi, the magistrates elected from the four ruling clans, or the members of the board of Eunomia.

The number of preserved female names, which in their majority come from funerary inscriptions, is strikingly lower than that of males. In a total of thirty-four, apart from four not restored, twenty-five are different female names.

Apart from the Latoans' names and their patronymics, wherever they are mentioned, known information about these persons is given briefly; their status, provided that they possessed public office, their activity, their possible relationship with the other persons of the list and finally the date of the inscriptions in which they are attested.

**Παύλος Χρυσοστόμου**, Συνεισφορές σε λατρείες θεοτήτων και ηρώων από τη Βοττιαία και την Περία της Μακεδονίας, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 135-152

*Contributions on the cults of gods and heroes from Bottiea and Pieria in Macedonia*. In this paper new pieces of information are presented concerning cults of gods and heroes from Bottiea and Pieria in «Lower Macedonia», the center of the Macedonian Kingdom: on the cults of 1) the Muses in Pella, 2) Aeolus and Graia in Pella, 3) Hermes and Demeter in Kyrros, 4) Eileithyia and Artemis Eileithyia-Lochia in Pydna.

**Γεωργία Ζ. Αλεξοπούλου και Δήμητρα Τσαγκάρη**, Deux trésors hellénistiques de Psélalonia de Patras, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 153-162

*Δύο ελληνιστικοί θησαυροί από τα Ψηλαλώνια Πατρών*. Το 1990, οι ανασκαφές της ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ στα Ψηλαλώνια Πατρών έφεραν στο φως μία σειρά οικοδομημάτων από τα κλασικά ως τα υστερορωμαϊκά χρόνια. Τα πλουσιότερα στρώματα κάλυπταν την ελληνιστική και ρωμαϊκή περίοδο. Σε οικία της ελληνιστικής φάσης, βρέθηκαν δύο «θησαυροί» σε διπλανά δωμάτια, εκ των οποίων ο πρώτος βρέθηκε μέσα σε ηθμωτό αγγείο και περιείχε 57 νομίσματα: 1 αργυρό τριώβολο της Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας και 56 χάλκινα (14 του Αντιγόνου Γονατά, 39 του Πτολεμαίου Γ΄ του τύπου 1000 του Σβορώνου και 3 αρκετά φθαρμένα). Ο δεύτερος «θησαυρός», που βρέθηκε μέσα σε άωτο σκυφίδιο, περιείχε 8 νομίσματα, 6 αργυρά (1 δραχμή Χαλκίδος και 5 τριώβολα Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας) και 2 χάλκινα (1 Πτολεμαίου Γ΄ και 1 αρκετά φθαρμένο). Οι δύο αυτοί «θησαυροί», με ίδιο αλλά αντίστροφης αναλογίας περιεχόμενο και χρονολογία απόκρυψης την περίοδο 165-147 π.Χ., προστίθενται στον μακρύ κατάλογο των «θησαυρών» που απεκρύβησαν στην Πελοπόννησο και την Δυτική Ελλάδα γενικότερα, μέσα στο κλίμα αναταραχής που επικράτησε μετά τη μάχη της Πύδνας.

**Nahum Cohen**, A customhouse receipt ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 163-165

Απόδειξη πληρωμής ενός φόρου, της ερημοφυλακίας, στην πόλη της Σοκνοπαιού Νήσου του Αρσινοΐτη νομού.



**Despina Iosif**, Caesar the warrior versus Jesus the peacemaker?, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 167-180

*Πολεμοχαρής Καισαρ εναντίον ειρηνιστή Ιησού;* Οι πρώτοι Χριστιανοί ένιωθαν έντονη απέχθεια για τον πόλεμο και τη βία και απέφευγαν συστηματικά να στρατευτούν. Προτιμούσαν να πεθάνουν παρά να προδώσουν τις αρχές τους. Αυτή την εικόνα είχαν σχηματίσει οι Βυζαντινοί για τους Χριστιανούς των τριών πρώτων αιώνων. Η ίδια εικόνα παραμένει αρκετά ισχυρή μέχρι σήμερα. Εξακολουθούμε να αρεσκομάσσουμε να επικαλούμαστε την «αγνότητα» των πρώτων Χριστιανών. Ενοχοποιούμε τον αυτοκράτορα Κωνσταντίνο ότι τάχα αυτός ευθύνεται για τον ιδεολογικό ξεπεσμό της εκκλησίας και την διεξαγωγή πολέμων από Χριστιανούς.

Η πραγματικότητα θα πρέπει να ήταν πιο πολύπλοκη απ' όσο την φανταζόμαστε. Προσεχτική μελέτη των πηγών αποκαλύπτει ότι υπήρχαν πολλές στάσεις των Χριστιανών απέναντι στη βία, στον πόλεμο και στη στρατιωτική θητεία. Φαίνεται όμως, πως η πλειονότητα των Χριστιανών δεν αντιμετώπιζε ούτε τον πόλεμο, ούτε τη στρατιωτική θητεία με καχυποψία και δεν απέφευγε να καταταγεί. Οι εθνικοί δεν είχαν θορυβηθεί και δεν είχαν λόγο να θορυβηθούν. Οι Χριστιανοί δεν αποτελούσαν απειλή ούτε στη θεωρία, ούτε στην πράξη. Αντίθετα, στήριζαν την πολιτική εξουσία. Μονάχα μια μικρή μερίδα Χριστιανών αντιδρούσε στην ιδέα της διεξαγωγής πολέμων από Χριστιανούς και συμμετοχής Χριστιανών σ' αυτούς. Είτε επειδή διέβλεπε κινδύνους από τις ειδωλολατρικές πρακτικές του ρωμαϊκού στρατού, είτε επειδή θεωρούσε ότι ένας Χριστιανός δεν επιτρέπεται να σκοτώνει, είτε επειδή επιδίωκε να αμφισβητήσει την πολιτική εξουσία.

**Chryssa Bourbou**, A survey of neoplastic diseases in ancient and medieval Greek populations, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 181-188

*Επισκόπηση των νεοπλασιών στον αρχαίο και μεσαιωνικό ελληνικό πληθυσμό.* Για τη διάγνωση των νεοπλασιών στους αρχαιολογικούς πληθυσμούς βασιζόμαστε σε γραπτές πηγές, απεικονίσεις και ανθρωπολογικά κατάλοιπα. Αν και ελάχιστα έργα τέχνης αναπαριστούν αναμφισβήτητες περιπτώσεις νεοπλασιών, πληθώρα ιατρικών κειμένων, ήδη από την εποχή του Ιπποκράτη και του Γαληνού, αναφέρονται στη συγκεκριμένη παθολογία. Στην εργασία αυτή παρουσιάζονται όλες οι έως τώρα γνωστές ή δημοσιευμένες περιπτώσεις για την Ελλάδα από την αρχαιότητα ως στον ύστερο μεσαίωνα.

**Stelios Psaroudakes**, Archaeomusicology and Ethnomusicology in dialogue, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 189-200

*Αρχαιομουσικολογία και Εθνομουσικολογία.* Το συνέδριο στο οποίο παρουσιάστηκε η παρούσα εισήγηση, είχε θέμα του το «διάλογο» ανάμεσα στις επιστήμες αρχαιολογία και ανθρωπολογία. Στο παρόν άρθρο εξετάζεται ένα επί μέρους ζήτημα, το κατά πόσον η εθνομουσικολογία, επιστήμη βαθύτατα επηρεασμένη από την ανθρωπολογία τα τελευταία χρόνια, έχει με τη σειρά της επηρεάσει την έρευνα στο πεδίο της αρχαίας μουσικής, ιδιαίτερα σε εκείνο της ελληνικής. Το συμπέρασμα είναι ότι η εθνομουσικολογία όχι απλώς επηρέασε την αρχαιομουσικολογία, αλλά άλλαξε άρδην την οπτική των επιστημόνων στον τομέα αυτόν σε βαθμό που να μην θεωρείται πλέον δόκιμη η σπουδή ενός αρχαίου μουσικού πολιτισμού χωρίς την εφαρμογή της εθνομουσικολογικής μεθόδου.

