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Greek Bronze Hydriai

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Abstract

Greek Bronze Hydriai

By Amy A. Sowder

Strategies for collecting, transporting, and storing clean water are essential to successful human societies. The name and form of the Greek water jar, or *hydria*, seems to have been standardized as early as the Bronze Age and remained essentially the same for millennia. Because the need for hydriai spanned every socioeconomic class, it is no surprise that the shape was made in large quantities and in diverse materials and sizes. Although the vessels made of precious metals have largely vanished, at least 600 bronze examples survive.

This dissertation offers an assessment of the form, functions, and value of Greek bronze hydriai made between the Archaic and Hellenistic periods, from the late seventh through the first century BC. The substantially increased corpus, more than double the number of vessels known at the time of the last synthetic publication in 1964, allows for more nuanced considerations of chronology and typology for the series and for more closely identifying products of the same craftsman, workshop, and region. The first part addresses the development of shape, technique, and decoration, as well as problems of manufacture and exchange. Locating centers of production and examining the circulation patterns throughout the Mediterranean affords new examinations of the relationships between the Greeks and their neighbors in Italy, central Europe, Asia Minor, and the northern territories surrounding the Black Sea. Chapters 1-4 offer investigations of form and manufacture for the Archaic, Early Classical, High Classical, and Late Classical and Hellenistic vessels, respectively. The fifth chapter assesses the significance of the iconographic motifs adorning the vessels broadly within the Greek artistic tradition and specifically on jars made for water. Finally, in Chapter 6, I propose that this ubiquitous shape in this specific material was held in high cultural esteem, far outweighing its economic worth. Broader considerations of the diverse functions of bronze hydriai as attested in ancient literature, inscriptions, and art demonstrate that the shape occupied a much more central position in Greek culture than traditionally has been acknowledged, serving men as well as women, the living and the dead, in both domestic and sacred contexts.

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- Cat. 13.36 Olympia B 5488**
(Gauer 1991, pl. 28.5)
- Cat. 13.31 Olympia B 4701**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 13.38 Olympia B 6225**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 13.39 Olympia B 7704**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 13.41 Olympia Br 1583**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 13.42 Olympia Br 3577**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 13.43 Olympia Br 5168**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 13.44 Olympia Br 8530**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 13.46 Olympia Br 12067**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 13.47 Olympia Br 14029**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 13.48 Olympia Kur. 178**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 13.49 Sparta**
(Stibbe 2004, cat. no. 66)
- Cat. 13.50 Warsaw 199085**
(Lullies 1935, pl. 27)
- Cat. 13.52 Olympia, no acc. number**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 13.53 Olympia, no acc. number**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 13.54 Olympia, no acc. number**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 13.55 Olympia, no acc. number**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 13.56 Olympia, no acc. number**
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 13.57 Olympia, no acc. number
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 14.1 Nemea Br 379, detail
(Miller 1984, 15)

Cat. 14.2 Baltimore 1954.776, detail
(Robinson 1942, fig. 22)

Cat. 14.2 Baltimore 54.776
(Mitten and Doeringer 1976, 79)

Cat. 14.3 New York 57.11.13
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 14.3 New York 57.11.13
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 14.3 New York 54.11.2, detail
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 14.3 New York 57.11.13, detail
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 14.4 Paris 2632
(Ridder 1915, pl. 95)

Cat. 14.6 New York 54.11.2
(Bothmer 1954/55, 195)

Cat. 14.6 New York 54.11.2, detail
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 14.8 Ankara
(Diehl 1964, pl. 5.1)

Cat. 14.8 Ankara, details
(Diehl 1964, pl. 5.2-3)

Cat. 14.9 Paris, Musée des Arts Decoratifs 27178
(Lazzarini and Zevi 1988-89, fig. 11)

Cat. 14.10 New York 56.11.2, detail
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 14.11 United States Private Collection (New York)
(Ward 1989, cat. 8)

Cat. 14.11 United States, Private Collection (New York)
(Ward 1989, cat. 8)

Cat. 14.12 Copenhagen I.N. 3293
(Moltesen 1955, 185)

Cat. 14.13 New York 26.50
(Photo courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Cat. 14.14 Perachora
(Payne 1940, pl. 69.6)

Cat. 14.15 Argos
(Waldstein 1902, pl. 123)

Cat. 14.16 Malibu 73.AC.12
(J. Paul Getty Museum 2002, 39)

Cat. 14.17 Pompeii 21803
(Lazzarini and Zevi 1988-89, fig. 3)

Cat. 14.18 Oxford (MS), University of Mississippi Art Museum
(Robinson 1942, fig. 2)

Cat. 14.18 Oxford (MS), University of Mississippi Art Museum, detail vertical handle
(Robinson 1942, fig. 6)

Cat. 14.19 Berlin 8064.18
(Robinson 1942, fig. 14)

Cat. 14.21 Boston 1899.469
(Comstock and Vermeule 1971, 299)

Cat. 14.22 Once Paris Market
(Diehl 1964, pl. 5.4)

Cat. 14.23 Israel, Private Collection (Jerusalem, Borowski GR 150 H)
(Kunze 2007, 112)

Cat. 14.23 Israel, Private Collection (Jerusalem, Borowski GR 150 H)
(Kunze 2007, 113)

Cat. 15.1 Paestum 49802
(http://www.culturacampania.rai.it/site/_contentimages/00041900/41921_000366.jpg)

Cat. 15.1 Paestum 49802, detail vertical handle
(Rolley 1982, 64)

Cat. 15.1 Paestum 49802, detail side handle
(Rolley 1982, 74)

Cat. 15.2 Taranto 134906
(Rolley 1982, 113)

Cat. 15.2 Taranto 134906, detail
(Rolley 1982, 114)

Cat. 15.3 Athens 7135
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 15.4 Athens 6405
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 15.6 Delphi
(Rolley 1982, fig. 120)

Cat. 15.8 Olympia B 1190
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 15.8 Olympia B 1190, detail
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 15.9 Izmir, Private Collection (Tatish 1650)
(Tatish 2003, cat. no. 46)

Cat. 15.10 United States Private Collection (New York)
(Photo courtesy J. Gaunt)

Cat. 15.10 United States, Private Collection (New York)
(Photo courtesy M. Padgett)

Cat. 15.11 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)
(Photo courtesy Fortuna Fine Arts)

Cat. 15.11 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)
(Photo courtesy Fortuna Fine Arts)

Cat. 15.12 Naples 73144
(Neugebauer 1923, fig. 15)

Cat. 15.12 Naples 73144, detail
(Neugebauer 1923, fig. 16)

Cat. 15.14 Once London Market (Bonhams 2007)
(*Bonhams* 26 October 2007, 66)

Cat. 15.16 Once New York Market (Arte Primitivo 2006)
(*Bonhams* 10.26.2007, 66)

Cat. 15.17 Ancona 25020
(Lollini 1989, fig. 27)

Cat. 15.18 Vienna VI 2434
(Conze 1875, pl. XLVII)

Cat. 15.21 Switzerland, Private Collection (Geneva, Ortiz)
(Ortiz 1996, cat. no. 144)

Cat. 15.22 Paris 4643
(*Sotheby's New York* 6.19.1990, cat. 33)

Cat. 15.23 Toledo 64.125
(*Museum News* 1964, 80)

Cat. 15.24 Athens Karapanos 378
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 15.25 Tirana 9221
(Eggebrecht 1988, 305)

Cat. 15.26 Ancona 4846, detail
(Dall'Osso 1915, 252)

Cat. 15.27 Berlin 8006 detail
(Neugebauer 1923, fig. 10)

Cat. 15.27 Berlin 8006a
(Neugebauer 1923, fig. 11)

Cat. 15.27 Berlin 8006 b or c
(Neugebauer 1923, fig. 13)

Cat. 15.28 New York 38.11.11 a
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 15.28 New York 38.11.11a, detail
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 15.28 New York 38.11.1 b
(Photo courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Cat. 15.30 Berlin 10159
(Diehl 1964, pl. 6, upper left)

Cat. 15.30 Berlin 10159, detail
(Diehl 1964, pl. 6, lower left)

Cat. 15.31 New York 1993.133
(Photo courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Cat. 15.31 New York 1993.133, detail
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 15.31 New York 1993.133, detail
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 15.32 Once London Market (Charles Ede 2001)
(Charles Ede Ltd, *Ancient Bronzes* 2001, 16)

- Cat. 15.32 Once London Market (Charles Ede 2001)**, detail
(Charles Ede Ltd, *Ancient Bronzes* 2001, 16)
- Cat. 16.1 Once Geneva Market (Münzen und Medaillen 1967)**
(*Münzen und Medaillen* 1967, pl. 5)
- Cat. 16.2 Once Geneva Market (Münzen und Medaillen 1967)**
(*Münzen und Medaillen* 1967, pl. 5)
- Cat. 16.3 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1994)**
(*Sotheby's New York* 12.14.1994, cat. 69)
- Cat. 16.4 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1997)**
(*Sotheby's New York* 5.31.1997, cat. 89)
- Cat. 16.5 Athens, Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art 729**
(Marangou 1996, 164)
- Cat. 16.6 St. Petersburg P 1836.4**
(Diehl 1964, pl. 14.2)
- Cat. 16.6 St. Petersburg P 1836.4**, detail
(Diehl 1964, pl. 14.2)
- Cat. 16.7 Varna VI 197**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 16.7 Varna VI 197**, detail
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 16.8 Athens 7914**, profile view
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 16.8 Athens 7914**, detail
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 16.9 Athens 13789**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 16.9 Athens 13789**, detail
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 16.10 Greece, Private Collection (Athens, Goulandris 750)**
(Marangou 1996, 27)
- Cat. 16.11 Atlanta 2004.25.1**
(Photo courtesy Michael C. Carlos Museum)
- Cat. 16.11 Atlanta 2004.25.1**, profile drawing
(Drawing by Jasper Gaunt)
- Cat. 16.12 Cleveland 1986.23**
(<http://www.clevelandart.org>)
- Cat. 16.13 Kiev 41-433 (Pischane 1)**
(Reeder 1999, 194)
- Cat. 16.14 London 1927.7.13-1**
(Diehl 1964, pl. 15.2)
- Cat. 16.15 St. Petersburg**
(*Treasures of the Hermitage* 2004, 91)
- Cat. 16.16 Thasos P 6764**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 16.17 United States, Private Collection**
(Padgett 2003, 301)
- Cat. 16.18 Thessalonike 5223**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 16.18 Thessalonike 5223**, detail
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 16.19 Woronesh**
(*Historische Schätze aus der Sowjetunion* 1967, pl. 37)
- Cat. 16.20 Göteborg RKM 59-61**
(*Münzen und Medaillen* 1961, pl. 17)
- Cat. 16.21 Cambridge, Harvard University Art Museum 1949.89**
(Hill 1976, cat. no. 18)
- Cat. 16.22 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 2007)**
(*Sotheby's New York* 12.2007, 131)
- Cat. 16.23 United States, Private Collection (New York)**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 16.23 United States, Private Collection (New York)**, detail
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 16.24 Once New York Market (Ward)**
(Photo courtesy M. Ward)
- Cat. 16.25 United States, Private Collection (New York, White-Levy)**
(Bothmer 1990, 108)

Cat. 16.26 Paris 2674-75, vertical handle
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 16.27 Hartford 1917.825
(Diehl 1964, pl. 20)

Cat. 16.28 Once London Market (Sotheby's 1981)
(*Sotheby's London* 5.18.1981, 71)

Cat. 16.30 St. Petersburg GK/N 69
(Waldhauer 1929, fig. 25)

Cat. 16.31 Ioannina, vertical handle
(Verdelis 1949, fig. 9)

Cat. 16.32 Once Vienna (ex-Trau)
(Weicker 1902, fig. 56)

Cat. 16.33 Once London Market (Bonhams 2004), detail
(*Bonhams* 4.29.2004, 33)

Cat. 16.34 Munich 3858b
(Diehl 1964, pl. 16.4)

Cat. 16.35 United States, Private Collection (New York)
(Ward 1989, cat. 10)

Cat. 16.36 United States, Private Collection (Smith)
(*Burlington Fine Arts Club* 1904, pl. 68)

Cat. 16.37 Boston 99.467
(<http://www.mfa.org>)

Cat. 16.38 Munich 3858a
(Diehl 1964, pl. 16.4)

Cat. 16.39 Once Private Collection (ex-Krupp)
(Diehl 1964, pl. 17.1)

Cat. 16.40 Munich 4020
(*Auction Helbing* 1910, pl. 4)

Cat. 16.41 New York 09.221.12, detail
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 16.42 Once London Market (Sotheby's 1988)
(*Sotheby's London* 7.11.1988, cat. 159)

Cat. 16.43 Brussels A 3593, vertical handle
(*Münzen und Medaillen* 1958, pl. 8)

Cat. 16.44 Cluj
(Neugebauer 1923, fig. 14)

Cat. 16.45 Private Collection (Fejerwary),
detail vertical handle
(Weicker 1902, fig. 57)

Cat. 16.46 Once New York Market (Christie's 1965)
(*Christie's New York* 6.1965, pl. 51)

Cat. 16.47 Munich 3857
(Diehl 1964, pl. 18.4)

Cat. 16.60 Once London Market (Bonhams 1998)
(*Bonhams* 9.22.1998, cat. 416)

Cat. 16.61 Istanbul 111
(Diehl 1964, pl. 17.2)

Cat. 16.62 Once New York/ Munich Market (Ariadne 2008)
(Photo courtesy Ariadne Galleries)

Cat. 16.63 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)
(Photo courtesy Fortuna Fine Arts)

Cat. 16.63 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008), detail
(Photo courtesy Fortuna Fine Arts)

Cat. 16.64 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)
(*Gorny & Mosch* 12.15.2004, 62)

Cat. 16.72 Istanbul 7, detail vertical handle
(Diehl 1964, pl. 18.6)

Cat. 16.73 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1999)
(*Sotheby's New York* 6.5.1999, 80)

Cat. 16.74 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2008)
(*Gorny & Mosch* 12.16.2008, lot 24)

Cat. 16.75 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2008) (*Sotheby's London* 7.14.1986, cat. 359)

Cat. 16.76 Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 6
(Brouskari 1985, 45)

Cat. 16.77 Bonn C 197
(Weicker 1902, fig. 58)

Cat. 16.78 Boston 112.64
(<http://www.mfa.org>)

**Cat. 16.79 Israel, Private Collection
(Jerusalem, Borowski GR 173)**
(Kunze 2007, 174)

Cat. 16.80 Bowdoin College 1915.26
(Mitten and Doeringer 1967, 107)

**Cat. 16.82 Once London Market (Sotheby's
1986)**
(*Sotheby's London* 7.14.1986, cat. 359)

**Cat. 16.81 Once New York Market (Sotheby's
1997)**
(*Sotheby's New York* 12.17.1997, cat. 128)

**Cat. 16.82 Once London Market (Bonhams
1997)**
(*Bonhams* 11.26.1997, 112 cat no 360)

**Cat. 16.83 Once New York Market (Fortuna
2007)**
(*Fortuna* 11.2007)

**Cat. 16.83 Once New York Market (Fortuna
2007)**
(Photo courtesy Fortuna Fine Arts)

Cat. 16.84 Jerusalem 83.30.19
(Photo courtesy The Israel Museum, Jerusalem)

Cat. 16.84 Jerusalem 83.30.19, detail vertical
handle
(Photo courtesy The Israel Museum, Jerusalem)

Cat. 17.1 Athens 7917
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 17.2 Athens Karapanos 697
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 17.3 Athens Karapanos 1189
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 17.4 Königsberg F 19
(Lullies 1935, pl. 28a)

Cat. 17.5 New York 06.1098
(Photo courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Cat. 17.6 Arta
(Αγγελη 1996, pl. 194c)

Cat. 17.7 St. Petersburg P 1851.1
(Diehl 1964, pl. 8.1)

Cat. 17.8 St. Petersburg Ju-O-2
(Diehl 1964, pl. 8.2)

Cat. 17.9 Athens 13792
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 17.10 Athens, Kerameikos Museum 2073
(Diehl 1964, pl. 12.2)

Cat. 17.11 Berlin 30636
(Fölzer 1906, pl. IX)

Cat. 17.12 Bursa 1426-27
(Mansel 1946, pl. 7.8)

Cat. 17.13 Kiev (Pischane 3)
(Hanina 1960, pl. 12)

Cat. 17.14 Kiev (Pischane 4)
(Hanina 1960, pl. 13)

Cat. 17.15 London 67.6-8.719
(Diehl 1964, pl. 9.3)

Cat. 17.16 Plovdiv 1540
(Filow and Welkow 1930, fig. 34)

Cat. 17.17 Providence 25.112
(Mitten 1975, 47)

Cat. 17.18 Rhodes
(Jacopi 1929, 273f. fig. 270)

Cat. 17.19 Sozopol
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 17.20 St. Louis 169.24
(Hill 1976, cat. no. 17)

Cat. 17.21 Syracuse
(Diehl 1964, pl. 10.2)

Cat. 17.22 Vienna VI 3056
(Diehl 1964, B 109, pl. 9.2)

**Cat. 17.23 Once London Market (Rupert
Wace 2007)**
(http://www.rupertwace.co.uk/13948_bronze-hydria.html)

Cat. 17.24 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2006)

(*Gorny & Mosch* 6.11.2006, cat. 533)

Cat. 17.25 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 2004)

(*Sotheby's New York* 2004, 107)

Cat. 17.26 Once New York Market (Apolonia Ancient Art 2008)

(<http://www.trocadero.com/stores/apoloniaancientart/items/752195/item752195.html>)

Cat. 17.27 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1995)

(*Sotheby's New York* 6.1.1995, cat. 95)

Cat. 17.28 United States Private Collection (New York)

(Photo by Author)

Cat. 17.29 Izmir, Müze Çalışmaları

(*Çalışmaları ve Kurtarma Kazuları Sempozyumu* 2007, 10)

Cat. 17.30 Istanbul formerly Inv. C

(Diehl 1964, pl. 11)

Cat. 17.31 Istanbul, formerly Inv. D

(Diehl 1964, pl. 11)

Cat. 17.32 Plovdiv 1637

(Filow 1934, fig. 136)

Cat. 17.33 St. Petersburg P 1834.1

(Diehl 1964, pl. 13.3)

Cat. 17.34 Thessalonike 5243

(Photo by Author)

Cat. 17.35 Once London Market (Bonhams 2004)

(*Bonhams* 4.29.2004, 32)

Cat. 17.36 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2005)

(*Gorny & Mosch* 6.21.2005, 54)

Cat. 17.37 Thessalonike

(Photo by Author)

Cat. 17.38 Present Location Uncertain (with Rhodian Inscription)

(Frel 1975, 77)

Cat. 17.39 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2007)

(Photo courtesy of Fortuna Fine Arts)

Cat. 17.40 Kiev (Pischane 5)

(Hanina 1960, pl. 14)

Cat. 17.41 St. Petersburg P 736

(Diehl 1964, pl. 12)

Cat. 17.42 Olympia (no acc. number?)

(Photo by Author)

Cat. 17.43 Taranto 113502

(Lippolis 1994, fig. 132)

Cat. 17.44 Once New York Market (Arte Primitivo/ Howard S. Rose Gallery)

(https://www.artep primitivo.com/scripts/detail.asp?LOT_NUM=110906)

Cat. 17.45 Veroia Archaeological Museum 1004-1018-1021

(*Treasures of Ancient Macedonia* 1979, pl. 13)

Cat. 17.46 Athens, Cycladic Museum 731

(Marangou 1996, 27)

Cat. 17.47 Olympia (no acc. number?)

(Photo by Author)

Cat. 17.48 New York 1999.460

(Photo courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Cat. 17.49 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2008)

(*Gorny & Mosch*, 12.16.2008, lot 25)

Cat. 18.1 Plovdiv 1519

(Filow 1934, fig. 85)

Cat. 18.1 Plovdiv 1519, detail vertical handle

(Filow 1934, fig. 86)

Cat. 18.2 Princeton y1985-9

(Photo courtesy Princeton University Art Museum)

Cat. 18.2 Princeton y1985-9, detail

(Photo courtesy Princeton University Art Museum)

Cat. 18.3 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1400

(Photo courtesy M. Padgett)

Cat. 19.1 Athens, Akropolis 7039
(Ridder 1896, fig. 26)

Cat. 19.2 Athens (no acc. number?)
(Ridder 1896, fig. 34)

Cat. 19.3 Berlin 7907
(Diehl 1964, pl. 21)

Cat. 19.3 Berlin 7907, detail
(Diehl 1964, pl. 21)

Cat. 19.4 Once New York Market (Ariadne 2008)
(<http://www.ariadnegalleries.com/greek/>)

Cat. 19.4 Once New York Market (Ariadne 2008), detail
(<http://www.ariadnegalleries.com/greek/>)

Cat. 19.4 Once New York Market (Ariadne 2008), detail
(<http://www.ariadnegalleries.com/greek/>)

Cat. 19.8 Boston 99.462 a-f
(<http://www.mfa.org>)

Cat. 19.9 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.5448, 74.51.5452 (C.B. 182, 186)
(Richer 1915, 247)

Cat. 19.10 Olympia B 3507
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 19.11 Olympia B 10367
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 19.12 Olympia B 7625
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 19.13 Olympia B 5735
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 19.14 Olympia BE 535, 535a
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 19.15 New York 68.11.2
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 19.15 New York 68.11.2, detail
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 19.16 Once London Market (Bonhams 2008)
(*Bonhams* 5.1.2008, 101, cat. 186)

Cat. 19.23 Königsberg F 31
(Lullies 1935, pl. 28)

Cat. 20.1. New York 37.11.6
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 20.1. New York 37.11.6, detail
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 20.2. Thessalonike MΘ 7552
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 20.2. Thessalonike MΘ 7552, detail
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 20.3. Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)
(*Gorny & Mosch* 12.15.2004, 63)

Cat. 20.3. Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004), detail
(*Gorny & Mosch* 12.15.2004, 63)

Cat. 20.4. Berlin 8068
(Richter 1946, pl. XXIV, fig. 4)

Cat. 20.5 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 2271
(Diehl 1964, pl. 21.4)

Cat. 20.6. Once New York Market
(Photo courtesy J. Gaunt)

Cat. 20.6. Once New York Market, detail
(Photo courtesy J. Gaunt)

Cat. 20.7. Paris 4308
(Pottier-Reinach 1882, pl. 50.2)

Cat. 20.8. United States, Private Collection (Boston Behrakis)
(Hermann and Kondoleon 2004, fig. 1)

Cat. 20.9. Tire 93/93
(Gürler 2004, 78)

Cat. 20.10. United States, Private Collection (New York, Steinhardt)
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 20.10. United States, Private Collection (New York), detail
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 20.11. Volos
(Photo by John Pollini)

- Cat. 20.11. Volos**, detail
(Photo by John Pollini)
- Cat. 20.12. New York 07.286.8**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 20.13. London 306**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 20.14. Malibu 73.AC.15**
(True 2002, 42)
- Cat. 20.14. Malibu 73.AC.15**, detail
(J. Paul Getty Museum 2002, 42)
- Cat. 20.15. Villa Giulia**
(Züchner 1942, pl. 8)
- Cat. 20.16. Malibu 79.AE.119**
(J. Paul Getty Museum 2002, 41)
- Cat. 20.16. Malibu 79.AE.119**, detail
(J. Paul Getty Museum 2002, 41)
- Cat. 20.17. Athens 18775**, detail
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 20.17. Athens 18775**, detail
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 20.18. New York 53.11.3**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 20.19. United States, Private Collection (New York)**
(Photo courtesy M. Ward)
- Cat. 20.19. United States, Private Collection (New York)**, detail
(Photo courtesy M. Ward)
- Cat. 20.21. Present Location Uncertain**
(Venedikov 1965, fig. 8)
- Cat. 20.22. London 310**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 20.23. Nessebar**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 20.24. Nessebar**
(Venedikov 1965, fig. 1)
- Cat. 20.24. Nessebar**, detail
(Venedikov 1965, fig. 2)
- Cat. 20.25. Sofia 5039**
(Richter 1946, pl. 28, fig. 21)
- Cat. 20.26. Munich SL 34**
(Sieveking 1913, pl. 36)
- Cat. 20.26. Munich SL 34**, detail
(Sieveking 1913, pl. 37)
- Cat. 20.27. Delphi**
(Roux 1954, fig. 2b)
- Cat. 20.28. United States, Private Collection (New York)**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 20.29. Princeton y1989-56**
(Photo courtesy Princeton University Art Museum)
- Cat. 20.30. New York 51.11.8**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 20.30. New York 51.11.8**, detail
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 20.31. United States, Private Collection (New York, Segredakis)**
(Richter 1946, pl. 26, fig. 15)
- Cat. 20.31. United States, Private Collection (New York, Segredakis)**, detail
(Richter 1946, pl. 26, fig. 15)
- Cat. 20.32. Chantilly**
(Picard 1940, pl. 8)
- Cat. 20.32. Chantilly**, detail
(Picard 1940, pl. 8)
- Cat. 20.33. Bucharest 48899**
(Zavatin-Coman, fig. 4a)
- Cat. 20.33. Bucharest 48899**
(Zavatin-Coman, fig. 4a)
- Cat. 20.34. London 312**
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 20.34. London 312**, detail
(Photo by Author)
- Cat. 20.35. Chantilly**
(Picard 1940, pl. 6)

Cat. 20.35. Chantilly, detail
(Picard 1940, pl. 6)

Cat. 20.36. Berlin 30071
(Richter 1946, pl. 25, fig. 8)

Cat. 20.37. Atlanta 2001.12.1, profile drawing
(**Drawing by Jasper Gaunt**)

Cat. 20.37. Atlanta 2001.12.1
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 20.37. Atlanta 2001.12.1
(Photo courtesy Michael C. Carlos Museum)

Cat. 20.38. Istanbul 5310
(Devambezi, pl. 15)

Cat. 20.38. Istanbul 5310, detail
(Devambezi 1937, pl. 16)

Cat. 20.39. Berlin 7806
(Richter 1946, pl. 25, fig. 9)

Cat. 20.40. London 311
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 20.41. Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)
(Photo Courtesy Fortuna Fine Arts Ltd.)

Cat. 20.41. Once New York (Fortuna 2008), detail
(Photo Courtesy Fortuna Fine Arts Ltd.)

Cat. 20.42. London 313
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 20.42. London 313, detail
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 20.43. London 309
(Richter 1946, pl. XXV, fig. 11)

Cat. 20.44. United States, Private Collection (New York, White-Levy)
(Chi and Gaunt 2005, 23)

Cat. 20.44. United States, Private Collection (New York, White-Levy), detail
(Chi and Gaunt 2005, 28)

Cat. 20.45. United States, Private Collection
(Ward 1989, cat. 11)

Cat. 20.46. Athens 18787
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 20.46. Athens 18787, detail
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 20.47. Amphipolis 7344
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 20.47. Amphipolis 7344, detail
(Photo by Author)

Cat. 20.48. Once New York Market (Symes 1999)
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(<http://kbagdanov.files.wordpress.com/2009/01/francois-vase.jpg>)

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(*LIMC* 2 (1984), cat. 308, s.v. "Achilleus")

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(*LIMC* 4 (1988), cat. 18, s.v. "Kadmos I")

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Fig. 6.38. **Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6595**
(Lawton 1996, pl. 1)

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(*Sotheby's New York 1-2.3.1984*, no. 260)

Fig. 6.42. **Paris G 381**
(Beck 1975, pl.47.251)

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(Kephalidou 1996, pl. 40)

Fig. 6.44. **Once Art Market, London**
(*Christie's London 4.28.93*, lot. 15)

Fig. 6.45. **New York 56.171.3**
(Photo Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)

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(Photo Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Fig. 6.47. **Athens, Benaki Museum 2626**
(Kaltsas 2004, 359)

Fig. 6.48. **London GR 1816.6-10.115**
(Burn 1991, 86)

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(*CVA Germany 6, Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 2*, pl. 88.4)

Fig. 6.50. **Paris, Cabinet des Medailles 267**
(Diehl 1964, pl. 48)

Fig. 6.51. **Munich 2142**
(*LIMC 4* (1988), cat. 337, s.v. "Nike")

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Fig. 6.58. **Munich 258**
(*LIMC 2* (1984), cat. 399, s.v. "Aphrodite")

Fig. 6.59. **Boston 1978.158**
(*LIMC 2* (1984), cat. 452, s.v. "Aphrodite")

Fig. 6.60. **Athens 1424**
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Fig. 6.62. **New York 29.139.25**
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Fig. 6.63. **Bari 3658**
(*LIMC 6* (1992), cat. 3, s.v. "Makaria I")

Fig. 6.64. **Private Collection, Jerusalem (Kloetzli)**
(*LIMC 3* (1986), cat. 96, s.v. "Eros in per. or.")

Fig. 6.65. **Boston. 65.1166**
(<http://www.mfa.org>)

Fig. 6.66. **Vienna 1719**
(Lissarague 2001, fig. 78)

Fig. 6.67. **Private Collection, New York (Levy-White)**
(Bothmer 1990, 160)

Fig. 6.68. **Naples 82338**
(*LIMC 4* (1988), cat. 12, s.v. "Elektra I")

Fig. 6.69. **Hamberg, Termer CIL**
(*LIMC 4* (1988), cat. 19, s.v. "Elektra I")

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(Photo Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Fig. 6.72. **New York 96.28**, detail
(Photo Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Introduction

Collecting, transporting, and storing clean water are universal human concerns, as important today as in antiquity. In ancient Greece, the name of the water jar was intimately related to its function; the word *hydria* (ἡ ὑδρία) derives from the word for water, *hydor* (τό ὕδωρ). Its form was well-suited to its purpose with a characteristic full, rounded belly for holding water and a long, narrow neck for reducing evaporation, preventing spills, and protecting the contents from contamination. Two lateral handles aided in lifting and a vertical handle facilitated pouring. A separately added flat base or foot gave the vase stability, allowing it to stand on its own. Although exceptionally large and small versions were made for special purposes, a standard-sized hydria was small enough to be lifted and carried by a single person, even when full. Because it was made for conveniently containing and moving whatever it held, the versatile vessel had a long life and was put to many uses besides its primary role as a water jar. Both the name and essential shape of the container was standardized as early as the Bronze Age and remained in use in many Mediterranean households from antiquity until the relatively recent installation of modern water systems in the last century. The legacy of the shape still can be found lining the shelves of today's supermarkets; the plastic jugs filled with water or milk with a vertical handle, wide body, narrow neck, and flat base might be considered the (inelegant) descendants of the Greek hydria.

Because the need for water collection and storage spanned every socio-economic class, hydriai were produced in great quantities and in diverse materials, ranging from terracotta, stone, and glass to bronze, silver, and gold. The more familiar ceramic varieties, including coarse-ware and plain black-glazed vessels, as well as elegant black-

and red-figure vases, presumably were made for everyday use by much of the population, while their expensive bronze, silver, and gold counterparts may have been reserved for ceremonial purposes or sumptuous banqueting by the elite. Archaeological, literary, and epigraphical sources attest that hydriai also functioned as votive offerings, reserves of currency, ballot boxes, prizes for contests, impromptu weapons, expensive gifts, ossuaries, and valuable grave goods. Silver and gold hydriai have mostly vanished, but because bronze examples were re-used so often as cinerary urns and grave goods, many more of these have been preserved; at least 600 survive today. Most of these bronze hydriai were decorated elaborately, especially the cast elements (mouth, foot, and handles) and at the points at which the cast parts attach to the body of the hammered vase. Made of valuable materials, ornamented with small-scale relief sculptures, and traded throughout the Mediterranean and beyond, these vessels serve as important primary sources for the study of the ancient world, offering ripe opportunities for exploring not only artistic practices but also the relationships between material culture and politics, religion, mythology, athletics, economics, and trading patterns between the Greeks and their neighbors in Italy, central Europe, Asia Minor, and the northern territories surrounding the Black Sea.

History of Scholarship/ State of the Question

Bronze vases have long been of interest to art historians concerned with ancient Greece, but they have never been at the forefront of art historical or archaeological investigations. Perhaps most importantly, they fall into a limbo between ceramic vases, sculpture, and metalwork, which are core areas in the study of Greek art. The corpus of ceramic vases available for study far exceeds the quantity of extant bronze vessels.

Within the field of ancient bronzes, large-scale sculpture has garnered the attention of most scholars because we know that bronze was preferred over marble as a medium for sculpture for much of the Greek period even though little of it survives today. Small-scale bronze votives and figurines, on the other hand, appear in astonishing quantities but often are cursorily worked and mass produced. Other than statuary, assessments of Greek metalwork have tended to concentrate on arms and armor.

A study of bronze vessels and their sculpted attachments, however, has far-reaching, interdisciplinary implications bearing on discussions of art history, archaeology, epigraphy, and the histories of culture, religion, and economy. Furthermore, because they were necessary for a variety of practices across a wide geographical area and were portable, these water jars may have been a key mode of transmitting visual motifs and styles throughout the ancient Mediterranean. The diverse findspots from which the vessels have been excavated testify to their status as highly valued luxury objects desired by an international audience. Bronze hydriai seem to have been important in a number of key rituals intended to serve both the living and the dead. In life, they were used in mundane, daily tasks as well as on special occasions for contests, sacrifices, and symposia. In the tomb, they frequently were chosen to hold the cremated remains of the deceased. They merit our attention as original works of art, owned and used in antiquity, manufactured in a material valued by the Greeks and dating to a period when larger-scale bronzes do not survive in large numbers. The vases are mentioned in literature, inventories, and inscriptions, and occasionally bear inscriptions testifying to their own functions. The hydriai offer the chance to consider pivotal junctures between vases, sculpture, and metalwork, between relief and three-dimensional techniques, and

between small- and large-scale productions. A better understanding of the production, decoration, and uses of bronze vases will aid in appreciating the subtleties in the development of Greek art and will shed light on the vases, sculpture, and metalwork that have overshadowed the study of bronze vessels until now.

The Greeks manufactured vases of many shapes in bronze, silver, and gold, but more hydriai survive today than any other large vessel type.¹ This statistic may represent an accident of preservation, reflect a more numerous production in antiquity, or signal a meaningful choice to re-use hydriai, rather than other shapes, for accompanying the deceased into the afterlife. Gold hydriai are known only through literary and epigraphic testimonia; none have been excavated. The bullion value of gold was so high that it was kept in circulation and typically was not buried with the deceased. Silver was another prime candidate for recycling and re-use, due to its significant economic value, but a few silver hydriai do survive along with many references to their existence in temple inventories and inscriptions (*Appendix I*). In contrast to the scant archaeological evidence for the precious metals, at least 600 bronze hydriai escaped the melting pot. This number is large enough to allow fruitful assessments of typology, manufacture, functions, and value.

Greek bronze hydriai have been of interest to antiquarians since the Roman period. **Pompeii 21803** (cat. 14.17), an Early Classical prize vase awarded at the games of Hera at Argos was found far from its home in the northern Peloponnese, buried in Pompeii among the debris from the catastrophic eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 79 AD.² It

¹ Although there has been no comprehensive survey of smaller vessel shapes, metal phialai and cups of various shape survive in large quantities and would perhaps outnumber the hydriai.

² Lazzarini and Zevi 1988-89, 33-48; Amandry 2002, 29, 31-32.

had been outfitted with a hole, perhaps for attaching some kind of spout or other external fixture to the vase in its second life. As P. Amandry suggests, it is extremely unlikely that a vessel originally produced in the first half of the fifth century was passed virtually undamaged from hand to hand as an heirloom for over half a millennium.³ It is far more likely that the vase was discovered, either by accident, intentional excavation, or in the process of looting a Greek sanctuary, and was collected and displayed conspicuously as an antique.

In more modern times, the bronzes have been of interest to scholars and wealthy collectors since at least the eighteenth century. As early as 1759, a magnificently decorated early Archaic bronze hydria with a vertical handle in the form of helmeted warrior leading two horses was discovered in Pesaro, Italy, attracted the interest of aristocratic Italian collectors (now **Pesaro 3314, 3316**, cat. 12.2).⁴ Nearly a century later, a second extensively ornamented hydria was discovered in Grächwil, Switzerland, as part of a burial of a Celtic leader (**Bern 11620**, cat. 12.1).⁵ This vessel has an anthropomorphic handle in the form of a winged woman with an eagle perched on her head, holding a pair of hares, and surrounded by lions. The close relationship between these two spectacular vessels was almost immediately recognized and has been a subject of many essays in the past two and a half centuries.⁶

³ Amandry 2002, 32.

⁴ Furtwangler 1890; Jucker 1964; Jucker 1966.

⁵ Jucker 1972, 42-48.

⁶ For a recent historiography of the subject, see Shefton 2004, 29-45.

The first systematic studies of the bronze hydriai as a cohesive group were undertaken in the early twentieth century. In 1906, E. Fölzer published the first monograph on hydriai, in which she noted 21 bronze examples.⁷ K.A. Neugebauer, in two fundamental articles written in 1923 and 1925, explored the development of archaic bronze vases, including both hydriai and oinochoai.⁸ W. Lamb, in a 1929 volume, provided a synthetic account of Greek bronzes that is not focused specifically on hydriai but ably narrates a general outline of the development of the shape.⁹ Shortly afterwards, in 1931, H. Payne offered one of the first attempts to distinguish the work of one particular center of production, focusing on the identifying characteristics of Corinthian bronze vases.¹⁰ In 1936, L. Politis devised a typology for the Archaic bronze hydriai that is largely followed even today based on the types of decorative attachments added to the vertical handles.¹¹ At that time, 30 hydriai or fragments of hydriai belonging to the sixth century were counted.

The emphasis on the earlier vases has been persistent; their Classical and Late Classical successors have received relatively little attention. Aside from a small but important group of early fifth-century hydriai inscribed as prizes for victors in the games of Hera at Argos that were discussed by D. Robinson in 1942, Classical hydriai have not been studied closely.¹² The fourth-century vessels have been the focus of only a few short

⁷ Fölzer 1906.

⁸ Neugebauer 1923; Neugebauer 1925.

⁹ Lamb 1929, 68, 134, 163, 164, 182, 184.

¹⁰ Payne 1931, 210-221; Payne 1974, 210-221.

¹¹ Politis 1936; Rolley 1963; Rolley 1982.

¹² Robinson 1942, 172-97.

essays. C. Picard was the first to explore the style and iconography of the narrative repoussé appliqués, considering the plaques in relation to one another, to the related covers of bronze box mirrors, and more broadly, to contemporary large-scale sculpture.¹³ He addressed questions of manufacture and function, building a case for interpreting the fundamental purpose of the vessels as funerary accoutrements. G.M.A. Richter revisited the discussion of these fourth-century vessels in 1946, classifying each of the known examples according to subjects represented on the appliqués and outlining the major questions that must be addressed (many of which still have not been answered satisfactorily); namely, the problem of production centers, given the diverse provenances of the known vases and the issue of intended function(s).¹⁴

In 1964, E. Diehl surveyed both bronze and ceramic hydriai, establishing typologies based on form and decoration and exploring the ritual uses of the vases.¹⁵ She catalogued 219 vessels made between the sixth century and the early Roman period. In a critical review published the following year, D. von Bothmer added at least 80 additional examples to the corpus and restructured some of Diehl's groupings in order to accommodate the material better.¹⁶

Since 1965, the number of known bronze hydriai has continued to grow. Examinations of specific groups and problems have flourished despite the lack of comprehensive assessments. C. Rolley published a particularly important study in 1972,

¹³ Picard 1940.

¹⁴ Richter 1946.

¹⁵ Diehl 1964.

¹⁶ Bothmer 1965. See also: Hill 1965; Lücken 1965; Rolley 1965.

in which he explored the role of Magna Graecia in the context of sixth-century bronze production by considering aspects of manufacture, style, and iconography of six bronze hydriai and two amphorae found in a subterranean shrine near the Temple of Athena at Paestum and a seventh vase that is part of the same series as three of the Paestan bronzes, from Sala Consilina. M. Herfort-Koch investigated the Lakonian contribution to small-scale Archaic bronze sculpture, focusing part of her study on the female protomes that characterize the so-called Telesstas hydria-type (here, *Chapter 1, Groups 5 and 6*).¹⁷ In 1991, W. Gauer catalogued fragments of more than 80 vessels of this shape and material found in the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia during the course of the German excavations in the Altis. The following year, C.M. Stibbe drew up a new catalogue of the Archaic vases, adding at least 30 additional vases and re-classifying those included in Diehl's study in light of the new finds.¹⁸ Stibbe continues to revisit various problems concerning individual groups of Archaic bronze hydriai that he believes to have come from Sparta or to have been stylistically dependent on trends begun in Lakonia.¹⁹

Elsewhere, important work on other small, decorative bronze objects has shed new light on aspects of the ancient metalworking industry in both Greece and Hellenized parts of Southern Italy that bear on the production of the hydriai under discussion here. L.O.K. Congdon has published an extensive study of the Archaic mirrors with figural supports, a type that derives from an Egyptian paradigm and is closely related to many of the small bronze figures attached to the ends of the handles on bronze hydriai from the

¹⁷ Herfort-Koch 1986, 13-19.

¹⁸ Stibbe 1992.

¹⁹ Stibbe 1994a, 1994b, 1996, 1997, 2000a, 2000b, 2004, 2005. This group of vases (both hydriai and oinochoai) had been previously considered by D.K. Hill. See Hill 1958, 193-201.

sixth century.²⁰ W. Züchner and A. Schwarzmeier in 1942 and 1997, respectively, surveyed the Late Classical bronze box-mirrors with repoussé appliqués and offered insights into the relationships between mirror-covers, decorated armor, and contemporary kalpides with similar decorations.²¹ In 1988, a catalogue of decorated armor in Berlin, *Antike Helme*, appeared.²² Moreover, the publications of spectacular new finds, such as the Vix krater by R. Joffroy, C. Stibbe, and C. Rolley, and the Derveni krater, first by P. Themelis and I. Touratsoglou in 1997 and more recently by B. Barr-Sharrar in 2008, have added invaluable insights into our understanding of the production and trade of luxury objects, specifically bronze vases, throughout the Greek world, over the course of the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries.²³

Due to the pervasive and continuing interest in the earliest bronze hydriai of the Archaic period, the fifth- and fourth-century vases largely have been neglected. Even more surprisingly, no serious attempts have been made to explore the meanings of the inscriptions engraved onto the rims of nearly 50 of the vessels. The diverse roles they served are attested vividly by references in literature, inscriptions, and art; these valuable resources may be mined to recover the central position of the hydria, specifically the *bronze hydria*, in ancient life. The time is ripe for a re-assessment of the full corpus and an exploration of how these new additions influence our interpretations of the forms, functions, and value of Greek bronze hydriai.

²⁰ Congdon 1981.

²¹ Züchner 1942; Schwarzmeier 1997.

²² Bottini *et. al.* 1988.

²³ *Vix krater*: Joffroy 1979; Stibbe 2000; Rolley 2004. *Derveni krater*: Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997; Barr-Sharrar 2008.

Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation is divided into six parts. *Chapters 1-4* offer a diachronic survey of the development of shape, techniques, and decoration from the late seventh through the first century BC. The substantially increased corpus allows for an updated chronology and refined typology for the series, arranged according to the character of the ornamental motifs that appear at the ends of the three handles. Assessments of these decorative elements invite stylistic comparisons between the hydriai themselves and also with contemporary objects made of other materials on both small- and large-scales. These examinations help to associate products made alongside one another and to distinguish different workshop and regional traditions. Because of the relative scarcity of secure archaeological evidence, the chronology suggested in these chapters largely is based on style. These attributions are aided, however, by considerations of the geographic distribution of the locations in which the vessels have been discovered, when the findspots are known. Tracing the routes by which the bronzes were transported from their places of manufacture to their final resting places lends insight into Greek systems of trade and exchange and allows for considerations of bronze vessels as luxury goods desired by an international audience. *Chapter 5* takes a different approach, considering the meaning of the geometric, animal, and figural elements that adorn the vessels. The significance of the motifs are considered not only within the visual vocabulary of the Greek iconographic repertoire at large but also how they might be interpreted specifically on a bronze water jar used for various purposes in life and likely to be reused as a burial container. In the last chapter, I examine the hydriai from a broader perspective, surveying the sources that today serve as a record for the diverse tasks for which a bronze hydria

was a necessary and useful implement, including evidence from the vessels themselves, such as the inscriptions added to near 50 of them, and references to them in literature, inscriptions, and art.

Finally, we may conclude by approximating the economic value of the vases in order to understand the relative cost in relation to hydriai made of other materials and consider what socioeconomic groups might have been able to afford them. Another aspect of value is cultural; today, the bronzes far outnumber the vases made of silver and gold, a ratio that surely was true in antiquity as well because they were far less expensive. Bronze hydriai, though unquestionably less valuable commercially were important cultural commodities and should not be thought of as a lesser substitute for gold. The large quantities and the long period of time over which they were made attest to their significant position in the lives (and deaths) of the ancient Greeks. In the end, the importance of this study reaches far beyond the scope of the development of a single vase-shape and investigating its original functions, offering a unique lens through which to explore multiple aspects of ancient life, including politics, gender roles, domestic tasks, athletics, mythology, routes of commerce and exchange, and religious rituals for both the living and the dead.

Prologue: Bronze Age and Geometric Predecessors

The earliest Archaic Greek bronze hydriai enter the archaeological record in the last quarter of the seventh century. Although the appearance of bronze marks the first significant period of production in the Iron Age, these vessels represent a reawakening of an illustrious tradition dating back at least to the Mycenaean Bronze Age, if not considerably earlier. The form of the Greek hydria bears a distinct resemblance to a large ceramic jar found in an Early Helladic III grave in Orchomenos dated between 2200 and 2000 BC (Figure P.1).¹ Although there is no indication of how the vase was used, the profile of this early handmade vessel consists of a flared rim, narrow neck, and rounded body tapering to a flattened base, similar to the later hydria. Whether or not there was a third, vertical handle or not is unclear, but the patterned band placed on the shoulder of the vase adds an element of verticality that is echoed in the configuration of the later shape. The placement of lateral handles at the widest point of the belly further emphasizes the similarity between this prototypical vessel and its descendant. Even if this early vessel only had two handles, its form is more closely related to a hydria than to a stamnos, because of the shape of its mouth, neck, and shoulder.

In the second millennium, more secure evidence exists for associating the Iron Age hydria with its Bronze Age antecedents. Linear B tablets from Pylos inscribed with lists of vessel-shapes show that the Mycenaeans had at least two words for water jars.² The first, *u-do-ro*, gives us the later Greek term for water, $\tau\omicron\ \acute{\upsilon}\delta\omega\rho$, and by extension, for the water container, $\eta\ \acute{\upsilon}\delta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$. The pictogram suggests that the Mycenaean *u-do-ro*

¹ Higgins 1997, 68, fig. 72.

² See Pylos Tablet 238 (Tn996). Chadwick 1973, 338.

had at least two horizontal handles, but it is unclear whether it had a vertical handle or not (Figure P.2, *lower arrow*). The form of the *u-do-ro* is more elongated and tapered than the later Greek hydria and the handles are arranged differently, but concept of a handled jug with a flattened mouth lacking a spout, relatively wide shoulder, tapering body, and stable base is present. Numerous vessels corresponding to the shape implied by the *u-do-ro* pictogram suggest that at least one form of this shape did have three handles, which were oriented vertically and spaced equidistant from one another around the shoulder of the vase. Many vases of this type have been found on mainland Greece, particularly in the northern Peloponnesian region in the vicinity of the Mycenaean citadel at Mycenae and in Mycenaean contexts on Crete, especially in the region of the palace at Knossos. (e.g. two Late Helladic IIA jars from the Argolid, Athens 7107 and Athens 6725 or a Late Minoan II vessel from Knossos, Herakleion 8832, Figures P.3-P.4).³ Some versions of the type found on Crete may pre-date these Mycenaean examples but the name and function of these Minoan vessels remain unclear.⁴ The clear influence of the Minoan ‘Marine Style’ on the two vessels from tombs in the Argolid mentioned above further emphasizes the Cretan influence on at least the decoration, if not the shape of these vases.⁵ Based on surviving evidence, terracotta appears to have been the favored medium for the *u-do-ro*.

³ Demakopoulou 1988, 89-91, cat. nos. 20-21, 150, cat. no. 106.

⁴ Demakopoulou 1988, 49.

⁵ K. Demakopoulou (1988, 89), suggests that the close relationships between the Minoan decorative styles on these vases are in some cases, imitations of Minoan vessels and motifs, and in others, the result of Cretan craftsmen working in the employ of the (relatively) newly dominant Mycenaean, either on the island or on the mainland.

A second shape given in the same Linear B tablet, *ka-ti*, is represented by a pictogram more closely resembling the form of the historical hydria with a round body, narrow neck, and three handles (Figure P.2, *upper arrow*). The term itself, *ka-ti*, is tantalizingly close to the later Greek word *kalpis*, used today to refer to an alternate form of the hydria with a more rounded form of the shape that curves continuously from mouth to foot, with a vertical handle that attaches at the top in the curve of the neck, rather than around the outer edge of the rim. Ceramic vases with similar profiles and three handles were known prior to the Mycenaean era, such as two examples from the Late Helladic period, including Nauplion 8431, from a chamber tomb in Berbati, in the Argolid (Figure P.5) or Athens 9814, from Vourvatsi, in Attica.⁶ A closely related shape may have been developed in Egypt as well. Its presence in Egypt is demonstrated by an alabaster vase with a thickened rim, cylindrical neck, thick strap handle that attached to the vase below the neck and on the shoulder, round, tapered body, and flared foot with a horizontal resting surface found in a Late Helladic IIB chamber tomb at Mycenae. Although the function of this vase is elusive, it clearly shows that the general profile of what would become the Greek hydria was developed already in the mid-fifteenth century BC (Figure P.6).⁷ The jug itself has been dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1550-1292), which makes it possible that it was an heirloom when it was placed inside the Mycenaean tomb. If so, we it may serve as evidence that the vessel-type was developed considerably earlier in Egypt.

⁶ *Nauplion 8431*: Demakopoulou 1988, 98, cat. 26

⁷ *Athens 4923*: Demakopoulou 1988, 255, cat. no. 279. Although this shape does not seem to have been common in the Egyptian repertoire, at least two other examples of the type exist, one from Isopata, Crete and the other now in Berlin.

These Helladic vases make clear that the shape, at least, was developed prior to the rise of the Mycenaean civilization, whether or not it originally served the purpose of carrying water. However, the Mycenaean seem to have adopted and adapted it for their own purposes. They gave it a central place in their culture, producing it in relatively large numbers and in materials ranging from utilitarian and humble to opulent and conspicuous. Vessels resembling the *ka-ti* made of terracotta as well as bronze, silver, and gold, and outfitted with one, two, or three handles have been excavated from multiple Mycenaean contexts.⁸ As V.R.d'A. Desborough notes, both the presence and the skill of the Mycenaean bronze craftsmen is evident not only in the material remains that have survived but also in the clear influence of metalwork on contemporary ceramic vases.⁹

Bronze vessels, not only hydriai but also a wide variety of other large and small vessel shapes, including lebetes, kraters, lekanai, jugs, bowls, tripods, cups, and frying pans, occur frequently enough that A. Sakellariou suggests that they “clearly were of everyday use.”¹⁰ Bronze *ka-ti*, specifically, have been found in the shaft graves at Mycenae, including one, Athens 604, from Grave Circle A, and another, Athens 11969, from a chamber tomb in Asine, in the Argolid (Figures P.7).¹¹ Although we cannot be sure of how the Mycenaean *ka-ti* was used, it is revealing that the Greek hydria resembles it so closely. Furthermore, like the later Greek hydria, the translation of the shape into so

⁸ *One handle*: a silver jug from Shaft Grave V, Mycenae (c. 1550-1500 BC), now in Athens, or a contemporary jar from Knossos, in Heraklion. Cf. Higgins 1997, 149, figs. 184-185.

⁹ Desborough 1964, 59. Also see Stubbings 1947, 60f.

¹⁰ Demakopoulou 1988, 49.

¹¹ *Athens 11969*: Demakopoulou 1988, 227, cat. no. 220.

many different materials and variations suggests that the vessel served an essential purpose and had a high cultural value.

In contrast to the clearly robust industry of metal vessel production in the fifteenth to thirteenth centuries, the subsequent period suffered a severe economic depression, a limited network of overseas communications, and decreased access to the resources necessary to mine precious metals or to obtain the materials for a bronze alloy, particularly tin. Thus, terracotta became the primary medium for vessels from the twelfth through the late seventh century.¹² This is hardly surprising, given the primary task for which the shape was used. In times of necessity, surely other vessel-types could have substituted for the task of carrying water. The lack of physical evidence for bronze hydriai between the twelfth and seventh centuries alone might not be a sure indication that they did not exist, but the rounded contours of Geometric terracotta hydriai do not betray any relationship with any contemporary metallic cousins.¹³ Together, these two factors cast doubt on the existence of bronze vessels of this shape during the sub-Mycenaean and Geometric periods.

Although it might be difficult to argue for hydriai made of metal during this so-called “Dark Age,” continuity of function seems apparent, judging from at least two Protogeometric versions of the shape dated to the eighth century that have been found in the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens.¹⁴ Two distinct types of Geometric hydriai of the seventh century have appeared Athenian Agora. The first is represented by the banded

¹² Demakopoulou 1988, 49.

¹³ Desborough 1964, 59.

¹⁴ *Kerameikos I*, pl. 50; Brann 1962, 34-35; Coldstream 1960, 60-61. As a miniature hydria from the second half of the eighth century, found in Thebes, Louvre A 556, or a Boeotian vessel of normal size from the second quarter of the third century, Louvre A 574. See also Bronson 1964, 174-178, on a discussion of a Geometric hydria in the Villa Giulia Museum.

hydriai (e.g. Agora P 4980, Figure P.8), which according to Brann are “clearly of the size to be [water pots].”¹⁵ Other vessels of the same shape, however, may be ceremonial; these have snakes rendered in relief around the rim of the vessel and “are far too small and frail to have been used for hauling water” (Figure P.9).¹⁶

As early as the ninth century, bronze vessels, particularly tripods and cauldrons, were re-incorporated steadily into the bronze craftsman’s repertoire, appearing in significant numbers by at least the ninth century. By far, the vast majority of bronze in this period was dedicated to the production of arms and armor, although the small, metopal compositions of heroic deeds carved in low relief onto many bronze shield bands point to a continued interest in a decorative embellishment of the material.¹⁷ Small figurines of both human figures and animals made of bronze also are present in large numbers from an early date. At least one miniature bronze hydria has been discovered, now in an American private collection (Figure P.10).¹⁸ Judging from its squat profile and heavy rim, it may be among the very earliest of the surviving bronze hydriai, perhaps indicating the presence of larger-scale vessels in this material that have not survived. Indeed, this small jug may serve as evidence for the presence of an entire industry of producing bronze water jars in the Geometric period that otherwise has been lost.

It is possible that we are missing the first generation(s) of bronze hydriai because of re-use in an age when bronze was not plentiful, an accident of preservation, or perhaps

¹⁵ Brann 1962, 35, cat. nos. 7-9, pl. 50.

¹⁶ Brann 1962, 35, cat. nos. 7-9, pl. 50. Desborough 1964, pl. 7 c.d.

¹⁷ On these, see Kunze 1950 and Marinatos 1998, 153-70.

¹⁸ My thanks to Jasper Gaunt and Michael Padgett for bringing this object to my attention.

burial customs did not deem the shape suitable for use as ash-urns or grave goods until the early Archaic period. The end of the seventh century is somewhat late, then, for the appearance of full-sized bronze hydriai, given that a long tradition of bronze armor, tripods, cauldrons, and figurines exists since at least the ninth century, if not earlier. Alternatively, we might consider whether changes in Greek customs – perhaps religious or athletic in nature – might have stimulated the production of bronze vessels of this shape or led to the intentional preservation of vases that previously had been recycled and reused as necessary.

Chapter 1: Archaic Bronze Hydriai

The Archaic period was a time of prolific and exuberant production of bronze hydriai in ancient metalworking centers both on the Greek mainland and in Magna Graecia. From their earliest appearance in the last decades of the seventh century, craftsmen experimented with various ornamental motifs to enhance the experience of viewing and using the vessels. Both the great number produced – nearly 250 survive – and the numerous variations in profile and ornaments that can be distinguished among these early hydriai, which are far more numerous than for any later period, testify to an active system of production in the Archaic period. The distribution patterns of the known findspots demonstrate thriving systems of trade and exchange throughout Greece and in the Hellenized areas of Southern Italy and extending further to the north into central Europe and the Balkan Peninsula.

In this chapter, examinations of the development of shape and decoration allow for a revised chronology and typology for the bronze hydriai produced in the late seventh and sixth centuries. Stylistic and iconographic comparisons between the hydriai themselves and within the wider production of contemporary Greek art in both small- and large-scales form the primary basis for my assessments. When possible, the provenances of the vessels are taken into consideration in order to locate regional centers of production. Tracing the recorded findspots of the vessels help to identify patterns of trade and exchange throughout the Mediterranean. The relatively few secure, datable contexts in which Archaic bronze hydriai have been found help to establish chronological parameters and to answer important questions of manufacture. For instance, two Archaic bronze hydriai, **Capua 264138** (cat. 2.2) and **Capua 264130** (cat. 5.6), were found

together in a tomb that can be assigned to the first decade of the sixth century at the latest on the basis of early Corinthian ceramic pottery found alongside it.¹ The two bronzes give no indication of having been made together or even at the same time, making it difficult to determine whether they were newly made or already heirlooms when they were interred. The find does provide a *terminus ante quem* for both types, which is useful for establishing a chronology for the series.

A second important context is also relevant to this discussion, this time from Paestum in Southern Italy. Here, a group of six bronze hydriai and two amphorae were discovered lining the walls of a subterranean enclosure near to the Temple of Athena. P.C. Sestieri, the excavator of the shrine, proposed to date the deposit to the decades between c. 530 and 510 BC based on the presence of a black-figure krater of Attic origin, the style of which he saw as near to the work of the Andokides Painter and showing the influence of Exekias.² Three of the six hydriai almost certainly come out of the same workshop tradition, if not made by the same hand, along with a fourth vessel found in Sala Consilina (cat. nos. 6.1-4). The remaining five vessels, however, do not seem to have been made together or conceived as any kind of cohesive group. Again, the find helps to secure the chronological sequence for the series, providing a *terminus ante quem* for at least three different types of bronze hydriai, and opens rich avenues of inquiry with regard to the function(s) of these vessels, which will be discussed in detail in *Chapters 5* and *6*.

¹ Stibbe 1992, 2, 6; Johannowsky 1980, 447-50.

² Sestieri 1954, 22-23; Sestieri 1955, 53-64.

Similarly, the more than 80 early bronze hydriai found scattered across the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia are ripe with opportunity for considering how these numerous vessels might have been used in service of the cult(s) or the games, but only a few of them seem to have come from significant contexts. **Olympia Br 3568** (cat. 1.8) was discovered around the foundations of the Megarian Treasury, which was constructed c. 500.³ **Olympia Br 3577** (cat. 13.42) was found within the foundations of the Sikyonian Treasury, built in the middle of the sixth century. Perhaps we might consider whether these could have been dedications to the god from citizens of Megara or Sikyon. **Olympia Br 12066** and **12067** (cat. nos. 13.45-13.46) were excavated from an area just south of the Palaistra. They might serve as evidence for an athletic function. **Olympia Br 1583** (cat. 13.41), on the other hand, came from the northwest corner of the Temple of Zeus, suggesting a sacred context. **Olympia Br 3321** (cat. 13.19) comes from a grave, where it must have been used as a burial container.

Another approach that may help to establish a chronology for the bronzes is comparison with ceramic versions of the shape, which have received far more scholarly attention and of which we have far more examples (more than 5000).⁴ However, although the trend in the Archaic period for both bronze and terracotta is to move from heavier to lighter in terms of the individual elements of the vase (including, particularly, the rim, handles, and foot) and from squat to more elongated in profile, the ways in which the neck, shoulder, and rate of taper change really are not similar enough to be close

³ Dinsmoor 1973, 116. Herrmann 1976.

⁴ On relationships between metal and ceramic vessels not limited specifically to hydriai, see Zimmerman 1998.

evidence for dating.⁵ Individual cases for which excellent parallels do exist will be brought out in the course of the chapter. On the whole, however, comparison of shape between hydriai and vessels of other materials is a far more successful strategy in the subsequent Classical and Late Classical periods.

In lieu of external, more scientific archaeological data that would tie the hydriai to known chronological markers, this and the following three chapters will be organized according to the decorative motifs that appear at the end(s) of the handle(s) of the hydriai and assessed primarily according to the profiles of the vases and the by the character and style of the ornamental additions. The greatly increased corpus, representing more than double the number of vessels known at the time of their last publication, allows for a better understanding of the variations in shape and decoration and more informed speculation on the reasons for the similarities and differences observed, whether chronological, geographic, or otherwise. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to issues of shape, style, and manufacture that will shed light on when, where, how, and why bronze hydriai were made and exchanged in the sixth century.

Overview of Shape

Generally speaking, the overall height of bronze hydriai from the seventh and early sixth centuries remains fairly consistent, near c. 50 cm, but the details of shape shift considerably over the course of the Archaic period. The series begins in the late seventh century with vessels such as **Olympia B 3700** (cat. 1.1), **Budapest** (cat. 2.1), or **Oxford 1890.550** (cat. 4.9) that are characterized by broad, off-set mouths with overhanging lips, straight, wide necks set on shoulders that are nearly flattened on the top before curving down to full, rounded bellies. The rate of taper in the lower part of the body usually is

⁵ Bloesch 1951.

steep, a result of the wide distance between the fullest part of the shoulder and the relative narrowness foot. The feet take simple, flared profiles and are low and wide in proportion to the body. In some early cases, such as **New York 1995.92** (cat. 5.11), both shoulder and foot are less broad, resulting in a more elongated profile; this shape becomes more common in the second quarter of the century in vessels such as **New York 67.11.7** (cat. 6.6), **Berlin 30880** (cat. 6.12), **Athens 15137** (cat. 6.5), three hydriai from Paestum (**Paestum 49800**, **49803**, and **49804**) (cat. nos. 6.1-6.3) and their counterpart from Sala Consilina (**Paris, Petit Palais**) (cat. 6.4). Around the middle of the century, some of the vessels show a reversal of the trend and move towards a slimmer and more graceful style. These tend to have an increasingly flattened shoulder and wide body, such as **Baltimore 1954.1269-71** (cat. 7.1), **Elis** (cat. 7.2), **Olympia BE 691** (cat. 8.14), or **Olympia M 868** (cat. 8.12). In other cases, such as **Berlin 8467** (cat. 9.5) and **United States Private Collection (Steinhardt)** (cat. 9.6), the more upright, curved version of the shape persists, giving way towards the end of the century to the rounded form and steady taper of **Berlin 11620** (cat. 12.1) and **Pesaro 3314, 3316** (cat. 12.2).

Throughout the sixth century, the cast vertical handle is joined to the hammered body at the mouth and the shoulder. It is rare, at least before c. 550 for the upper elements of the vertical handle to rise above the level of the mouth. The grip of the handle takes a variety of different forms, ranging from round to rectangular in cross-section, but usually it is fairly thick and sturdy in either form. By widening at the top, it accommodates the placement of the pourer's hand and thumb. The ergonomic design of the vertical handle is particularly evident in the earliest handles that widen from a strap to a roughly trapezoidal zone at the top that is articulated with bands of decoration around the four

edges (e.g. **Budapest 60.3.11**, cat. 2.1). By accommodating the placement of the user's hand, it also helps the pourer to control the vase by properly distributing its weight when tilting it for pouring. The lateral handles tend to be round or semi-circular in cross section, also contributing to their ease of use. Lifting the vessel could be accomplished easily by grasping the side handles, as seen in many representations of hydriai in use at the fountain (Figure 1.1).⁶ Pouring water out of the vessel must have been more difficult, however, requiring the pourer to balance the vase with one hand on the vertical handle while counterbalancing the shifting weight by placing a hand on the foot or underside of the vessel. No accommodations were made in the design for controlling the flow of the water out of the jar, as opposed to a spouted oinochoe, which was designed with just this purpose in mind. Perhaps the problem of overflow was not a concern because water would not leave a stain.

The mouth sometimes was covered with a lid. Both flat and pointed examples survive, made of bronze and also of other materials, such as iron. The mouths of a few bronze hydriai preserve rivet holes that once held a lid in place. Sometimes only the remnants of a chain once used to attach a lid survive. The disappearance of the lids raises the question of materials. If the fragile, hammered body of a metal vessel survives but the lid does not, then it may have been made of something more ephemeral, such as wood or cloth. In its life above ground, the lid presumably served a utilitarian purpose, to keep out contaminants and prevent evaporation. Those that do survive mostly have been affixed more or less permanently over the mouth of the vase with rivets, which must have been done when the vase was put to its final use as a cinerary urn. It is unlikely that the lids would have been secured so tightly in their first lives as part of water jars.

⁶ *Boston 1961.195*: c. 520 BC, Attributed to the Priam Painter; *CVA Boston 2*, pl. 81; <http://www.mfa.org>.

Overview of Technique

The bodies of bronze hydriai normally were hammered from thin sheets of alloyed metal. Even from an early date, craftsmen were remarkably successful in creating thin-walled vessels that economized the amount of materials required and lightened the weight while retaining the thickness necessary to ensure that they were functional and durable. In the sixth century, the overhanging rim often was hammered, as well, although many later examples of the shape have cast lips.

At first, bronze rivets were used to join some of the separately formed parts of the vase mechanically. The cast vertical handle was attached at the top with two sets of rivets; the first pair fitted around the curve of the lip, while the second reached underneath the rim to fasten a pronged extension of the grip as inconspicuously as possible. At the lower end, two or four pins were more or less concealed within a decorative element to the sides of and below the terminus of the handle. The visible rivet-heads on the upper surface of the mouth became an aesthetic feature that could be exaggerated for effect. They often were imitated in ceramic hydriai (for example, a black-figure hydria attributed to the circle of Lydos (c. 560), New York 1988.11.3, Figures 1.2-1.3). After the sixth century, rivets were abandoned in favor of solder as the preferred method of attachment. The side handles met the shoulder of the vessel in a similar way, although the heads of the rivets generally were disguised within some decorative element at the terminus of the handle. The foot of the vessel was cast separately and attached with solder.

Overview of Decoration

Technique, at least to some extent, dictated the form of the decorative elements. In turn, the ornaments responded to the technical requirements, which often resulted in a harmonious union of aesthetics and practical considerations. As long as rivets were the preferred method of attachment, the ends of the handles required narrow, elongated elements that extended around the rim and the shoulder of the vessel, affording a wide, stable base for mechanically attaching the parts.

Ornamentation on bronze hydriai generally was confined to the points at which the cast parts (mouth, handles, feet) are attached to the hammered body. This tendency to leave the bodies of metal vessels, not just hydriai, undecorated may be due to a concern for weakening the structure of the hammered surface in the process of completing the repoussé work. If it were damaged, it might crack and would result in a leaky, unusable container. When decoration does appear on the body of the vase, it normally takes the form of long, outlined tongues around the shoulder, sometimes accompanied by a guilloche band in the handle zone.⁷ This arrangement strongly contrasts with vase painters' approaches to ceramic hydriai. Painted terracotta water jars first were busily decorated with friezes of schematic figures, real and fantastic animals, and geometric patterns over the entire surface of the body. Later, they were given large panels of painted decoration on the side opposite the vertical handle. The most obvious and significant effect of this difference between metal and ceramic is in orientation; the 'front' of a bronze hydria is the side with the vertical handle, which is the reverse of the potter's

⁷ Greek bronze vases were decorated with more elaborate or figural motifs only on very rare occasions, such as the situla in Boston (Boston 03.1001), an Etruscan bronze situla in the Rhode Island School of Design (Providence 32.245), the Berlin maenad krater, or the Derveni krater in Thessalonike.

approach. The need for embellishment at the ends of the handles on metal vessels is partly functional to provide secure attachment for but is largely a creative decision; attachment could be accomplished with far less effort.

Overview of Ornamental Motifs

The earliest of the bronze hydriai in the Iron Age, which date to the late seventh century, are characterized by their simplicity. At first, the decorative additions are minimal and are concentrated at the ends of the handles. Quickly, however, the mouth and foot emerged as additional sites for ornamentation. The terminals of all three handles were given more or less equal attention in the beginning but over the course of the century the top and bottom of the vertical handle emerged as the most important sites for showcasing the bronze craftsman's talent. The side handles, mouth, and foot were relegated to a secondary role.⁸ The primary trajectory of development in terms of decoration moved from simple, geometric ornaments that subtly embellished the ends of each handle to increasingly complex animal and figural schemes. The sculpted ornaments quickly exceeded the demands of their functional requirements and became a venue for display and to convey meaning.

The Archaic bronze-smiths were highly experimental with respect to the manufacture and decoration of these vases, certainly more so than their successors in the fifth and fourth centuries. Over the course of the sixth century, various possibilities were explored, covering a range of decorative motifs; some were short-lived, while others became part of the standard repertoire. Working from models established by previous

⁸ Stibbe 1992, 1: "The vertical handle... provided the bronzesmith with a good opportunity to demonstrate his ability as an artist. The two points of attachment asked, so to speak, for more elaborate treatment. Of the two, the lower attachment, by virtue of its greater surface, became the essential, most characteristic decorative feature."

scholars, the Archaic material may be divided into groups arranged according to the character of the decorative motifs at the ends of the handle (or in some cases, the form of the handle itself). These divisions generally correspond to vessels of similar shape, allowing for assessments of the development of profile, as well.

The typology presented here builds on that established by E. Diehl but diverges in significant ways. Diehl's catalogue included only about 220 vessels divided into seven distinct groups of objects from the late seventh and sixth centuries.⁹ Her first class of 'sundry' vessels from the first half of the sixth century numbered only 16 objects. Today, this group includes more than 75 vessels and fragments. Among them, four distinct types can be distinguished, which helps to locate centers of manufacture and to identify objects made alongside or in awareness of one another more precisely. In his review of Diehl's publication, D. von Bothmer modifies some of Diehl's groupings in order to accommodate the material better but does not offer a radically revised system of his own.¹⁰ His major contributions for the Archaic material were to add new vessels to the corpus, devise new classifications within some of her broader groupings, and reunite the vessels with the motif of an ivy leaf together despite a chronological gap between the two phases of production. In a 1992 essay, C.M. Stibbe offered at least 30 additional Archaic vessels for consideration but situated them largely within Diehl's scheme.¹¹ From Diehl's 'sundry' category of early vessels, he carved out those with swans' heads and with the foreparts of lions at the ends of the handles and placed them within their own groups. He chose not to treat the many plain vessels and fragments from Olympia, citing them as too

⁹ Diehl 1964, 5-23, cat. nos. B1-B74.

¹⁰ Bothmer 1965, 604-605.

¹¹ Stibbe 1992, 1-62.

numerous to include.¹² I present them here in an effort to be comprehensive as well as to extend the discussion of these vessels beyond style and provenance. By including them, the examinations open into a consideration of how and why the vessels found their way to their final destinations and allow us to assess the ways in which they may have been used. Furthermore, I distinguish Stibbe's elaborately decorated "show handles" into two separate groups, based on whether the functionality of the vase is compromised or not by the decorative elements flanking or replacing the vertical handle. In addition to the hydriai already catalogued by previous scholars, I also bring in numerous examples published separately in museum and auction catalogues that have appeared in more recent years, enabling new distinctions and a reconsideration of the series as a whole. The newly available material allows for further distinctions to be drawn than have been possible previously.

Today, twelve distinct types emerge, defined best by the character of their handle ornaments:

1. Non-figural ornaments (half-spoils, rotelles, etc.)
2. Swans' heads
3. Foreparts of lions
4. Palmettes, snakes, lions, and rams
5. Female protomes, lions, and rams
6. Female protomes, palmettes, lions, and rams
7. Gorgoneia
8. Ivy leaves
9. Anthropomorphic handles (kouroi)
10. Zoomorphic handles (lions)
11. Elaborate groups of figures and lions
12. Anthropomorphic handles and elaborate figural and animal (lions, horses, birds, hares, and snakes) groups

¹² Stibbe 1992, 2000, 115.

A final group (13: *Varia*) consists of fragmentary bits of rims, handles, and feet that cannot be securely placed within one of the defined groups but nevertheless can be classified as Archaic because of their similarity to the shape and/or method of attachment to the more complete examples.