## THE PITHOS PAINTER

Despite the fact that the Pithos Painter<sup>1</sup> is considered as the worst painter of Attic vases,<sup>2</sup> the wide diffusion of his cups (fig. 1) all over the Mediterranean has raised considerable interest in recent years.<sup>3</sup> The fact that the number of vases attributed to the painter has been much increased by recent finds, offers the opportunity to look afresh to the problems arising from the extraordinary commercial success of his «exceedingly coarse» style.<sup>4</sup>

The Pithos Painter has been associated by Beazley to a loose group, the sum of a workshop output, including the Group of Adria B300, the Heraion Painter, the Chaire Painter, the Painter of Agora P 2578, and a number of related works. It is generally thought that the Pithos Painter is the leading figure of the workshop, probably because he is the most distinguished painter, albeit negatively. Inclusion in the workshop depends exclusively on style, but not on a careful analysis of vase profiles. Beside cups, the

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the usual abbreviations of Greek pottery studies, the following are used:

*Agora 30*: M.B. Moore, *The Athenian Agora. Results of the Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 30. Attic Red-figured and White-ground Pottery*, Princeton, 1997.

De Vries, K. 1977: «Greek Pottery in the Achaemenid Empire», *AJA* 81, p. 544-548.

Johnston, A. 1991: «Greek Vases in the Marketplace», in T. Rassmussen, N. Spivey (eds), *Looking at Greek Vases*, Cambridge, p. 203-231.

Lissarrague, F. 1990: *L'Autre guerrier. Archers, peltastes, cavaliers dans l'imagerie athénienne*, Paris-Rome.

Lissarrague, F. 1996: «Le Peintre de Pithos ou l'image illisible», in *Ceramica attica ed altre ceramiche coeve in Sicilia, Atti del Congresso di Catania, 1990*, Catania, p. 99-105.

Maffre, J.-J. 1998: «Pièces de céramique grecque conservées à Cyrène», in E. Catani, S.M. Marengo (eds), *La Cirenaica in età antica, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Macerata 18-20 maggio 1995*, Macerata, p. 356-358, pl. 5-6.

Semeraro, G. 1999: *EN NYHΣI. Ceramica greca e società nel Salento arcaico*, Bari.

Villard, F. 1992: «Euphronios vers 500», in Cygielmann, M. et al. (ed.), *Euphronios. Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studi, Arezzo*, p. 23-27, pl. 27-31.

<sup>2</sup> For example Johnston 1991, p. 203.

<sup>3</sup> Lissarrague 1996, is the fullest recent treatment of the painter. Cf. also Lissarrague 1990, p. 144-149; Villard 1992, p. 25; *Agora 30*, p. 91; Maffre 1998, p. 357-358. In general histories of Attic vase-painting, the Pithos Painter is rarely given more than a short note: J. Boardman, *Athenian Red-Figured Vases. The Archaic Period*, London, 1975, p. 62, notes the degree of abstraction of the Pithos Painter, «that has almost an appeal of its own». Similarly, F. Lissarrague, *Un flot d'images. Une esthétique du banquet grec*, Paris, 1987, p. 86-87, noted about the representations of the Scythian symposiast: «Une telle image n'est lisible que si l'on garde présent en mémoire son modèle, si l'on en connaît le référent». M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens*, Cambridge 1992, p. 39: «what this scrawler gives us is an almost unintelligible hieroglyph with no compensating quality of formal design». B.A. Sparkes, *The Red and the Black*, Londres-New York, 1996, p. 29, finds «depths of ineptitude» in his work. He is not mentioned at all in J. Boardman's, *The History of Greek Vases*, London, 2001.

<sup>4</sup> A list of the painter's output is appended to the end of this study. Beazley's list includes 76 vases by the Pithos Painter and 4 in his manner in *ARV<sup>2</sup>* and 5 in *Para*. 13 more vases have been added in Lissarrague 1996.

workshop's production includes some plates, mostly by the Heraion Painter, and two dishes (nos 118-119).

The first three stylistic groups mentioned above (the Group of Adria B 300, the Heraion Painter, the Chaire Painter), share neither the extremely coarse style of the master, nor the wide diffusion of his output to remote Mediterranean sites.<sup>5</sup> They do however exhibit a similarity in subject matter and general scope of composition and execution of drawing. On the other hand, the work of the Painter of Agora P 2578, and various vases in the manner, recalling or near the Pithos Painter, are obviously connected to the production of the Pithos Painter himself and are taken under consideration here, making a total of 138 vases.

It is difficult to establish a chronology of the Pithos Painter's career, given the lack of parallels and the unsuitability of his work for a detailed stylistic study. A date around the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> and the first decade of the 5<sup>th</sup> century is the most likely.<sup>6</sup>

A summary account of his style may run as follows: first one may note that not all of his work is of the same quality. The painting on his cups range from the exceedingly coarse «hieroglyphs» (i.e. nos 35, 52, 48-57, 71-72, 76), where sometimes it is hardly possible to recognize the subject, to the relatively legible (i.e. nos 34, 75, 89 and 96), and even to more careful, but still third-rate work (i.e. nos 23, 28, 33 and 108). Generally speaking, his worst drawing is applied to symposiasts (nos 33-102, 118-119), which are by far more numerous, while archers, warriors and athletes are of better quality.

The hastily drawn outline of human figures is in contour band, but rarely coincides with the reserved area. When the background is filled in, glaze frequently runs over the contour band. The Pithos Painter uses added colours rarely, mainly for straps and inscriptions (the single word *kalos* or meaningless sets of letters). Inner markings are noted by dilute glaze. Sometimes, preliminary sketch is used. Couches, wineskins, pithoi, shields, quivers, helmets and drinking-horns, are very summarily drawn and the painter takes great pains to avoid depicting drapery. Shield-devices are seen only in his most careful work (no 19: concentric circles; no 23: a chariot; no 25: a bucranium; no 28: a horse; no 30: a bird).

Few of his cups show a complete face (nos 11, 12, 108) and none a frontal one. More often, the profile is partially hidden by the shoulder (when seen from the rear) or an extended arm. The nose is often the continuation of the line of the forehead. In his coarser work, the eyeball is rendered as a black circle inscribed in a triangle. More careful works show the normal almond-shaped eye (i.e. no 108), which in his satyrs is rounder, while the eyeball lies closer to the edge (i.e. nos 1 and 9). On other works the almond eye is shown as a simple patch of black glaze (96, 104). Eye-brows are marked by a thick curved line placed well above the upper eye-lid. The ear is generally not drawn. Hair and beards are rendered, as a simple, compact glaze mass, without the usual wavy lines.

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<sup>5</sup> Vases from the group of Adria B300 have been found in Adria, Cerveteri, Gela, Medma, and in Athens on the Acropolis and in the Agora.

By the Heraion Painter: Agora, Delos, Cyrene, Acropolis, Al Mina, Gela, Naucratis, Adria. By the Chaire Painter: Agora, Chiusi, Cerveteri, Spina, Vulci.

<sup>6</sup> See for example J.D. Beazley, «The excavations at Al-Mina, Sueidia. III. The red-figured vases», *JHS* 59, 1939, p. 3: «These cups may be somewhat later than they look, but probably ceased before the end of the sixth century». M.A. Del Chiaro, «Classical Vases in the Santa Barbara Museum of Art», *AJA* 68, 1964, p. 110, pl. 33, figs 11-12, dates one of the finest cups by the painter at 490 B.C.

What the painter loses in finesse of drawing, he gains in the power of his strongly foreshortened torsos and the progressive rear view of his symposiasts (fig. 1). Powerful torsion is indicated by the slightly curved line of the spine (i.e. nos 37 and 75), which is often doubled (i.e. nos 39, 41, 44, 56, 89, 91).<sup>7</sup> Sometimes, a single line is used to indicate both the left shoulder-blade and the left arm (i.e. nos 21 and 44), but in general the shoulder-blades are noted, the right one being placed lower. Fingers are rarely detailed (i.e. nos 108, 134).