The first ten groups represent a more or less continuous trajectory of development, which at times seem closely related and overlapping in date and in other cases appear to be independent of one another. These hydriai are often innovative, introducing new motifs and combining them with standard decorative elements in different ways. Occasionally, they seem fairly independent and seek new solutions. Apart from this fairly straightforward progression there are at least two early, experimental groups (11-12) that clearly were made with some awareness of the more traditional decorative approaches but are separate from the mainstream products. The development of the series is not always linear and many vases may fall into multiple categories, which affords comparisons between groups. The ways in which the types mix, change, and influence one another are rich and varied.

The remainder of this chapter will explore issues of shape, techniques, style, date, manufacture, and exchange, arranged in order of group but compared to one another across groups when appropriate. The significance of the iconographic motifs chosen as ornaments for these vessels will be discussed separately in *Chapter 5*.

Group 1: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Non-Figural Decoration

Shape

The earliest preserved bronze hydriai have been found scattered in large quantities throughout the Altis in the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. Already in the eighth and seventh centuries, Olympia became an international destination and a virtual showroom of contemporary artistic production not only from the Greek world but also the Near East and also Etruria.¹³ Fragments of at least 80 vessels from the Archaic period have been discovered in this location, far outnumbering the finds from any other single source. It is somewhat unclear why these vessels appear in the archaeological record in the late seventh century. This particular moment does not seem particularly significant in the history of the Sanctuary, which was either founded or significantly expanded more than a century earlier, concurrent with the traditional date given to the first celebration of the Olympic games in 776 BC. None of the hydriai belonging to this first group is complete, but collectively they show a range of rudimentary decorative possibilities using a limited vocabulary of sub-geometric elements. Rather than assuming that the numerous and varied vessels that appear in Olympia in the last quarter of the seventh century represent a fully developed first production phase, it seems more prudent to suggest there was at least one generation of vessels that has been lost. Perhaps the elusive hydriai from the late Geometric or Orientalizing periods were not many in number. Finds such as the miniature Geometric bronze hydria now in an American Private Collection (Figure P.10) may allude to the presence of earlier vessels on a larger scale that no longer survive.

¹³ Stibbe (2004, 4-5) emphasizes especially the strong presence of Lakonian bronzes at Olympia. For the Near East, see Hermann 1966 and 1979. On the Etruscans, see Haynes 1985.

The most complete of the group, **Olympia B 3700**, preserves enough of the body to convey the shape: a wide mouth with an overhanging lip is set on a short, straight neck that is nearly perpendicular to a carinated shoulder and round, sharply tapering body. The short foot takes a flared profile. The lip of **Olympia B 3700** is left plain, but two others of the same type are decorated. Another **Olympia B 8934** (cat. 1.2), has incised concentric lines at the upper and lower edges. **Olympia B 5423** has a frieze of plastically rendered tongues, instead. The horizontal handles of **Olympia B 3700** are round in cross-section with undecorated grips and half-spools extending laterally at each end.

The vertical handle of **Olympia B 3700** is missing but several stray vertical handles that are treated similarly to its lateral handles, with perpendicular half-spools at the top and bottom, must have come from similarly plain vessels. These include **Olympia B 1827** (cat. 1.4), **Olympia B 6897** (cat. 1.5), **Olympia Br 13789** (cat. 1.6), and **Olympia Br 7848** (cat. 1.7). Two additional vertical handles, **Olympia Br 3568** (cat. 1.8) and **Olympia B4 13789** (cat. 1.6), have half-spools extending horizontally at the upper and lower terminals and a round, bulbous projection with an incised triangle at the lower end. This feature may be a forerunner of the swan's heads that appear at the ends of the handles in the next group.

Technique

The body and mouth of **Olympia B 3700** are hammered. The two surviving handles and the foot are cast. Each of the vertical handles that are completely preserved at the top (**Olympia B 6241** [cat. 1.9], **Olympia Br 13789** [cat. 1.6], and **Olympia Br 3568** [cat. 1.8]) demonstrate that the handles were secured to the body by way of pronged extensions that fit under the mouth of the vase. Bronze rivets would have fit into the

holes in the extended panel to join the parts together. Paired half-spools at the lower ends of the vertical handles extend outwards from the base of the handle provide the width needed to insert an inconspicuous bronze rivet on each side.

Manufacture

The similarity of these early handles allows us to suggest that most were products of a single workshop.¹⁴ It is not possible to identify the location of the workshop with absolute certainty, but there is no reason not to suppose that the vases are part of a local Peloponnesian tradition perhaps in the vicinity of Olympia.

Dating and Chronology

It is difficult to determine a precise date for these early hydriai because the evidence is scanty and fragmentary. C.M. Stibbe has dated vases of the earliest shape to the last years of the seventh century through the first quarter of the sixth century.¹⁵ This suggestion fits **Olympia B 3700** (cat. 1.1) and **Olympia B 8934** (cat. 1.2), which are our best evidence for the shape of the vases to which the associated handles belong. Stibbe's date can be refined by working backwards from a hydria that will be discussed below (*Group 2*), **Capua 264138** (cat. 2.2), which was excavated from a burial context datable to c. 600-590 on the basis of early Corinthian ceramic pottery also found in the tomb.¹⁶ If the vases and handles belonging to this first group are precursors of those with swan's heads discussed below, then these earliest bronze hydriai and handles should belong in the last decades of the seventh century.

¹⁴ A possible exception is vertical handle fragment **Olympia B 6241**, which is narrower in width and flatter in cross-section than the others.

¹⁵ Stibbe 1992, 2.

¹⁶ Stibbe 1992, 6; Johannowsky 1980, 447-50.

Geographic Distribution and Use (Appendix 1A, 1.1)

As discussed briefly above, although all of these fragments and handles were found in the Altis, only a few come from meaningful contexts that help to determine how they might have been used. The surviving provenances from within the sacred area offer a few possibilities for different functions. Fragmentary vessels **Olympia Br 3568** (cat. 1.8) and **Br 3577** (cat. 13.42), discovered among the foundations of the Megarian and Sikyonian treasuries, respectively, may indicate that these hydriai was attached was kept inside the treasury, after being dedicated to Zeus by citizens (or athletes?) who had traveled to Olympia from their home cities.

Some of the hydriai in Olympia may well be related to athletic contests, having been offered as votives by the victors to the gods. Another possibility to consider is whether the vessels might have been given as prizes in contests sacred not to Zeus but to Hera or offered to the goddess. At Olympia, Pausanias writes of contests for young women celebrated in honor of Hera that complimented the male-dominated festivities for Zeus.¹⁷ We cannot be sure when these games for girls were initiated, but Pausanias claims that they had a long history, begun when Hippodameia organized them in as a gesture of thanks to Hera after her wedding to Pelops.¹⁸ If some of these were prizes, they would be our earliest evidence for bronze hydriai as awards for athletics, a practice that is well-documented from the fifth century onwards (see below, *Chapter 6*). It would not be unreasonable to think this practice may have happened, or perhaps even began, in Olympia. The two bronze feet that once belonged to hydriai, **Olympia Br 12066** and **12067** (cat. nos. 13.45-13.46), that were found just south of the Palaistra, might lend

¹⁷ Pausanias 5.16.2-7. Trans. Jones and Ormerod 1964, 472-479.

¹⁸ Pausanias 5.16.4. Trans. Jones and Ormerod 1964, 474-475.

weight to this suggestion, although the relationship of the these vessels to that structure (or an earlier one on the same site) is not clear.

It is perhaps more likely that many of these vessels were offered as votive dedications since the prizes from the Olympic games primarily were known to be stephanitic, rather than krematitic. At least most of the bronze hydriai in Olympia must have been dedicated in treasuries or in temples because burials (the most frequent context from which bronze vases are excavated) are extremely rare within the limits of the Altis at Olympia. We might also consider whether the bronzes from Olympia could have served cult purposes, providing water for sacrifices or ritual cleansing. Even a full millennium later, in the second century, it seems that bronze hydriai were still an important part of the sacred accoutrements on hand. Pausanias writes that a bronze hydria marked the spot where Zeus' thunderbolt struck the floor of the temple as a sign of his satisfaction with Pheidias' chryselephantine cult statue from the end of the fifth century BC.¹⁹ The bronze foot found in the northwest corner of the temple reminds us strongly of this reference (**Olympia Br 1583** [cat. 13.41]).

Another more speculative perspective might be to consider the vessels as part of a dedication petitioning Zeus to relieve a drought in the Peloponnese or in thanks for having done so. Zeus, bearing thunderbolts and described by Homer as the νεφεληγερέτᾱ, or 'bringer of clouds,' would be an appropriate deity to whom to appeal

¹⁹ Pausanias 5.11.9. Trans. Jones and Ormerod 1964, 442-443.

for a weather-related favor.²⁰ Likewise, a hydria, a vessel whose form signified the collection of water, might have been a reasonable offering for such a request.

Evidence of drought in the eighth and seventh centuries exists in various forms throughout the Mediterranean. As J. Camp notes, ancient sources attest that the Temple of Zeus Hellanios on Aegina was constructed as a dedication to the god in the wake of a severe drought.²¹ He rightly points out that “increased religious activity is in no way inconsistent with the notion of a prolonged drought and its effects. Man’s interest in the divine is all too often the direct result of need and times of trouble might be expected to produce religious fervor.”²² Herodotos also relates that Thera was plagued by drought in the seventh century, which caused the residents of the island to consult the Delphic oracle, who advised them to leave the motherland and found a new colony elsewhere.²³ The colony of Cyrene and its monumental temple to Zeus are said to be the results of this expedition.

In other cases, the ancient authors are silent but unusual patterns evident in the archaeological record suggest severe disturbances that might be consistent with a drought, such as the abandonment of an unusually high number of wells in the years

²⁰ *Iliad* 1.511, 13.562-3, 14.292-3, 15.151-4, 16.297-300. For this epithet, Homer seems to have borrowed from the East, where the god Baal is called *rkb 'rpt*, which M.L. West (1988, 170) translates as “cloud-gatherer or cloud-rider.” Elsewhere (West 1997, 115), he notes that the “northern Semitic weather god Adad is celebrated in Akkadian hymns both as *bel birqi* ‘lord of lightning’ and as *sakin upe* or *urpati* or *erpeti*, ‘establisher of clouds.’

²¹ Camp 1979, 403. Ancient sources include Isokrates 9.4.5; Pausanias 1.44.9, 2.29.7; Diodoros Siculus 4.61.1, and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7.469, 523f. I. Morris rejects Camp’s drought theory; see Morris 1989, 160-162.

²² Camp 1979, 403.

²³ Herodotos IV.153, 156. Meiggs and Lewis 1969, no. 5, Camp 1979, 405.

around c. 700 BC in the Athenian Agora.²⁴ Literary references to the problem of extreme drought in the Peloponnese in the legendary past also exist, such as Apollodoros' account of the daughters of King Danaos of Argos, and in particular, Amydone, who resolved the problem for her countrymen by allowing Poseidon to seduce her in exchange for showing her the springs at Lerna.²⁵ Although there does not seem to be pervasive evidence from other sources for a drought in the Peloponnese in the seventh century, we might at least consider whether the dramatically increased number of bronze hydriai might suggest that there either was one or was fear of one.

Group 2: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Swan's Heads

A simply modeled swan's head appears at the base of at least five vertical handles and the terminals of the many more lateral ones, usually in combination with one or more of the geometric elements found in *Group 1*.²⁶ In both cases, the abbreviated swans consist of a rounded head with a flattened, elongated beak. The bird's head is turned such that the beak, which may be squared or rounded, extends onto the grip of the handle itself. This gives an effect of the swan facing either upwards, in the case of the vertical handles, or inwards, when added to the lateral handles. The swans' heads represent a small step in terms of formal development, some requiring little more than a cursory shaping of an added piece of wax prior to casting.²⁷ Several demonstrate considerably more skill and attention. The swans, however, represent a significant conceptual leap that

²⁴ Camp 1979, 397-411; Brann, *Agora VII*, 108.

²⁵ Fragments of a (mostly) lost satyr play by Aeschylus seem also to have told this story. Aeschylus, Fragment 4, *Amydone*; Apollodoros, *Libraries*, 2.14, 2.16, 2.23, 2.78, Callimachus, *Aetia* Fragment 66, Propertius, *Elegies* 2.26c.

²⁶ Stibbe 1992, 5-6 (Group A). Johannowsky 1980, 447-50. Eight loose side handles are catalogued as part of this group but similar ones are found on numerous bronze hydriai of *Groups 3,4,5,6,7*, and *9*.

²⁷ Stibbe 1992, 6.

facilitated the incorporation of more complex animal forms in succeeding decades. Even after the introduction of other animal motifs, the swan's head continues to be a favored choice for the remainder of the sixth century. It appears with great frequency, especially on side handles. Once introduced, the elegant solution to a handle-end in the form of a swan's head has a long afterlife not only on bronze hydriai but also on metal and ceramic volute kraters from the fifth and fourth centuries, and on strainers, ladles, and the ends of handles of various other vessels and implements, such as paterae.

Shape

The most complete vessel of this group, **Budapest 60.3.11** (cat. 2.1), has a broad mouth with an overhanging lip decorated with regularly spaced vertical incision lines, a wide, straight neck, and a full body. The vertical handle has a geometrically rendered swan's head flanked by pairs of double half-spools with ridged edges at the lower terminal of the vertical handle with coiled snake protomes at the upper end. The shape of the handle and the form of the swan below the vertical handle associates it with a fragmentary vessel, **Capua 264138** (cat. 2.2) and three additional vertical handles, **Olympia Br 5220** (cat. 2.3), **Olympia Br 12996/Athens 6406** (cat. 2.4) and **Ancona 11379** (cat. 2.5). Without the more naturalistic members of the group (particularly on the lateral handles described below), the decoration of these handles might not be interpreted as avian.

The side handles of **Budapest 60311** are smooth and round in cross-section with a rounded swan's head and transverse half-spools at either end. Four additional loose lateral handles, **Olympia B 4948** (cat. 2.6), **Olympia B 4290** (cat. 2.7), and **Olympia B 5269** (cat. 2.8) follow this pattern, as does **Olympia B 6021** (cat. 5.4), which was found

together with a vertical handle with a female protome. Four others, **Olympia B 5270** (cat. 2.9) and **Olympia B 2744** (cat. 2.10), **Athens 7140** (cat. 2.11) and **Sibari** (cat. 2.12), also are related but represent the bird's features more clearly, delineating the contours of the eyes, the ridge of the brow, and a hatched band marking the transition between the head and beak. Two further side handles, **Boston 1899.465** (cat. 2.13) and **Patras 71** (cat. 2.14), represent a later stage of development, with a more articulated bird's head and a horizontal palmette at either end of the grip, substituting slim rotelles for the heavy half-spools of the earlier generation.

Dating and Chronology

The lateral handles fall into two distinct types with a relatively straightforward chronology. The earlier versions have a very simply modeled head (with or without schematic indications of the bird's facial features) flanked by half-spools; these include **Olympia B 4290** (cat. 2.7), **Olympia B 4948** (cat. 2.6), and **Olympia B 5269** (cat. 2.8). The later ones feature elaborately modeled swans emerging from palmettes at the ends of the handles. **Boston 1899.465** (cat. 2.13) and **Patras 71** (cat. 2.14) fall into this second category. **Athens 7140** (cat. 2.11), **Olympia B 2744** (cat. 2.10) and **Olympia B 5270** (cat. 2.9) are perhaps transitional between the two phases, with transverse rotelles in place of the half-spools but without a palmette characteristic of the later type. **Sibari** (cat. 2.12) should also be placed in the intermediate group because of its shape and ornamentation of what remains of its grip.

Efforts to understand the dates of the vessels are more fruitful with the vertical handles of this type because they are more rare than side handles ornamented with the same element. Fragmentary hydria **Capua 264138** (cat. 2.2) was excavated from a tomb

in Capua along with another bronze hydria (see below *Group 5*) and some early Corinthian pottery, on the basis of which Johannowsky dates it to the last decade of the seventh century.²⁸ **Budapest 60.3.11** (cat. 2.1) should not be far off because of its identical vertical handle. Three other vertical handles, **Ancona 11379** (cat. 2.5), **Olympia 5220** (cat. 2.3), and **Athens 6406** (cat. 2.4) are of similar type to those from Artand and Capua but differ in the rendering of the swan's head and beak. The rectilinear shape shows an even more rudimentary approach to the creation of the motif by simply folding over a piece of wax and squaring off the edges of the 'beak.' It is possible to see these as contemporary with the more articulated versions of the type, simply the result of two different craftsmen's interpretations of the same motif, or as predecessors of the more elaborated swans. Since the side handles, when present (e.g. **Budapest 60.3.11** [cat. 2.1], **Capua 264138** [cat. 2.2], and **Ancona 11377a,b** [cat. 2.5]) seem to be identical despite the differences in the character of the swan on the vertical handle, with a simply modeled rounded swan's head and beak with a long, rounded tip, I suggest that they are contemporary with one another, or nearly so. Their differences, therefore, should be more the result of different hands or workshops than time. The loose side handles, at least seven in number, that are of the same type. They also should date to the last years of the seventh century or the first years of the sixth. The more ornate side handles with the palmette between the transverse half-spools are first introduced with they hydriai of *Group 4* and subsequently appear among the vessels of *Groups 6, 7, and 9*, which span the duration of the sixth century.

²⁸ Stibbe 1992, 6; Johannowsky 1980, 447-450.

Geographic Distribution (Appendix 1A, 1.2)

The findspots of these hydriai with swan's heads at the lower ends of the vertical handles include Capua, Ancona, Athens, Olympia, and Artand. Given the large geographical area represented, it is difficult to pinpoint the origins of the group. They record the circulation of objects up through Italy, however, and into central Europe, testifying either to the presence of Greeks in these areas c. 600 BC or to the existence of an active trading route up the Adriatic and into Central Europe in this early period.²⁹

Group 3: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with the Forepart of a Lion at the Lower End of the Vertical Handle

Each vertical handle belonging to this small group features the forepart of a lion (head and forepaws) at the lower end.³⁰ This motif represents another creative approach to fashioning an extra piece of wax at the end of the handle. They are made up of simple shapes that are no more difficult to construct than the geometric half-spools and rotelles but demonstrate a desire on the part of the bronze craftsmen to convey more complex ideas or to animate the vessels.

Shape

A hydria in Budapest (cat. 3.1) is the only complete example of the type, with a wide mouth and neck and an exaggeratedly full, rounded body with a strong taper in the lower end. The upper end of the handle terminates in unusual daedalic human heads attached by thin extensions from the handle hidden under the rim.³¹ This solution for

²⁹ Shefton 2001, 21-24.

³⁰ Diehl 1964, B4, B5; Stibbe 2005, 31-55.

³¹ Stibbe 2005, 21-22.

attaching the upper end of the vertical handle is quite unusual. Although all of the Archaic hydriai (as long as rivets were used for attachment) do, in fact, connect to the vase beneath the mouth as does this hydria in Budapest, this is the only example from the sixth century in which the method of joining seems to be intentionally disguised. The visual effect is quite different from the standard scheme of snakes, lions, and rams will become typical by the middle of the sixth century because of this illusion of detachment, as though the heads were emerging from the surface of the rim rather than attached to it artificially. At the bottom of the short, thick vertical handle is a rounded lion's head in high relief, which is flanked by snakes. The side handles are of an early type, plain except for a pair of incised triangles at either end, with transverse rotelles at the terminals.

Budapest (cat. 3.1) is closely related in type to three vertical handles with similar sculptural motifs. A fragmentary handle, **Olympia B 5241/5473** (cat. 3.2), seems the closest parallel despite its relatively worn surface.³² The lions' heads are remarkably similar in form. Each is rounded with low, broad ears and incised facial features that include a ridge bisecting the forehead, eyebrows, eyes, and a long, rounded nose. Both lack the ruff encircling the head often seen on most Archaic bronze lions. The Olympia handle fragment diverges from the Budapest example in omitting the flanking snakes from the lower end of the handle. Instead, it employs the more traditional rotelles on the sides.

Another vertical handle, **Heraklion 153** (cat. 3.3) shares the handle motif of a lion with snakes at the lower terminal, but substitutes ram protomes at the top.³³ The lion at

³² Stibbe 2005, 24-27.

³³ Stibbe 2005, 27-28.

the lower end is quite different from the previous two, with a slimmer face and a close-cropped mane all around the head. A fourth handle **Patras 70** (cat. 3.4), with ram protomes above and a lion and half-spools below, completes the group.³⁴ The Patras handle is close to the one from Crete in both form and style. Double half-spools with ribbed edges extend laterally from the side of the lion's head, which has not been seen in the other members of this group but are familiar with from contemporary handles with other decorative motifs (see above, *Groups 1* and *2*).

Rolley associates a side handle with this vertical one, **Patras 71** (cat. 2.14), with palmettes and swan's head. **Patras 71** (cat. 2.14) finds a good comparison in another disassociated handle, **Boston 1899.465** (cat. 2.13).³⁵ **Patras 70** (cat. 3.4) and **71** (cat. 2.14) do not seem to me to be of the same generation. Following Diehl, I have disassociated the latter and placed the latter among its counterparts in *Group 7*.³⁶ The side handle (**Boston 1899.465**, cat. 2.13), like the ones in Boston and Patras, seems much more advanced in style, and would not be out of place in the later sixth century. The Boston and Patras handles are much like **Vienna 3022** (cat. 7.4) and a handle in **Olympia (no acc. number)** (*Group 7*) and **Belgrade 648/1** (cat. 9.9).

Three additional vertical handles, **Paris 4643** (cat. 15.22), **Toledo 1964.125** (cat. 15.23), and **Athens Karapanos 378** (cat. 15.24) are related to the hydriai in Budapest, Olympia, Heraklion, and Patras by way of the motif of the forepart of a lion that appears at the lower ends of their vertical handles. They differ, however, in both the shape of the

³⁴ Stibbe 2005, 28.

³⁵ Rolley 1963, 472-474.

³⁶ Diehl 1964, cat. nos. B 5 and B 34.

handles and the combination of ornamental elements. The vertical handles are of an Early Classical type that rises well above the level of the rim before curving down to meet the upper side of the mouth. In each case a second lion was added at the top of the handle. Whereas the Budapest, Heraklion, Olympia, and Patras lions are rounded and rendered in high relief, the lower lions are broad and flattened, with chased, rather than modeled details. With these three examples, as C.M. Stibbe notes, what began as animated, volumetric representations of animals was reduced to lifeless skins in these later examples.³⁷ The handles in Paris, Toledo, and Athens may be situated comfortably in the Early Classical period and are descendants of the lions of the early sixth century.

Dating and Comparanda

The experimental quality of the lions and the relative lack of decorative attention to the mouth, side handles, and foot of the vessel indicate an early date for the core members of this group (cat. nos. 3.1-3.4). It seems to be a limited series produced in the last quarter of the seventh century and then abandoned in favor of other decorative motifs and arrangements. C. M. Stibbe notes a number of good parallels for a lion represented in this same perspective, from above, which are helpful for situating the hydriai chronologically.³⁸ Because we do not have good stratigraphic evidence to assess the dates of production for these vessels, we must rely primarily on stylistic comparisons. A pair of late seventh-century bowed fibulai from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, Sparta 2142, show the forepart of a lion and female protome (Figure 1.4).³⁹ The forepart of the lion is rendered similarly to the bronze examples, with a rounded head with incised facial

³⁷ Stibbe 2005, 24.

³⁸ Stibbe 2005, 28.

³⁹ Stibbe 2004, 28; Stibbe 1996, 364-366; Stibbe 2005, 28, fig. 13; Rolley 2004, 139-141, fig. 96.

features, a ruff made up of closely-spaced incision marks extending all the way around the face, and a pair of short paws emerging from behind or below the head. The lion's heads are stylistically closest to **Patras 70** or **Heraklion 153** (cat. 3.3), but are not far from **Budapest** (cat. 3.1) or **Olympia 5241/5473** (cat. 3.2), which both lack the ruff that encircles the face.

Another good parallel comes from a silver jug in the Lydian hoard, Uşak 1.15.96. It has the forepart of a panther, rather than a lion, at the lower end of the handle but the form of the animal is comparable (Figures 1.5-1.6).⁴⁰ A simpler panther's head without the dangling forepaws appears at the lower end of the vertical handle of a bronze oinochoe, New York 1997.158, from the third quarter of the sixth century BC (Figure 1.7). Its date has been assigned based on the striking resemblance of the panther's head rendered in relief at the bottom of the handle to a two-dimensional panther on a ceramic oinochoe in London attributed to the Amasis Painter (Figures 1.8-1.9).⁴¹ Both of these vessels with panther's heads offer good parallels for our lions' heads, although they are perhaps slightly later in date and almost certainly are products of different workshops.

The Daedalic heads at the rim of the **Budapest** hydria (cat. 3.1) compare favorably to the well-known Karlsruhe head from Olympia (Figure 1.10), which is dated to c. 650.⁴² As Stibbe notes, however, the heads on the Budapest hydria are clearly a

⁴⁰ Stibbe and Pelagatti 1999, 38; Ozgen and Oztürk 1996, 76, cat. no. 13 (with further bibliography). The upper end of this handle is related to *Group 15*. The lion's head is smaller than normal in proportion to the handle, but the scheme of lion's head in relief, mane incised on the handle to nearly the highest point, and flanking rotelles with beaded edges and incised rosettes on the outer faces, is very familiar. See below, *Chapter 2*.

⁴¹ Mertens 2000, 377-381 (especially 379). *British Museum B 524: ABV 154.47; Paralipomena 64.179; Beazley Addenda*², 44; Bothmer 1985, 163-164.

⁴² Stibbe 2005, 22.

generation later than the Karlsruhe head and can be identified as Late Daedalic (or even post-Daedalic) because of the shortened faces with rounded chins and the presence of the ear.⁴³ Three slightly later handles from oinochoai are also related but position the lion at the top of the handle rather than the bottom, a configuration that will become more common on bronze hydriai later. These include Warsaw 10068, Delphi 4465, and Athens (from Bassai-Phigaleia) (Figures 1.11-1.13).⁴⁴ The two former handles are dated to the early sixth century and the latter slightly later, nearer to the middle of the century.

Manufacture and Geographic Distribution (Appendix 1A, 1.3)

The significant stylistic differences between the **Budapest** hydria (cat. 3.1) and the three related in Olympia, Patras, and Heraklion suggest that they are products of two different hands or that they possibly come from two different centers of manufacture related by collaboration or intentional imitation. The **Budapest** (cat. 3.1) and **Heraklion** (cat. 3.3) handles are conceptually similar, with the snakes curling upwards from the lion's scalp at the lower end and protomes at the upper end of a flat, broad grip. The **Olympia** (cat. 3.2) and **Patras** (cat. 3.4) handles are less elaborate, with simply modeled lion's scalps of smaller proportions with half-spool extensions. The ram protomes at the top of the **Heraklion** (cat. 3.3) and **Patras** (cat. 3.4) handles are not dissimilar, however, and are a point of convergence between the two different types. Given the unusual choice of human protomes at the upper end of the Budapest vertical handle and the distant provenance, it is possible to suggest tentatively that the Budapest hydria might be a

⁴³ Stibbe 2005, 23-24.

⁴⁴ Stibbe and Pelagatti 1999, 38; *Warsaw 10068*: Weber 1983, 258, no. I.C.1 (with bibl.); Bernhard 1976, 154, cat. 280, 161, fig. 57. *Delphi 4465*: Perdrizet 1908, 87f., cat. 393, fig. 292; Weber 1983, 258f. no. I.C.2 (with bibl.); Herfort-Koch 1986, 18, 85, no. K22; Stibbe 1996, 376 n. 114-115. *Athens* (from Bassai-Phigaleia): Weber 1983, 259f., no. I.C.3 (with bibl.); Yalouris in Coldstream and Colledge 1979, 91f., no. J, pl. 42a..

northern imitation of a tradition begun in a more mainstream Greek bronzeworking center, perhaps mainland Greece or even Crete.⁴⁵

Stibbe also questions the mainland Greek origin of the Budapest hydria, comparing the heads to a bronze Daedalic head in Karlsruhe and proposing that a Samian connection might be appropriate (Figure 1.10).⁴⁶ This suggestion seems unlikely, or at least improbable, given the overwhelming lack of evidence for Samian production of bronze hydriai in this period. The **Olympia** (cat. 3.2) handle must have been made alongside the **Budapest** (cat. 3.1) vase, wherever that workshop may have been located. Stibbe assigns the Cretan handle to a Lakonian workshop and a Cretan buyer but leaves open the possibility for a local center of production that has yet to be located.⁴⁷ He traces the handle in **Patras** (cat. 3.4), from the vicinity of Elis in the northwestern Peloponnese, to a Corinthian workshop and suggests that it is to be regarded separately from the others because of its flattened, narrow handle and what he interprets as derivative, imitative imagery.⁴⁸ I would argue, alternatively, that the four handles are related so closely in style to one another that they must have been made in some awareness of one another, likely in the same workshop, but by different hands.

⁴⁵ Stibbe 2005, 30-31.

⁴⁶ Stibbe 2005, 28.

⁴⁷ Stibbe 2005, 27-28.

⁴⁸ Stibbe 2005, 28.

Group 4: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Palmettes and Animals

The introduction of a pendant palmette at the lower end of the vertical handle was a pivotal moment in the development of bronze hydriai; from the time of its first appearance, it became a near-constant feature of bronze hydriai for the rest of the century.⁴⁹ The palmette conveniently solved the problem of transitioning from the handle to the body of the vase by providing a broad plane that could accommodate the curve of the vessel. It thereby provided a large area to secure the attachment. The ‘eyes’ of the volutes that spiral outwards from the top of the palmette masked the heads of the rivets that pinned the handle to the body. The palmettes fall into three main types, an engraved pattern that adorns a circular or elongated panel, a semi-circle cursorily divided into segments, or a sophisticated floral motif with individually modeled leaves with either rounded or pointed tips.

Shape, Decoration, and Style

Palmette alone

Despite the ubiquity of the palmette, it rarely appears alone on extant hydria handles. In fact, it appears so infrequently as a singular device without the addition of animals that it is tempting to see **Olympia B 6969** (cat. 4.1) and a vertical handle in **Sibari** (cat. 4.2), as representative of a transitional step from the geometric half-spools and schematic swans’ heads of the previous groups to the more naturalistic approach taken with the animal protomes and fully sculpted animals of the other vases in this group and the following ones, through the end of the sixth century. Both of these handles are also unusual in the construction of the palmette at the bottom of the vertical handle, cast

⁴⁹ Stibbe 1992, 5-11 (Group B), 15-16 (Group E), 42-44 (Group K), 47-49 (Group N); Hill 1967, 39-47; Stibbe 1998, 34-67.

as a flat panel onto which a palmette was incised in coldwork. More usually, the leaves of the palmettes on Archaic bronze hydriai were sculpted in low relief, as were the large volutes at the top of the palmette of **Olympia B 6969** (cat. 4.1). The treatment of **Olympia B 6969** (cat. 4.1) and the **Sibari** (cat. 4.2) handles suggests that the palmette, like the swan's head and even the forepart of a lion, was a simple step away from the previous geometric forms, begun as an ornamental flourish at the otherwise awkward juncture of the handle and the body of the vase.

Stibbe has devised a useful typology of Archaic bronze palmettes that is helpful for understanding the developmental sequence of the palmette at the lower ends of bronze handles in the sixth century.⁵⁰ According to his scheme, **Olympia B 6969** (cat. 4.1) can dated to the last years of the seventh century because of its wide semi-circular shape, plastic volutes, and pre-canonical incised palmette leaves.⁵¹ A similarly early date should be assigned to the **Sibari** (cat. 4.2) handle because of its simple half-spools and wide cast plate with an incised pendant palmette.

Palmette and Animals

Simultaneous with appearance of the palmettes, animals in both protome and full-figured forms became part of the standard bronze-smith's repertoire, particularly snakes, lions, and rams. These vessels can be divided into two categories based on the shape of the vase and the resulting change in the configuration of the vertical handle. The first (A) preserves the traditional round-bodied form of a shoulder hydria with an overhanging lip, wide neck, broad shoulder that is fairly flat on the upper side, and full, rounded body. The vertical handle attaches around the shoulder as normal and on the underside of the mouth,

⁵⁰ Stibbe 1997.

⁵¹ Stibbe 1997, 38, cat. no. 1.4. For palmette chronology, see Stibbe 1997, 37-64.

with the upper end of the decorative additions fitted along the curve of the lip. The second (B), resembles an amphora more than a canonical hydria, with a narrow mouth, tall, slim neck, high shoulder and long, full body that tapers only at the very bottom to a flared foot. The effects of these changes are evident on the vertical handle of **Paestum 49805** (cat. 4.33), bending more acutely at the upper end to reach the lip of the much narrower mouth, resulting in an L-shaped form.

A.1. Palmette and Snakes

Lecce 2707 (cat. 4.3) is the only surviving example that combines the new motif of the palmette with the now-familiar half-spools (or rotelles) at the lower end of the handle and coiled snakes at the top. The execution of the palmette is far more sophisticated than before, with each of the nine pointed leaves sculpted individually, an approach that will persist for the rest of the century. The shape of the vase and the style of the palmette suggest a slightly later date for this vessel than we might expect based on the simple decorative motifs alone. Stibbe has dated this hydria to the middle of the second quarter of the sixth century, at the very beginning of the series that he terms the ‘canonic [palmette] style’.⁵² The horizontal handles show a pair of horse protomes in profile at both ends, a motif not seen up to this point. These resemble a disassociated handle from Olympia, **Olympia 7490** (cat. 4.4).

Four additional side handles have a similar scheme but are crafted in a more three-dimensional, dynamic manner with a rounded grip, horses’ foreparts shown in three-quarter view and in high relief, and a palmette with eight rounded leaves in the now-expanded space in between. **Brussels R 1183 a,b** (cat. 4.5), **Malibu 1996.AC.107**

⁵² Stibbe 1997, 44.

(cat. 4.6), and **Once New York Market (Ward)** all have horses shown in this way. A fragmentary side handle in **Sibari** (cat. 4.8) is perhaps closer to the Trebenishte handle in form, with a less rounded grip and animals that are shown in profile in fairly low relief. Here, however, rams replace the horses. Animal protomes arranged in this way recall a number of Archaic bronze plates with winged horses at the ends of the handles, such as one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 1.14).⁵³

The vertical handle of **Oxford 1890.550** (cat. 4.9) omits the half-spools, leaving coiled snakes at the top and a flattened, schematic palmette at the lower end. The shape of the vase is early, with a wide neck and a broad shoulder that is flat on the upper surface. The combination of profile and ‘pre-canonical’ palmette situates the hydria at the very end of the seventh century or first quarter of the sixth century. The vertical handle is related typologically (but not stylistically) to **Delphi 6** (cat. 4.10), which is rounder, thicker, and heavier than the previous example, but shares the scheme of a pendant palmette below and snakes above. These two likely are contemporary, or nearly so.

A.2. Palmette and Lion’s Heads

Vertical handle **Munich Br 183** (cat. 4.11) is among the first to show a more complex animal form than an easily formed swan’s head or snake. At the upper end, two lion’s heads project outwards from the plane of the handle with flattened muzzles and incised facial features. It recalls the two transitional handles, **Olympia B 6969** (cat. 4.1) and **Sibari** (cat. 4.2), with a cast plate at the lower end of the vertical handle onto which a palmette was incised. Stibbe assigns this handle to the last quarter of the seventh century based on the early appearance of the incised palmette (strongly recalling the **Sibari**

⁵³ *New York 1986.322.2*: Milleker 1992, 39-40. Jantzen 1938/39, 140-55.

handle), but I would give it a slightly later date, taking into consideration the presence of the lions' heads at the top.⁵⁴ Although he rightly compares these abbreviated animals to the same element on **New York 1995.92** (cat. 5.11), I would argue that both **Munich Br 183** (cat. 4.11) and **New York 1995.92** (cat. 5.11) are slightly later than he suggests and that they follow from earlier developments, such as the rudimentary snake protome.⁵⁵

Naples 86527 (cat. 4.12) recalls the shape of **Lecce 2707** (cat. 4.3). They also share the motif of horse protomes shown in profile at the ends of the side handles. The vertical handle is similar, as well, only substituting lion's heads for the snakes at the top. The Naples handle eliminates the half-spools flanking the palmette at the lower end and instead gives a flared tip to the extended volutes. This feature recalls the snakes seen in the *Group 3* and among the hydriai of type B, here, but is not quite fully formed enough to be called a snake. This vase can be dated to the second quarter of the sixth century, conforming to Stibbe's 'overlapping style' characterized by a vertical handle with a pointed-leaf palmette that is not quite mature in terms of its shape and the number of leaves.