Cups placed by Beazley 'near the Pithos Painter or in his manner' are generally above his average style. They may in fact belong to a more careful production of the painter himself, although the difference in quality is remarkable.<sup>8</sup> The Painter of Agora P 2578 shares the coarseness of the style, but not the spareness of details in dilute glaze for the inner markings in the musculature of his frontally depicted satyrs (nos 132-135).

Impoverishment of style coincides with poor potting. Small cups of type C, with squat proportions and an offset rim with concave exterior that do not allow much exterior decoration, become extremely popular during the later 6<sup>th</sup> c. In the Pithos Painter's cups we recognize a debased variant of this shape. The base-fillet is marked by hasty incisions, the firing is careless, with large areas of the glaze fired reddish. The Pithos potter may be comfortably ranked among the least distinguished artisans of the Athenian Ceramicus.

The iconographic devices used by the Pithos Painter are extremely simple: most of his tondos (fig. 1) are decorated with the figure of a naked youth reclining on a couch, seen from behind, wearing the Scythian cap, the so-called *kidaris* (see table 2). A huge drinking-horn is often painted in black in the lower half of the picture. Although by no means a rarity, this type of iconography has no deep roots in Attic vase-painting prior to the Pithos Painter.<sup>9</sup> We need not follow Lissarrague<sup>10</sup> in assuming that the rear view of the symposiast is an invention of the painter, for a cup published by D. Williams<sup>11</sup> and belonging to the Proto-panaitian group is to be dated around 510 B.C. It is assumed that the motif was introduced by the Pioneers.<sup>12</sup> The only other painter before 500 B.C. who depicts a Scythian symposiast is the Colmar Painter, who adopts the frontal view.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> This device strongly recalls mugs by the Painter of Berlin 2268 and the Group of Munich 2562: see Vienna 3448 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 158.68bis; *CVA*, pl. 100.1-2) and Munich 2562 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 158.1; *CVA*, pl. 96.1-3) respectively. Compare also some later work by Epiktetos, like the cup Tarquinia RC 1911; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 76.73; *JDI* 44, 1928, p. 195 and the skyphos fr. Kerameikos 7212; *AA* 1986, p. 495, fig. 24.

<sup>8</sup> A cup showing a youth wearing Scythian cap and transporting a huge amphora, has been connected to the Pithos Painter by J.-L. Zimmermann, *Collection de la Fondation Thémis: développements de l'art grec de la préhistoire à Rome*, Geneva, 1987, p. 56-56, n° 165. It is perhaps best left unattributed.

<sup>9</sup> For an overview, cf. M.C. Miller, «Foreigners at the Greek Symposium?», in W.J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context*, Ann Arbor, 1991, p. 59-81, fig. 1-28.

<sup>10</sup> Lissarrague 1996, p. 92-93.

<sup>11</sup> D. Williams, «The Drawing of the Human Figure on Early Red-Figure Vases», in D. Buitron-Olivier (ed.), *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art*, Hanover-London, 1991, p. 292, fig. 8.

<sup>12</sup> D. Williams, *CVA British Museum* 9, p. 39, with a list of other early representations of the symposiast in rear view.

<sup>13</sup> Florence D B 4; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.3; *CVA Florence 1*, pl. D B4.

Another common subject is the satyr kneeling at a pithos or wineskin, with a dozen examples (nos 1-6, 8-10, 14); but it is a subject unique to the Painter.<sup>14</sup> The satyr half-drawn into the pithos on a cup from Spina (no 7) finds parallels on two cups on the market and an unattributed cup in Geneva.<sup>15</sup> The satyr squatting on or by a pointed amphora on three cups by the Painter of Agora P 2578 (nos 136-138) and the cup from Keos (no 128) is a rarer subject, also shown on a fine proto-panaitian cup by Onesimos in Boston.<sup>16</sup>

Other compositions by the Pithos Painter are less distinctive: the frontally squatting Scythian with an amphora between his legs (no 104) finds a parallel on a cup by a follower from the Group of Adria B300.<sup>17</sup> The peltast wearing a kidaris on a cup from the Agora in the manner of the Painter recalls a cup in Tarquinia.<sup>18</sup> The crouching Scythian archer with shield is found, among other vases, on a coarse cup by Epiktetos in Boston<sup>19</sup> and an unattributed one from Athens.<sup>20</sup> Kneeling youths next to a pithos or krater are generally Epiktetan in derivation, but usually occur on the space between palmettes on eye-cups or in multi-figured komast scenes on the outside of cups.<sup>21</sup>

The Pithos Painter does not depict women. His world is male, centred around the basic activities of the aristocratic life: war, sports, symposium. Hunting is not depicted. The kneeling youth with left arm extended and covered by a cloak (no 116), as if he was meeting the onrush of a wild beast, resembles a hunter,<sup>22</sup> but the lack of weapons is crucial.<sup>23</sup> He is probably meant to be a komast, like a similar youth on an unattributed cup in London, who is holding a knotted stick.<sup>24</sup> Ritual and religious activity is also lacking. Except satyrs, mythological figures are little appreciated. There are only two cups which show mythical figures, both quite rare in choice and remarkable in execution:

<sup>14</sup> From the point of view of composition, there is a general affinity with the satyr at the vat on cups by the Actorione Painter: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 137.2-4.

<sup>15</sup> *MuM* 26, 1956, n° 119, unattributed and *H.A.C. Katalog* 7, Basel, 1995, n° 94, attributed to the Euergides Painter. Both show youths. The Geneva cup, inv. 16908, shows a satyr (*CVA Genève* 1, pl. 9).

<sup>16</sup> Boston.10179; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 327.110; *Para* 379; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 216; L.D. Caskey, J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in the Museum of Fine Arts, II*, Boston, 1956, pl. 38.

<sup>17</sup> Kassel T 504. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 142.5; *CVA* 1, pl. 39.1. A cup recently acquired by the Leiden Museum is very close: *OMRL* 73, 1993, pl. 2.2. Both show squatting youths with an amphora between the legs.

<sup>18</sup> Tarquinia 87883; G. Ferrari, *Vasi attici a figure rosse*, Rome, 1987, pl. 29,2, n° 15.

<sup>19</sup> Boston 01. 8074; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 76.74; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 168; *LIMC* I, pl. 391, Alexandros 73.

<sup>20</sup> *Deltion* 23, 1968, Chron. 1, pl. 43.

<sup>21</sup> See for example Paris C 19458 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 71.10 and 11; *CVA Louvre* 10, pl. 8.2-5) and Bern, private (R. Blatter, «Ein unveröffentlichtes Spätwerk des Epiktetos», *Antike Welt* 7.2, 1975, p. 60, fig. 1), respectively.

<sup>22</sup> Beazley and other scholars, generally refer to «hunters» for figures of naked youths armed with spears and a drapery around the arm. Cf. the cup Louvre C 10473; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 76.73; *CVA Louvre* 10, pl. 12.1 (Epiktetos). See however a mug in the manner of the Epeleios Painter, where a youth holding a spear is to be found in the company of two komasts: Cracow 1259; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 152.9; *CVA*, pl. 10.1.

<sup>23</sup> For the composition compare a fragmentary cup from Olbia: *Olbiya, Temenos y Agora*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1964, p. 185, pl. 4.2. See also a mug by the Painter of Berlin 2268 in Riehen, Kuhn 59: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 156.68; *MuM* 10, 1951, pl. 20, n° 414; *CVA Basel* 2, pl. 45.4-7.

<sup>24</sup> London 1848.3-20.1. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 157.13; *CVA London* 9, pl. 17.

Theseus lifting the rock (rather than Sisyphus - no 120), and the naked Herakles crossing the Ocean in the lebes of Helios (no 129).<sup>25</sup>

The extreme stylistic abstraction and iconographic austerity are obviously intentional. It has been noted that there may be a general connection between poverty of achievement and remote findspot.<sup>26</sup> The reasons for this connection, however, are far from clear. Should we attribute it to the taste of clients not satisfied by or ignorant of the severe discipline of much of contemporary red-figure? Or was the quality of the pottery traded the choice of the traders themselves? Were these cups cheaper? Or was a time-saving, coarse style more profitable for the workshop? None of these questions can be answered with certainty. It seems however that the path opened by the Pithos Painter was not followed by many colleagues. This fact strongly argues against any strictly financial reason to account for the odd appearance of his vases. In any case, his coarsest cups are not only from the Levant (nos 35, 47-56), but also from Athens (no 52), Eretria (71-72) and Corinth (no 75).

The particular interest of this unattractive class of objects lies rather in their archeological usefulness. Many of them were found in controlled excavations during the 20<sup>th</sup> century and provide extremely useful information (see table of provenances). 10 vases were found in excavations in sanctuaries, 37 in tombs and 56 in settlement sites (table 1). The remaining 35 vases have no reported provenance and a large percentage is likely to have been found in tombs. There is no pattern of differentiation in usage, according to iconography: the most conspicuous subject, the symposiast wearing kidaris, seems to be popular in tomb (16), sanctuary (8) and residential sites (36).

Of equal importance is the geographical diffusion (tables 2 and 3). There is an obvious anomaly in the pattern of distribution of our painter's work: none of the 138 vases found its way to Vulci or Tarquinia, a fact quite extraordinary for this period of Attic red-figure. Etruscan provenances are extremely rare: there is one cup from the Greek sanctuary at Gravisca (no 83), the multi-ethnic port of Tarquinia, and some from the region of Cerveteri, the most likely provenance of the Campana fragments in the Louvre. Otherwise, cups by the Pithos Painter have been found in sites of the Po region (3 in Adria and one in Spina) and the Adriatic (one in Ancona). In Campania, Pompeii and Pontecagnano are rather minor findspots of Attic red-figure of the period. South Italian and Sicilian sites are better represented: leaving aside the dozen unpublished sherds from Megara Hyblaea mentioned by Villard,<sup>27</sup> we know of four cups from this site. Six other are reported from Gela and one from Selinous. Various others come from S. Italian native settlements. The western limit of diffusion is an inland site on the Mediterranean coast of the Iberian peninsula, Poco Moro. Significantly, the cup was found along with a lekythos of another prime class of rough Attic vases, the Class of Athens 581.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Theseus: C. Sourvinou-Inwood, «Theseus lifting the rock and a cup near the Pithos Painter», *JHS* 91, 1971, p. 94-109, pl. 12. For a different view, see J. Neils, *LIMC* VII.1, p. 925, s.v. Theseus 22. Herakles: P. Brize, *LIMC* V.1, s.v. Herakles 2550-2552.

<sup>26</sup> Johnston 1991, p. 203.

<sup>27</sup> Villard 1992, p. 27, n. 30, speaks of some ten unpublished fragments from Megara Hyblaea and a cup from Cyprus, all with the reclining figure of a youth wearing a kidaris.

<sup>28</sup> The provenance of the Reading cup (n° 38), the Thames, is one of the puzzles of vase scholarship. While it is not impossible to see such a pot travelling thus far, no scholar is ready to accept that the vase was

Proceeding to the southern part of the Mediterranean, we note a small nucleus of cups by the painter in Cyrenaica, two of unknown provenience and one from the extra-urban sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene. Naucratis gave two cups in the manner of the painter. Turning to the Levant, we see a more spectacular concentration. There are 10 cups from Al Mina, all of them very coarse and showing the reclining «Scythian». Two more cups from Palestinian sites have the same subject, but the one from Tell Abu Hawam (no 110) has a youth reclining. Another Scythian symposiast is depicted on a cup from Marion (no 35).

At the other end of the Greek world, cups by the Pithos group are represented in good numbers around the Black Sea, at Kerch (3), Taman (2), Olbia (1), and Berezan (2). Six show «Scythian» symposiasts, another an oriental archer and the last, not by the Painter himself, a satyr (no 122). On the west coast, excavations at Histria have yielded two cups, one with the oriental symposiast (no 95), the other with a youth reclining and raising one hand (no 108), one of the most careful studies by the painter.

Two cups (no 99-100) by the Pithos Painter have been published from Asia Minor, one from Daskyleion, seat of the satrapy of Hellespontic Phrygia and a centre controlling communication with the Bosphorus, the other from the Ephesian Artemision, the earliest red-figured vase from the sanctuary. Both show the «Scythian archer».

Rhodes (seven cups, of which five from Camirus and one from Ialysus) and Corinth (five cups from the city, one from Hexamilia and one from Perachora) are, along with Athens, the most prolific sites for the diffusion of the Pithos Painter's cups in mainland and insular Greece. In this case, the pattern seems to be different from that in Italy: it is the popularity of Attic red-figure at those Greek sites that determines the strong presence of the Pithos' Painters vases. The same seems true for Eretria (2 cups): early Attic red-figure arrives in less substantial numbers, but is firmly established from the beginning, as is documented by an early red-figured amphora from the Andocides workshop.<sup>29</sup> Rhitsona, with a single cup with the reclining Scythian is the only Boeotian site. Further north, there is a cup showing an athlete in the Museum of Lamia (unpublished), three from the Chalkidike, one from Olynthus and two from a relatively rich tomb at Vrastina Kalyvia. One of the two is a replica of the Tell Abu Hawam cup (no 110).

The home market is rich in finds (22 vases): besides five cups from tombs, there are 16 cups from the Agora (some of them in the manner of the Pithos Painter and 3 by the Painter of the Agora P 2578) and a single one from the Acropolis. It is quite normal to have a heavier concentration of related pieces in the Agora than in any other region, and this seems to indicate that at least some of the pieces may have come from the debris of a workshop. The remainder is found in insular sites with strong Athenian presence, like Delos and Keos in the Cyclades and Chios in the Northern Aegean. It is thus impossible to talk with certainty of commercial diffusion, rather than of circulation of goods along with persons.

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transported and lost in the river in Antiquity. See G.C. Boon, «A Greek Vase from the Thames», *JHS* 74, 1954, p. 178, fig. 1-2; Johnston 1991, p. 203.

<sup>29</sup> See E. Serbeti, «Attic Pottery from a Deposit in Eretria», in J. Oakley et al. (eds), *Athenian Potters and Painters. The Conference Proceedings*, Oxford, 1997, p. 491-499.

In an influential article, K. de Vries has linked the diffusion of the vases by the Pithos Painter in the Achaemenid Empire to the extremely formulaic iconography of the oriental banqueter, which is described as «a naive attempt to cater to Eastern interests».<sup>30</sup> In other words, Athenian painters show foreigners in order to sell to foreigners.

The identity of the oriental symposiasts has been hotly debated in the past. Jacobsthal and Vos believe them to be Scythian residents of Athens, potters and painters according to the former, or mercenaries according to the latter.<sup>31</sup> Fehr takes them to be Scythians, on the strength of the presence of the drinking-horn, extinct by 530 B.C. in Athenian sympotic and comast scenes.<sup>32</sup> According to Zahn, they are Athenians, exercising the function of the «king of the banquet».<sup>33</sup> Lissarrague and Miller have made a strong case for regarding them as Athenians, but diverging in interpretation; Miller classes the kidaris of the symposiasts among «a select range of objects» deliberately adopted by wealthy Athenians as an «effective state of elitism»,<sup>34</sup> while Lissarrague, argues that the kidaris is a sign of the Dionysiac escape from social constraint, a symbol denoting those who wear it as especially devoted to the consumption of enormous quantities of wine, very much in the way in which Scythians were reported to act in Antiquity.<sup>35</sup> One should not forget that the Pithos Painter also likes Scythian archers proper, and that a cup by an associate from the Group of Adria B300 shows a Scythian archer reclining on a couch and carrying a quiver.<sup>36</sup> This allows the possibility that some of the symposiasts may also be regarded as genuine Scythian archers.