A fragmentary vertical handle, **Athens 6407** (cat. 4.13), combines the elements of the previous handles, showing lion's heads flanked by snakes at the upper end. Although the handle is broken above the diagnostic palmette, it has lion's heads at the upper end of the handle and the grip is given a series of incised lines, so it should not be far from **Naples 86527** (cat. 4.12) in date. The extant part of the grip is less curved than the Naples example. It also belongs placed in the first half of the sixth century, perhaps c. 575-550.

⁵⁴ Stibbe 1997, 38.

⁵⁵ Stibbe 1994, 86-93.

A.3. Palmettes and Recumbent Lions

In addition to these vessels with abbreviated animals, full representations of lions also appear. The different forms of lions cannot be used as a criterion for dating these early vessels, as they seem to have been interchangeable and perhaps left to the craftsman's discretion. Vertical handle **Olympia B 4340/ 4250** (cat. 4.14) recalls one of the previous examples, **Delphi 6** (cat. 4.10), with its overall thick, heavy appearance, a palmette made by dividing a rounded panel into long segments with a heart outlined in relief and broad volutes that extend outwards into flared tips. At the top of the handle, in place of the snakes, is a pair of reclining lions. The inclusion of animals in the round and the character of the palmette with its wide leaves with rounded tips and 'horned' extensions that Stibbe identifies as the precursor to the snakes that emerge from the volutes in a later configuration, has led W. Gauer to date this handle to c. 570, which seems reasonable.⁵⁶ A contemporary vertical handle, **Once New York Market (Christie's 2002)** (cat. 4.15), has a similar configuration but adds a second pair of lions at the bottom of the vertical handle.

A.4. Palmettes with Double Volutes and Recumbent Lions

The flared tips of the volutes noted on **Naples 86527** (cat. 4.12) and **Delphi 6** (cat. 4.10) seem to be transitional between the contained volutes of the more typical palmettes and three different types of more elaborate volutes. In the rarest version, mentioned above, snakes extend horizontally out of the spiraled volutes to form a platform for sculpted animals and figures (see *Group 12*). More frequently, the volutes unfurl into a horizontal projection that ends in a second set of tight coils. Here, the double volutes

⁵⁶ Stibbe 1997, 39; Gauer 1991, 259.

stand alone as an independent decorative motif, not used to support any other ornamental elements.

One other complete vessel, **Once New York Market (Phoenix Ancient Art 2006)** (cat. 4.18) and several additional handles are of this type. **Athens 7454** (cat. 4.16) has side handles with the same motif as the vertical one, with a palmette with two sets of volutes extending transversally. The palmette at the lower end of the vertical handle with nine flat, rounded leaves fits easily into Stibbe's scheme, dating to c. 560-550.⁵⁷ **Athens 7915** (cat. 4.17) shares the vertical handle scheme with **Athens 7454** (cat. 4.16). The side handles recall the simpler type from *Group 2*, with swan's heads and a palmette at either end, flanked by transverse rotelles with plain edges and outer faces. The shape of this vase, with its overhanging mouth with beads and tongues, tall neck, rounded shoulder, and ogive foot, and the character of its palmette confirm its a date near to the middle of the sixth century.

Other closely related vertical handles and fragments must all be of similar date and probably also come from the same center of manufacture. These include **Boston 99.461** (cat. 4.19), **Israel, Private Collection (Jerusalem, Borowski GR 174)** (cat. 4.20), **Munich 3447** (cat. 4.21), **Vienna 2907** (cat. 4.22), and **Sparta 1703** (cat. 4.23). The side handles of **Vienna 2907** (cat. 4.22) recall **Lecce 2707** (cat. 4.3) and **Naples 86527** (cat. 4.12) with pairs of horse protomes shown in profile at either end. Two stray lateral handles, **Griefswald** (cat. 4.24) and **Olympia B 819** (cat. 4.25), also have double volutes.

⁵⁷ Stibbe 1997, 40.

A fragmentary vertical handle, **Olympia Br 11764/ Br 13875** (cat. 4.26), follows the same pattern but is different in style. The palmette at the lower end of the handle is flattened, with shallowly incised leaves and two pairs of spiraled volutes. The grip itself also is similar but flatter, and with a column of small, flat beads up the center that may represent an abstracted body of a snake. It must be of similar date but perhaps was made separately from the others of the same type.

A.5. Palmettes, Lions, and Rams

Elsewhere, a second pair of animals, usually rams, appears at the lower end of the vertical handle, resting on the horizontal extensions of the palmette. This scheme—palmette and rams below, lions above—is seen on **Syracuse 26838** (cat. 4.27), which has an oval-shaped palmette with long, rounded leaves, and coiled volutes. This is perhaps the earliest of the type, dating to the beginning of the second quarter of the sixth century, c. 575.⁵⁸ Another early feature of this hydria is the side handles that recall the simple lateral handles with swan's heads and half-spools without a central palmette. **Munich 3860** (cat. 4.28) is perhaps the latest example of this type, with a 'canonical' palmette of nine pointed leaves and two pairs of volutes. It can be dated to the end of the third quarter of the sixth century because of its palmette and the thickened shape of the handle itself. This handle serves as an important bridge with other contemporary productions, particularly in *Group 6*, with palmettes and female protomes, such as the trio of vases from Paestum, and *Group 7*, with gorgoneia at the lower end of the vertical handles. A

⁵⁸ Although it does not appear in Stibbe's catalogue, this handle fits nicely within his fourth group of "palmettes with slightly rounded or pointed leaves and an uncanonical number of leaves." See Stibbe 1997, 41-42; Stibbe 1992, 15 n. 74, 16; Rolley 1982, 43.

fragmentary vertical handle, **Olympia 3402** (cat. 4.29), showing a ram and part of a palmette, is also of the same type.⁵⁹

Mariemont 201 (cat. 4.31), a single vertical handle, substitutes two lions attacking a ram in place of the pair of lions resting at the top. This handle, with its flat palmette with rounded tips and more than the usual number of leaves (here ten instead of the customary nine) is near to the Syracuse handle and may be dated to the earlier part of the second quarter of the sixth century. D. von Bothmer dismisses this handle as perhaps belonging to an oinochoe, but I follow Stibbe and Diehl in taking it as a hydria.⁶⁰ First, the profile of the handle is appropriate for a vessel of this shape, more so than an oinochoe, which has a shorter distance to span between the lip and the shoulder, or amphora, which would be curved more sharply at the upper end. Second, although it is slightly more elongated, the palmette itself is similar to **Syracuse 26838** (cat. 4.27) with its narrow, round-tipped leaves, the relief line around the heart, and the exaggeration of the coiled volutes. Third, the articulation of the narrow, flattened handle with rounded edges, with a pair of incised lines at either side and a column of two-dimensional, square beads up the center is canonical. Fourth, the rams at the lower end are also related, both formally and structurally, as they sit on small horizontal extensions from the palmette's volutes. The only major difference between this handle and its contemporaries is the reversal of the orientation of the lions at the upper end at the introduction of the upside-

⁵⁹ After Bothmer 1965, 600.

⁶⁰ Bothmer 1965, 600; Stibbe (1992, 16) also suggests that it belonged to a hydria.

down ram in the center, which Stibbe attributes to a distinctively different workshop tradition, which he prefers to locate in Athens because of the attacking poses.⁶¹

*B. Hydriai Shaped like Amphorae*⁶²

Shape and Decoration

The hydriai of Shape B resemble an amphora more than a traditional hydria, with thickened lips that are not offset from the neck, tall, narrow necks, curved, wide shoulders, and elongated bodies that slope sharply down to a flared foot.⁶³ The vertical handles take on an inverted L-shape. Stibbe explains the peculiar nature of this shape, which is not normal for a hydria or an amphora, as a sort of hybrid that has a close relationship with a particular type of Lakonian transport amphora that originated in the first quarter of the sixth century.⁶⁴ He suggests that perhaps it was the product of an imaginative craftsman who combined both native and foreign elements into an innovative variant of the more traditional hydria shape.

Two complete examples are preserved, **Paestum 49805** (cat. 4.33) and **Thessalonike OE 1556** (cat. 4.34). The Thessalonike hydria (cat. 4.34) has a more dramatically sloped shoulder than the less well-preserved vessel in Paestum and has a differently arranged palmette, with eleven leaves rather than nine. Three fragmentary vessels also belong, two from the Trebenishte graves, **Belgrade 199/1** (cat. 4.35) and **Belgrade 200/1** (cat. 4.36), and another from the same vicinity, **Belgrade 183/1** (cat. 4.37). **Belgrade 199/1** (cat. 4.35) follows the Paestum example, with a ‘canonical’

⁶¹ Stibbe 1992, 16.

⁶² Stibbe 1992, 47-49 (Group N).

⁶³ Stibbe 1992, 52. See also Pelagatti 1989, 13, figs. 47, 49, 51-57.

⁶⁴ Stibbe 1992, 52.

palmette of nine pointed leaves at the lower end of the vertical handle. The vertical handle of **Belgrade 200/1** (cat. 4.36) also ends in a palmette with nine leaves but this time the leaves are rounded. **Belgrade 183/1** (cat. 4.37) differs slightly by replacing the lion protomes at the upper terminal of the vertical handle with a pair of flattened volutes.

The side handles of **Paestum 49805** (cat. 4.33) and **Thessalonike OE 1556** (cat. 4.34) take with them four stray side-handles ending in open-palmed hands, **Belgrade 187** (cat. 4.38), **Delphi A**, **Delphi B** (cat. nos. 4.39-4.40), and **Athens 7158** (cat. 4.41). These probably also belong to vessels of Shape B.

In the case of one additional partially preserved vessel with a variant decorative motif beneath the vertical handle, **Sofia**, found in Grave III at Trebenishte, the rim and neck fragments might identify the vessel as an amphora were it not for the three associated handles that ensure that it was, in fact, a hydria of unusual shape. The handles are intermediary between Shapes A and B. The profile of the handle and the way it fits onto the narrow rim of the vase is comfortable with the other members of Shape B but the decorative motifs at the top and bottom of the vertical handle and at the end of the side handles are more traditional, as on the hydriai of shape *A*. At the bottom of the vertical handle, a horned gorgoneion with fangs appears (see below, *Group 7*). Instead of the volutes that unfurl into snakes, here the snakes emerge from the rounded forms of her ears. In this way, the ears substitute for the eyes of the volute, flanking the central element and affording an inconspicuous place to secure a rivet. The flattened side handles have at either end a pair of horse protomes shown in profile, facing away from each other. Each horse raises a single bent foreleg to suggest the rest of its body, as seen earlier on **Olympia B 7490** (cat. 4.4).

Dating and Comparanda

This group seems to be fairly tight, in chronological terms, produced in the first and second quarters of the sixth century. Perhaps the earliest is the fragmentary hydria, **Sofia**, from Trebenishte tomb III (cat. 7.15). Based on its own shape and decoration, along with the other finds in the same tomb, it has been dated to the first quarter of the sixth century.⁶⁵ The Paestum deposit has been dated to c. 530 based on the presence of a black-figured amphora attributed alternatively to either the Antimenes Painter or the Chiusi Painter but it is possible that the bronzes were made considerably earlier.⁶⁶ If we take, for instance, the palmette with nine pointed leaves at the lower end of the vertical handle on **Paestum 49805** (cat. 4.33), then according to Stibbe's palmette classification, we might consider a date of c. 560-550.⁶⁷ The larger of the two amphorai from the same shrine, Paestum 49806, has two similar vertical handles that identify the vase as contemporary with **Paestum 49805** (cat. 4.33). In both examples, the grips are round in cross-section, but on Paestum 49806, a series of horizontal rings in low relief at regular intervals create a twisted effect. The vertical handle also is unusual in joining the lip with a pair of volutes, rather than lion's heads (cf. **Belgrade 183/1**, cat. 4.37), and attaching at the shoulder with a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves and volutes from which snakes' heads emerge. One of the other Paestan hydriai, **Paestum 49801** (cat. 10.2), with an anthropomorphized vertical handle the form of a lion (see below, *Group 10*), also has the snake motif at the lower end but an earlier type of palmette with eleven rounded,

⁶⁵ Stibbe 2003, 71; Stibbe 2000, 72-77; Stibbe 1992, 48.

⁶⁶ *Paralipomena* 170.6; Neusch 1956, 389f. (Antimenes Painter); Bothmer 1965, 600 (Chiusi Painter). See Sestieri 1955, 63, figs. 23-24; Carratelli 1996, 697, no. 145 VII; Greco 1992, fig. 11.

⁶⁷ Stibbe 1997, 45.

convex leaves. Stibbe dates this vase to c. 575-565, which seems appropriate.⁶⁸ Based on its resemblance to both the side handles from Sofia (cat. 7.15) and **Paestum 49801** (cat. 10.2), side handle fragment **Olympia B 7490** (cat. 4.4) would not be out of place c. 575. The other side handles with animal protomes (**Brussels R 1183 a,b** [cat. 4.5], **Malibu 1996.AC.107** [cat. 4.6], and **Sibari** [cat. 4.8]) must be significantly later because of their more three-dimensional forms.

Based on the style of the palmette, we can assign **Belgrade 199/1** (cat. 4.35), **Belgrade 183/1** (cat. 4.37), and **Paestum 49806** to c. 560-550, contemporary with **Paestum 49805** (cat. 4.33).⁶⁹ **Thessalonike OE 1556** (cat.4.34) also belongs to this period, perhaps just slightly earlier than the previous vessels judging from the slightly less pointed leaves on its palmette.⁷⁰ **Belgrade 200/1** (cat. 4.36) should be even a little earlier still, with rounded leaves; Stibbe suggests 570-560.⁷¹ A bronze amphora from c. 560-550, discovered in a tomb in Macedonia (FYROM), from a grave in Beranci (Bevenaca), near Bitola (Figure 1.15) is a good comparison, with palmettes with nine rounded leaves and volutes that extend into snakes at the lower ends of both of its handles, as would its contemporary from Tomb II at Trebenishte.⁷² Since the side handles on **Paestum 49805** (cat. 4.33) and **Thessalonike OE 1556** (cat. 4.34) both have open-palmed hands at the ends, we can be fairly certain that **Belgrade 187** (cat. 4.38), **Delphi**

⁶⁸ Stibbe 1992, 29f.; Stibbe 1997, 40.

⁶⁹ Stibbe 1997, 46.

⁷⁰ Stibbe 1997, 55, cat. 55; Stibbe 1992, 52, 61, no. Nn3; Filow 1925, 57f. cat. 71, figs. 59-62.

⁷¹ Stibbe 1997, 40.

⁷² Stibbe and Vasić 2003, 95; Mitrevski 1997, 268, 281, cat. no. 4 Filow 1925, 57f. cat. 71, fig. 59.

A (cat. 4.39), **Delphi B** (cat. 4.40), and **Athens 7158** (cat. 4.41) also date to the second quarter of the sixth century.

Manufacture

Because the snake-palmettes do not appear very frequently on bronze hydriai, they are a good point of reference for considering issues of manufacture.⁷³ It is somewhat surprising that the motif is not shown more often because it seems much like the ubiquitous swan's heads beloved by Greek bronze craftsmen in that it is a small flourish of creativity that is not utilitarian but enhances the visual experience considerably. It is a popular motif across the spectrum of Greek bronze vessels, however, appearing on bronze amphorai, beaked oinochoai, situlai, and paterae, as well as a few ceramic vases with plastic decorations.⁷⁴ Several scholars have noted the pervasiveness of the scheme in the second half of the sixth century and the early part of the fifth century; D.K. Hill gives the most detailed assessment.⁷⁵ In light of new finds and continued scholarship in the last 40 years, it is worth revisiting the problem of where the motif originated.

Hill's corpus included six hydriai: **Pesaro 3314, 3316** (cat. 12.2), **Brussels R 1179** (cat. 11.2), **Paestum 49801** (cat. 10.2), **Paestum 49805** (cat. 4.33), **Belgrade 199/1** (cat. 4.35), and **Belgrade 183/1** (cat. 4.37). The first two of these (her sub-type I.A), differ from the vases we are concerned with here in the function of the snakes. On **Pesaro 3314, 3316** (cat. 12.2) and **Brussels R 1179** (cat. 11.2), the snakes serve as supporting platforms for animals and figures. The body of **Paestum 49801** (cat. 10.2) is of Shape A

⁷³ See **Brussels R 1179** (cat. 11.2), **Pesaro 3314, 3316** (cat. 12.2), **Paestum 49801** (cat. 10.2), as well as the side handles of **Paris 4643** (cat. 15.22).

⁷⁴ Hill 1967, 39-47.

⁷⁵ See Neugebauer 1923 369 n. 2; Jacobsthal and Langsdorff 1929, 45f.; Kunze and Schleif 1941, 21f; Brown 1960, 127f.; Hill 1962, 60 n. 11; Hill 1967, 39-47; Stibbe 1997. 44-45, type V.C.

but the form and function of the palmette and the character of the side handles is similar to the others, **Paestum 49805** (cat. 4.33), **Belgrade 199/1** (cat. 4.35), and **Belgrade 183/1** (cat. 4.37). To Hill's list we now may add **Thessalonike ΘE 1556** (cat. 4.34) and **Belgrade 200/1** (cat. 4.36), as well as the side handles ending in hands, **Athens 7158** (cat. 4.41), **Belgrade 187** (cat. 4.38), **Delphi A and B** (cat. nos. 4.39-4.40), and at least also the most conservative of the side handle with horses shown in profile, **Olympia B 7490** (cat. 4.4).⁷⁶ A few amphorai should be included in the discussion because their vertical handles are identical to the hydriai of Shape B: Bevenaca, Sofia (from Trebenishte, tomb II), and Paestum 49806 (Figure 1.15-1.18).⁷⁷

The second distinctive motif is the open-palmed hands that appear at the ends of the side handles on **Belgrade 199/1** (cat. 4.35), **Paestum 49805** (cat. 4.33), **Thessalonike ΘE 1556** (cat. 4.34), **Athens 7158** (cat. 4.41), **Belgrade 187** (cat. 4.38), and **Delphi A and B** (cat. nos. 4.39-4.40). They are similar enough to propose that the vessels were made in the same center of manufacture, although hands on vessels are not altogether unusual.⁷⁸ They often appear open-palmed, as in the examples above, but may sometimes take as closed fists (as the smaller of the two bronze amphorai from the Paestum deposit, Paestum 49807, Figures 1.19-1.20) or as gripping fingers (as on a volute-krater handle from Didyma, Berlin M 149b, Figure 1.21). Aside from hydriai, hands appear on stamnoi, volute kraters, oinochoai, and amphorai, among others. They also appear on

⁷⁶ Hill (1967, 41) catalogued **Belgrade 200/1** (cat. 4.36) as an amphora but has been re-identified as a hydria by Rolley (1982, 83) and Stibbe (1992, 60).

⁷⁷ **Paestum**, see Hill 1967, 41. For the amphora from Beranci, see Stibbe and Vasić 2003, 95, 106, fig. 65.

⁷⁸ Mertens 1990, 95-99.

utensils; J. Mertens points to a strainer and a set of fire-rakes, in particular.⁷⁹ Mertens proposes that the hands either are instructional (“lift here”) or are mimetic, becoming a “metaphorical arm” for the vessel.⁸⁰ This conceit is in keeping with a general tendency of the Greeks to discuss vases in anthropomorphic terms.

Geographic Distribution and Circulation (Appendix IA, 1.4)

Hill rightly asserts that we can consider the vessels from Paestum and Trebenishte to have come from the same workshop.⁸¹ To these, we may now add the ones from Thermi and from Delphi. She proposes that at least the first products of this type might have come from Italy.⁸² She also acknowledges, however, the equal validity of Picard’s hypothesis that the type originated in Sparta, where it was picked up by Corinth and from there, disseminated through Corinthian networks in Corfu, Apollonia, and Trebenishte.⁸³ C. Stibbe points to Sparta as the specific Greek locale.⁸⁴ C.P. Sestieri, the excavator of the Paestum shrine, favors a local Paestan workshop. Diehl prefers a Greek or perhaps a Greek colonial workshop in Magna Graecia.⁸⁵ Given the findspots of the vessels in Southern Italy and in Trebenishte, we might propose a colonial workshop with close trading connections along the Adriatic, although the more recent find from Thermi, near Thessalonike, might complicate the picture somewhat. A vessel of this type made in

⁷⁹ Mertens 1990, 97; Haynes 1985, no. 106; Fischer 1963, 28-34.

⁸⁰ Mertens 1990, 96.

⁸¹ Hill 1967, 42.

⁸² Hill 1967, 46. Picard 1960, 419.

⁸³ Picard 1960, 422-424.

⁸⁴ Hill 1967, 41; Stibbe 1992, 48-52.

⁸⁵ Sestieri 1955; Diehl 1964, 17; Hill 1967, 41.

Magna Grecia finding its way to Delphi is not a surprising, given the international appeal of the Panhellenic sanctuary and the important oracle in that location.

B. Shefton, in commenting on the more general phenomenon of transporting vessels and luxury objects throughout the ancient world and not on these specific vases, notes a trend that began in the middle of the sixth century that routed goods by sea up the Adriatic and to the east through the Balkans rather than through the northern parts of the Italian peninsula and into central Europe.⁸⁶ Although Shefton was speaking of Greek, specifically Peloponnesian goods, I see no reason why we might not be able to observe the same pattern of travel if the shipment originated in southern Italy rather than southern Greece. We might also wonder whether the vessels of this special shape might have been made for a specific function, although today its significance has been lost.

Group 5: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Female Protomes and Animals

Nearly as ubiquitous as the palmette and animals, the female protome was another favorite decorative motif, appearing first with this group of at least twelve vessels and later in various positions on the vase until at least the middle of the fifth century.⁸⁷ At first, the protome takes over the position of the palmette at the lower end of the handle. In nearly every case, the figure was given a polos. In an alternative version of the motif (*Group 6*), craftsmen omitted the woman's headdress and combined the two motifs of the female protome and the palmette, which at first resulted in a severely awkward transition between the two competing elements but eventually develops into a beautifully

⁸⁶ Shefton 2001, 24.

⁸⁷ See Neugebauer 1938; Kunze 1938; Robinson 1942, 173-174; Hafner 1957, 119-26; Rolley 1982, 31-47; Herfort-Koch 1986, 13-19; Gauer 1991, 99-100; Stibbe 1992, 11-13 (Group C); Stibbe 1996, 357-383; Shefton 2000, 22, no. 31; Stibbe 2004 (65-114). In his 2004 essay, Stibbe carves out the members of this and the following group differently than presented here.

harmonized motif of a woman emerging from a palmette below. The women that enter the decorative repertoire at this point mark the beginning of a new era of ornamentation with much more complex iconography.⁸⁸ Prior to the introduction of the female protome on these hydriai, the only other human figures incorporated into the compositions were the two unusual heads at the top of the vertical handle on the vessel from Artand (cat. 3.1), from the late seventh century.

The simplest configuration is the female protome flanked by half-spools (either one or two pairs) below with coiled snakes at the upper end, which is found on one complete vessel, **Syracuse** (cat. 5.1), at least two fragmentary hydriai, including **Mainz 201** (cat. 5.3), which is inscribed ΤΕΛΕΣΣΤΑΣ (On the inscription, see below, *Chapter 6, Appendix II*), and **Capua 264130** (cat. 5.6), and several loose vertical handles, **Atena Lucana** (cat. 5.2), **Olympia B 175** (cat. 5.4), and **University of Missouri-Columbia 87.1** (cat. 5.5). Another vertical handle, **German Private Collection** (cat. 5.7) has a similar scheme but the long braids seem more two-dimensional, the face is rounder and perhaps also is less subtly modeled. The heads on three handles from Epiros, **Berlin, Pergamon Museum 10389** (cat. 5.8), also seem a little more two-dimensional, especially in the flattened, hatched braids. Here, not only does the vertical handle have a female protome with an elongated face wearing a distinctive disk-shaped polos; the side handles show the same motif. A handle in the Louvre, **Paris Br 2645** (cat. 5.9), is of the same type but is slightly more elaborate than the others. The female protome on a very fragmentary handle from a **Dutch Private Collection** (cat. 5.10), has an exceptionally tall polos.

⁸⁸ Stibbe 2005, 26.

At least three handles exchange the snakes at the upper end of the handle for lion's heads in relief, as seen in the previous group of hydriai with palmettes and lions' heads. The best preserved is a complete hydria in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, **New York 1995.92** (cat. 5.11). **Athens 16450** (cat. 5.13) certainly follows, as does a nearly complete vessel, **Nîmes** (cat. 5.12) that substitutes the lion's heads with fully formed lions.

A vertical handle from Olympia (**Olympia B 1190**, cat. 15.8) has a female protome without a palmette at the bottom of the handle like the others in this group but lacks the characteristic headdress. At the upper end, a lion overlooks the mouth of the vessel, as on **Paestum 49802** (cat. 15.1) and others among the earlier vessels of *Group 15* (*Chapter 2*). This motif is unusual in this period, but had appeared earlier with some frequency in the form of winged figures and animal protomes looking in over the rims of Orientalizing cauldrons and becomes more common later, in combination with a siren at the opposite end of the handle.⁸⁹ Few horizontal handles survive in this group, but **New York 1995.92** (cat. 5.11), **Nîmes** (cat. 5.12), and **Atena Lucana** (cat. 5.2) have swan-head terminals of the earlier, plainer type (as cat. nos. 2.6-2.10, above) and half-spools extending laterally.

Telesstas, Manufacture

The fragmentary hydria from Lebadeia (Boiotia), **Mainz 201** (cat. 5.3) is possibly the earliest bronze hydria with an inscription. ΤΕΛΕΣΣΤΑΣ, written in a Lakonian alphabet, is engraved onto the rim of the vase.⁹⁰ It seems to be contemporary with the

⁸⁹ Hermann 1966, pls. 1-46.

⁹⁰ Jeffery 1990, 183, 186, 187-189. Hammond 1995-96, 52 n. 9.

manufacture of the vase because of the early date of the letterforms. Furthermore, the careful incision and spacing of the letters do not suggest a post-production graffito. The inscription prompts many questions, not least of which is the obvious problem of the identity of Telesstas. It has long been suggested that Telesstas was either the owner or maker of this vessel.⁹¹ The same name Telestas, with a variant spelling that includes only one sigma, is known from a passage in Pausanias. In his visit to the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, the traveler describes an over-life size sculpture of Zeus at Olympia that had an inscribed pedestal boasting

Κλειτόριοι τόδ' ἄγαλμα θεῶν δεκάταν ἀνέθηκαν,
πολλᾶν ἐκ πολίων χερσὶ βιασσάμενοι.
Καιμετρεῖτ' Ἀρίστων ἠδὲ Τελέστας
αὐτοκασίγνητοι καλὰ Λάκωνες ἔθεν⁹²

The Kleitorians dedicated this image to the god,
a tithe from many cities that they had reduced by force.
The sculptors were Aristo and Telestas,
own brothers and Lakonians.

He goes on to comment on the status of the sculptors, saying

Τούτους οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐπιφανεῖς νομίζω γενέσθαι· εἶχον γὰρ ἂν
τέ καὶ Ἡλεῖοι περὶ αὐτῶν λέγειν, καὶ πλέονα ἔτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολιτῶν γε
ὄντων.⁹³

I do not think that these Lakonians were famous all over Greece, for had they
been so the Eleans would have had something to say about them, and their
Lakedaimonians more still, seeing that they were their fellow-citizens.

⁹¹ Stibbe 2004 n. 6: “Neugebauer (1938, 330-31) was the first who thought it was the maker’s name. After him, Hafner 1957, 119f., and others were of the same opinion. Griefenhagen (1960, 78), maintains that the artist could also be the dedicator. Jeffery (1990, 189-90), says : “But it may be doubted if that Telestas would sign a single small bronze hydria or, if he did, would omit the significant verb. It is safer to infer only that this is the owner’s name, cut by the bronze-worker either to safeguard his property, or he was going to dedicate it.”

⁹² Pausanias 5.23.7. Trans. Jones and Ormerod 1964, 522-523.

⁹³ Pausanias 5.23.7. Trans. Jones and Ormerod 1964, 522-523.

Whether our Telesstas and Pausanias' Telestas are one and the same is a matter of conjecture but it is not a name that is widely attested outside of Sparta. Since names tend to recur in family groups, it is a reasonable possibility. C.M. Stibbe has proposed that if we accept Ariston and Telestas as heads of an early sixth-century Lakonian bronze workshop and also that this hydria was produced in that workshop, then we might identify Telestas as the craftsmen who made this vase, based on its exceptionally high quality.⁹⁴ He points to details of the subtly modeled face and eyes as marks of a master bronze-worker, distinguishing it from a generically sculpted head in the Daedalic style. With the exception of the Olympia handle with the lion at the top (cat. 15.8), all of these handles are so similar that it seems reasonable to suggest that they came from the same place of production and were made in awareness of one another, though not necessarily by the same hand. Given details of style and also of the alphabetic system used for the inscription, Sparta may well have been the location of that workshop.

Dating and Chronology

A date for the Telesstas hydria may be determined partly through an investigation of the alphabetic system used for the inscription. According to Jeffery, the five-bar sigma that is used three times in this inscription is not uncommon in the first half of the sixth century.⁹⁵ **Atena Lucana** (cat. 5.2) has been dated to c. 600 by Johannowsky by comparison with the **Capua** hydria (cat. 5.6) that was discovered in a burial context that also contained diagnostic late Early Corinthian pottery.⁹⁶ Johannowsky has dated the

⁹⁴ Stibbe 2004, 3.

⁹⁵ Jeffery 1990, 183, 186, 187-89; Hammond 1995-96, 52 n. 9.

⁹⁶ Stibbe 2004, 4 n. 15; Stibbe 2000, 6-10, fig. 2, pls. 1.5-6, 2.1-3 Johannowsky 1980, 450.

Capua hydria (cat. 5.6) to 600-590 and saw the Atena Lucana vase as slightly older, c. 600. Stibbe argued that **Olympia B 175** (cat. 5.4) is dependent on the innovations seen in the Telesstas hydria, which must be first head of this type, but that there is no reason to think it is much later than it. Kunze has assigned it a date of 580-70.⁹⁷ He placed the hydria from Gela (**Syracuse**, cat. 5.1) next, based on the similarity of the face of the female protome to the Olympia handle, the low start of the braids and the sternness of the unsmiling mouth.⁹⁸ The handles from Epirus (**Berlin, Pergamon Museum 10389** (cat. 5.8) likely postdates the hydria in Syracuse slightly. The fragmentary handle in **Missouri** (cat. 5.5) follows. The handle from the **German private collection** (cat. 5.7) should be the latest of the type because of the treatment of the vertical handle with beads up the center. This detail finds a parallel in the hydriai with a female protome and a palmette, with a date of c. 580-70 (*Group 6*). In the end, then, this group finds a home in the first quarter, or perhaps first three decades, of the sixth century.

Geographic Distribution and Manufacture (Appendix 1A, 1.5)

Given the relatively large proportion of vessels of this type without secure provenances, it is difficult to locate a center of manufacture based on archaeological findspots. On the one hand, the three western sites, Capua, Atena Lucana, and Gela, become more significant when taken together with the heavily Italian contexts of the following group that are closely related in type and in style. On the other, the evidence of the name Telesstas and its Spartan connections lends strength to a Lakonian origin.

⁹⁷ Kunze 1937, 122-123. Gauer 1991, 99. Hafner, in fact, suggested that this handle was made by Telesstas himself as he passed through Olympia to make his bronze sculpture that was later noticed by an impressed Pausanias. Hafner 1957, 126; Stibbe 2004, 4, 6 n. 24.

⁹⁸ Stibbe 2004, 6. He rejects a late date based on the sharp curve of the shoulder because of the heavy restoration necessary in that part of the vase.

However, even if Pausanias' Telestas and the Telesstas recorded on the hydria rim in Mainz were one and the same, he certainly could have traveled to Magna Graecia, perhaps to Taranto, at some point during his career or have had a close trading connection with the colonies.

Group 6: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Female Protomes and Palmettes

Shape, Decoration, and Style

At least sixteen bronze hydriai combine two favored motifs at the bottom of the vertical handles, the female protome and the pendant palmette.⁹⁹ In this case, the figure usually is bare-headed, lacking the polos of the previous vessels. Half-spools and/or rotelles usually are included below and animals appear at the upper end. Unlike the protomes in the Telestas group, the women's heads in this group tend to begin above the palmette and often are sculpted in relief onto the lower part of the handle itself. As above, these vessels and handles can be sub-divided according to the additional decorative elements combined with the female protome.

The core of the group is comprised of the so-called 'Paestum/ Sala Consilina' series, named for the three hydriai of this kind from the underground shrine at Paestum (**Paestum 49800, 49803, 49804**) (cat. nos. 6.1-6.3) and their counterpart from Sala Consilina (**Paris, Petit Palais**) (cat. 6.4). Two other complete vessels, **Athens 15137** (cat. 6.5) and **New York 67.11.7** (cat. 6.6), along with vertical handles **Heidelberg F 162** (cat. 6.7), **Oxford 1965.288** (cat. 6.8), and the badly corroded **Olympia B 5262** (cat. 6.9) certainly are closely related. For the first time, a real shift in the shape of the vessel itself is noticeable. The neck is more elongated than before and has a slight concave curve. The

⁹⁹ Stibbe 1992, 14-20, Groups D, E, and F. Stibbe 2004, 8-19.

shoulder is less flattened and curves downward more subtly. The body no longer sags at the center but instead tapers downwards gracefully to a decorated, flared foot.

The female protomes on these exceptionally fine handles are obviously related to those discussed above in *Group 5* but are distinct from them in several ways. First, as Stibbe notes, they appear to have been sculpted more deftly.¹⁰⁰ There is an overall pervasiveness of balance in all of the shapes and features of the female form. Specifically, we can point to the diverging braids that hang over the woman's shoulder that give a lighter, slimmer appearance than the full daedalic tresses surrounding the earlier women's faces.

Another complete vessel, **Hamburg** (cat. 6.10), is closely related to the Paestum/Sala Consilina group but has a variant form of both the female protome and the palmette below.¹⁰¹ Noting the hybrid nature of this hydria, Stibbe calls this handle the "center of several convergent lines of development."¹⁰² He also points to the irregularity of the shape of the body, remarking that the "[exceptional shape] betrays the influence of the hydriai of amphora shape, closely linked with amphorae."¹⁰³ He concludes persuasively that this hydria may be credited to a craftsman more familiar with another shape.

One other handle, **Paris Br 2646** (cat. 6.11), is related typologically but has some unusual features. First, the palmette is cast as a solid panel onto which rounded leaves with double incised outlines are lightly engraved. Second, the female protome is shown

¹⁰⁰ Stibbe 2004, 15-17.

¹⁰¹ Here, the palmette is made of eleven rounded, ribbed leaves beneath a rounded heart and widely spaced volutes. The female protome lacks the torso and is closer to the head-and-neck versions of the type seen in the previous groups.

¹⁰² Stibbe 1992, 16; Stibbe 2004, 19.

¹⁰³ Stibbe 2004, 17.

from the neck up, as in the previous group, and she does not wear a head covering. The two pairs of animals are reversed in this case, with the lions with curled tails flanking the woman and the rams at the upper end.

At least three additional handles present variations on the same motif. The simplest, **Oxford 1891.411** (cat. 6.13), has a palmette at the lower end of the vertical handle, made of a semi-circular plaque divided with deeply chased lines into leaves set beneath a female protome. A second handle of unusual style appears on a vase in an **American private collection** (cat. 6.14). The female protome has a short polos and a choker-style necklace high on her neck. The necklace takes the form of a hatched chain or ribbon fitted around the neck and a pendant ivy leaf at her throat. The figure sits paratactically atop the semi-circular palmette. A third atypical handle, **Jerusalem 91.71.315** (cat. 6.15), is square in section and hollow in the center.¹⁰⁴ At the lower end, a semi-circular palmette with eleven flat leaves and no volutes extends upwards into two horse protomes seen in profile, leaning slightly forward out of the horizontal plane. A female protome with a long neck and tall polos extends upwards from the horses well onto the vertical grip, covering at least half of it. She wears a necklace with a heart-shaped pendant not unlike that of the **Bern** hydria from Grächwil (cat. 12.1). At the top of the handle, two reclining lions face around the rim of the vessel rather than outwards, as normal.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Hoffmann 1964, 186-88.

¹⁰⁵ There are only a very few examples of handles belonging to hydriai where the animals at the upper end do not face outwards. An inward-facing animal usually signals an oinochoe handle, rather than a hydria. Here, the animals face in the same direction that their bodies are oriented, which happens occasionally on confirmed hydriai.

Dating and Chronology

These hydriai may be dated on the basis of the character of the palmette and by comparison with the female protomes of *Group 5*. It seems that the vessels of *Groups 5* and *6* may have begun nearly contemporaneously with one another as separate but related experiments with a female protome at the lower end of the vertical handle. The vessels of *Group 6* that included the palmette were ultimately more successful and had a longer legacy.

Oxford 1890.411 (cat. 6.13), **American private collection** (cat. 6.14), **Berlin 30880** (cat. 6.12), and **Jerusalem 91.71.315** (cat. 6.15) seem to be early experiments.¹⁰⁶ As C.M. Stibbe rightly notes, these vessels that precede the canonical members of the type are not related to one another by any particular formal characteristics other than an overarching creative spirit.

According to Stibbe's scheme, the semi-circular palmette on **Oxford 1890.411** (cat. 6.13) should date to the very end of the seventh century. The shape and design of the handle recall **Munich Br 183** (cat. 4.11) very strongly, which was dated to the last quarter of the seventh century. The protome is also somewhat transitional, with the inclusion of a short, disk-shaped polos and three articulated braids that are somewhere in between the Daedalic triangle and the two divergent strands. In this and other early examples, it seems as though the craftsmen were experimenting with different ways of combining the two decorative motifs, with the result that the handle ends in a palmette placed paratactically below a female protome that resembles those in the previous group. The protome itself usually takes up a significant portion of the handle, definitely more so

¹⁰⁶ Stibbe 2004, 12.

than in later examples where it is confined to the lower end. By the more mature phase of this group, the transition becomes seamless.

The vase in the **American private collection** (cat. 6.14) presents a similar situation. The woman, in this case, is shown in a full bust form, including her breasts. The shape of the semi-circular palmette indicates a date at the end of the seventh or very beginning of the sixth century. The thin grip with patterns in registers at the top recalls **New York 1995.92** (cat. 5.11). The unusual protomes bring to mind **Budapest** (cat. 3.1), here taking the form of rams rather than human heads.

Vertical handle **Paris 2646** (cat. 6.11) has an unusual combination of both old and new elements, with the incised palmette at the lower end, the four thick, hatched braids falling over the shoulders of the woman at the end of the handle and fully formed lions and rams. Stibbe dates this experiment to the end of the seventh century, but I propose a slightly later date), c. 575, that takes into account the first appearance of four animals sculpted in the round on a handle, which we saw in **Syracuse 26838** (cat. 4.27).

Berlin 30880 (cat. 6.12) and **Hamburg** (cat. 6.10) must also be fairly early in the series of vases with this motif. The earliest feature of both these handles is the palmette, particularly on **Berlin 30880** (cat. 6.12), with its elongated heart, short, round-tipped leaves, and large volutes. The later features are the lions at the top, the concave tongues at the upper end, and the column of beads along the spine of the grip. Other than the palmette and the paratactic relationship between the palmette and the protome above, the handle is closely related to the other members of the group. Stibbe dates this handle to the period between 590 and 570; I would agree with a date in the later part of that range.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Stibbe 1997, 39.

The hydria in **Hamburg** (cat. 6.10) must be roughly contemporary with **Berlin 30880** (cat. 6.12) or perhaps a few years later. Here, the more advanced features include the palmette and the polos decorated with long tongues atop the head the female protome. The transition from palmette to protome is more successful here, however, and the half-spools have been replaced with two pairs of animals sculpted in the round. A date c. 575 is appropriate.

The core members of this series may be dated generally between 575 and 550 based on the shape of the body and the character of the handles.¹⁰⁸ The female protomes tend to have two long, diverging braids, a characteristic that appears in the second quarter of the sixth century. The palmettes all have nine pointed, ribbed leaves and broad, flattened volutes. The transition from palmette to protome is seamless and the woman leans her oval-shaped head slightly forward, avoiding the strictly frontal, Daedalic appearance of the previous group and the older examples of the same type. The feet are flared with outlined tongue patterns. The lips are given beads and angled tongues in relief. The side handles are of the more advanced swan's head type with palmettes between the decorated transverse rotelles.

New York 67.11.7 (cat. 6.6) may be the first of the core vessels of this type, with a nine-pointed leaf palmette with a pointed heart and volutes, a female protome that emerges easily the palmette below, and two undecorated half-spools to either side. These are at the center of Stibbe's 'mature' palmette style, which places gives it a date in the middle of the sixth century c. 550.

¹⁰⁸ Stibbe 2004, 17.

The three vases from Paestum (**Paestum 49800, 49803, 49804**, cat. nos. 6.1-6.3) and their sister in Paris, from **Sala Consilina** (cat. 6.4) are the apogee of this group and are the central members of Stibbe's 'Gitiadas' vessels (see below, pp. 75-76) They are almost identical to **New York 67.11.7** (cat. 6.6) with the minor elaboration of replacing the half-spools with a second pair of animals, rams, at the lower end. These five vases should date to the middle of the century as well. Damaged vertical handle **Olympia B 5262** (cat. 6.9) must also be contemporary.

Heidelberg F 162a (cat. 6.7) must not be very far behind them. Stibbe rightly assigns this vase to just after the Paestum vases, perhaps c. 545, because it is a near exact replica of the Paestum handles except that the lion's paws are crossed. He cites parallels for this detail on Lakonian oinochoai that date to 565-555 and 555-550.¹⁰⁹ Fragmentary vertical handle **Olympia B 5290** (cat. 6.16), which omits the lower set of animals in favor of half-spools, should be of approximately the same date.

Geographic Distribution and Manufacture (Appendix A1, 1.6)

At least eight of these hydriai (three from **Paestum** (cat. nos. 6.1-6.3), **Sala Consilina** (cat. 6.4), **Athens 15137** (cat. 6.5), **Heidelberg F 162** (cat. 6.7), **Oxford 1965.288** (cat. 6.8), **Olympia B 5262**, (cat. 6.9) must come from the same workshop, based on similarities of shape and details of the palmette and the female protomes. I would venture to add **New York 67.11.7** (cat. 6.6) as an immediate precursor, if not a full-fledged member of the group, despite its substitution of half-spools for the second pair of animals seen in the other examples.

¹⁰⁹ Stibbe 2004, 18.

Although Stibbe calls these (the Paestum hydriai, in particular) the apogee of *Lakonian* bronze hydriai, if we look carefully at the findspots for the vases of this type with good contexts, six were found in Southern Italy (**Berlin 30880** [cat. 6.12], **Paestum 49800**, **49803**, and **49804** [cat. nos. 6.1-6.3], **Paris, Petit Palais** [cat. 6.4], and **Jerusalem 91.71.315** [cat. 6.15]), two come from Sicily (**Oxford 1890.411** [cat. 6.13] and **New York 67.11.7** [cat. 6.6]), three are from Olympia (**Olympia B 5290** [cat. 6.16], **Olympia B 5262** [cat. 6.9], and **Oxford 1965.288** [cat. 6.8]) which has proven itself to be a marketplace for international products.¹¹⁰ Only one, **Athens 15137** (cat. 6.5), has a secure findspot in mainland Greece outside of Olympia, in Eretria. I see no reason, other than stylistic details pointed out by Stibbe, that could have been known and appropriated in colonial workshops, to assign this group to mainland Greece, much less Lakonia. I propose that these vases were produced in Southern Italy, perhaps in a colonial workshop. We might be tempted tentatively to place this location in Taranto, a colony of Sparta. Furthermore, the experimental, decorative character of this series is compatible with the exuberant spirit seen in other western products (see *Groups 11* and *12*, below).

On the model of Telestas, whom he identifies as the master craftsman responsible for the vases assembled in *Group 5*, Stibbe terms the mature members of this type “Gitiadas hydriai” after another famous sixth-century bronzeworker from Lakonia who is sometimes credited with making the extraordinary bronze volute krater from Vix, now in Chatillôn-sur-Seine (Figure 1.22).¹¹¹ Pausanias describes some of the work of the famous Gitiadas in his visit to Sparta,

¹¹⁰ Stibbe 2004, 18.

¹¹¹ Stibbe 2004, 15-19. Also see Stibbe 2000b, 65-114 and Gaunt 2002, 347-349.

...The Lakedaimonians made of bronze both the temple [of Athena Chalkioikos] and the image of Athena. The builder was Gitiadas, a native of Sparta, who composed Dorian lyrics, including a hymn to the goddess. On the bronze are wrought in relief many of the labors of Herakles and many of the voluntary exploits he successfully carried out, besides the rape of the daughters of Leukippos and other achievements of the sons of Tyndareus. There is also Hephaestus releasing his mother from the fetters... There are also wrought the birth of Athena, Amphitrite, and Poseidon, the largest figures, and those which I thought the best worth seeing.¹¹²

In Amyklai, he also saw two tripods with images of Aphrodite and Artemis, which he attributed to the same artist.¹¹³

Stibbe's reasoning, then, is that the hydria inscribed with the name Telesstas came from the Lakonian workshop of a man by the name of Telestas and that all of the members of that typological group should be assigned to that same production center. The next Lakonian master, Gitiadas, following about a generation later, improves upon Telestas' model and creates the series of hydriai to which the Paestan finds belong. Although his logic may be sound and Sparta may well be the birthplace of these hydriai, it perhaps would be more prudent not to assign a name to the master of these vessels, given the high degree of speculation required to identify him as "Gitiadas."

¹¹² Pausanias 3.17.2-3. Trans. Jones and Ormerod 1977, 102-105.

¹¹³ Pausanias 3.18.8. Trans. Jones and Ormerod 1977, 112-113.

Group 7: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Gorgoneia

Shape, Decoration, and Style

Here, a different sort of woman is introduced at the lower end of the vertical handle, replacing the palmette: Medusa, represented by a round-faced gorgoneion.¹¹⁴

Baltimore 1954.1269-71 (cat. 7.1) can serve as the exemplar. The shape is much broader than has been seen up to this point, with wide, straight neck, and sharply carinated shoulder. The vertical handle follows the canonical scheme of a pair of recumbent lions at the top; at the bottom, it shows a broad-faced gorgoneion flanked by reclining rams. On the upper surface of the mouth, the vase is inscribed “IEPA ΔAMATPI E...OAKA MMMM” (For the inscription, see *Chapter 6, Appendix II*).

The Baltimore vase lacks its side handles, but **Elis** (cat. 7.2) preserves them. **Elis** (cat. 7.2) seems to differ from **Baltimore 1954.1269-71** (cat. 7.1) only in its foot, which is undecorated and ogive in profile. A nearly complete hydria in the Louvre, **Paris Br 4466-4469** (cat. 7.3), shares the same scheme. A set of handles and a plain ogive foot, **Vienna 3022** (cat. 7.4), also belongs; the major difference in this vertical handle is that the palmette at the upper end of the grip is upright, rather than pendant, and surmounts an undecorated band that takes a crescent shape, swinging from the top corners of the grip and drooping down in the center to make room for the palmette.

Several vertical handles may be associated with these hydriai, including **Arta** (cat. 7.5), **Berlin 10821 a-c** (cat. 7.6), **Boston 1899.462** (cat. 7.7), **Boston 1901.7474** (cat. 7.8), and **Lyons E 413** (cat. 7.9). **Munich 3430** (cat. 7.10) and **United States Private Collection** (cat. 7.11) differ in lacking the palmette at the top of the grip. Two

¹¹⁴ Politis 1936 161 IV 1-6; Vallet and Villard 1955, 59-60; Diehl 1964, 15-17; Stibbe 1992, 38-42 (Group I)

fragmentary vertical handles must also belong. **Munich 3672** (cat. 7.12) preserves only its gorgoneion, which is of the same type as those found at the lower end of the vertical handles described above.

A handle in **Sofia** (cat. 7.15), from Trebenishte Tomb III, is different, and perhaps slightly older (discussed briefly above, *Group 4*). It also belongs on a hydria of the ‘amphora’ shape (*Group 4, Shape B*) and features a horned, fanged gorgoneion with snakes extending upwards from her head on either side of the grip. The side-handles are similar to **Vienna 2907** (cat. 4.22), ending in a pair of horses seen in profile with one foreleg raised.

A few handles with a gorgoneion at the lower end are closely related to other types of Archaic hydriai. An early, fragmentary vertical handle, **Harvard 1962.178** (cat. 7.16), combines a horned, fanged gorgoneion below a female protome. A handle from a private collection in Jerusalem, **Borowski GR 150 H** (cat. 14.23), appears to fit neatly into this group, with a gorgoneion of the normal type flanked by a pair of rams at the lower end. It differs markedly, however, in the shape of the handle, which is of an Early Classical type, and the addition of a female protome facing in the opposite direction at the top.

A miniature hydria once on the **Paris Art Market** (cat. 14.22) is related to the other members of the group with a few important differences. First, the gorgon lacks the long braids framing her face. Her mouth is smiling but her lips remain closed. It is similar to the Borowski handle, with a snake-body on the back of the grip and a female protome whose hands transform into beaded rotelles at the outer edges. The foot is flared and decorated with a pattern of alternating relief and impressed tongues, as seen earlier on the

Baltimore hydria (cat. 7.1). The side handles, however, have thick, ribbed grips and end in elongated plaques with incised rosettes, a type that will become more familiar in the Early Classical period. The body of the vase is highly unusual, with long tongues outlined in low relief on the shoulder and below the lateral handles, interrupted only by a band bordered with relief lines and decorated with a guilloche pattern around the belly of the vase. Similar patterns are seen only on a very few other bronze hydriai hydriai, primarily from the first half of the fifth century, as well as on numerous bronze oinochoai and amphorai.¹¹⁵

The lower end of the vertical handle associates **Belgrade 648/1** (cat. 9.9) with the members of this gorgoneion group. The grip, however, takes the form of a kouros leaning backwards to grasp the tails of two lions that sit on the rim of the vase. His feet, flanked by reclining rams, rest on a gorgoneion similar to **Baltimore 1954.1269-71** (cat. 7.1) *et al.* A fragmentary vertical handle in Athens, **Agora 21** (cat. 9.10), presents a similar variation from the canonical type, showing a nude youth balanced on a gorgoneion.

The vertical handle of a complete vessel, **Thessalonike Py 601** (cat. 10.1), also has a gorgoneion, this time between seated lions, at the bottom of the vertical handle. It is zoomorphized, assuming the form of a lion. The lateral handles are reminiscent of **Malibu 1996.AC.106** (cat. 4.6) and **Brussels R 1183 a,b** (cat. 4.5), with pair of horses with heads sculpted in the round, leaning forward slightly, with one foreleg bent, to either side of a small, central palmette. The combination of the gorgoneion and the horses

¹¹⁵ Cf., among many others: *Hydriai*: **New York 26.50** (cat. 14.13), **New York Private Collection** (cat. 15.10), **Naples 73144** (cat. 15.12), **Ancona 25020** (cat. 15.13), **Switzerland, Private Collection (Ortiz)** (cat. 15.21), **Paris 4643** (cat. 15.22). *Oinochoai*: Steinhardt (ex-Pomerance) collection, Boston 99.481 (c. 450 BC), Boston 99.479 (c. 500-480 BC). *Amphora*: New York 2004.171a,b; Picón 2006, 101, fig. 107. Also, at least one surviving fourth-century marble hydria from a cemetery at ancient Aigai is decorated in this manner, with tongues above and below a guilloche band in the lateral handle zone; cf. Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadali 2005, 306-307.

reminds us of Medusa's son, Pegasus; this connection might be enough to propose that these equines, in fact, should be interpreted as pegasoi.

Finally, a few later vessels incorporate the gorgoneion into the handle ornaments, pairing it with a lion's head facing inwards over the mouth of the hydria at the top (cf. *Group 15*). The first, a complete hydria, **Naples 73144** (cat. 15.12), has a gorgoneion with a pair of horses springing from her head at the bottom of a beaded handle. A pair of long arms, bent at the elbow, reaches from behind her ears to her chin. The side-handles represent a full-length female body stretched across the grip at either end, extending into a palmette with elaborately treated volutes. In addition to the decorated handles, mouth, and foot, the shoulder of the vase is decorated with a pattern of long, narrow tongues. At the lower border of the tongues, in the handle zone, are three rows of closely spaced cables. This vase takes with it another complete hydria, **Field Museum, Chicago 1973.3217.195785** (cat. 15.13), and a fragmentary handle preserving only the lower end of the grip with the gorgon and winged horses. These characters certainly should be taken as Medusa and pegasoi. A fragmentary handle preserving only a similar lower terminal and part of a beaded grip, **Once London Market** (cat. 15.14), is of the same type.

Like the miniature vase once on the **Paris Art Market** (cat. 14.22), a hydria in a Swiss private collection, **Ortiz** (cat. 15.21), has a gorgon and winged horses at the bottom of the vertical handle. The side handles of this vase are of a later type, appropriate to the shape of the high-swung vertical handle. They are fluted and curve up in the middle, bound by a vertical ring of large beads in the center. At either end of the handle is a gorgon oriented horizontally. Its companion is **Ancona 25020** (cat. 15.17), which shows a similarly baroque approach to the decoration of the body, with elongated tongues on the

shoulder and body, interrupted by two bands of cables. The upper end of the vertical handle is almost identical to the **Ortiz** hydria. The side handles are of the same type as the **Ortiz** vase, except it has cast plates with palmettes in low relief at the ends instead of the additional gorgoneia.

Comparanda

The mainstream gorgons from this group have been compared to gorgoneia on a bronze krater, Munich 4262 (Figure 1.23), and on a volute krater from Tomb VIII at Trebenishte (Belgrade 174/1, Figure 1.24).¹¹⁶ Terracotta imitations of the same motif appear on vases from Campania.¹¹⁷ Ceramic versions of the motif that clearly were taken from metal because they include parts of the beaded grips also exist, which may have served as patterns (or molds?), aiding the transmission of the motif around the Mediterranean (Figure 1.25).¹¹⁸

The hydriai of this type are closely related to at least two bronze handles that have been identified as either hydriai or amphorae. It is more likely that they belonged to vessels of the latter shape, Princeton y1988-1 and y1990.83 (Figures 1.26-1.27).¹¹⁹ Princeton y1988-1 has a twisted handle, a feature more commonly seen on bronze amphorae and reverses the animal pairings, placing lions at the bottom and rams at the top. Its identification as an amphora handle rather than one from a hydria is secured by

¹¹⁶ *Munich 4262*: Stibbe 1992, 42; Maass 1979, 50-53. *Belgrade 174/1*: Stibbe 1992, 42; Stibbe 2000, 88-98, figs. 56-59. Gorgons on volute kraters are numerous, cf. Gaunt 2002, 345-361 and Padgett 2003, 319-322, cat. no. 86.

¹¹⁷ Stibbe 1992, 38.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Reeder 1976, 41-66. E.g. London GR 1873.8-20.487-80.

¹¹⁹ *Princeton y1988-1*: Padgett 2003, 315-318, cat. 85. *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 1989-1, 43, 54; Stibbe 1994, 93-100, fig. 13. *Princeton y1990.83* *Hesperia Arts Auction Ltd.* 1990, no. 7; Stibbe 1994, 93-100, fig. 14.

the *A* inscribed on the back of the gorgoneion, which M. Padgett has explained as a way of identifying its position on the vase for which it was intended to be joined.¹²⁰ The more fragmentary handle, Princeton y1990.83, preserves part of a gorgon and a small fragment of a reclining animal to her right. This gorgon is a little different in style, with a relatively straight row of spiraled curls across her forehead and three hatched tresses on either side of her face, whereas the others have a hairline that borders the edge of the rounded forehead. It also is more two-dimensional than the previous examples that are somewhat more animated and with stronger in the face.

Dating

C. Rolley's typology of gorgoneia is helpful here for purposes of dating. He identifies three phases of representation.¹²¹ The first type, to which **Sofia** (cat. 7.15), **Harvard 1962.178** (cat. 7.16), **Thessalonike Py 601** (cat. 10.1), Princeton y1990.83, and Princeton y1988-1 should be assigned, is the fiercest, with horns and fangs, "wrinkled noses, large eyes, a short, wide tongue hanging out of a wide mouth, and a 'triangular motive to fill the space between the eyebrows'."¹²² Gorgons of the second stage have "hexagonal face[s] with small almond-shaped eyes, a small mouth, a small tongue, and two braids with horizontal notching, which curl up at the ends."¹²³ The core members of this group fit easily within the second category. Gorgons of his final phase have "elliptical [faces]..., small, unsmiling mouth[s], and large round cheek bones."¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Padgett 2003, 317.

¹²¹ Rolley 1982, 63-66; Stibbe 1992, 39.

¹²² Stibbe 1992, 39; Rolley 1982, 64; Lane 1933, 171.

¹²³ Stibbe 1992, 38; Rolley 1982, 64.

¹²⁴ Stibbe 1992, 39.

Stibbe identifies the hydria from tomb III at Trebenishte, (**Sofia 7.15**) and a fragmentary handle, **Harvard 1962.178** (cat. 7.16) as experimental precursors for a type that emerges just after the middle of the sixth century.¹²⁵ Fragmentary handle **Harvard 1962.178** (cat. 7.16) should belong to a similarly early period due to the type I gorgon (which is actually quite close, stylistically, to the gorgon from Trebenishte) and the awkward transition between the two decorative elements (cf. **Berlin 30880**, cat. 6.12).¹²⁶ **Thessalonike Py 601** (cat. 10.1) also has an early gorgon below its zoomorphic handle. It, therefore, can be dated to c. 590-580.¹²⁷ The two gorgons in Princeton, Princeton y1990.83 and Princeton y1988-1, also appear to be quite early, with their horns, fangs, straight hairline across the forehead, and three thick braids. These two handles may belong in the first decade of the sixth century.¹²⁸

Stibbe calls **Belgrade 648/1** (cat. 9.9) a transitional piece and dates it to c. 560-550, because it has three braids instead of the normal two and “other early features,” by which, presumably, he means the emphatic jowls and broad nose.¹²⁹ If the shape of the shoulder was restored correctly, the close affinity between the Belgrade hydria and the more typical gorgon hydriai would be more evident. At any rate, the presence of the anthropomorphic handle sets it slightly apart from the mainstream and attests to its experimental nature.

¹²⁵ Stibbe 1992, 38.

¹²⁶ Stibbe (1994b, 95) suggests 580-570.

¹²⁷ Stibbe 2000, 107.

¹²⁸ Stibbe 2000, 107; Stibbe 1994b, 93-99.

¹²⁹ Stibbe 1992, 38.

Elis (cat. 7.2), with a simpler vertical grip and a gorgon with braids that curve slightly downwards, rather than up, at the ends, may belong at the head of the canonical members of the group. Vertical handles and fragments **Munich 3430** (cat. 7.10), **Munich 3762** (cat. 7.12), and **United States Private Collection** follow (cat. 7.11). **Vienna 3022** (cat. 7.4) has a gorgon with braids that are straight at the end and an ‘uncanonical’ palmette at the upper end of the handle. It also lacks the beading that many of the other handles include. It may be understood as an intermediate step between the plain and more standard ornamental handles. **Paris Br 4466-4469** (cat. 7.3) has a similar gorgoneion but a more ornamental grip. Several others, including **Berlin, Pergamon Museum 10821 a-c** (cat. 7.6), **Boston 1899.462** (cat. 7.7), **Boston 1901.7474** (cat. 7.8), and **Lyons E 413** (cat. 7.9) follow closely in date. All of these hydriai and fragments can be safely assigned to the third quarter of the sixth century.

Several features of **Naples 73144** (cat. 15.12), **Chicago, The Field Museum 1973.3217.195785** (cat. 15.13), **Swiss private collection (Ortiz)** (cat. 15.21), and miniature hydria **Once Paris Market** (cat. 14.22) suggest that they belong in the early fifth century: the advanced shape of the handle with figural (or animal) decoration at the upper end, the late gorgoneia with round faces, and the elongated tongues decorating the shoulder. The associated fragment **Once London Market (Bonhams 2008)** (cat. 15.14) must also date to this period.

Geographic Distribution and Manufacture (Appendix 1A, 1.7)

The primary members of this group (**Baltimore 1954.1269-71** [cat. 7.1], **Elis** [cat. 7.2], **Paris 4466-4469** [cat. 7.3], **Vienna 3022** [cat. 7.4], **Arta** [cat. 7.5], **Berlin 10821 a-c** [cat. 7.6], **Boston 1899.462** [cat. 7.7], **Boston 1901.7474** [cat. 7.8], **Lyons E 413** [cat.

7.9], **Munich 3430** [cat. 7.10], **Munich 3762** [cat. 7.12], and **United States Private Collection** [cat. 7.11]) are all typologically and stylistically very closely related. They likely were produced as a series in the middle of the sixth century, probably in a single workshop. The location of this workshop is generally considered to be Corinth, but Stibbe proposes a Lakonian prototype for the group.¹³⁰ His evidence for locating the origins of the type in Sparta is not conclusive. He believes that stylistic features, such as the notching of the eyebrows, the fold between the eyes, and the relief line at the bottom of the neck are indebted to Lakonian practices. Therefore, he proposes that the handles he identifies as early and more carefully executed may have been either made in Lakonia or are closer to the Lakonian original.¹³¹ Elsewhere, however, he admits the difficulty of distinguishing between Lakonian and Corinthian products after the middle of the sixth century.¹³² I am not sure we can conclude either way with any certainty, given the evidence available today.

The findspots of these vessels are widespread, ranging from the northwest Peloponnese, near Olympia, to Central Greece in Arta and Thessaly, to Trebenishte, and possibly even in the west, in Etruria. The large geographical area represented by this pattern of distribution makes it difficult to speculate on where they might have been made. Either Sparta and/or Corinth would be likely candidates, but it is not possible to be sure.

¹³⁰ Corinth: Politis 1936, 161f., Payne 1931, 221; Diehl 1964, 214f.; Wallenstein 1971, 83; Rolley 1982, 64. Lakonia or Corinthian with a Lakonian prototype: Stibbe 1992, 39-41 (also noted by Wallenstein 1971, 187 n. 360).

¹³¹ Stibbe 1992, 38-42.

¹³² Stibbe (2000, 27) makes this point in a discussion of bronze hydriai with anthropomorphic handles in the shape of kouroi.

Group 8: Archaic (and Early Classical) Bronze Hydriai with Ivy Leaves

This group of hydriai diverges from the traditional Archaic conventions of palmettes, animals, and female protomes.¹³³ Instead, ivy leaves substitute for the pendant palmette as its defining ornamental feature. These vases are related closely in shape to the hydriai with gorgons (*Group 7*), sharing the characteristic relief band across the center of the neck, angled shoulder, and pendant palmette in low relief at the upper end of the vertical handle. Two groups may be identified readily: those handles where the ivy leaf is outlined in openwork and those where it takes the form of a solid, heart-shaped leaf.

Openwork Ivy Leaves: Shape, Style, and Decoration

Athens 7916 (cat. 8.1), from Aigion, is a well-preserved example of the openwork type. The neck is wide and short (compared to other examples, which can be considerably taller), with a horizontal relief band across the center. The shoulder slopes gently on the upper side before curving sharply down to a broad body and an ogive foot in three degrees. The lower end of the vertical handle takes the form of an ivy leaf in openwork form with a central rib and small demi-palmettes attached to the outer edges of the outlined lobes. The side handles have ivy leaves similar to that on the vertical handle at each end.

Four complete hydriai are closely related in both type and style, **Patras 190** (cat. 8.2), **Copenhagen 5375** (cat. 8.3), and **Athens Private Collection (Vlangalis)** (cat. 8.4), **Art Market (Geneva)** (cat. 8.5). A fifth, **Patras 190** (cat. 8.2), is similar in decoration but the shape differs slightly with a taller neck and an echinus foot decorated with alternating relief and impressed tongues. **Copenhagen 5375** (cat. 8.3) also has a tall neck,

¹³³ Diehl 1964, 43-45, 222-223; Rolley 1963, 459-484; Choremis 1969, 208-14; Bothmer 1965, 605; Stibbe 1992, 44-46 (Group L).

slimmer in proportion than the previous one. Its side handles differ from most of its counterparts by being semi-circular rather than round in cross-section. **Athens, Private Collection (Vlangalis)** (cat. 8.4) has less stylized ivy leaves with thicker edges. Several sets of loose handles also belong, including **Boston 1899.463a-c** (cat. 8.6), **Berlin 10.822.a-c** (cat. 8.7), **Munich 3446 a-c** (cat. 8.8), **Munich SL 61a-c** (cat. 8.9), and a pair of handles once on the **Art Market** (cat. 8.10). The vertical handles each have thinly incised lines along both edges and a pair closely spaced at the center (perhaps a vestigial snake?), which frame the elongated central palmette leaf of the pendant palmette at the top. Vertical handle **Berlin 10.822a-c** (cat. 8.7) is inscribed, “ΦΙΛΕ” (For the inscription, see *Chapter 6, Appendix II*). A final set of handles, **Boston 1899.463 a-c** (cat. 8.6), are treated more ornamentally than the previous examples.

Solid Ivy Leaves: Shape, Style, and Decoration

An alternative form of the ivy motif exchanges the openwork leaf for a solid plaque in the shape of a heart-shaped leaf at the lower end of the vertical handle and at the sides of the lateral handles. Otherwise, details of shape and decoration are comparable to the previous vases. At least four complete vessels of this type are preserved, including **Athens, Goulandris 730** (cat. 8.11), **Olympia M 868** (cat. 8.12) and **Olympia M 1326** (cat. 8.13), both with especially tall necks (compare **Patras 190** [cat. 8.2]), and **Athens Private Collection (Vlangalis)** [cat. 8.4]), and a fragmentary vase preserved to the mid-point of the body, **Olympia BE 691** (cat. 8.14), follow. Vertical handle **New York 65.165** (cat. 8.16) presents the same scheme but omits the palmette at the top of the handle. A fragmentary vertical handle preserving only the ivy leaf, **Olympia Br 5154** (cat. 8.17), surely also belongs. Another partially preserved hydria from Olympia (cat.

8.18) is near to the others in shape except that the shoulder is slightly less angled and more curved than in previous examples.

Several additional vessels present variations on the canonical scheme.

Königsberg F 18 (cat. 8.19) has a similar profile, but in this case, the lower end of the (broken) vertical handle takes the form of an anthropomorphized ivy leaf. Here, a bearded face is carved into the surface of the leaf. The ivy leaf on **New York 1926.255.2a** (cat. 8.20) is typologically related to the one from Olympia (cat. 8.18) but is different in shape. This hydria has a narrow mouth with an undecorated overhanging lip, a short, curved neck, narrow, rounded shoulder that curves down to a fairly straight, sagging body. On the upper surface of the mouth, the name “ΣΟΠΟΛΙΔΟΣ” is engraved (see below, *Chapter 6, Appendix II*). The vertical handle is wider and shorter than before, with a long, tear-drop shaped leaf on the grip. The side handles are of a later type that are round in cross-section and curve upwards rather than being strictly horizontal as before, and are decorated with a vertical ring at the center point. This configuration will become commonplace by the middle of the fifth century. At each end there is a solid ivy leaf with small volutes on the outer side of the top of each lobe. A set of handles, **Copenhagen 5376** (cat. 8.21), must have belonged to a similar vessel.

Istanbul (cat. 8.22) also takes an unusual shape with a long, sloping shoulder that curves somewhat sharply down to a fairly straight, sagging body. The simple ring foot is undecorated. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an ungainly plaque that fits around the rim and under the mouth, joining high on the neck with a wide, rectangular panel. A kalpis in **Amsterdam** (cat. 8.23) is a late expression of the type. Its vertical handle attaches at the neck with another circular disk and below with another that

is fashioned crudely into a pointed ivy leaf. The lateral handles curve upwards in the center and end with plain, round disks, which are unique up to this point but will become familiar with the fifth century with the plain vessels of *Group 17*.

Elaborate Palmettes

Finally, two hydriai replace the normal ivy leaf with an elaborate palmette motif but clearly are far advanced in both shape and style from the other members of this group. The first, **New York 57.11.12** (cat. 8.26), provides a link between the earlier and later types. Its profile is not far from the canonical members of the group, with a broad, undecorated mouth and overhanging lip, a tall neck with a fillet across the center, an angled shoulder, tall, fairly straight body that tapers at the very lowest point. Two separate inscriptions appear on the upper surface of the mouth: ΚΑΛΛΙΑΡ (in an Elean dialect) and ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΑ΄ (For the inscriptions, see *Chapter 6, Appendix II*).

New York 56.11.3 (cat. 8.27), however, has a much more rounded shape. Its vertical handle attaches at the upper end with what is perhaps the most elaborate floral motif of any surviving hydria. The wide, flattened grip has an elongated leaf pattern, as seen above, but the edges of the tear-shaped leaf are now hatched, giving a braided effect. At the top, two large volutes spiral into long demi-palmettes oriented lengthwise, such that the long sides of the half-palmettes are flush against the lip. At the lower end, there is an even more elaborate vegetal pattern of hanging palmettes above a large pendant palmette with widely spaced, curvy leaves. The side handles display a similarly elaborate motif.

Dating, Chronology, and Comparanda

The variations in shape and decoration among the vessels with an ivy-leaf or related motif at the ends of the handles have posed difficulties for dating and locating potential center(s) of manufacture. Diehl, following Blinkenberg's comparison of **Copenhagen 5375** (cat. 8.3) with the marble hydria from the version of Praxiteles' Aphrodite of Knidos now in Ostia, dates the group to the later part of the fourth century.¹³⁴ H. Payne, however, already had identified the same vase as belonging to the end of the sixth century.¹³⁵ A range of dates between the two extremes has been proposed.¹³⁶ With the evidence presently available, it seems that the type began in the sixth century and had a long life, continuing well into the fifth. It had an afterlife in the fourth century in the form of at least one of the two vessels with more elaborate floral motifs (**New York 56.11.3** [cat. 8.27]).¹³⁷

The first phase of the long series can be situated near the middle of the sixth century. The similarity in profile between the hydriai with gorgoneia of the previous group and many of the vessels with ivy leaves at the ends of the handles indicate that they are contemporary. The shape is fairly consistent among several complete vessels, including **Patras 190** (cat. 8.2), **Athens 7916** (cat. 8.1), **Athens, Private Collection (Vlangalis)** (cat. 8.4), and **Copenhagen 5375** (cat. 8.3), **Athens, Goulandris 730** (cat. 8.11), **Olympia (no. inv. number)** (cat. 8.18), **Olympia BE 691** (cat. 8.14), **Olympia M 868** (cat. 8.12), and **Olympia M 1326** (cat. 8.13), **Königsberg F 18** (cat. 8.19), and **New**

¹³⁴ Blinkenberg 1933, 108; Diehl 1964, 45; Bothmer 196, 605.

¹³⁵ Payne 1931, 221.

¹³⁶ Neugebauer 1923 101; Rolley 1963, 484; Hill 1965, 191; Riis 1959, 34; Bothmer 1965, 605; Choremis 1969, 208-214; Stibbe 1992, 44-46.

¹³⁷ Also suggested by Stibbe 1992, 44-45.

York 57.11.12. The consistency of shape and treatment of the handles allows us to also associate stray handles **Berlin 10.822 a-c** (cat. 8.7), **Boston 1899.463 a-c** (cat. 8.6), **Munich 3446 a-c** (cat. 8.8), **Munich SL 61 a-c** (cat. 8.9), **Once Art Market** (cat. 8.24), **New York 65.165** (cat. 8.16), and fragment **Olympia Br 5154** (cat. 8.17).

Stibbe, following Rolley, has proposed that **Olympia (no inv. number)** (cat. 8.18), from Krestaina, should head the group because of the curve (less angular than in other examples) of the shoulder, the simplicity of the vertical handle, and the side handles with swan's heads that closely parallel the lateral handles of **Paestum 49800, 49803, 49804** (cat. nos. 6.1-6.3) and **Paris, Petit Palais** (cat. 6.4).¹³⁸ This comparison suggests a date of c. 555-545 for this vase and thereby also for the beginning of this group.