As tables 2 and 3 show, there exists a clear pattern of correlation between provenance and iconography: Athens, the home-market, provides both symposiasts, Scythians, archers, satyrs and warriors. The rest of Greece shows a different concentration: although other schemes are not lacking, the emphasis is put on the figure of the reclining Scythian. The same holds true for Italy and N. Africa: Scythian symposiasts are still the more popular subject, but other themes well represented are the warrior and the satyr.

Diffusion in the areas where Orientals and Scythians appear in real life, the Black Sea and the Levant presents a peculiarly homogeneous record: a high majority shows the Scythian symposiast, thus explaining the high figures of imports in those remote areas. On the other hand, regarded in the context of the general pattern of imports, the Scythian symposiast is conspicuous only in the Near East (Cyprus excluded). In the Black Sea area, of about 50 early Attic red-figured vases of the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c., only 15% show what might be considered «indigenous» people. One must bear in mind that

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<sup>30</sup> De Vries 1977, p. 546. See also F. Brommer, «Themenwahl aus örtlichen Gründen», in H.A.G. Brijder (ed.), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, Amsterdam, 1984, p. 178-184.

<sup>31</sup> P. Jacobsthal, *Συμποτικά*, Göttingen, 1912, p. 61 s.; F. Vos, *Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase-Painting*, Groningen, 1964, p. 89-90. Beazley, *op.cit.* (n. 6), p. 3-4.

<sup>32</sup> B. Fehr, *Orientalische und griechische Gelage*, Bonn, 1971, p. 101.

<sup>33</sup> Apud Jacobsthal, *op.cit.*, p. 62, n. 2. This view was recently adopted by F. Lissarrague, «The Athenian Image of the Foreigner», in Th. Harrison (ed.), *Greeks and Barbarians*, Edinburgh, 2002, p. 111.

<sup>34</sup> M.C. Miller, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 71.

<sup>35</sup> Lissarrague 1990, p. 144-149.

<sup>36</sup> Rome 47259; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 142.2.



most Black Sea sites receiving Attic red-figure at this period are sanctuaries in the Greek towns of the northern shore (Kerch, Berezan and Olbia).

To sum up, the Pithos Painter's vases show an unusual distribution pattern, which is due to the success of the motif of the Scythian symposiast. The more remote and unexpected the site of provenance is, the more possible it is to note the presence of this subject. In some cases, the choice of the clients is not dictated by the subject, but by the shape, as in Etruria or Campania, and in a more general way, in sanctuaries, where cups are extremely popular during the late 6<sup>th</sup> and the early 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>37</sup> In general, the Scythian symposiast is a theme that met the demand of clients in areas controlled or adjacent to the Achaemenid Empire. To account for the appeal of the subject in other regions, we must allow for various factors. There is an ambiguity in the figure of the Scythian banqueter, meaning different things to different people: excessive drinking in regions renowned for their love of parties, like Sicily; the illustration of a new vestimentary mode in Attica, influenced by the contact with the Achaemenid Empire from the late 6<sup>th</sup> century on; a realistic representation of Scythians or mixed populations in the peripheral areas of the Black Sea and the Levant. Can we not suggest that the Pithos Painter preferred to leave open the identity of his figures, allowing a range of interpretations varying from a region to another ?

**Catalogue** (all vases are type C cups, unless otherwise stated).

*A. By the Pithos Painter*

*(1-6: satyr kneeling at pithos)*

1. Louvre G 91. *ARV* 116.1; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.1; E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, Paris, 1906, pl. 98; Villard 1992, pl. 30b; Lissarrague 1996, 101, fig. 1 (drawing); Maffre 1998, p. 357, pl. 5.2.
2. N. York 07.296.32. *ARV* 116.2; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.2.
3. Paris, Villard. *ARV* 116.3; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.3.
4. Kiel B 541.1977. *CVA* 1, pl. 52.3; Lissarrague 1996, 105, no 11.
5. Cyrene inv. 1079 (AM/2053), from Cyrenaica. Maffre 1998, p. 357, pl. 5.1.
6. Megara Hyblaea 7/2493, from Megara Hyblaea. Villard 1992, pl. 30a, right; Lissarrague 1996, 104, no 3.
7. Ferrara 28623, from Spina. Satyr into a pithos. *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 12, 1977, 2, fig. 8; N. Alfieri, *Il Museo di Spina*, Ferrara 1979, 5, fig. 16; F. Berti (ed.), *Dionysos. Mito e mistero*, Commachio, 1989, p. 102, no 43.
8. Louvre G 90. Satyr kneeling, with pointed amphora. *ARV* 116.4; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.4; E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, Paris, 1906, pl. 98.
9. Vienna 3215. Satyr kneeling, with wineskin. *ARV* 116.5; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.5; *CVA*, pl. 3.2, 13.8.

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<sup>37</sup> See for example the finds from the Greek sanctuary at Gravisca: S. Huber, *Gravisca 6. La ceramica attica a figure rosse*, Bari, 1999, *passim*.

10. Taranto, from Roccaforzata. Satyr kneeling, with wineskin. *Atti Taranto* 11, 1967, pl. 12.
11. Bonn, Perpeet. Satyr kneeling, with drinking horn and wineskin. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.6; *Ars Antiqua*, I, Luzern 1959, pl. 53, 113.
12. Pontecagnano, from Pontecagnano. Satyr holding drinking horn and wineskin. L. Cerchiai, «Un corredo arcaico da Pontecagnano», *AION* 3, 1981, 37-39, fig. 16.1, 17 and 18.3, no 3.<sup>38</sup>
13. Syracuse 7/1042, fr. from Megara Hyblaea. Satyr. G. Vallet, F. Villard, *Megara Hyblaea. 2. La céramique archaïque*, Paris-Rome, 1964, pl. 104.7.<sup>39</sup>
14. Agora P 1382bis, from Athens. Satyr kneeling, holding a garment. *ARV* 116.6; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.7; *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pl. 31, 39; *Agora 30*, no 1557, pl. 147.<sup>40</sup>
15. London E 29, from Camiros. Youth kneeling at pithos. *ARV* 116.7; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.8.
16. Nantes 903-692, from Hexamilia. Youth kneeling at pithos. *CVA*, pl. 23.5-6.
17. London E 30, from Camiros. Athlete kneeling with discus. *ARV* 116.8; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.9.
18. Lamia Museum, from Phthiotis. Athlete picking up discus. Unpublished.

(nos 19-26 warrior kneeling, the last one looking back as well)

19. Agora P 23125, from Athens. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.10; *Hesperia* 23, 1954, pl. 15, g; *Agora 30*, no 1558, pl. 147.
20. Louvre AM 1065 (C 10883). Campana Coll. *ARV* 116.9; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.11+12; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 178.
21. Louvre C 10884. Campana coll. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139. 13; Villard 1992, pl. 31a.
22. Tübingen S/10 1534V, fr. *ARV* 116.10; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.14; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 178; C. Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*, Reutlingen, 1924, pl. 21, no E 40; *CVA* 1, pl. 2.5.
23. Gela, from Gela. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.15; *NSc* 1956, p. 276, fig. 3.
24. Syracuse 19820a, from Gela. *ARV* 116.11; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.16.
25. Malibu 86.AE.340. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1628.16bis; *CVA* 8, pl. 455.5.
26. Agora P 16281 bis, fr. from Athens. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.17; *Agora 30*, no 1583, pl. 150.
27. Agora P 2579, from Athens. Type B. Peltast kneeling. *ARV* 118.9; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.18; *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pl. 34, 4, 5; *Agora 30*, no 1516 (manner of the Pithos painter).
28. Santa Barbara C 18 WL 55. Archer (with quiver, Attic helmet and round shield) kneeling at left. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.19; *Para* 334; *AJA* 68, 1964, pl. 33, figs 11-12.
29. Aarhus Univ. 492, from Athens. Archer. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.20; *KUML* 2, 1952, p. 100.
30. Ascona, Galleria Serodine. Scythian archer (with round shield) kneeling at left. *Minerva* 6, March-April 1995, p. 37.
31. Oxford 1966.451, fr. Scythian archer. *ARV* 116.12; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139.21; *Para* 334; *Select Exhibition of Sir J. Beazley's Gifts*, Oxford, 1966, pl. 20, 168.