It is very difficult to arrange these hydriai in chronological sequence because they differ with such minor variations, such as the height of the neck, the profile of the shoulder, the presence of the relief band across the neck, the relative degree of refinement in the shape of the ivy leaf, and the shape of the foot. We can, however, at least attempt to group the vases according to these features, even if it is not possible to discern their precise order of their occurrence. Like **Olympia (no inv. number)** (cat. 8.18), **Olympia M 868** (cat. 8.12), **Olympia M 1326** (cat. 8.13), **Patras 190** (cat. 8.2), and **Copenhagen 5375** (cat. 8.3) have the fillet in approximately the center of the neck, although **Olympia M 868** (cat. 8.12), **Patras 190** (cat. 8.2), and **Copenhagen 5375** (cat. 8.3) have extremely angular shoulder profiles. On the other hand, **Athens, Goulandris 730** (cat. 8.11) has a relatively rounded shoulder and a fillet below the center of the neck, as does **Athens 7916** (cat. 8.1). **Athens 7916** (cat. 8.1) has a sophisticated configuration of ivy leaves with

¹³⁸ Stibbe 1992, 45.

small demi-palmettes attached to the outer edges of the lobes, associating it with **Berlin 10.822a-c** (cat. 8.7), **Munich 3446** (cat. 8.8), and **Once Art Market. Boston 1899.463a-c** (cat. 8.6) lacks the fully formed half-palmettes but has rivets placed on the outer edges of the lobes at the top and bottom, giving a similar effect. **Olympia BE 691** (cat. 8.14) and **Athens, Private Collection (Vlangalis)** (cat. 8.4) share such features as an angled shoulder and a relief band high on the tall neck. Although not of the same type, the ivy leaves in these two examples are both relatively simple, thereby, associating them with **Copenhagen 5375** (cat. 8.3), **Munich SL 61a-c** (cat. 8.9), and the side handles of **Königsberg F 18** (cat. 8.19). **New York 65.165** (cat. 8.16) probably belongs nearby. Together, these vessels should be dated to the third quarter of the sixth century.

Furthermore, they may be compared to at least two bronze olpai with similar ivy-leaf motifs at the bottom of the vertical handles, London 1824.4-8915 and Oxford 1889.1008, also from the late sixth century.¹³⁹ At least one bronze basin from the early fourth century, formerly in the Kropatschek collection (Figure 1.28), offers a good parallel for the solid ivy leaf motif, as does an Etruscan cauldron in Edinburgh and two South Italian bronze oinochoai, Taranto 4819 and Syracuse 8709, from Centuripe.¹⁴⁰

As Bothmer notes, the ivy leaf motif persists on bronze hydriai sporadically from the sixth into the fourth century. The more elongated profiles of **New York 26.255.2a** (cat. 8.20), **Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2005)** (cat. 8.24), **Amsterdam** (cat. 8.23), as well as **New York 56.11.3** (cat. 8.27) may be compared to a Late Classical

¹³⁹ Weber 1983, 375, cat. nos. III.B.7-8.

¹⁴⁰ *London GR 1873.8.20.487-8* (Hornbostel 1980, cat. 98); *Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum 1886.211*: from Chiusi. Weber 1983, 420, cat. IVetr.E.17; *Taranto 4819*: Weber 1983, 446, cat. B.II.4; *Syracuse 8709*: Weber 1983, 446, cat. B.II.5.

marble hydria that served as a grave marker from Aigai (Figure 1.29), which demonstrates the currency of the motif even at this late date.¹⁴¹ Although the ivy leaf motif certainly was important in the Greek visual vocabulary, it does not seem to be nearly so common on other shapes as it does on bronze hydriai.

Geographic Distribution and Manufacture (Appendix 1A, 1.8)

Because of the similarity of shape and decoration, it is likely that the Archaic hydriai of this type, at least, represent the output of a single production center. Given the findspots of at least seven of them in or near Olympia (including Olympia itself as well as Krestaina, Babes, and Elis) and two more nearby in Aigion and Kato Achaia, and one from the Corinthia, it seems reasonable to suggest that these vases were produced somewhere in the northern Peloponnese, possibly in the vicinity of Olympia.¹⁴² Standing apart from the first stage of production of at least sixteen vessels with strikingly similar shape and decoration, there are at least three separate strands of production that are related in type but may have been produced elsewhere (albeit under the influence of the northwest Peloponnesian series).

New York 57.11.12 (cat. 8.26), has an alternative motif at the ends of the handles, is clearly related with its angular shoulder, placement of the relief band at roughly the center of the neck, and the palmette in low relief on the upper end of the grip of the vertical handle. The lion's heads at the upper end of the handle are an archaizing feature, revealing its maker's awareness of at least one of the earlier vases with this motif. This vase fits comfortably in the third quarter of the sixth century. Although the decoration is

¹⁴¹ Drogou and Saatsoglou-Paliadali 2005, 306-307.

¹⁴² Also suggested by Stibbe 1992, 46.

similar, **New York 56.11.3** (cat. 8.27) certainly is a later creation, belonging to the second half of the fifth or first half of the fourth century, based on the decoration of the overhanging lip, the curve and proportion of the neck, the shape of the side handles, and the rounded shoulder. A bronze oinochoe from a grave in Marion, in Asia Minor offers a good parallel for the elaborate floral ornament at the bottom of the handle.¹⁴³

Second, there are a few vases with the solid-ivy-leaf motif at the ends of the handles that have profiles that are demonstrably later. **New York 26.255.2a** (cat. 8.20) is the best preserved of these, with a shorter neck lacking the relief band, a rounded shoulder, and a slimmer body. The ivy leaves are a little different, with a central mid-rib in relief bisecting the leaf. Stray handles **Copenhagen 5376** (cat. 8.21), from Attika, must have belonged to a similar vessel. These two vessels may be compared to **Olympia (no inv. number)** (cat. 8.18) with the tear-shaped leaf in low relief on the vertical grip. The profile and vertical handle are at home in the early part of the fifth century. The shape of the vase and the geometric motif on the surface of the vertical handle also aligns this subtype with a small group of undecorated hydriai, including **Athens Karapanos 697** (cat. 17.2), **Athens Karapanos 1189** (cat. 17.3), **Königsberg F 19** (cat. 17.4), and **New York 06.1098** (cat. 17.5). All of these hydriai belong in the first half of the fifth century and may well have been made in another Peloponnesian bronze-working center, perhaps located in Corinth or Elis.¹⁴⁴

Finally, there are the outliers that are related only by the inclusion of the ivy leaf. **Istanbul (no inv. number)** (cat. 8.22) is of uncertain date but was certainly produced

¹⁴³ Weber 1983, 419, cat. IVEtro.E.8.

¹⁴⁴ Vokotopoulou (1997) notes several related oinochoe that she proposes were made in Corinth and then exported to Dodona. On Elean red-figure pottery, see Morris 1990, 17-52.

outside of the mainstream workshops. **Amsterdam** (cat. 8.23) probably belongs near the middle of the fifth century and really is closer in shape and type to kalpides without sculptural decoration (*Chapter 2, Group 17*) more than to the hydriai with ivy leaves because of the highly abstracted ornamented below the vertical handle.

Group 9: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Anthropomorphic Handles (Kouroi)

This group of vessels and handles is particularly important because it introduces a hallmark of Archaic Greek sculpture in the round, the kouros, into the repertoire of decorated bronze hydriai.¹⁴⁵ The nude youth most famously was represented in stone in Attika and on the marble-rich Cycladic islands. The absence of the monumental stone version of the kouros from Peloponnesian workshops, which contributed to and often led the development of Archaic art in so many other ways, has been noted by many scholars. Available evidence now demonstrates that Peloponnesian sculptors were not disinterested in the motif, but preferred (and had available to them) to work on a smaller scale and in less durable (and more costly) materials, including wood, ivory, and bronze.¹⁴⁶ Ceramic examples also exist. Furthermore, although free-standing figurines of both kouroi and korai do survive in not insignificant quantities, the youths and young women were used far more commonly as supportive figures on handles of bronze vases and utensils, including but not limited to hydriai, oinochoai, mirrors, and paterae. Korai for the most part appeared as caryatids, standing in for the handles of upright mirrors, while

¹⁴⁵ See especially Hill 1958 and Stibbe 2000.

¹⁴⁶ Stibbe (2000, 27) aptly remarks that “handle-kouroi, rather than freestanding, are the main expression of Spartan interest in a subject, which, elsewhere in Greece, results in marble sculpture of the highest quality.”

kouroi appeared more frequently as handles for other bronze vessels.¹⁴⁷ Egyptian mirrors and spoons also employ the motif.

As Stibbe suggests, the real innovation of these bronze hydriai (and oinochoai) is in the substitution of a sculpted figure in place of the normally sturdy vertical handle.¹⁴⁸ The concept of anthropomorphizing the handle was really not far removed from the female protomes that often decorate the ends of the handles in the earlier part of the century (*Groups 4 and 5*), the major difference in these instances are a change of gender, lengthening the figure to show the whole body, and replacing the grip with the anthropomorphized form.

It is somewhat difficult to differentiate between a kouros that once served as a handle for a hydria and one from an oinochoe, particularly when so many of the handles are in extremely fragmentary condition. Aside from the issue of scale (hydriai tend to be considerably larger than oinochoai), there are a few important distinguishing features: on a hydria, the upper pair of animals, usually lions, recline along the outer edge of the overhanging rim and turn their heads outwards towards the pourer.¹⁴⁹ The kouros himself faces directly outwards. His long, flowing locks fall to either side of his head, usually overlapping the shoulders. The upper lions on oinochoai, on the other hand, are seated on top of the rim and face either around the circumference of the rim or inwards towards the mouth of the vase. The boy's head leans back, causing the long hair to fall behind him, to

¹⁴⁷ Mirrors: Congdon 1981; Hydriai and oinochoai: Stibbe 2000; Paterai: Gjødesen 1944; Podanipters: Milne 1944; Cistai: cf., for instance, Rhode Island School of Design 06.014. Mitten 1975, 137-147, with further bibliography. Stamnoi also may have figured handles, as Boston 60.232a,b (Comstock and Vermeule 1971, 366, cat. 512).

¹⁴⁸ Stibbe 2000, 27.

¹⁴⁹ Stibbe 2000, 22-23.

the inner edge of the rim. Kouros-handles from oinochoe also are usually slimmer and less substantial than those from hydriai because of the distance they must span between the shoulder and rim of the vase.

At present, there are at least 26 surviving handles of this type, with a figured handle and animals at the top of the grip. They may be distinguished according to the treatment of several diagnostic features: the form of the kouros' body and the degree to which the musculature is articulated, hairstyle, the decorative motif that appears beneath the boy's feet, and the details of rendering the animals (for instance, the pattern on the rams' fleeces and the way that the lions' manes are formed).¹⁵⁰ Because there are several distinct types of kouroi on these vessels that can be divided both chronologically and regionally, I will address issues of shape, style, date, and comparanda for each type separately.

The earliest kouroi are slim but show less articulation between body parts and minimally defined musculature (especially in the ribcage and abdomen). Overall, these figures have a fairly soft, fleshy appearance.¹⁵¹ When preserved, the lions have sculpted manes surrounding their faces and continuing down onto their necks. The rams' fleeces tend to be covered with a pattern of diamonds. The palmettes at the lower ends of the vertical handles are 'premature,' according to Stibbe's analyses. **Sparta 5243** (cat. 9.1) is a fragmentary handle from a hydria that preserves the torso, legs (to the ankles), and outstretched arms (to the forearms) of a kouros. Traces of two diverging braids hanging down to his chest are preserved on the right side. The arms are bent upwards to grasp the

¹⁵⁰ Below, I follow the scheme set out in Stibbe 2000, 27-56 ("Catalogue of Anthropomorphic Handles").

¹⁵¹ Stibbe 2000, 28-34 (Group A).

tails of a pair of (now missing) lions. Based on comparison with better preserved figures from several bronze oinochoai, including Belfast B7, Copenhagen H 2273, Jerusalem, private collection (Borowski), Basel BS 516, a silver oinochoe, Uşak 1.80.96, and a supporting figure on Berlin 1961.2, the fragmentary kouros finds a home in the second quarter of the sixth century (Figures 1.30-1.34).¹⁵²

Other kouroi have slender waists, emphasizing the breadth of their shoulders, chests and thighs, and more defined (but still stylized) musculature, particularly through the mid-section.¹⁵³ The hairline is scalloped across the forehead and two braids with pointed ends falling more or less straight down onto the chest. When preserved, the lions have slim, fairly undefined bodies and incised manes. **Boston 85.595** (cat. 9.2) is the best preserved of the basic scheme. Two fragmentary handles, **Athens 6588, 6650** (cat. 9.3) and **Paris Br 2785** (cat. 9.4) conform to the same type. This handle is almost certainly the latest of these three, with the abdominal muscles clearly indicated within a rounded ribcage. Stibbe also includes an (now-missing) oinochoe handle formerly in Basel (ex-Erlenmeyer) because of its close relationship with the bodies of these kouroi and the forms of the lions. These handles may be dated to the third quarter of the sixth century, between 540 and 525.

A few handles seem intermediate between the first and second phases.¹⁵⁴ Two complete hydriai fall into this transitional category: **Berlin 8467** (cat. 9.5) and **United**

¹⁵² *Belfast B7*: Stibbe 2000, 28-29, figs. 15-16. *Copenhagen H 2273*: Stibbe 2000, 28, 30, fig. 17. *Jerusalem, Private Collection (Borowski)*: Stibbe 2000, 30-31, fig. 18. *Basel BS 516*: Stibbe 2000, 31-33, figs. 19-20. *Uşak 1.80.96*: Stibbe 2000, 33-34; Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. 106. *Berlin 1961.2*: Stibbe 2000, 34; Mitten and Doeringer 1967, cat. 46.

¹⁵³ Stibbe 2000, 44-46 (Group C).

¹⁵⁴ Stibbe 2000, 34-44 (Group B). It is this high degree of variation in the technical details of the handles that prompts C.M. Stibbe to comment on the difficulty of placing the handles in a chronological sequence.

States Private Collection (Steinhardt) (cat. 9.6). The vertical handle of **Berlin 8467** (cat. 9.5) takes the form of a nude youth standing frontally with legs parallel and feet perched on a pendant palmette of Stibbe's 'mature' type. The midsection is shallowly modeled to indicate the musculature in the abdomen but the waist is wider than some of the others, giving him a fleshy appearance. Below his feet, the pendant palmette has nine pointed leaves and flattened volutes and is flanked by a pair of rams seated on short, horizontal extensions of the volutes. The rams on an oinochoe handle, London 1856.12-26.645, are given the same treatment, though the undifferentiated body of the kouros and the uncanonical volutes of the palmettes are not as advanced in date as on the Berlin hydria (Figure 1.35). On the other hand, the lions on the London handle are considerably more sophisticated than the one in Berlin.

The **Steinhardt** hydria (cat. 9.6) is very near to **Berlin 8467** (cat. 9.5) in shape, differing only in the shape of its foot, which is paralleled in only one other example, **Vienna VI 3022** (cat. 7.4).¹⁵⁵ The body of the kouros has the narrow waist and slender proportions of the **Boston 85.595**, **Athens 6588**, **6650**, and **Paris 2785** (cat. nos. 9.2-9.4). The surface, however, is largely unarticulated, other than some indication of biceps in the upper arms and shapely calves in the lower legs. The pubic hair is stylized and dotted, not unlike the somewhat later marble kouros identified as Aristodikos from a cemetery in Attika from the last quarter of the sixth century (Athens 3938, Figure 1.36).¹⁵⁶

Oxford 1890.221 (cat. 9.7) is similar to the Berlin and Steinhardt vessels, with a slim, athletic figure whose body lacks real muscle definition. Fragmentary handle **Basel**

¹⁵⁵ Stibbe 2000, 18.

¹⁵⁶ Richter 1960, 139, cat. 165, figs. 489, 492-493.

(cat. 9.8) is also related, although the hairstyle of the kouros is unusual; the front part of the hair is rolled around a fillet such that it stands up vertically and gives the appearance of a crown, while the rest is combed into regular sections at the back of the head.¹⁵⁷ A fragmentary handle from an oinochoe, London 1824.4-5.6, has a similarly athletic physique but without much indication of musculature (Figure 1.37). Intermediate in both style and date, we can locate these vessels and handles in the middle of the sixth century, between the first and second stages of development of the kouros-handle type, c. 555-540.

Another variation substitutes a gorgon for the palmette below the figure's feet, seen on **Belgrade 648/1** (cat. 9.9) and **Athens, Agora 21** (cat. 9.10).¹⁵⁸ Some of these handles already have been discussed from the perspective of the gorgoneion (see above, *Group 8*), but are worth re-considering here in the context of the figured handles. As in some of the handles from the transitional period between the first two developmental phases, these kouroi have the slender body type of the more advanced handles but without any real attempt to represent the anatomy of the figures. There is a tendency towards patterning, particularly in the boys' hairstyles, the lions' manes, and the rams' fleeces. Another fragmentary handle, **Munich 4118** (cat. 9.11), has rams of the same type as the vessel from Belgrade, with elaborately articulated fleeces covered with a pattern of short, horizontal hatch-marks. It may have been of the same type or at least was made alongside these vessels, although its gorgoneion is missing. Several oinochoai also

¹⁵⁷ Stibbe (2000, 54) assigns this handle to Group E because of this hairstyle, but in fact, all of the other hydriai that can be identified as part of the last phase of development of these handle-figures have an archaizing, Daedalic hairstyle that hangs down behind the shoulders, in contrast with all of the earlier examples. I have therefore, moved this handle to the transitional phase.

¹⁵⁸ Stibbe 2000, 47-51 (Group D).

follow, including Baltimore 54.912, Taranto 134913, and Private Collection (New York) (Figures 1.37-1.40).¹⁵⁹ This group begins in the third quarter of the sixth century and continues into the first decades of the fifth.

Finally, a few handles are related typologically but present a number of distinctive variations.¹⁶⁰ A completely preserved and very fine hydria, **Athens 18232** (cat. 9.12) is comparable to **Berlin 8467** (cat. 9.5) or the **Steinhardt** vase (cat. 9.6) in shape except that its mouth is narrow and slim and the neck is taller and thinner. The vertical handle follows the general scheme of a kouros handle with palmette and rams below, but in this case the youth is kneeling and is represented only to the knees. He also differs in the position of his head, which is tilted back, and in his hairstyle, which falls behind the shoulders. The position of the kneeling figure may be compared to a ceramic plastic vase discovered in the Athenian Agora (Figure 1.41) or to that of a pair of figures on a bronze handle that may once have belonged to a hydria as well, **Boston 1961.380** (cat. 9.13).¹⁶¹ The pose brings to mind a fragmentary poem by Anakreon in which he describes the act of falling to one's knees as a gesture of humility.¹⁶² The kouros on the hydria reaches up towards the sphinxes sitting on the rim of the vessel but his gesture might be paralleled with the figure from the Agora or a pair of kouroi acting as handles for an Etruscan

¹⁵⁹ *Baltimore 54.912*: Stibbe 2000, 51; Barr-Sharrar 1996, 105, fig. 3; Weber 1983, 69, 285f., no. I.D. 20; Hill 1958, 195, no. 20, pl. 51. *Taranto 134913*: Stibbe 2000, 51; Weber 1983, I.D. 10; Lo Porto 1970/71, 116-119, fig. 9, pl. 47. *Once Art Market (New York)*: Stibbe 2000, 51; *Sotheby's New York* 12.14.1994, cat. 70.

¹⁶⁰ Stibbe 2000, 47, 51-56 (Group E).

¹⁶¹ Comstock and Vermeule 1971, no. 412; Comstock and Vermeule 1988, 124.

¹⁶² Anacreon 348, “γουνουμαί σ’ ἐλαφηβόλε” in Campbell 1982, 67.

bronze amphora from Vulci, all of which are tying a fillet around their heads (Figures 1.42-1.43).¹⁶³

At least two lateral handles in the form of nude youths have been identified. **Pesaro 3387** (cat. 9.14) takes the form of a kouros leaning backwards with a palmette and half-spools extending laterally at each terminal.¹⁶⁴ A third side handle, **Athens 6584** (cat. 9.15), has two nude, male figures carved in relief, arranged head-to-head and attached with a shared headdress. The hairstyle of these figures is comparable to that on **Athens 18232** (cat. 9.12). **Naples 73144** (cat. 15.12) and **Chicago, Field Museum 1973.3217.195785** (cat. 15.13) have related side handles with two female figures in similar positions, though the full length of their bodies are shown.

Group 10: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Zoopomorphic Handles (Lions)

Shape, Decoration, and Style

Two surviving hydriai and one fragmentary handle draw on the concept of a figured vertical handle but replace the youth with a lion. These three zoomorphic handles offer points of intersection with several other Archaic types discussed above. The earlier of the two complete vessels, **Thessalonike Py 601** (cat. 10.1), was found in a fourth-century grave in ancient Pydna, where it was placed as an antique or heirloom that was already nearly two centuries old by the time it was interred. Its broad mouth with overhanging lip decorated with a ‘triglyph and metope’ pattern bordered by obliquely hatched bands above and below is reminiscent of an early vase of the Telesstas type,

¹⁶³ Haynes 1985, 284, cat. 105.

¹⁶⁴ Etruscan cistai also employ this motif, see Mitten 1975, 137-147, with further bibliography

Atena Lucana (cat. 5.2)¹⁶⁵ The vertical handle takes the form of a lion. The forepaws rest on the upper surface of the lip and the back ones perch on top of the head of a gorgoneion. Below, the gorgoneion is of the same type as **Princeton y1988-1** (cat. 7.15) and **Princeton y1990-83** (cat. 7.16).¹⁶⁶ The side handles are reminiscent of **Malibu 1996.AC.106** (cat. 4.6) with horse-protomes at the ends.

The second example of this type, **Paestum 49801** (cat. 10.2) was found in the subterranean shrine in Paestum. It seems to be later than the vase from Pydna (at least a generation later, according to Stibbe).¹⁶⁷ It is obviously based on a similar model, however, and the similarity between the two is really too strong to be coincidental. The vertical handle, again, takes the form a lion but in this case it is a more substantial, powerful animal. A pair of coiled snakes with beards flanks the lion's head at the lip are reminiscent of the same element on **Atena Lucana** (cat. 5.2) and **Paris Br 2645** (cat. 5.9).¹⁶⁸ A fragmentary handle preserving only a cylindrical lion's body in the same position, **Delphi 309** (cat. 10.3), may also have belonged on a hydria.

Dating and Chronology

Although the shape of **Thessalonike Py 601** (cat. 10.1) fits comfortably within the first quarter of the sixth century, the profile, presence of snakes at the lip, and 'precanonic' palmette of **Paestum 49801** (cat. 10.2) may suggest that it was made

¹⁶⁵ Stibbe 2000, 103.

¹⁶⁶ Stibbe 2000, 107.

¹⁶⁷ Stibbe 2000, 109.

¹⁶⁸ Stibbe 1992, 29.

slightly later, in the second quarter of the sixth century.¹⁶⁹ The side-handles are rather thick and rectangular in section with a pair of horses shown in profile with one foreleg raised, similar to the handles in **Sofia**, from Trebenishte, **Naples 86527** (cat. 4.12) and **Vienna 2907** (cat. 4.22). **Delphi 309** (cat. 10.3) is too fragmentary to be sure of its date but its simple, cylindrical body may associate it more closely with the hydria from Pydna and place it earlier, rather than later, in the sixth century. A small bronze jug on loan to the Metropolitan Museum has a similarly zoomorphized handle but here the lion attacks another animal positioned upside-down along the top of the rim (Figure 1.44). Below the lion's feet is a gorgoneion, an arrangement similar to that seen on the hydria in Thessalonike. We might compare these vessels to a silver amphora from the fifth century in a Swiss Private Collection that was made in an eastern, Achaemenid tradition but clearly draws on similar models to the Greek hydriai with zoomorphic handles (Figure 1.45).¹⁷⁰

Geographic Distribution and Manufacture

The distribution of these three objects suggests a similar pattern as those from *Group 4*, found in almost exclusively in Southern Italy, Macedonia, and Delphi. We may propose that these came either from a Greek or South Italian workshop and were carried or traded up the Adriatic coast on both sides.

¹⁶⁹ Stibbe 1997, 40. Cf. the palmettes on **Paestum 49805** (cat. 4.33), **Thessalonike OE 1556** (cat. 4.34), **Belgrade 199/1** (cat. 4.35), **Belgrade 200/1** (cat. 4.36), and **Belgrade 183/1** (cat. 4.37).

¹⁷⁰ Ortiz 1994, cat. 205.

Group 11: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Elaborate Animal or Figural Groups

Two final groups that can be assigned to the Archaic period stand apart those discussed up to this point.¹⁷¹ Here, the traditional elements, including lions, snakes, palmettes, female protomes, are combined with new, more daring motifs and express an artistic exuberance not matched in the other vessels. The three disassociated handles that make up *Group 11* signal a new and more sophisticated approach to the decoration of bronze hydriai. These ornamental handles are not linked by any specific formal features, but rather by a general feeling of creativity and experimentation. They are closely related to but separate from the hydriai and handles in the following group because, although both groups are highly innovative, these retain a measure of conservatism that preserves the functionality of the vertical handle. Because of the varied nature of the three handles, it is impossible to find parallels for the type as a whole. It is useful, however, to offer interpretations and to locate comparanda for the important elements of each handle separately.

The first, a vertical handle in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, **New York 1989.11.1** (cat. 11.1), is transitional between the canonical hydriai with palmettes and animals of the early sixth century (*Group 6*) and the other, more exotic handles in this group and the next. It has pairs of lions at both the upper and lower terminals. The upper part of the handle is fairly traditional with a pair of recumbent lions but the lower pair is more active, perching on horizontal extensions from a pendant palmette, facing towards each other with one forepaw raised heraldically and touching the handle strap. In contrast

¹⁷¹ Stibbe 1992, 20-32 (*Group G*) combines this group with the following. I have separated the two between those that have a recognizable vertical handle with a strap and those in which an anthropomorphic form takes the place of the handle, thus rendering the handle, and ultimately the vase, virtually unusable.

to the watchful stillness of the lions at the top, the ones at the bottom of the handle turn their heads and roar, open-mouthed.

Date and Comparanda

This handle is the most conservative of the three and has more features in common with its contemporaries of other ornamental types. The palmette is of a particularly early style with a semi-circular outline and twelve rounded leaves. It is perhaps closest to but slightly later than **Delphi 6** (cat. 4.10) and **Olympia B 4340, B 4250** (above, cat. 4.14), which date to c. 600 and c. 570, respectively. The lions seated at the top of the vertical handle place it firmly within the first half of the sixth century (See *Groups 4-9*). The wide, semicircular palmette at the lower end compares favorably with the palmette on **Brussels R 1179** (cat. 11.2), from Cerveteri, **Bern 11620** (cat. 12.1), from Grächwil, and **Pesaro 3314/ 3316**, from Treia (cat. 12.2). All three of these comparable examples have been dated between 575-550. The extended volutes that end in a second set of coils can be compared to the winged projections emerging from the palmette on the hydria from Grächwil (cat. 12.1).¹⁷² However, the lengthened double-volute above the palmette (though not the palmette itself) on the handle in New York is more closely related to handles from *Group 4* with the same element.¹⁷³

As noted by Stibbe, the heraldic lions at the lower end remind the viewer of Near Eastern models, but it must be kept in mind that the motif had long been assimilated into

¹⁷² Stibbe 2004, 23.

¹⁷³ **Paestum 49801** (cat. 10.2), **Paestum 49805** (cat. 4.33), **Belgrade 199/1** (cat. 4.35), **Belgrade 183/1** (cat. 4.37), **Thessalonike OE 1556** (cat. 4.34), **Belgrade 200/1** (cat. 4.36). Also cf. **Olympia Br 11764/ Br 13875** (cat. 4.26), from Olympia, **Sparta 1703** (cat. 4.23), from Sparta (Menelaion), **Athens 7454** (cat. 4.16), from Eretria, **Athens 7915** (cat. 4.17) from Aigion, **Boston 99.461** (cat. 4.19), from Palaiopolis (Elis), **Borowski GR 174** (cat. 4.20), **Munich 3447** (cat. 4.21), from Olympia (?), **Vienna VI 2907**, from the Peloponnese. Two side handles also share this feature: **Griefswald** (cat. 4.24), from Hermione, and **Olympia B 819** (cat. 4.25), from Olympia.

the Greek repertoire, appearing most famously in the Bronze Age Lion Gate at Mycenae and also in the smaller arts, on bronze shield bands (Figures 1.46-1.47).¹⁷⁴ A bronze appliqué in the Metropolitan Museum, New York 01.16.1 (Figure 1.47), dated to the late seventh or early sixth century, is especially close to our hydria handle, with a pair of lions seated on a horizontal platform. Another plaque, Sparta 2146 (Figure 1.49) has a similar configuration.¹⁷⁵ The lions' bodies on the appliqué in New York are more flattened and more elongated than the lions on the hydria handle, but the discrepancies may be due to the differences in placement and functions of the two objects. Iconographically, this appliqué is closely related to the hydria handle and probably is also close in date. Overall, this handle fits comfortably between c. 500 and 475. Given the extreme simplicity of most of the comparable vessels, this handle perhaps belongs to the later years of the first quarter of the century.

A second vertical handle, **Brussels R 1179** (cat. 11.2), from Cerveteri, is bolder, with a pair of lions at the top and two nude, male figures with both wings and arms kneeling on the snake-platforms at the bottom.¹⁷⁶ The broad, semi-circular palmette is closely related to but less precisely articulated than the pendant palmette at the lower end of **New York 1989.11.1** (cat. 11.1). Here, the leaves of the palmette are given less definition here and the heart is widened to accommodate the incised volutes than extend outwards to form the bodies of the snakes. Stibbe dates the palmette to the end of the seventh century, which may be appropriate for the singular motif. However, the palmette

¹⁷⁴ *Shield Bands*: Kunze 1950 and Bol 1989, especially Olympia B 4074 (cat. no. H15, pls. 48-51), Olympia B 9749 (cat. no. H18, pl. 50), Olympia B 4982 (cat. no. H25, pls. 54, 55).

¹⁷⁵ Bieg 2002, fig. 69.

¹⁷⁶ Hoffmann 1964, 185-186.

is the most archaic feature of this handle. I am doubtful that such an elaborate composition was made so early.¹⁷⁷ The snakes may also be a datable characteristic of the Brussels handle, which are repeated on a bronze hydria from Treia, **Pesaro 3314, 3316** (cat. 12.2), dated to the first quarter of the sixth century, and a contemporary bronze appliqué, Pesaro 3315.¹⁷⁸

Typological parallels are found on two clothed male figures in similar poses on a ceramic plate from c. 560, Harvard 1959.127 (Figure 1.50).¹⁷⁹ Similarly, the two female winged female figures fleeing the Boreads on a Lakonian plate in the Villa Giulia in Rome, from Cerveteri, resemble our winged figures in pose and particularly in the foreshortened arm that suggests the quick movement of the elbow (Figure 1.51). This plate is dated between 560 and 550.¹⁸⁰ The figures might also be compared to the unclothed figures on a pair of bronze utensils in Athens, from the Athenian Akropolis (Athens Br 6484 and Athens Br 6485), (Figures 1.52-1.53).¹⁸¹ Their pose is similar but the Athenian bronze figures also wear winged boots to assist them in their flight. The bodies are rendered quite differently. Whereas the Brussels figures are angular and flattened, the Athenian winged men are rounded and more than a little ungainly. The schematic patterning, particularly noticeable in the sectioned wings, the punched nipples, and the stippled pubic hair, is stronger in the Brussels example, though one of the

¹⁷⁷ Stibbe 1997, 39.

¹⁷⁸ Although this handle is often identified as belonging to a hydria, I doubt that this is correct. See below, *Group 12*.

¹⁷⁹ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 127, cat. 1, s.v. “Boreadai” (K. Schefold).

¹⁸⁰ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 127, cat. 6, s.v. “Boreadai” (K. Schefold).

¹⁸¹ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 130, cat. 39a-b, s.v. “Boreadai” (K. Schefold). De Ridder 1896, cat. nos. 803-804, figs. 309-310.

Athenian figures (Athens Br 6485) also has hatched braids and punched nipples. The Athenian bronzes have been dated to the second half of the sixth century, which must be later than our figures, due to their more volumetric rendering and the overall lessening of rigid schematic representation. A bronze cista foot from Etruria from the early fifth century also is related typologically but not stylistically (Figure 1.54).

Although these specific winged figures are unique among this series of Greek bronze hydriai, the tradition of winged figures (sphinxes, gorgons, etc.) decorating small bronze objects is well-established, appearing as early as the Orientalizing period in the form of winged sirens on the rims of bronze cauldrons.¹⁸² These winged figures are the ancestors of the sirens that will become the favored ornamental motif on bronze hydriai and kalpides of the fifth century. Stibbe compares the winged men on **Brussels R 1179** (cat. 11.2) to a gorgon on a handle from southern Russia, winged gorgons from handles from volute kraters in Belgrade and Sofia and Paris, sphinxes from Trebenishte, Sparta, and Olympia, and sirens from Sparta.¹⁸³

The last handle in this group, **New York 06.1093** (cat. 11.3), from Taranto, also may be assigned to a Magna Graecian bronze workshop.¹⁸⁴ It incorporates elements found commonly on vessels from the middle of the sixth century on many hydria handles

¹⁸² Sirens in Greek Art: *LIMC* 8 (1997), 1093-1104, s.v. "Seirenes," (E. Hofstetter), pls. 734-44; Buitron and Cohen 1992, 109-111; Tsiafakis in Padgett 2003, 73-78.

¹⁸³ Stibbe (1992, 27 ns. 122-123). Handle from southern Russia: Rolley 1982, 66 n. 166, fig. 188; two volute kraters in Belgrade, from Trebenishte: Joffroy 1979, fig. 47; Filow 1927, pl. VIII.1-2; Volute krater in the Louvre: Filow, figs. 52-53; Sphinxes from Trebenishte: Rolley 1982, fig. 201; Sphinxes from Sparta: Herfort-Koch 1986, cat. no. K 60, pl. 9; no. 162, pl. 21); Sphinxes from Olympia: Herfort-Koch 1986, no. 160; Stibbe 1992, 48. Sirens from Sparta: Herfort-Koch cat. nos. K156-K159.

¹⁸⁴ This handle is so unusual that Rolley (Rolley 1982, 44) expresses his concern that it is not authentic. Stibbe (1992, 32) agrees with Richter (1915, 20f.) in accepting its authenticity and explaining its peculiarities as being result of its Etruscan manufacture. Bothmer (personal correspondence between Stibbe and Bothmer, see Stibbe 1992, 32 n. 134) proposes that it is Lakonian.

but combines them with highly unusual motifs. A female protome wearing a polos emerges from the palmette at the lower end of the vertical strap. From her shoulders, two horizontal projections with scalloped edges extend outwards, forming couches for male banqueters to recline upon. Each of the figures holds a libating and a drinking vessel. These men are quite unusual in their drapery, their drinking accoutrements, and in their presence on a hydria in the sixth century, although a number of fourth century appliqués do refer to the symposium more explicitly. Three bronze statuettes of banqueters from Northern Greece, dated to the third quarter of the sixth century, are very different in style but are similar in pose, garments, and equipment (Figure 1.55)

The date of **New York 06.1093** (cat. 11.3) has been given by Jucker and Stibbe to the middle of the sixth century, c. 540, on the basis of the similarity of the sphinxes to those on the shoulder of **Paestum 49802** (cat. 15.1), which is the one of only two other surviving hydria with sphinxes on the vertical handle.¹⁸⁵ Taken on its own, the form of this palmette would be assigned an earlier date, but since Stibbe (and Jucker) interpret the handle as an Etruscan imitation of a Lakonian prototype, they prefer to lower the date by a few years to account for circulation and imitation.

Dating and Chronology

Overall, a broad date range in the second quarter of the sixth century is appropriate for the diverse members of this group. Although they differ markedly in ornamental motifs, they are united by a technical virtuosity and a spirit of creative ambition not usually seen in this early period.

¹⁸⁵ Jucker 1966, 97; Stibbe 1992, 32. The other hydria with sphinxes is **Athens 18232** (cat. 9.12).