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<sup>38</sup> Cerchiai compares the Pontecagnano cup to the Pithos Painter and the Wider Circle of the Nikosthenes Painter. I think it is especially close to the Bonn cup (n° 11) and probably by the Pithos Painter himself.

<sup>39</sup> Not included to the various lists, but by the painter himself: compare the Bonn cup (n° 11).

<sup>40</sup> In *ARV* 116, Beazley states that the person is a «satyr kneeling with wineskin». Both Beazley, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139 and Moore, *Agora 30*, take him to be a man holding a garment, but the moustache and the infibulated penis unmistakably point to a satyr, as was already seen by E. Vanderpool, «The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft», *Hesperia* 15, 1946, p. 281, n° 39.

**32.** St. Petersburg B.85.121, fr. from Berezan. Oriental peltast kneeling to the right. Y.I. Ilyina, «Early Red-Figure Pottery from Berezan», in G.R. Tsetschladze (ed.), *Northern Pontic Antiquities in the State Hermitage Museum*, Leiden, 2001, p. 165, fig. 6.

(Nos 33-102, a youth wearing Scythian cap, seen from the rear, reclining)

**33.** Bryn Mawr P934, fr. ARV<sup>2</sup> 139.22; Add<sup>2</sup> 178; CVA 1, pl. 2.5.

**34.** Rhodes 13386, from Camiros. ARV 116.13; ARV<sup>2</sup> 139.23; Add<sup>2</sup> 178; *Clara Rhodos* 4, 1931, p. 202; CVA 2, III IC, pl. 5.2; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figured Vases. The Archaic Period*, London, 1975, fig. 128; F. Lissarrague, *Un Flot d'Images. Une esthétique du banquet grec*, Paris 1987, p. 86, fig. 74 (drawing); M.C. Miller, «Foreigners at the Greek Symposium?», in W.J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context*, Ann Arbor, 1999, p.78, no 1, fig. 1; F. Lissarrague, «The Athenian Image of the Foreigner», in Th. Harrison (ed.), *Greeks and Barbarians*, Edinburgh 2002, p. 112, fig. 6.

**35.** Nicosia C 672, from Marion. ARV<sup>2</sup> 140.24; Add<sup>2</sup> 178; E. Gjerstad et alii, *Greek Geometric and Achaic Pottery found in Cyprus*, Stockholm, 1977, pl. 74.1, 2; J.D. Beazley, *Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum*, Oxford, 1987, pl. 10.1; Lissarrague 1996, 102, fig. 6.

**36.** Cyrene C17, fr. from Cyrene, sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. I. McPhee, *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene Libya. VI. Part II. Attic Pottery*, Philadelphia 1997, pl. 40, no 96.

**37.** Cyrene, n.n., fr. from Cyrenaica. Maffre 1998, p. 357-358, pl. 6.1.

**38.** Reading, Museum and Art Gallery, from the Thames (1890). ARV<sup>2</sup> 140.25; *JHS* 74, 1954, p. 178, fig. 1-2; Johnston 1991, p. 204, fig. 85.

**39.** Rhodes 14115, from Camiros (Fikellura cemetery). ARV 117.22; ARV<sup>2</sup> 140.26; Add<sup>2</sup> 178; *Clara Rhodos* 6 -7, 1932-1933, 184, fig. 214; De Vries 1977, 546, fig. 1; Lissarrague 1996, 101, fig. 2 (drawing); Maffre 1998, pl. 6.2.

**40.** Rhodes, from Rhodes. ARV 116.14; ARV<sup>2</sup> 140.27.

**41.** Salonica, from Vrastina Kalyvia. ARV 116.19; ARV<sup>2</sup> 140.28; *Deltion* 9, 1924-1925, suppl. 38, fig. 6b.

**42.** Thebes, from Rhitsona. ARV 116.15; ARV<sup>2</sup> 140.29; *BSA* 14, 1907-1908, pl. 13, b.

**43.** Once Italian market. ARV<sup>2</sup> 140.30.

**44.** Padova XVIII-140. G. Zampieri, *Ceramica Greca, Italiota e Etrusca del Museo Civico di Padova I*, Roma 1991, p. 100-101, no 34.

**45.** Gela (Giacomo Pozzo no 6), from Gela. ARV<sup>2</sup> 140.31.

**46.** Gela (INA casa 1954), fr. from Gela. ARV<sup>2</sup> 140.32.

**47.** Gela (ex Tedeschi), fr. from Gela. ARV<sup>2</sup> 140.33.

**48.** Gela (Acr. Amb 10 no 4), from the Acropolis of Gela. ARV<sup>2</sup> 140.34.

**49.** Warsaw 199208. ARV<sup>2</sup> 1628.34bis; *Para* 334; CVA, pl. 6.1-2.

**50.** Florence 20 B 29. Campana Collection. ARV 116.16; ARV<sup>2</sup> 140.35; CVA I, pl. 20 B 19.

**51.** Athens 1228, from Corinth. ARV 116.17; ARV<sup>2</sup> 140.36.

**52.** Agora P 2800, from Athens. ARV 117.23; ARV<sup>2</sup> 140.37; *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pl. 37, 60; *Agora* 30, no 1585, pl. 150.

**53.** Once Washington 197.245, from Italy. ARV<sup>2</sup> 140.38; Add<sup>2</sup> 178.

54. Once Luzern Market (AG). *Ars Antiqua*, Dezember 1964, pl. 11, no 72; Lissarrague 1996, 105, no 13.
55. St. Omer 3690-4 (6941). *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.39; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 178.
56. Berkeley, Palestine Institute, fr. from Tell-en Nasbeh. *ARV* 952.13bis; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.40; C.H. Mc Cown, *Tell-en Nasbeh*, 1, Berkeley, 1947, pl. 59.4; Lissarrague 1996, 101, fig. 4 (drawing).
57. Once London market (Spink). *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.41.
58. Oxford 1954.239, fr. from Al Mina. *ARV* 952.28bis; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.42; *JHS* 59, 1939, 3, 6.
59. Unknown, fr. from Al Mina. *ARV* 117.29; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.43; *JHS* 59, 1939, 3, 7.
60. Oxford 1954.240, fr. from Al Mina. *ARV* 117.30; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.44; *JHS* 59, 1939, 3, 8.
61. Unknown, fr. from Al Mina. *ARV* 117.31; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.45; *JHS* 59, 1939, 3, 9.
62. Unknown, fr. from Al Mina. *ARV* 117.32; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.46; *JHS* 59, 1939, 3, 10.
63. Unknown, fr. from Al Mina. *ARV* 117.33; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.47; *JHS* 59, 1939, 3, 11.
64. Unknown, fr. from Al Mina. *ARV* 117.34; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.48; *JHS* 59, 1939, 3, 12.
65. Oxford 1954.242, fr. from Al Mina. *ARV* 117.35; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.49; *JHS* 59, 1939, 3, 13.
66. Eton, fr. from Al Mina. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.50.
67. Eton, fr. from Al Mina. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.51.
68. Athens, Acr, fr. from Athens. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.52.
69. Agora P 16781, fr. from Athens. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.53; *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pl. 36, 55; *Agora* 30, no 1559, pl. 147.
70. Agora P 6636, fr. from Athens. *ARV* 116.18; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.54; *Agora* 30, no 1584.
71. Eretria G/10-307.1+G/10-311 fr. from Eretria. K. Gex, *Ausgrabungen aus Eretria IX*, Ecole Suisse d'Archéologie en Athènes, 1993, pl. 89, S 382.
72. Eretria G/10-369 V 4027, cup fr. K. Gex, *Ausgrabungen aus Eretria IX*, Ecole Suisse d'Archéologie en Athènes,, 1993, pl. 89, S 383.
73. Jerusalem P 1605, fr. from Tell Jemmeh. *ARV* 116.20; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.55; J.H. Iliffe, «Prehellenistic Greek Pottery in Palestine», *QDAP* 2, 1932, pl. 7.3.
74. Salonica 459, fr. from Olynthus. *ARV* 117.21; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 140.56; D.M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus* 5, Baltimore, 1933, pl. 107, 199.
75. Mykonos 15, fr. from Rheneia (Delos). *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.57; C. Dugas, *Délos xxi*, Paris, 1952, pl. 45.15.
76. Corinth C 33.228, from Corinth. *Para* 334; *Hesperia* 49, 1980, pl. 78, 4; Lissarrague 1996, 101, fig. 5.
77. Corinth CP-778, cup from Corinth, North Cemetery. Mentioned in *Hesperia* 49, 1980, 298; Lissarrague 1996, 105, no 9.
78. Corinth CP-800, from Corinth, North Cemetery. Mentioned in *Hesperia* 49, 1980, p. 298; Lissarrague 1996, 105, no 9.
79. Corinth C-70-34, fr. from Corinth. *Hesperia* 50, 1981, pl. 68, 37.
80. Agora P 5293, fr. from Athens. *ARV* 117.24; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.58; *Agora* 30, no 1586, pl. 150.
81. Leipzig T 3792, fr. *ARV* 117.25; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.59.
82. Louvre C 11260, fr. Campana coll. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.60.
83. Gravisca 77/2474, fr. from Gravisca. S. Huber, *Gravisca 6. La ceramica attica a figure rosse*, Bari, 1999, no 147.
84. Adria, fr. from Adria. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.61.
85. Adria B 1160, fr. from Adria. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.62.
86. Adria, s.n., fr. from Adria. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.63.

87. Pompei 19281, from Pompei, temple of Apollo. *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1705; S. De Caro, *Saggi nell'area del tempio di Apollo a Pompei, Scavi stratigrafici di A. Maiuri nel 1931-1932 e 1942-1943*, Naples, 1986, no 684, pl. 47.
88. Mesagne, from Mesagne. Semeraro 1999, no 236, p. 121, fig. 70.
89. Oria, from Oria (Monte Papalucio). *Salento arcaico. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Lecce 5-8 aprile 1979*, Galatina 1979, pl. 27; Lissarrague 1996, 104, no 7 (one fr.); G. Semeraro, «Ceramiche arcaiche di importazione greca nel Salento, Prime note», *Salento porta d'Italia*, Galatina 1989, fig. 29; Lissarrague 1996, 104, no 8; Semeraro 1999, no 575, p. 198, fig. 180.
90. Torre del'Orso 13, fr. from Torre del'Orso. C. Pagliara, *Humilis Italia. Archeologia sulla costa salentina*, Gallatina 1983, 13, fig. 4; Lissarrague 1996, 104, no 6; Semeraro 1999, no 1003, p. 276, fig. 231 (profile).
91. Ugento TG 586, fr. from Ugento. Lissarrague 1996, 104, no 5; Semeraro 1999, no 1044, p. 282, fig. 235.
92. Megara Hyblaea 7/2490, from Megara Hyblaea. Villard 1992, pl. 30a, left; Lissarrague 1996, 104, no 1.
93. Megara Hyblaea 7/2491, from Megara Hyblaea. Villard 1992, pl. 30a, middle; Lissarrague 1996, 104, no 2.
94. Palermo 2818, from Selinous, necr. Gaggera T 22. A. Adriani (ed.), *Odeon*, Palermo, 1971, pl. 51g; Lissarrague 1996, 101, fig. 3, no 4.
95. Bucarest V 8559 B, fr. from Histria. P. Alexandrescu, *Histria IV*, Bucarest 1978, pl. 59, no 506.
96. Moscow M-910, fr. from Kerch. Naked youth wearing kidaris, seated, facing away. *Para 334; Materialy SSSR* 103, 167, 2; *CVA Moscow 4*, pl. 47.5.
97. St. Petersburg B.86.95, from Berezan, t. 155. Y.I. Ilyina, «Early Red-Figure Pottery from Berezan», in G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Northern Pontic Antiquities in the State Hermitage Museum*, Leiden, 2001, p. 165, fig. 7-8.
98. Moscow, Puskin Museum, fr. from Taman. N. Sidorova, «Archaic Pottery from Hermonassa», *Soobscenija Godudarsvennogo Muzeja Izobrazitel'Nyh Iskusstv Imeni A.S. Puskina* 1987, p. 124, pl. 13d.
99. Daskyleion 88, fr. from Daskyleion. Y. Tuna-Nörling, *Daskyleion I. Die attische Keramik, Arkeoloji Dergisi VI*, Izmir, 1999, pl. 21, no 879.
100. Selcuk 81/92, fr. from the Ephesian Artemision. A. Gasser, *Die korinthische und attische Importkeramik von Artemision in Ephesos*, Forschungen in Ephesos, Band XII, 1, Vienna 1989, pl. 38, no A 37.
101. Ancona 21506, from Ancona, via Goito. *La ceramica attica figurata nelle Marche*, Ancona, 1984, p. 79, no 2.
102. Athens, Benaki Museum 17. Unpublished.
103. Malibu 86.AE.342, fr. of cup. Scythian archer kneeling to the left. *CVA 8*, pl. 459.7.
104. Moscow, n.n., from Kerch. Youth with kidaris squatting, having an amphora between the legs. *CVA Moscow 4*, pl. 47.6.
105. Athens TE 2634, from Athens. Man reclining. *Para 334*.
106. Athens TE 2625, from Athens. Man reclining. *Para 334*.
107. Athens TE TE 2615, from Athens. Man reclining. *Para 334*.

- 108.** Bucarest V 8559 B, fr. from Histria. Youth reclining on a couch (seen frontally, the left hand almost touching the front). P. Alexandrescu, *Histria IV*, Bucarest, 1978, pl. 59, no 507.
- 109.** Louvre G 97. Youth reclining. *ARV* 117.27; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.64; Villard 1992, pl. 31b.
- 110.** Jerusalem, fr. from Tell Abu Hawam (found in a level of 50-100 m. below the surface of the tell). Youth reclining, one hand raised. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.65; R.W. Hamilton, «Excavations at Tell Abu Hawam» *QDAP* 4, 1934, pl. 12, 23.
- 111.** Reading Univ. (once London Market, Spink). Destroyed. Youth reclining. *ARV* 117.26; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.66.
- 112.** Salonica, from Vrastina Kalyvia (same tomb as no 41). Youth reclining, one hand raised. *ARV* 117.28; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.67; *Deltion* 9, 1924-1925, suppl. 38, fig. 6 a.
- 113.** Agora P 2765, from Athens. Youth kneeling. *ARV* 117.36; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.68; *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pl. 36, 56; *Agora 30*, no 1560, pl. 147.
- 114.** Athens, fr. from Perachora. Youth kneeling. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.69; *Perachora ii*, Oxford, 1961, pl. 146, no 3836.
- 115.** Chios, fr. from Kofina in Chios. Naked male kneeling. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.70; *BSA* 49, 1954, pl. 6, 59.
- 116.** Once Paris Market (Micas). Youth kneeling to left, the left hand extended from the cloak. *ARV* 117.37; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.71.
- 117.** Kilchberg, coll. Risch. Unpublished. Listed by Lissarrague 1996, 105, no 12.
- 118.** Once London Market (Sotheby's), dish. Youth wearing Scythian cap, reclining. *ARV* 117.38; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.72.
- 119.** Newcastle Upon Tyne, Shefton Museum, University of Newcastle, dish. Youth wearing Scythian cap, reclining. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.73.