Geographic Distribution, Manufacture (Appendix IA, I.11)

Not all of the sculptural motifs that appear in these three handles are innovative. The female protome, the palmettes, the lions are part of the standard vocabulary of decorated bronze hydriai from the sixth century. However, the mythological heroes, reclining banqueters holding drinking vessels with known religious significance, and sphinxes with important associations that are different from the typical lions that they replace. The ambitious subjects adorning these handles are special and captivating. Although they are without doubt related to trends in more mainstream workshops, it comes as no surprise that **Brussels 1179** (cat. 11.2) and **New York 06.1093** (cat. 11.3) were both found in the West, in Taranto and Cerveteri, respectively. When we take these handles along with the ones that are discussed in the following group, it is tempting to wonder whether this creativity and willingness to press the boundaries of what is represented on the handle of a hydria perhaps is due to their origins in a workshop slightly removed from the more mainstream centers of Greek bronze production.¹⁸⁶

Group 12: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Anthropomorphic Handles and Elaborate Animal or Figural Groups

Even with the complexity of the previous handles, the advances in both conception and execution of the hydriai and related handles that belong to this group comes as a surprise.¹⁸⁷ The vertical handle itself takes an anthropomorphic form and the flanking decorative elements become larger and taken on a much more prominent role. These have been called “show handles” by C.M. Stibbe because of the way in which the

¹⁸⁶ This attribution is supported by Jucker 1976, 89-90.

¹⁸⁷ Diehl 1964; Stibbe 1992 (Group G); Jucker 1964; Jucker 1966; Jucker 1972; Jucker 1976; Marconi 1936.

figured handle inhibits the use of the vase as a water jar, at least in the usual way.¹⁸⁸ Other than these vessels, the complete dissolution of the handle into an anthropomorphic form occurs only twice in the series of Greek bronze hydriai, with the vessels with vertical handles in the form of nude youths (*Group 9*) and those with zoomorphic handles in the shape of lions (*Group 10*). Anthropomorphic handles also appear with bronze implements such as mirrors and paterae. However, it is only in the cases of **Bern 11620** (cat. 12.1) and **Pesaro 3314/3316** (cat. 12.2) and the related pairs of handles discussed here that the function of the object truly is compromised because of the complex combination of animals that surround the central vertical element. Although the hydria could still be lifted by the lateral handles, it is not really feasible to pour from the vessel by holding the vertical handle. Even in the two other groups that uses a human or animal form for the vertical handle, the grip retains the slim, relatively smooth vertical element that is characteristic of a functional hydria's pouring handle. In this early sixth-century type with the warrior and horses or potnia theron as the handle, the flanking animals inhibit the functionality of the handle in a way that the later experiments do not.

I have organized these "show handles" somewhat differently than Stibbe. First, I distinguished between the previous group with multiple figures (*Group 11*) and these with anthropomorphic handles (*Group 12*). Second, I have separated the zoomorphic handles and placed them in their own group (*Group 10*), as a subset of the kouros handles from the later part of the sixth century. The anthropomorphic group here is limited to those vessels that represent multi-figured compositions of the Master of Horses or Mistress of Animals type. Third, I have omitted Pesaro 3315, from Treia, altogether

¹⁸⁸ Stibbe 2000, 114-115.

(Figure 1.54).¹⁸⁹ Although this handle, which depicts two warriors fighting over the body of a fallen warrior beneath their feet, is often discussed as a hydria handle, it lacks the strong vertical axis present in all other vertical hydria handles. I remain skeptical that it belonged to a hydria at all. It does share the motif of the snake bodies with curled heads and tails serving as a horizontal platform for the composition found in other Archaic hydriai and is related but is more properly a bronze appliqué that was appended to another kind of implement rather than a handle belonging to a vessel of this or any related shape.

Although only two nearly complete vessels and two associated fragments of vertical handles of this hydriai proper have been found, this group is particularly important because of the presence of a series of at least twelve handles made in Italy for an indigenous shape with four handles that clearly imitate the Greek models. They likely belong on a native Italian shape with a pair of vertical handles and a pair of lateral handles.¹⁹⁰ These vessels also are important because of the insight they lend into the processes of assimilating Greek styles and iconography into the West.

The two hydriai of canonical shape are also the most complete, **Bern 11620** (cat. 12.1, from a Celtic tomb in Grächwil, Switzerland) and **Pesaro 3314/3316** (cat. 12.2, from Treia, Italy). Although they were not found together, they almost certainly were made in the same workshop and were conceived as a pair. Both have undecorated, overhanging lips, narrow, rather tall necks to accommodate the figured handle, and

¹⁸⁹ Stibbe 1992, 26-27, cat. no. G 5.

¹⁹⁰ A recent find in Vulci has allowed S. Moretti to reconstruct the shape of this hybrid vase. See Shefton 2003, 320 n. 27 and Moretti 1994, 37, pl. A3.

flattened shoulders that curve strongly down to rounded bodies. Neither foot survives, perhaps raising the question of whether or not they had feet or were supported by a stand of some type. **Pesaro 3314/ 3316** (cat. 12.2) is the more complete of the two, and was used as a model to restore the fragmentary body of the vase in Bern. They have been the topic of much discussion since their discoveries in the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries, respectively.¹⁹¹

The vertical handle of **Bern 11620** (cat. 12.1) takes up a common Archaic theme, derived from the East, of a *potnia theron* flanked by her animals, which include a pair of hares, four lions, two snakes, and an eagle who perches atop her head. The side handles of this vase are highly decorative as well, with a pair of lions extended laterally with heads turned backwards to face their partner on the opposite side of the handle. These lions are not unlike the lions from a rod tripod found in Metaponto, with their S-curved tails, face-framing manes, and open mouths that seem to be, as C.M. Stibbe has described, “laughing” at the viewer (Figure 1.57).¹⁹²

It is tempting to see the female/animal combination on the Pesaro side-handles as a shorthand reference to Artemis in her role as the Mistress of Animals. To support this suggestion, we can compare a similar composition on a pin made of ivory that was found in the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (Athens 15792, Figure 1.58).¹⁹³ This ivory recalls our bronze handle, with a female protome set between two horse protomes, although the fibula is executed in a far more two-dimensional manner. Another

¹⁹¹ Jucker 1966; Jucker 1976.

¹⁹² Stibbe 1992, 21 n. 92.

¹⁹³ Jucker 1966, 54, pl. 40.1; Kaltsas 2006, 71, cat. 22.

fragmentary bronze appliqué from a handle, Athens 6675, is also related by way of its subject (Figure 1.59).¹⁹⁴

The vertical handle of **Pesaro 3314/3316** (cat. 12.2) seems to be the male counterpart of the Bern vase, showing the ‘Master of Horses’ rather than the ‘Mistress of Animals.’ A warrior, clad only in a breastplate and a dramatic, double-crested Corinthian helmet with bovine horns and ears, stands on a pendant palmette with eleven rounded leaves and volutes that uncoil horizontally into snakes’ bodies.¹⁹⁵ Elaborate helmets such as this are shown with some frequency on Attic red-figure vases when a helmeted figure is represented frontally rather than in profile, as on a cup by a painter of the Apollodoros Group (Figure 1.60), and also are attested archaeologically (Figure 1.61).¹⁹⁶

The side handles are no less ornate. A smooth, rounded grip is fashioned at either end into a female protome wearing a tall polos. A choker-style necklace with a pendant in the shape of a seed or pomegranate adorns her upper neck.¹⁹⁷ A comparable necklace is seen on an anthropomorphic mirror support from Hermione, in the Argolid, which has been dated c. 540-530 (Figure 1.62).¹⁹⁸ Extending laterally from the handle terminals, horses with carefully incised manes and bridles emerge, with forelegs bent beneath them. The horses, though sculpted on a smaller scale, are not far from the long-necked, long-maned horses with almond shaped eyes on a rod tripod from Metaponto mentioned

¹⁹⁴ Jucker 1966, 55, pl. 40.2.

¹⁹⁵ Although unusual, helmets of this type do exist. See Stibbe 1992, 24 n. 99.

¹⁹⁶ *London E 43*: Beazley *ARV* 88.12, Beazley *ARV*², 118.13, 1627, *Beazley Addenda*², 174; *CVA Great Britain 17*, British Museum 9, cat. 10. *Private Collection (New York, Steinhardt)*: Denoyelle and Bothmer 2001, 51, fig. 14. On representations of Greek helmets, generally, see Born and Hansen 1991.

¹⁹⁷ We know that this kind of jewelry existed in the ancient world and was made from gold but, not surprisingly, most of the surviving examples are later than this vase.

¹⁹⁸ *Munich 3482*: Congdon 1981, 129-130, cat. 5a, pl. 4; Rolley 1986, 108-109, fig. 81.

above, Berlin Fr 183, from the middle of the sixth century (Figure 1.57). The Pesaro and Bern vessels take with them two extremely fragmentary vertical handles of similar type: **Naples 11080** (cat. 12.3) and **Athens 6781** (cat. 12.4).

Dating

Although the sophistication and execution of these two vertical handles is far removed from the rest of the Archaic series, it is more the combination of all of the decorative motifs that is unprecedented than the individual features. We may be able to situate these vessels chronologically by comparing their traditional features with contemporary products of more mainstream, traditional types. The palmette of **Pesaro 3314, 3316** (cat. 12.2) is not far from **Brussels R 1179** (cat. 11.2), except that its volutes are defined with a more firm outline.¹⁹⁹ The palmette below the vertical handle and those on the side handles of **Bern 11620** (cat. 12.1) are also comparable, as C.M. Stibbe notes, except that the relationship between the leaves and the volutes on the vertical handle palmette is slightly more resolved than in the earlier examples that he terms ‘experimental.’²⁰⁰ Stibbe dates the palmettes of **Bern 11620** (cat. 12.1) to the period between 595 and 585, and **Pesaro 3314, 3316** (cat. 12.2) to c. 600. The palmette on fragmentary handle **Athens 6781** (cat. 12.4), lacks volutes altogether and may be even earlier.²⁰¹ Again, however, I would argue that the palmette is the earliest feature of the handle and that it would be highly surprising to find such a complicated composition in

¹⁹⁹ Stibbe 1997, 39.

²⁰⁰ Stibbe 1997, 39.

²⁰¹ Stibbe 1997, 39.

the first decade of the sixth century, concurrent with the introduction of each of these motifs separately, as in the hydriai of *Groups 4, 5, and 6*.

The facial features and hairstyle of the female figure, particularly the short, beaded locks across the forehead, are close to a anthropomorphic mirror support from Cerveteri, Cincinnati Art Museum 1955.791, which has been dated by various authors to both the early and late part of the sixth century (Figure 1.63).²⁰² Its similarity to the Bern handle supports an early date for the mirror. The bearded snakes of **Bern 11620** (cat. 12.1) find comparison in the snakes to either side of the lion's head at the lip of **Paestum 49801** (cat. 10.2) and of those at the top of the vertical handles on **Atena Lucana** (cat. 5.2) and **Paris Br 2645** (cat. 5.9), all dated to the second quarter of the sixth century. The snakes serving as a platform for the upper pair of lions **Bern 11620** (cat. 12.1) and for both sets of animals on **Pesaro 3314, 3316** (cat. 12.2) follow **Brussels R 1179** (cat. 11.2). The S-curve of the lions' tails on both vases is reminiscent of the animals at the lower end of **New York 1989.11.1** (cat. 11.1) and the sphinxes at the top of **New York 06.1093** (cat. 11.3), differing from the ubiquitous lions at the top of most of the other vertical handles in their greater degree of animation. The angular face of the goddess, with her pointed nose, large eyes, notched eyebrows, and daidalic hairstyle, is reminiscent of many of the female protomes of *Groups 5 and 6*, dated in the first quarter of the sixth century.

The pendant necklaces of the female protomes on the side handles of **Pesaro 3314, 3316** (cat. 12.2) are not far from the choker worn by the protome at the lower end of the vertical handle of **American private collection** (cat. 6.14), also from the early

²⁰² *Cincinnati Art Museum 1955.791*: Congdon 1981, 211-212, cat. 116, pl. 95.

sixth century. The abbreviated female figure finds a close parallel in the head and neck of the caryatid mirror support mentioned above in reference to the pendant necklace (Munich 3482, c. 560-550, Figure 1.62).²⁰³ On balance, a date in the first quarter of the sixth century seems reasonable for **Bern 11620** (cat. 12.1), **Pesaro 3314/3316** (cat. 12.2), and likely also the associated fragments, **Athens 6781** (cat. 12.4) and **Naples 11080** (cat. 12.3).²⁰⁴

Geographic Distribution and Manufacture (Appendix 1A, 1.12)

The origins of the Pesaro and Bern hydriai have been debated at least since the early twentieth century and have been identified by scholars alternately as products of either a mainland Lakonian or a colonial Tarentine workshop because of their strongly Lakonian style and the creative freedom with which the figures were executed.²⁰⁵ That these vases were made under strong Greek, and even Peloponnesian (i.e. Lakonian) influences is indisputable. However, it is possible to propose a Magna Graecian origin for this bronze workshop based on three important factors: the provenances of the two vases, the distinct differences in between these two hydriai and contemporary hydriai produced in mainland Greece, and the similarity in conception to a group of bronze handles found primarily in the West. These vases were clearly produced in awareness of Archaic Greek artistic traditions, but have a unique Western spirit that is distinct from the mainstream Greek production.

²⁰³ *Munich 3482*: Congdon 1981, 129-130, cat. 5a, pl. 4.

²⁰⁴ Stibbe (1992, 25) proposes a similar range of dates.

²⁰⁵ These, at least, are the most plausible suggestions that have been put forward. Lakonian: Neugebauer 1923, 38-39, Neugebauer 1925, 177f., Stibbe 1992, 20-21; Tarentine: Jucker 1972, 47-48. For summary, see Shefton 2004, 32.

Related Handles

The Master of Horses theme was not new in the Archaic world. The vocabulary of the masculine imagery, especially horses and warriors, appears to descend directly from the Geometric period. A Geometric oinochoe from Aegina (Berlin V I 3374, Figure 1.64) offers a close parallel for our composition. On the jug, a helmeted warrior flanked by two horses, which he leads with short reins.²⁰⁶ Horses were a favorite subject for Geometric and early Archaic bronze workers, as well. The subject must have resonated for craftsmen and consumers alike, for the theme is repeated on at least twelve other closely related bronze handles that were made on the same scale as our hydria handles and seem to have served a similar purpose, but likely were employed on a different, indigenous shape.

Besides the two hydriai and the associated handle fragments (**Bern 11620** [cat. 12.1], **Pesaro 3314/3316** [cat. 12.2], **Naples 11080** [cat. 12.3], and **Athens 6781** [cat. 12.4]), there are at least six pairs of handles that repeat the Master of Horses composition. None of the bodies of the vases to which these handles belong have survived, which makes it difficult to determine their precise shape and nature. Because they are found with single sets of side-handles, they must belong to four-handled vases and therefore cannot be called hydriai. However, the handles are so closely related in form and shape to the hydria handles discussed above, they must be related in some meaningful way. They often have been discussed as hydriai without any qualifying cautions but they must belong to a four-handled shape, probably a unique Etruscan or Italic type that no longer survives. Given the evidence of the four handles, it must have been a hybrid between the Greek hydria and the Greek amphora. Each of these handles was found in Italy and the

²⁰⁶ Coldstream 1968, 75; Schweitzer 1918, 144, fig. 32.

images, although identical in conception to the more typical Greek products noted above, are far from Greek in execution and demonstrate interesting relationships between Greek and Italic traditions.

A handle from Belmonte Piceno, **Ancona 11379** (cat. 12.5), that must be a lone survivor of what was once a pair, seems most similar to the Pesaro vessel in style, but adds three new elements to the composition.²⁰⁷ First, the warrior now leads the horses by their manes, grasping them by the crowns of their heads as they bend forward in submission. Second, his legs and feet turn to left, giving a more active pose. Third, an eagle grasping a snake is introduced between the horses below and the lions above. The image of the eagle and the snake is familiar from ancient epic as a sign of a divine portent and appears in vase painting as early as the seventh century.²⁰⁸ The graphic, dramatic scene surely would have been in the minds of those that saw this handle. The composition on the whole betrays a much less skilled hand. The awkwardness of execution is especially noticeable in the uncomfortably small proportions of the horses compared to the warrior, the unmodeled, engraved details of the horses, the warrior's costume, and the eagles' feathers, and the heavy platform on which the roaring lions perch.

A pair of handles from Foligno, **Berlin 7101a** and **7101b** (cat. 12.6), as distinctly non-Hellenic or at the very least, provincial, style.²⁰⁹ The basic outline of the composition is similar, with the warrior leading two horses below and lions above. The details,

²⁰⁷ Picard 1960, 409f.; Jucker 1966, 8, pl. 21.2; *Popoli e Civiltà dell'Italia Antica* 5 (1976), 163, pl. 131. D'Andria 1977, 559.

²⁰⁸ *Iliad* 12.200-209. Also a Corinthian plastic vase type, see Ducat 1966.

²⁰⁹ Jucker 1972, 58 n. 121, pl. 18; *Die Welt der Etrusker*, cat. 1988, 190, B 7.26/ B 7.25.

however, are quite different. First, the proportions of both the central figure and the flanking horses are squat and heavy. The warrior is conceived in basically two dimensions, with broad shoulders and heavy hips. His neck is thick and hardly separates the head from the shoulders at all. The breastplate is no longer modeled but is indicated by a relief line at his waist, incised circles at the chest, and an engraved band of patterning at the shoulders and biceps. The horses also have incised decorations at the deck and outlining the body and legs. The lions in the upper tier have smallish, unformed bodies and large heads. They resemble dogs more closely than lions. The position of the warrior is slightly different as well. Here, he stands on a low platform rather than on a long, flattened horizontal element. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that the platform was intended to represent a chariot box, which would then change the scene slightly from a Master of Horses theme to a chariot-driver. Alone, the platform might not seem so significant, but taking the group as a whole, with the Ancona warrior's (as well as those in Munich and Bologna) suggestion of active movement and the horses, as we will see in the next set of handles, moving to right, it seems as though the craftsmen producing these vessels might have been searching for ways to indicate a narrative action, each arriving at their own solution. It seems clear that the producer of these handles was not trained in a Greek workshop.

Two additional handles also give the impression of having been made by a non-Greek hand, **Borowski GR 171x** (cat. 12.7).²¹⁰ The overall impression of these handles follows from the Pesaro Master of Horses but the patterning on the horses and on the warrior's body, the awkward transition of the central figure into the lion at the upper end

²¹⁰ Kunze 2007, 102-105.

of the handle, and the attachment of the horse's tails to the horizontal platform place the set firmly outside of the Greek tradition.

Similarly, a set of handles from **Tolentino** (cat. 12.8), with a central man holding the muzzles of two horses also draws from the Master of Horses tradition.²¹¹ With **Munich 3837a,b** (cat. 12.9) and **Bologna A,B** (cat. 12.10), the handles are translated even further into a Western understanding of the theme.²¹² In each of these handles where the warrior is preserved, he wears a perizoma, or loincloth, instead of the more traditional breastplate seen up to this point.²¹³ The horses have thin, cylindrical torsos and elongated legs and lift one foreleg, as if caught in mid-movement. The warriors in both of these handles move to right. The pair of lions above in each of these four handles resembles dogs more closely than lions, with their small, unarticulated bodies and elongated heads. The horizontal handles are nearly identical to those from Tolentino and it is likely that they were made in the same workshop.

With handles from Rome, **Villa Giulia 17387** and **17388** (cat. 12.11), any semblance of Greek visual language has been clearly traded for a non-Greek idiom.²¹⁴ These two handles share the now-familiar combination of a central helmeted warrior leading a pair of horses, with lions above and eagles grasping snakes in between. The handle is crude in execution. Between the upper and lower sets of figures, struts are used. The supports are either the result of an aesthetic decision to break with tradition and use a

²¹¹ Marconi 1936, 65, figs. 9-12.

²¹² *Munich*: Jucker 1972, 58, pl. 19.1, 60 n. 144. *Bologna*: Marconi 1936, 64, no. 5, fig. 8; Jucker 1966, 8f., pl. 18; Jucker 1972, 58.

²¹³ On the perizoma in Attic black-figure vase painting, see Shapiro 2000, 313-337.

²¹⁴ Jucker 1966, 9, pls. 19-20; Jucker 1972, 58.

more openwork approach to the bronze composition or a misunderstanding or mistrust of the strength of the material.²¹⁵

Geographic Distribution and Manufacture of Related Handles

The paired handles outnumber the true hydriai in such great numbers that it was once proposed that perhaps we should see the Pesaro and Bern hydriai as the exceptions-rare three-handled versions of a four-handled type.²¹⁶ Although this remains a possibility, it seems more likely to propose that the Pesaro hydria was created in a Greek or colonial workshop in Magna Graecia and its decorative elements appealed to the Etruscan and Italian audiences so greatly that its composition was repeated again and again on a native four-handled vessel type. It is tempting to think about how these ideas might have circulated, but we have no concrete evidence. It is certain, though, that the vases did circulate and resonated with the native Italian clientele to such a great extent that bronze craftsmen in diverse workshops throughout central Italy imitated the composition in conception but adapted in execution to fit the preferences and requirements of a local audience. This idea of diverse workshops is important; the double-handles are really concentrated in this region of central Italy along the Adriatic coast but they are emphatically not the products of a single craftsman or workshop. The handles represent different aesthetic aspirations and reveal artistic hands of various backgrounds.

²¹⁵ There is one other pair of handles, **Naples 86526 a,b** (cat. 12.12) that may fall into the same category of imitative work, with a man of extremely elongated proportions leading two rearing lions, with a pair of swan's protomes at the lip of the vase. However, because the horizontal handles of this vessel, if ever there were any, are not preserved, it seems appropriate to remove this set of handles from our list and consider it as having been intended to decorate an two-handled amphora. I have excluded it here from the group.

²¹⁶ Neugebauer (1923-24, 38-39), following Helbig (1880, 238f.), identified it as a hydria. Peterson (1905, 71) wondered briefly it actually was a four-handled vessel that was just missing its second vertical handle. Once the more-intact Gräewil vessel was discovered, scholars generally agreed that the four-handed type followed the more canonical Greek hydriai with three handles. For a discussion of historiography of this issue, see Neugebauer 1972, 47-48.

Circulation

It is also worth considering briefly how and why the two proper hydriai, **Bern 11620** (cat. 12.1) and **Pesaro 3314, 3316** (cat. 12.2), or their sisters, found their way to central Italy. B. Shefton, who has written much about the movement of bronze vessels through out the Mediterranean, comments that the demand for prestige Greek vessels (and other products, such as helmets) into and through the provincial region of Picenum is intense in the early sixth century, then subsides by the middle of the Archaic period in favor of transporting objects to the northeast, into the Balkan peninsula rather than up the Adriatic.²¹⁷ He notes, however, that a second wave of imports, which also included bronze hydriai, came into the region in the first quarter of the fifth century (cf. **Ancona 25020** from Sirolo, (cat. 15.17) and **Ancona 4846**, from Castelbellino, (cat. 15.26).²¹⁸ He proposes to interpret these hydriai and accompanying utensils as “introductory gifts,” sent in periods of new and renewed interactions between Greeks and the peripheral chieftain communities.²¹⁹ If the local leaders valued the gifts of the Greeks (or Western Greeks, as the case may have been), then it is not surprising that there was a market for imitations by local artisans. Even if they only approximated the traditional Greek vessel and adapted it for use on a shape that was useful to the native population, some degree of cultural and economic prestige of the objects may have been retained. The quantity of local products that have survived testifies to their desirability.

²¹⁷ Shefton 1992, 318-321.

²¹⁸ Shefton 1992, 331.

²¹⁹ Shefton 1992, 331-332.

Group 13: Archaic Varia

Many fragments of bronze hydriai exist that date to the sixth century, particularly handles and feet, but are too fragmentary to place precisely within a specific group.

Handles

A small fragment of a vertical handle, **Olympia B 6241** (cat. 1.9), is of the appropriate thickness and width to belong to a hydria differs in having a thin, flat grip decorated with shallow, vertically incised lines spaced regularly across the front surface and a horizontal band in relief at the upper end.

Animals (Lions and Rams)

At least five stray lions may belong to Groups 4, 5, 6, 7, or 9. **Olympia B 818** (cat. 13.3) is the most complete and probably one of the earliest, with its well-formed body, including the hips and rear paws, modeled facial features, and plastic ruff with incised lines radiating around the face. **Olympia B 5260** (cat. 13.4) is probably slightly later than **Olympia B 818** (cat. 13.3), with its slim torso, simply articulated features, and undecorated, low-relief ruff. Fragmentary lion **Delphi** (cat. 13.2), is particularly cursory, with a ruff only around the lower part of the face, from ear to ear, with quick indentations to indicate locks of hair, and the long, rounded locks of mane falling into the chest. **Athens, Karapanos 64** (cat. 13.1) is the most rudimentary, with a short beard and tuft of hair indicating the ruff and short, rounded tufts of mane around the neck and chest. **Olympia Br 14058** (cat. 13.5) is too damaged to comment on its form.

The more typical of two surviving ram fragments, **Sparta 5411** (cat. 13.7), is covered with a fleece in the form of a pattern of hatched diamonds. A fragment of the

outer set of a pair of double volutes supports his hindquarters. The second ram, **Boston 52.188** (cat. 13.6), is more unusual, with incised features on an otherwise smooth body.

Half-Spools and Rotelles

The most complete of the handle fragments is **Olympia B 13785** (cat. 13.18), which has a simple combination of rotelles and half-spools at the top and a rectangular grip with a column of beads up the center and a horizontal row of beads separating the grip from the upper attachment. There is no way to determine, however, whether a palmette, an animal, a female protome, or a combination of decorative motifs secured the bottom of this handle. Smaller bits of half-spools, including **Olympia B 3321** (cat. 13.19), with a rounded production at the tip, **Olympia B 13689** (cat. 13.17) and **Olympia B 6573** (cat. 13.14), with ribbed edges, and **Olympia B 6297** (cat. 13.13) and **Olympia B 3906** (cat. 13.12) with relief lines at the outer sides of the narrow edges. Slender rotelles are preserved in **Olympia B 7239** (cat. 13.15), **Olympia 7951** (cat. 13.16), and **Olympia B 3669** (cat. 13.9), which has a beaded edge and an incised half-rossette on its outer face.

Feet

At least 40 feet have been disassociated from their bodies and many vessels and sets of handles missing their feet (mostly from Olympia); some of them must belong together. They can be identified as once belonging to hydriai because of their characteristic profiles and comparable diameters. The simplest are **Olympia B 817** (cat. 13.27), **Olympia B 1809** (cat. 13.28), **Olympia B 4703** (cat. 13.33), **Olympia Br 3577** (13.42), **Olympia Br 5168** (cat. 13.43), **Olympia Br 1583** (cat. 13.41), and **Olympia Br 8530** (cat. 13.44), each of which has a slightly flared profile and is left undecorated. **Olympia Br 12067** (cat. 13.46), **Olympia B 5488** (cat. 13.36), **Olympia (no inv.**

number), and **Olympia B 10398** (cat. 13.40) are also undecorated but have a more strongly flared profile with a concave curve. **Olympia B 3478** (cat. 13.29), **Olympia (no inv. number)**/ (**Gauer 1991, Hy 68**) have a simply flared profile (almost a ring base) and are decorated with a pattern of wide, convex tongues in low relief. **Olympia (no inv. number)**/ (**Gauer 1991, Hy 61**), **Olympia B 4701** (cat. 13.31), **Olympia B 4702** (cat. 13.32), **Olympia B 5077** (cat. 13.34), **Olympia Br 14029** (cat. 13.47), **Sparta** (cat. 13.49), and **Warsaw** (cat. 13.50) have a more strongly flared foot with a concave curve and are decorated with a ring of beads above a pattern of tongues either in low relief or articulated by incision lines at regular intervals around the outer surface of the foot. **Olympia B 4409** (cat. 13.30) shares the profile and ring of small beads around the top, but lacks the tongues. **Olympia B 5487** (cat. 13.35) has a flared profile with a slight convex curve in the central zone that is decorated with impressed tongues outlined in relief and a ring of tiny beads above. This foot is transitional between the feet with flared profile and the more advanced tripartite foot profile with a cyma reversa profile in the middle section. The earliest examples of this sophisticated foot design appear in the sixth century, including **Olympia B 6225** (cat. 13.38), **Olympia B 12066** (cat. 13.45), and **Olympia no inv number**.²²⁰ In the fifth and fourth centuries, this type of foot is standard and usually is heavily decorated with either hanging petals or an alternating pattern of lotus flowers and buds.

Geographic Distribution (Appendix 1A, 1.13)

Once again, so many of these finds come from Olympia that we must consider whether there was a major production center in the near vicinity of the Altis and why so many bronze hydriai were dedicated or used in this sanctuary. As noted above in *Group*

²²⁰ Gauer 1991, Hy 73.

I, they may have been prizes, dedications, or cult paraphernalia. They certainly attest to a strong tradition in this location in the sixth century that should not go unnoticed.

Conclusions on Archaic Bronze Hydriai

As we have seen, the sixth century was a prolific and creative period in the production of bronze hydriai. The shape develops and changes fairly rapidly from a squat, heavy vessel decorated with simply formed geometric and abstracted animal motifs to a lighter profile with complex, ambitious imagery that in some cases even compromises the function of the vessel itself. We will consider the issue of iconography more fully in *Chapter 5*, but we can at least note here that the ornaments applied to these vessels seems to be meaningful and chosen for specific effects that may help us to understand the various ways brwonze hydriai were used in sixth-century Greece. The issues of production and identifying workshops or regional origins are difficult but aided by stylistic assessments and comparisons and by tracing the findspots of the vessels whose provenances are known. For the Archaic period, it seems that the primary metalworking centers responsible for the production of bronze hydriai were located in the Peloponnese, in Lakonia, Corinth, and in the vicinity of Olympia, and also in Southern Italy, perhaps in Taranto because of its close connections with its mother-city, Sparta. The distribution of vessels shown in *Appendix 1A* shows significant quantities of hydriai throughout the Peloponnese, particularly in Olympia. Major Panhellenic sanctuaries, especially Olympia but also Athens and Delphi to a lesser degree, seem to have received numerous bronze hydriai as votive offerings. Hellenized parts of Southern Italy seem have yielded prolific numbers of these vessels, as well.

On the fringes of the Hellenized world, bronze hydriai seem to have traveled along the established Greek trading routes up the Adriatic coast on both the western and eastern sides, up into Central Europe and the Balkan Peninsula. Later, in the fifth and fourth centuries, as the Greeks themselves shifted focus to the north and east, particularly to the region of the Black Sea, we will see that the trade of luxury objects, including hydriai, changed course as well.

Given the Etruscan propensity towards Attic imports in the ceramic industry, it perhaps is surprising that so few bronzes have been found in this part of the Mediterranean. This may be in part because the Etruscans had a thriving bronze industry of their own. We might also expect to have more evidence for bronze vessels from East Greece and the Aegean islands. Excavations on Samos, for instance, have not produced any bronze hydriai that I know of, despite Pausanias' credit to the Samian craftsmen Rhoikos and Theodoros for inventing the techniques of bronze casting.²²¹ It is perhaps not coincidental, however, that the vocabulary of the East Greek plastic vases that take the forms of helmeted warriors, swans, and female busts, consists of many of the same elements seen here appended on bronze water jars.²²² Perhaps these similarities reflect connections with Eastern workshops and artistic traditions that are no longer evident archaeologically.

Towards the end of the sixth century, bronze hydriai undergo significant changes in shape, decoration, technique, and patterns of circulation. In the waning years of the sixth century, the wide variety of decorative approaches narrows to a very limited range of motifs and new techniques allow for hydriai without any decorative elements at all.

²²¹ Pausanias 8.14.8. Trans. Jones 1966, 416-417.

²²² Many thanks to Jasper Gaunt, who first introduced this idea to me.

Major changes in the political, social, and economic situations of the Greeks in this formative period may account for many of the shifts in function and circulation observed in the microcosm of these vessels. The Archaic period remains, however, the most dynamic, experimental, and clearly exuberant phase of production and was responsible for establishing the traditions and standards of making and decorating bronze hydriai that persist at least through the fourth century.

Chapter 2: Late Archaic and Classical Bronze Hydriai

In the middle of the sixth century, at least a few bronze craftsmen began to experiment with new forms and approaches to the ornamentation of hydriai, although the individual elements of the decorative vocabulary remained largely within the preexisting Archaic framework. By at least c. 500, however, significant changes in shape, technique, and decoration had occurred, virtually supplanting the older model. Following an overarching trajectory of Greek art during the transition from the Archaic to the Late Classical period, the profiles of the vases continued to develop from “stout to slender” and craftsmen showed less interest in apotropaic imagery and crowded compositions of animal and figural groups. Instead, they began to favor simpler compositions with fewer elements.¹ Many of these changes proved to be short-lived experiments that were abandoned by the middle of the fifth century in favor of a new, more rounded version of the shape. In the last years of the sixth century and first half of the fifth, the Archaic motifs were pared down to just a few favorite motifs, namely the female protome and the lion. Just after c. 450, these Late Archaic and Early Classical experiments were superseded by the motif of a winged siren almost exclusively.

Although at least four inscribed hydriai from the Archaic period are known at present, including **Once New York Market (Phoenix Ancient Art 2006)** (cat. 4.18), **Mainz 201** (cat. 5.3), **Baltimore 1954.1269-71** (cat. 7.1), and **Berlin 10.822** (cat. 8.7), the fifth century vessels offer many more opportunities for exploring the wide variety of functions that they performed. An important class of inscribed vessels from the first half of the fifth century was offered as prizes from the games of Hera at Argos. These have

¹ Bloesch 1951.

garnered nearly all of the scholarly attention that has been paid to the bronze hydriai of this period. They were treated first by D.M. Robinson in a 1942 essay in which he focused primarily on the style of the female figures placed at the top of the vertical handles. Later, P. Amandry considered not only the evidence of the iconography but also took note of the grammar and letterforms of the inscriptions and the significance archaeological contexts in which they were discovered.² Amandry's work addresses the gaps that Bothmer notes in Diehl's treatment of the material, which focused chiefly on her failure to distinguish those that bear inscriptions and those that do not.³ The inscriptions will be mentioned here only in passing as they appear on hydriai from the fifth century but will be discussed as a group below in *Chapter 6* (see also *Appendix II*).

Compared with the Archaic hydriai, many more of the Early Classical vessels have known provenances, allowing for fuller considerations of production and circulation. The findspots for these vessels reveal interesting patterns of distribution in Greece, Italy, and Asia Minor that are different than the routes indicated in the sixth century. On the mainland, far fewer hydriai are found in Olympia and in the northwest Peloponnese. Instead, the *northeast* Peloponnese has yielded numerous vessels from the late sixth and early fifth centuries. Bronze hydriai continue to be found throughout southern and central Italy on both the Mediterranean and Adriatic coasts but in far fewer numbers than before.

Shape

The profiles of bronze hydriai changed dramatically in the last quarter of the sixth century. We can compare, for instance, an Archaic hydria from Paestum (**Paestum**

² Robinson 1942; Amandry 2002.

³ Diehl 1964, 23-25; Bothmer 1965, 604.

49803, cat. 6.2) with an Early Classical vessel from the Chalkidike (**New York 54.11.2**, cat. 14.6). First, the mouth and neck became slimmer and the neck was given a fairly strong concave curve. In place of the overhanging lip of the Early and High Archaic period, the lip of the Late Archaic and Early Classical hydriai was thinner, shorter, and more delicately turned down at the outer edge. The shift from a wide, cylindrical neck and broad, flattened shoulder to a lighter, curved upper body results in a more harmoniously unified shape. The shoulder became higher and narrower and curved down to a straighter body. The lower body demonstrates a more graduate taper to a lower, wider foot. The side handles have light, rounded grips that curve up in the center and end in small, rounded plaques. Some others, such as **New York 26.50** (cat. 14.13), show a different type of lateral handle with wide, ribbed grips and thick, elongated panels at the ends. The most characteristic feature of bronze hydriai of this shape from the late sixth and early fifth centuries is a high vertical handle that rises from the shoulder and continues up and over the mouth before returning to attach to the upper side of the lip. The changed profile of the vertical handle is paralleled in ceramic hydriai and often appears in scenes of women carrying their water jars to the fountain house on late black-figure hydriai (e.g. New York 06.1021.77, Figure 2.1).