*B. Not by the Painter himself*

- 120.** Athens 18722, from Athens? Theseus lifting the rock. *ARV* 117.1; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.1; *Para* 335; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 178; *JHS* 91, 1971, pl. 12; *LIMC* VII.1, pl. 567, Sisyphus I 39; Lissarrague, 1996, 103, fig. 9 (drawing).
- 121.** Louvre S 1332, fr. Youth wearing Scythian cap, reclining. *ARV* 117.2; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141.2 (manner of the Pithos Painter).
- 122.** St. Petersburg, fr. from Olbia. Satyr. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 141; *Otchët Arkheologicheskoi Komissii*, St. Petersburg 1904, 33, fig. 39 (manner of the Pithos Painter, better than average).
- 123.** Agora P 647, from Athens. Archer kneeling. *ARV* 952 (looks like a superior work of the Pithos Painter); *Agora 30*, no 1517, pl. 143.
- 124.** Agora P 2580, from Athens. Warrior with Scythian cap, cloak and spear. *ARV* 118.10; *Agora 30*, no 1561 (manner of the Pithos Painter).
- 125.** Agora P 2618, fr. from Athens. Satyr in rear view. *ARV* 1952 (recalls the Pithos Painter and his Circle); *Agora 30*, no 1587, pl. 150.
- 126.** Agora P 2583, fr. from Athens (type uncertain). One kneeling to left. *Agora 30*, no 1608, pl. 151 (probably by the Pithos Painter).
- 127.** Cambridge GR 137.1899, fr. from Naucratis. Warrior kneeling to right, looking round. Device: bucranium. *ARV* 118d; *CVA* 2, pl. 27.9 (Circle of the Pithos Painter).

- 128.** Keos K 2078, from the sanctuary of Dionysos at Ayia Irini. Satyr squatting on an amphora. *Hesperia* 33, 1964, pl. 64f-g (Beazley: Recalling the Pithos Painter. Finer than average work).
- 129.** Rhodes, from Ialysus. Herakles in a lebes. *ARV* 118, A; *Boll. d'Arte* 30, 1936-1937, p. 39; Lissarrague 1996, 103, fig. 8 (drawing).
- 130.** Moscow M-1249, fr. from Kerch (Mt. Mithridates). Naked youth wearing kidaris, seated, facing away. *CVA Moscow* 4, pl. 47.4.
- 131.** Moscow F 1410, fr. of cup from Taman. Youth wearing kidaris, squatting frontally; an amphora between the legs. *CVA* 4, pl. 47.6 (Circle of the Pithos Painter, recalls the Painter of Agora P 2578).
- 132.** London E 32, from Camirus. Youth kneels to right on a cushion, holding a dish. *ARV* 118.b (recalls the Pithos Painter).
- 133.** Oxford, fr. from Naucratis. Youth at krater. *ARV* 118.c (recalls the Pithos Painter).
- 134.** Madrid, from the Orientalising Monument of Pozo Moro (along with a lekythos of the Class of Athens 581). Dancing youth. M. Almagro-Gobrea, «Pozo Moro», *Madr.Mitt.* 24, 1983, p. 184, pl. 14.<sup>41</sup>
- 135.** Agora P 2578, fr. from Athens. Satyr-peltast. The Painter of Agora P 2578. *ARV* 118.1; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 142.1; *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pl. 33, no 44; *Agora* 30, pl. 142, no 1513.
- 136.** Agora P 2576, fr. from Athens. Satyr squatting on pointed amphora. The Painter of Agora P 2578. *ARV* 118.2; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 142.2; *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pl. 33, no 42; *Agora* 30, pl. 147, no 1563.
- 137.** Agora P 2577, fr. from Athens. Satyr squatting on pointed amphora. The Painter of Agora P 2578. *ARV* 118.3; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 142.3; *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pl. 33, no 43; *Agora* 30, pl. 147, no 1564.
- 138.** Once Basel market. Satyr squatting on pointed amphora. The Painter of Agora P 2578. *Jean-David Cahn, Auktion* 2, Basel 2000, no 71.

### Provenances

Adria: 84-86	Corinth: 51, 76, 77, 78, 79
Al Mina: 58-67	Cyrene: 36
Ancona: 101	Cyrenaica: 5, 37
Athens: 29, 102, 106, 107	Daskyleion: 99
Athens, Acropolis: 68	Delos: 73
Athens, Agora: 14, 19, 26, 27, 52, 69, 70, 80, 113, 123, 124, 125, 126, 135, 136, 137	Ephesos: 100
Berezan: 32, 97	Eretria: 71, 72
Camirus: 15, 17, 34, 39, 132	Gela: 23, 24, 45-48
Cerveteri? (Campana Coll.): 20, 21, 50, 82	Gravisca: 83
	Greece (?): 120

<sup>41</sup> B.B. Shefton, in *Phönizier im Westen, Madrider Beiträge* 8, 1982, p. 358, n. 60, suggests that the cup may be by the Heraion Painter.

Hexamilia, Corinthia: 16	Pompeii: 87
Histria: 95, 108	Pontecagnano: 12
Ialysos: 129	Pozo Moro: 134
Italy: 53	Rhitsona: 42
Keos: 128	Rhodes: 40
Kerch: 96, 104, 131	Roccaforzatta: 10
Kofinà (Chios): 115	Selinous: 94
Lamia: 18	Spina: 7
Marion: 35	Taman: 98, 132
Megara Hyblaea: 6, 13, 92, 93	Tell Abu Hawam: 111
Mesagne: 88	Tell el Nasbeh: 56
Naucratis: 127, 133	Tell Jemmeh: 73
Olbia: 122	Reading; River Thames: 38
Olynthus: 74	Torre del'Orso: 90
Oria: 89	Ugento: 91
Perachora: 114	Vrastina Kalyvia: 41, 112



Fig. 1: Rhodes 13386 (after *Clara Rhodos* 4, 1931, p.202)



## Tables

Table 1: Correlating context and subject

Context	Tomb	Sanctuary	Residential site	Unknown
Scythian Symposiast	16	8	36	15
Total	37	10	56	35

Table 2: Correlating subject and provenance: Vases by the Pithos Painter and his following (in bold letters are noted the numbers of vases not by the painter himself)

	Satyr	Symposiast+ kidaris	Symposiast Komast	Scythian warrior	Warrior	Other
Attica	14, <b>125, 135, 136, 137</b> (5)	52, 68, 69, 70, 80 (5)	105, 106, 107, 113, <b>126</b> (5)	27, 29, <b>123, 124</b> (4)	19, 26 (2)	<b>121</b> (1)
Corinth		51, 76, 77, 78, 79 (5)	16, 114 (2)			
Rhodes		34, 39, 40 (3)	15, <b>129, 132</b> (3)			17 (1)
Aegean Islands	<b>128</b> (1)	75 (1)	115 (1)			
Asia Minor		99, 100 (2)				
Levant		35, 56, 58-67, 73 (13)	110 (1)			
N. Africa	5 (1)	36, 37 (2)	<b>133</b> (1)		<b>127</b> (1)	
Northern Italy	7 (1)	84, 85, 86, 101 (4)				
Etruria		50, 53 (Italy), 82, 83 (4)			20, 21 (2)	
Campania	12 (1)	87 (1)				
M. Grecia	10 (1)	88-91 (4)				
Sicily	6, 13 (2)	45-48, 92-94 (7)			23, 24 (2)	
N. Greece		41, 74 (2)	112 (1)			
C. Greece		42, 71, 72 (3)				18 (1)
Black sea	<b>122</b> (1)	95-98, 104, <b>130-131</b> (7)	108 (1)	32 (1)		
Spain			<b>134</b> (1)			
Unknown	1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, <b>138</b> (8)	33, 38, 43, 44, 49, 54, 55, 57, 81, 102, 115, 118, 119, <b>124</b> (14)	108, 109, 116 (3)	28, 30, 31, 103 (4)	22, 25 (2)	
Total	21	77	19	9	9	3

Table 3: Diffusion of vases by the Pithos Group

	Attica	Greece	Asia Minor	Spain	Italy	North Africa	Levant	Black Sea	Unkn.	Total
Total	22	24	2	1	29	5	14	10	31	138
Scythian Symposiast	5	14	2		20	2	13	7	14	77

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