Technique

By at least the middle of the sixth century, lead solder was introduced as a new method of joining the separately formed parts of the vase together and began to supplant rivets as the preferred method of attachment. The technique seems to have been used earlier for bronze vessels of other shapes, including the famous Vix krater, but it does not seem to have been part of the hydria-maker's repertoire until the end of the sixth century.

At first, a combination of metallurgical fusion and mechanical attachment is evident, most often with rivets at the top of the vertical handle and solder at the lower end and on both sides of the lateral handles. Solder was used almost exclusively by the middle of the century. The change from rivets to solder placed new demands on the decorative elements. In place of the of long, horizontal motifs to provide a secure footing for pinning the handle to the body that previously were preferable, the new technique required a more compact element with an adequate surface area for joining the parts. It is likely that technological innovations allowed metalworkers to transition from riveting to soldering. This change caused a shift in the requirements of the decorative elements that led to a dramatically new approach to the ornamentation of the hydriai.⁴

Decoration

Innovations in both shape and technique profound impacted decoration, opening up an entirely new set of ornamental possibilities. Shifts in the relationship between the body (particularly the mouth and neck) and the separately worked vertical handle required a change from the formulaic animal pairs that had been a convenient solution to the problem of securing the handles to the bodies of the vases earlier in the Archaic period. When the profile of the vertical handle was modified at the end of the sixth century, the upper point of attachment shifted from the lip to the upper surface of the mouth. The most significant consequence is the reversal of the orientation of the

⁴ Pausanias (10.16.1) credits the craftsman Glaukos of Chios with the invention of soldering iron (See also Herodotus 1.25, Plutarch *de Def. Or.* 47 and Pliny *NH* 34.17.S48). This reminds us of Pausanias' and Pliny's testimony that the Samian architects Rhoikos and Theodoros introduced the techniques of bronze-casting to the Greeks. Cf. Pausanias 3.12.8, 8.14.5 and Pliny *Natural History* 30.12.S43. In light of these two statements, it is reasonable to propose a thriving Archaic bronze industry on multiple Aegean islands, but there is no indication, so far as I know, that these workshops manufactured bronze hydriai, much less were the leading force behind a technical revolution that led to radical changes in the shape, technique, and decoration of these vessels in the late sixth or early fifth century. C. Mattusch (1980, 442 n. 41) notes that hard solder first was used in large-scale statuary in the first half of the fifth century, which roughly contemporary with its appearance in the smaller arts, as well.

decorative elements on the vertical handle. At the upper end, the sculpted attachments now faced in the opposite direction and took precedence over those at the lower end. Two different motifs, both familiar from the Archaic period, were appropriated for this position: a female protome and a lion. The upper part of the handle usually was supported by a horizontal panel fitted around the curved lip. At the far edges, the transition from handle to mouth was marked by upright rotelles that flanked the central ornamental motif (i.e. female protome or lion) and distracted from the otherwise abrupt ending of the added piece of metal.

Elsewhere on the vessel, the sculpted motifs were drastically reduced. At the bottom of the vertical handle, a simple palmette was used almost exclusively, in marked contrast to the diverse motifs placed in this position earlier in the Archaic period. The orientation of the vessels effectively was shifted to the opposite side, away from the person pouring and towards those who watched the water flow from the jar. On a few of the last vessels of this type, from the mid-fifth century, Archaic motifs, such as the gorgon, were reintroduced at the bottom of the handle and the sirens appear for the first time, which are an important feature of the High Classical vessels that will be discussed separately in the following chapter. Two main classes of hydriai appear in the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods, distinguished according to the ornamental motif that appears at the top of the vertical handle:

Group 14: Female protomes

Group 15: Lions turned inwards, facing over the mouth of the vase

Each of these types explores the decorative possibilities that result from a change in the approach to the vertical handle. They are the latest hydriai vases that use rivets as a

primary method of attachment and are the final experiments in figural decoration at both ends of the vertical handle.

The changes in shape and decoration that emerged in the last decades of the sixth century and continued throughout the fifth century began at approximately the same time as ceramic vase-painters transitioned from black-figure to red-figure techniques. It seems that there was a general feeling of artistic restlessness in the last quarter of the sixth century (at least in Athens) that fostered a search for new forms, new techniques, and new directions of ornamentation that promised new possibilities. In ceramic vase painting, the red-figure technique allowed a greater freedom in the representation of the human figure.⁵ In bronze vessels, new techniques and shapes afforded radical re-assessments of the decorative vocabulary.

Group 14: Late Archaic/ Early Classical Bronze Hydriai with a Female Protome at the Top of the Vertical Handle (Argive Prize-Type)

At least 20 well-preserved vessels and handles feature a female protome at the upper end of the vertical handle; these are the first of the extant bronze hydriai to reflect the dramatically altered profile of the late Archaic and Early Classical periods.⁶ These vases and their elegantly sculpted ornaments effectively demonstrate the strong interest that late sixth- and early fifth-century bronze craftsmen had in geometry, symmetry, and proportion. Here, the female protome, familiar from the first half of the sixth century, is re-positioned at the top of the handle and re-configured into the full bust of a woman,

⁵ M.B. Moore (1997, 80), notes that “the decade of the 520s was a time of great artistic fermentation in the Athenian potters’ quarter,” resulting in a number of experiments “with the various possibilities and combinations of glaze, outline, incision, and added red or white in an attempt to produce new and expressive results, [of which] only red figure and white ground were to have a future.”

⁶ Robinson 1942, 172-197; Diehl 1964 B 75-85, B 175; Bothmer 1965, 601; Bothmer 1974, 15-16; Amandry 1971, 615-617; Amandry 1980, 210-217; Amandry 2002, 29-32.

shown from clothed torso to head. By placing the sculpted figure in this position, bronze craftsmen exploited the new site for ornamentation made available by the augmented profile of the vertical handle. In the Archaic period, the position of the vertical handle, which was attached to the vase below the lip and at the shoulder, dictated that if decorative elements were added at the upper end, they had to be applied to the outer surface of the lip, which meant that they almost always faced away from the spine of the vertical handle. Now, however, the handle rises from the shoulder and reaches its maximum height well above the level of the rim, curving back down to meet the mouth of the vase at the outer edge. The abbreviated female figure is placed along the outer perimeter of the mouth with her back against the upper end of the vertical handle, gazing over the opening of the vase.

When a female protome first was placed at the bottom of the vertical handle in the late seventh and early sixth centuries (cat. nos. 5.1-5.13, 6.1-6.16), only a thickened horizontal band at the bottom of the neck suggested the continuation of the figure. The elaboration of the figure on the hydriai from the end of the sixth century allowed craftsmen to explore the contours of the draped female body and resulted in magnificent works of art that are small in scale but sophisticated in both design and execution. The sculpted figures are early expressions of the calm, harmonious beauty that is a hallmark of the Classical aesthetic.

The upper end of the vertical handle emerged, for the first time, as the primary locus of decorative attention, which as a radical change from the previous century. Previously, the lower end of the vertical handle had been most important and the upper end of the handle was generally relegated to a secondary status with a conventionalized

pair of geometric motifs or reclining animals. The migration of the primary sculpted motif to the upper and inner side of the vertical handle had a limited lifespan that persisted only until the middle of the fifth century. These experiments are represented by the members of this group (with a female protome) and the next (with a lion's protome, see below, *Group 15*).

The preserved vessels are fairly consistent in profile. They have narrow mouths and thin, hammered lips that curve gently away from the mouth at the outer edges. The necks tend to be short and curved. The shoulders are less broad than before, but are still fairly flat on the upper side before rounding down to an elongated, slowly tapering body. The feet are low and wide with a simple ring profile. On the fully preserved examples of this type, the subsidiary ornaments at the bottom of the vertical handle, the ends of the lateral handles, and on the mouth and foot usually are limited to simple palmettes and geometric patterns.

The developmental and chronological sequence of these hydriai can be divided into phases based on two factors: the relationship between the female protome and the highest point of the curved handle and the style of the sculpted figure. In the first phase (*A*), the apex of the vertical handle climbs well above the top of the woman's head and the figure is an integral part of the surface of the handle, giving the impression that it truly emerges from the grip. In the second stage (*B*), the figure and the handle rise to approximately the same height and the protome is liberated from the surface of the handle, at least in part. In the final, mature type (*C*), the protome is taller than the highest point of the handle and is connected to the handle at its lower back but is otherwise (more or less) independent.

The early experiments differ from their counterparts of the next generation primarily in a more abbreviated female form. One of the first of the type (*A*), **Nemea BR 379** (cat. 14.1), found in a well in the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea, shows only a disembodied female head projecting from the handle, overlooking the open mouth of the vessel. The carinated profile of the vase and its decoration suggest an early date.⁷ The embellishment of the vertical handle is simple but innovative, with a woman's head projecting in high relief at the top, facing over the mouth of the hydria. This figure and many of the others fall between the two types of Archaic predecessors, neither wearing a polos nor having a bare head. In this case, the figure has a fillet high on her head, which may be important to her identification. It is inscribed as the property of Zeus at Nemea, "ΤΟ ΔΙΟΣ ΕΙΜΙ ΤΟ ΝΕΜΕΑΙ," and perhaps was used in service of sacred rituals in the Sanctuary.⁸ (On the inscriptions, see *Chapter 6, Appendix II*).

Several complete vessels and disassociated handles are related closely but show more of the female form. Vertical handle **Baltimore 1954.776** (cat. 14.2) must be an early experiment with the motif, showing just the head and neck ones discussed in the vessels belonging *Group 5* occupies the space at the top of the handle. The relationship between the figure that emerges from the handle and the horizontal element of the upper attachment of the handle that fits around the lip to secure the handle to the vase is unresolved and abrupt.

⁷ Four additional bronze feet (**Nemea Br 377**, **Br 378**, **Br 380**, and **Br 381** (cat. nos. 19.24-19.27) of the same shape (two plain and two with a tongue pattern in relief) were found in the same level of the fill, which S. Miller (1978, 82-84) has interpreted as a cleaning operation at the very end of the fifth century or beginning of the fourth.

⁸ Miller 2004, 48-49.

The vertical handle of **New York 57.11.13** (cat. 14.3) introduces a fuller version of the protome emerging from the inner face of the handle as it turns down to meet the mouth of the vase. The top of her head is significantly lower than the tallest point of the handle. The face, which is rendered more surely and in higher relief than the rest of the figure, is oval-shaped, with Archaic features reminiscent of the earlier protomes at the lower end of the handles in *Groups 5* and *6*. In the intermediate space between the figure's neck and the horizontal surface of the mouth of the vase, the torso of a woman is suggested tentatively, with a thin horizontal relief line indicating the neckline of her garment. The protome is flanked on either side by two transverse bands in relief that have been interpreted in later examples as 'bracelets,' marking the transition from the arms of the figure to the upright rotelles with beaded edges and incised rosettes on the outer faces that appear at the far sides of the handle.⁹

Another vertical handle, **Paris 2632** (cat. 14.4), which has been copied and wrongly restored as part of a pair of handles on an amphora, also belongs to this first phase.¹⁰ The protome is still abbreviated, the rotelles are set perpendicular to the lip, and the spine of the grip is decorated with a beaded snake body. **London 1918.1-17** (cat. 14.5) is very close in style to this handle.

On a complete hydria, **New York 54.11.2** (cat. 14.6), the woman's head is sculpted in much higher relief than the previous examples (with the possible exception of **Nemea Br 379**, cat. 14.1). Also, there is an effort here to represent the anatomical

⁹ Robinson 1942, 176. This detail becomes standard, appearing on most handles of this type, including **Ankara** (cat. 14.8), **Baltimore 1954.776** (cat. 14.2), **Boston 1899.469** (cat. 14.21), **Malibu 73.AC.15** (cat. 14.16), **New York 26.50** (cat. 14.13), **New York 54.11.12** (cat. 14.6), **New York 56.11.2** (cat. 14.10), **New York 57.11.3** (cat. 14.3), **Paris 2632** (cat. 14.4), **Paris, Musée des Arts Decoratifs 27178** (cat. 14.9), and **Pompeii 21803** (cat. 14.17).

¹⁰ According to Bothmer 1965, 601.

features of the figure more accurately and more fully. Small ears are added at the sides of the head, the breasts are modeled more assertively, and the shoulders are subtly indicated, all of which enliven the figure and encourage the viewer to see the protome, relief bands, and flanking rotelles as a unified composition rather than distinct ornaments arranged paratactically. Although the shoulders are not as developed as they will be in later examples – here, they truly are defined by the outer edges of the handle- just the *hint* of shoulders prompts us to visualize a woman’s arms outstretched around the curve of the lip rather than a disassociated horizontal expansion of the bronze. Advances in the transition between the figure and the rim also are noticeable in the attempt to mask the otherwise awkward junction with folds of drapery. Overall, the facial features of this figure are softer than before but she still has some Archaic characteristics, including a fairly heavy, sharp brow, heavily lidded eyes (uneven, as noted above in *Chapter 1, Groups 5 and 6*), a straight nose, and small lips. The coiffure is less stylized than in some of the earlier examples. The head, by virtue of being sculpted in higher relief than previous examples, begins to gain independence from the handle. This innovation is most noticeable in the forward-tilt of the chi, which gives a downcast gaze and a stronger, more solemn demeanor.

Following these clearly early experiments, at least four hydriai signal a transition to a second phase of development, in which the figure and the handle reach a more equivalent height and the female protome begins to break free from the vertical handle (between phases *A* and *B*). The first is an intact hydria formerly on the Art Market in New York (**Once New York Market [Ariadne Galleries 2005]**) (cat. 14.7). The profile combines early and late features: the shoulder is flat and the body is full until it tapers at

the lowest point, which was typical in the Archaic period. However, the neck is curved, the faceted side handles curve up in the center, are bound at the highest point with a thick ring, and end in elongated, thin panels with incised palmettes (as in **New York 57.11.3** (cat. 14.3) or **New York 54.11.2**, cat. 14.6), all features that signal the Early Classical period. Like the vase itself, the female protome has both conservative and progressive features. The figure is considerably shorter than the highest point of the vertical handle but emerges from the surface of the handle more assertively than the previous examples. A thick fillet or diadem is worn across her forehead, which is similar to **New York 54.11.2** (cat. 14.6). The body is fairly well developed, with a long torso and clearly modeled breasts. The structure of her garment is still indistinct.

A partially preserved hydria in **Ankara** (cat. 14.8), from a tomb in Sinope, has a protome at the top of the vertical handle that is still firmly connected to the handle from which it emerges but is far more developed than in the previous examples. In this case, the full, clothed torso of a woman is represented. Her facial features are still relatively angular, with sharp brow and heavily lidded eyes, a straight nose and small mouth. Her hairstyle is different, marking a turn away from the Archaic braids and towards the Classical chignons that will emerge in the examples that follow. In place of the amorphous draperies of the previous figures, this figure is clothed in a clearly recognizable peplos with a rounded neckline pinned at the shoulders. For the first time, the shoulders are modeled distinctly from the sides of the handle. The sleeves hang down in long, vertical folds that contrast with the smooth cloth across her chest. The flanking rotelles are different in both form and orientation from the previous examples. First, concave discs with raised centers that resemble mesomphalic phialai replace the typical

flattened rotelles. Second, they more or less follow the contour of the curve of the mouth rather than rising perpendicular to it.

The hydria in Ankara also is remarkable for the two inscriptions on the upper surface of its mouth. The first inscription, engraved with larger letters, reads “ΠΑΡ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΕΜΙ ΤΟΝ ΗΑΓΕΘΛΟΝ” (“I am from the games of Argive Hera).” The second inscription, in smaller letters below the main inscription, is fragmentary “ΕΚ Φ[.]ΩΝ Α[....] Π[.] Δ[.]Ο[.]ΚΩ[.]ΩΙΝ” may be discerned. This phrase has been restored alternatively as “from the games of the Dioskouroi at Pheneos,” or more recently, “from the games of the Dioskouroi at Phokaia.”¹¹ (on the inscriptions, see below, *Chapter 6, Appendix II*)

The protome on another vertical handle, **Paris, Musée des Arts Decoratifs 27178** (cat. 14.9), goes with the figure in Ankara, though it is somewhat different in style. In both cases, the hairstyle is rolled and short rather than long and flowing over the shoulders. As above, her dress, which has a shallow v-shaped neckline is pinned at the shoulders and hangs down in long folds at her sides, contrasting with the smoothness of the drapery pulled taut across her chest. There is here a greater attempt to show the folds of the garment across her torso.

The figure at the top of vertical handle **New York 56.11.2** (cat. 14.10) is unusually elongated, extending to below the belted waist of her garment. Her cropped coiffure is similar to that seen on the handle in Paris. Although the figure is significantly more advanced in style than in previous examples, I propose it is best situated here in the earlier phase because the figure is intimately connected with the (much taller) supporting

¹¹ Amandry 2002, 31; Gaunt 2005, 16.

handle and because the elongated form of the figure may be interpreted as an experiment that was not picked up in later versions of the motif.

Following these, there are at least two hydriai in which the highest point of the vertical handle and the head of the female protome are at approximately level (*B*). The result of this changed relationship between the handle and the decoration is that the head of the woman now breaks free from the supporting handle, giving her a more powerful presence than her predecessors. A vessel in an **American Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 14.11) might be identified as transitional. The head of the female protome is roughly as tall as the highest point of the handle but the head is sculpted in high relief and only attached at the back of the head. Her small face is rounder than in other examples, with less heavy features and a wider mouth. Her body is sculpted in somewhat lower relief, leaving the draped chest and torso flatter than might be expected.

Copenhagen I.N. 3293 (cat. 14.12) bears an inscription that has been restored as, “ΤΑΡ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΕΜΙ ΤΟΝ ΗΑΓΕΘΛΟΝ” (“I am from the games of Argive Hera”) (on the inscriptions, see below, *Chapter 6, Appendix II*). The female protome is independent from the handle from the neck up. The chest and torso in higher relief than the previous examples. The peplos is pinned at the shoulder but falls in long, vertical folds down to the lip of the vase, allowing bare arms to emerge. This detail gives an even stronger impression of wearing the ‘bracelets’ at the ends of her arms before they transform into rotelles at the ends.

Finally in the mature phase of the sequence (*C*), the figure’s head rises well above the highest point of the vertical handle and is even freer from the handle from which it emerges. The ten or more vessels and handles that belong to this last stage undoubtedly

represents the pinnacle of the series, with finely modeled statuettes essentially sitting atop the rim of the hydriai. **New York 26.50** (cat. 14.13) is a particularly fine example of this type. It also is inscribed as a prize from the games at Argos (“ΤΙΑΡ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΗΑΓΕΘΛΟΝ” [“I am from the games of Argive Hera]”) (on the inscriptions, see below, *Chapter 6, Appendix II*). The female protome has facial features that are early Classical in style, with heavy lids, a nose that is softer and less angular than before, and narrow lips. Her expression is stately and imperturbable. Her arms extend smoothly into elaborate, concave phiale-rotelles with two tiers of carved rosettes with a raised center on the outer faces. The horizontal handles are wide, with three ribbed ridges across the grip, and end with concave palmettes carved into elongated plaques. These lateral handles are associated with two others of the same type, **Perachora** (cat. 14.14) and **Argos** (cat. 14.15).

Malibu 73.AC.15 (cat. 14.16) follows the New York hydria closely. It is similar to **New York 26.50** (cat. 14.13) except that the neck is longer, the side handles are slimmer, and the low, wide ring foot is left undecorated. The woman at the top of the vertical handle is stylistically very near to the New York protome. Her arms end in concave phialai-rosettes with two tiers of rosettes and a raised center on the outer faces; these rosettes are more distinctly floral than before. The slender side handles are like those of **New York 54.11.2** (cat. 14.6), **New York 57.11.13** (cat. 14.3), and **Once New York Market (Ariadne Galleries 2005)** (cat. 14.7) with a round cross-section with a curved grip with a ring of large beads in the center, at the highest point, and oval-shaped plaques with chased palmettes at both ends.

Pompeii 21803 (cat. 14.17) must be related closely to the previous vessels. This protome differs in the particularly softly modeling of her facial features, an unusual headcovering, and the exceptionally smooth the transition between handle and rim achieved by the careful positioning of her drapery. The inscription on the upper surface of the mouth may be restored as, “ΤΑΡ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΕΜΙ ΤΟΝ ΗΑΨΕΘΛΟΝ” (“I am from the games of Argive Hera”) (on the inscriptions, see below, *Chapter 6, Appendix II*).

University of Mississippi Art Museum B 15 (cat. 14.18), is perhaps the latest surviving member of this group. The female protome is significantly taller than the supporting handle. When viewed from the back, the handle gives the impression of the curved spine of a figure whose shoulders and head are visible above it. The head tilts slightly forwards, which combined with a strong brow, small, heavily lidded eyes, and thin lips give the figure a solemn, thoughtful expression. D. Robinson notes that not only is this hydria missing its side handles but comments that “if there were any attached, all traces of them have disappeared.”¹² Indeed, it is curious that out of eleven complete or nearly complete hydriai in this group only four preserve lateral handles.¹³ Due to the lack of both side handles and evidence for them on the walls of the vase in so many of these vessels, we must acknowledge the possibility that some of them were made with only a vertical handle and therefore cannot properly be called hydriai. This group, instead, might be comprised of hydriai and oinochoai that are particularly closely associated with one

¹² Robinson 1942, 176.

¹³ *Complete vessels*: (Ankara (cat. 14.8), New York 26.50 (cat. 14.13), Pompeii 21803 (cat. 14.17), Nemea BR 379 (cat. 14.1), Baltimore, Berlin 8064.18 (cat. 14.19), Malibu 73.AC.12 (cat. 14.16), New York 54.11.2 (cat. 14.6), New York 57.11.13 (cat. 14.3), Once New York Market (Ariadne Galleries 2005) (cat. 14.7), and United States Private Collection (New York) (cat. 14.11). *With lateral handles*: (New York 26.50 (cat. 14.13), Malibu 73.AC.12 (cat. 14.16), Once New York Market (Ariadne 2005) (cat. 14.7), and New York 54.11.2 (cat. 14.6).

another and made in the same center of production around the same time. The lack of the two lateral handles does not preclude normal usage for the vase but might have been inconvenient for carrying a heavy jug full of water. On the other hand, if the vessels were intended primarily for another purpose besides transporting water the side handles may have been less necessary and perhaps were omitted in these few, exceptional cases.

A partially preserved hydria from Eretria, **Berlin 8064.18** (cat. 14.19), is not far from the previous three vessels. The female protome at the top of the handle has a more elongated face and more strongly modeled features and her coiffure is markedly different, with tight coils piled on top her head. The drapery, too, is more emphatically rendered, with a sharper point at the neckline, between the breasts, and more strongly curved folds in the torso. A hydria in **Lyons** (cat. 14.20) may be associated closely with this vase in terms of both type and style.

Finally, a vertical handle from the Peloponnese, **Boston 1899.469** (cat. 14.21), also must be among the latest of the series. In this case, the female figure is significantly taller than the handle. Her petite face has mature, Classical features with a deftly modeled brow, a softly shaped nose, and full lips. Her hair is rolled elegantly around a fillet and individual strands of hair are articulated in low relief. The curve of her shoulders is well outside the outer edges of the grip of the handle. The arms bend delicately at the elbow and continue to reach around the curve of the mouth of the vase. Her garment is looser than normal with many deep folds down the front and parts at the shoulder to reveal the flesh of her slender arms.

At least two other handles are related tangentially to this group by the presence of a female protome at the upper end of the handle, but they clearly are separate from the

mainstream members of the series described above due to the addition of a gorgoneion at the bottom of the vertical handle. A small hydria with a pattern of tongues both on the shoulder and covering the entirety of the body below the side handles, **Once Paris Market** (cat. 14.22), has a female protome at the upper end of the handle (whose head is below the highest point) and a gorgoneion at the lower end of the handle. The horizontal handles are of the same type as **New York 26.50** (cat. 14.13), **Perachora** (cat. 14.14), and **Argos** (cat. 14.15), which, as will be discussed below, may help to identify centers of manufacture. Other than the profile of the handle and the female protome in the upper position that necessitate the inclusion of the vase within this group, this hydria invites closer comparisons with its companions with decorated bodies and gorgoneia at the lower end of the vertical handles (*Chapter 1, Group 7*)

A second variation occurs in **Jerusalem, Private Collection (Borowski GR 150 H)** (cat. 14.23), which also finds parallels in the vessels with gorgoneia (cat. nos. 7.1-7.16). The female protome at the upper end of the handle is related typologically to the others but is sculpted independently and rises significantly further than the highest point of the handle. Overall, the figure has an exceptionally fleshy appearance. The facial features appear almost swollen as a result of having been worked with a heavier hand. She wears a tightly fitted necklace with a pendant in the center (noted previously on the female protomes at the ends of the lateral handles on **Pesaro 3314, 3316** (cat. 12.2). The swell of her breasts is ambiguously indicated (as **Ankara** [cat. 14.8] and **Paris Musée des Arts Decoratifs 27178** [cat. 14.9]) between her neck and the horizontal surface of the mouth of the vase. To either side of the handle, there are two relief bands that perhaps meant to represent bracelets, as suggested above. These, however, seem slightly

misunderstood because they are worn too high on the arms. The gorgoneion and pair of rams at the lower end of the handle recall traditions familiar from earlier in the sixth century.

Comparanda and Chronology

I propose that the vessels were made following a general developmental trend that conceived of the abbreviated female figure at the upper end of the vertical handle as increasingly independent of the grip. The type seems to have been introduced just after 550 but became far more common in the last quarter of the sixth century and was especially favored in the second quarter of the fifth. It seems to have come to an end by c. 440, when the profiles of bronze hydriai undergo a major shift and the upper end of the vertical handle is eliminated as a site for sculpted ornamentation.

The idea of placing a female head or protome at the top of the handle is not altogether new at the end of the sixth century. Prior to the appropriation of the motif for hydriai, it was used with some frequency on long-necked beaked bronze oinochoe since at least the middle of the sixth century (see, for example, New York 1997.158, Figure 1.7).¹⁴ The scheme of placing upright rotelles to either side of the decorated handle also was adopted from these prototypes.

We can be sure that the changes in shape and therefore decoration that allowed the production of this type occurred by at least the last quarter of the sixth century because the new handle, sometimes accompanied by a female protome, appears on surviving examples of ceramic hydriai and in representations of hydriai on late black-figure hydriai and amphorae. It generally is accepted that potters of ceramic vases usually

¹⁴ There is a series of oinochoe of this type that must be related (at least typologically) to the Argive prize-type hydriai and handles: see Vokotopoulou 1975, 1-36, pls. 1-35.

followed contemporary trends begun first in metal vessels that predated it. Therefore, if the newly updated profile appears in terracotta, it may well have had metallic predecessors. A good example of the ceramic version of the type is found in New York 56.171.29, which has been dated to c. 510 and assigned to the Leagros Group (Figure 2.2).¹⁵ A similarly shaped vessel that lacks the addition of a sculpted motif on the handle appears on a contemporary black-figure hydria, New York L1999.10.12, attributed to the Priam Painter (Figure 2.3). Representations of hydriai with this characteristic high, curved handle are numerous, including a red-figured Attic hydria in London attributed to Phintias and a contemporary red-figured kalpis attributed to the “sundry Pioneer group” that recently was on the London Art Market (Figures 2.4-2.5).¹⁶ Numerous ceramic vessels, including a black-figure-on-white ground kyathos attributed to Psiax and an oinochoe of similar technique attributed to the Class and Painter of London B 620, share the sculpted motif of a woman’s head seen on these bronze hydriai (Figures 2.6-2.8).¹⁷

The earliest of the surviving bronze hydriai of this type appear by the third quarter of the sixth century. The vessels that represent the first phase of development with experimental figures and an intimate relationship between the handle and the figure can be divided further, into those with extremely abbreviated busts, including **Baltimore 1954.776** (cat. 14.2), **New York 57.11.13** (cat. 14.3), **Paris 2632** (cat. 14.4), **London 1918.1-1.7** (cat. 14.5), **New York 54.11.2** (cat. 14.6), and **Nemea Br 379** (cat. 14.1) and

¹⁵ *New York 56.171.29*: Beazley *ABV* 362.30; *Paralipomena*, 161; *Beazley Addenda*², 96; Bothmer 1987, 31, 70, no. 17; Immerwahr 1990, pl. 23.94.

¹⁶ *London*: Folsom 1976, pl. 5; *London Art Market: Bonhams* 26.11.1997, 116-117.

¹⁷ *Malibu 77.AE.102*: Attributed to Psiax as Painter, c. 520; True in Cohen 2006, 242, fig. 1; *Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 5*: Attributed to Class and Painter of London B 620, c. 525-515; True in Cohen 2006, 250-251, cat. 70.

those that are somewhat less dependent on the structure of the handle for the human form, **Ankara** (cat. 14.8), **Paris, Musée des Arts Decoratifs 27178** (cat. 14.9), and **New York 56.11.2** (cat. 14.10).

Baltimore 1954.776 (cat. 14.2) may be the earliest surviving member of the group, most closely comparable to the Archaic busts of women that appear at the lower ends of the handles in *Groups 5* and *6*, above. The Archaic facial features and hairstyle led D.M. Robinson to date this handle to 540-520, on the basis of stylistic similarities with figures on several Archaic hydriai, including **Paestum 49800, 49803, and 49804, Paris, Petit Palais, and Athens 15137** (cat. nos. 6.1-5).¹⁸ A figured mirror support, Boston 04.7, which has been dated to c. 510-500 and assigned to an Aeginetan school, offers a later instance of the a similar coiffure (Figure 2.9).¹⁹ **New York 57.11.13** (cat. 14.3) and **New York 54.11.2** (cat. 14.6) have been dated by D. von Bothmer to the last quarter of the sixth century, as well. However, I reverse Bothmer's sequence, placing **New York 57.11.13** (cat. 14.3) before **New York 54.11.2** (cat. 14.6) because of the greater influence of Archaic stylistic features on the female protome of the former vase.²⁰ A bronze oinochoe with similar decoration at the top of the vertical handle, New York 22.139.34, which has been dated to c. 525, is certainly earlier than either of the hydriai in New York (Figure 2.10). **Once New York Market [Ariadne Galleries 2005]** (cat. 14.7) can be situated comfortably after these early examples but before the mature phase of the series begins, likely near to 500.

¹⁸ Diehl 1964, 23-25; Robinson 1942, 187-188.

¹⁹ Congdon 1981, 140-141, cat. no. 19, pl. 16.

²⁰ Cf. Bothmer 1964, 604.

Nemea Br 379 (cat. 14.1) may be situated in the early part of the first quarter of the fifth century by comparison with similar figures on other types of vessels. Specifically, the protome at the upper end of the handle of a long-necked beaked oinochoe from western Greece, Ioannina 2259 (Figure 2.11), is comparable in terms of type and of hairstyle, though the style of the woman's faces is different.²¹ The oinochoe has been dated to c. 510-490 and assigned to a Corinthian workshop by I. Vokotopoulou. It must be nearly contemporary with the hydria from Nemea. The hairstyle itself, however, has a relatively long history, dating back at least as far as the middle of the sixth century. A longer version of the same coiffure is seen on a figure from another oinochoe, Ioannina 2258 (c. 550-540, Figure 2.12) and a caryatid from a bronze mirror from Corinth (c. 520, Athens 11691, Figure 2.13).²² Specifically, the Nemea protome has stylistic affinities with both of the pedimental sculptures of Athena from the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina, c. 490 and c. 480. The earlier Athena shares a similar hairstyle with the protome from Nemea, while the head of the later figure is closer in terms of the overall shape of the face and the details of carving of the brow line and heavy eyelids (Figures 2.14-1.15).²³ Furthermore, shortly after its excavation, S. Miller compared the female protome to members of G.M.A. Richter's "Euthydikos Kore Group," which are the latest of the Archaic korai and date to the period of the Persian wars.²⁴ In his reevaluation of the chronology of the Early Classical sculptures from the Akropolis based on the

²¹ Vokotopoulou 1975, 5-10, pls. 10-11; Miller 1978, 84 n. 59.

²² *Ioannina 2258*: Vokotopoulou 1975, 1-10, pls. 3e, 4, 5, 6, 7; *Athens 11691*: Congdon 1981, 138, no. 16 a,b, pl. 11.

²³ Stewart 1990, figs. 242, 250.

²⁴ Richter 1968, 98-108; Miller 1978, 84 n. 59.

archaeological stratigraphy and development of style, A. Stewart dates the Euthydikos kore to the period following the Persian invasions, to the middle of the 470s BC. This decade falls within the range of dates I propose for the hydria in Nemea.²⁵

After these early vessels, there seems to be a gap in the sequence, which resumes in the second quarter of the century. The fully developed examples of the type that appear at the end of the sixth century show a female protome with a rolled coiffure wearing a belted peplos with sleeves that fall from the shoulders in long, hanging folds. They are closely related to a long series of bronze standing female figures that act as supports for handled mirrors that have been dated generally within the second and third quarters of the fifth century and assigned mostly to workshops in the northern Peloponnese.²⁶ The female figures from the mirrors and the hydriai show a wide variety in the treatment of their hair and arrangement of the folds of their garments, suggesting that there was a surge of interest in the type by many bronze craftsmen in this region in this particular period.

P. Amandry dates **Ankara** (cat. 14.8), in which the female protome is fully formed but still closely connected to its handle, to c. 470-450 based both on the style of the figure and the letter forms of the Argive inscription, which compares favorably to an inscribed list of dead warriors following the battle of Tanagra in 458 BC.²⁷ The earlier decade (470-460) perhaps is more appropriate because it is similar in shape but fairly

²⁵ Stewart 2008a, 406-407, Table 2, 408, cat. no. 6; Stewart 2008b, 601-602, Table 1.

²⁶ Congdon 1981, especially 149-203, cat. 31-93.

²⁷ Amandry 2002, 29. Akurgal and Budde (1956, 14) situate the vase near 460. For the inscription, see Jeffery 1961, 162-64.

significantly less developed in terms of style than its closest counterparts, which are the New York and Malibu hydriai that follow.

The second stage of development is characterized by those vases in which the figures emerge more assertively out of the surface of the handle and are roughly equivalent in height. These include **American Private Collection** (cat. 14.11), **Copenhagen I.N. 3293** (cat. 14.12). While the **New York Private** (cat. 14.11) hydria likely follows the Ankara vessel closely, perhaps between 470 and 460, as well, the Copenhagen vase must be significantly later. Both stylistic and epigraphic evidence suggests that this handle actually should belong at the end of the series, c. 450-440.²⁸

The vessels of the final, most developed phase are a relatively tight series produced in a single generation between c. 460 and 440. At least two of the hydriai from the third developmental phase, **New York 26.50** (cat. 14.13) and **Malibu 73.AC.12** (cat. 14.16) may be dated to c. 460. The date of the New York hydria was established early on, by G.M.A. Richter, who assessed the letter forms (particularly the “four-stroke sigma, consistently horizontal connecting stroke for the alpha, [and] slanting strokes for the *nu*”) in relation to inscriptions datable to the early 450s, and examined the sculptural style by way of comparison with the sculptures from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (c. 465-457).²⁹ The hairstyle and garments of these two female protomes resemble the female figure that acts as a support for a caryatid mirror found in Lamia (Thessaly) but assigned to an “Argo-Corinthian” workshop and dated to c. 450 (Berlin Staatliche Museum Inv.

²⁸ Johansen 1969, 54-64; Amandry 1980, 216; Amandry 2002, 30.

²⁹ Richter 1928, 185-190.

Fr. 11, Figure 2.16).³⁰ **Pompeii 21803** (cat. 14.17) and **University of Mississippi Art Museum B 15** (cat. 14.18) are slightly more developed in style; they may belong nearer to c. 450.³¹ Following these and preceding **Copenhagen I.N. 3293** (cat. 14.12), **Berlin 8046**, **Boston 1899.460**, and the hydria in **Lyons** (cat. 14.20) can be assigned to the following decade, c. 450 to 440.

The two outliers, **Jerusalem, Private Collection (Borowski GR 150 H)** (cat. 14.23) and **Once Paris Market** (cat. 14.22), may either be earlier than the rest of the group, based on the character of their subsidiary decorations (gorgoneia, paired animals) or later, with Archaizing features. The Borowski handle shares several features to the earlier members of this group, including the divergent braids that frame the female protome's face (cf. **Baltimore 1954.776** (cat. 14.2), **New York 57.11.13** (cat. 14.3), and **New York 54.11.2** (cat. 14.6), the pendant palmette in low relief at the top of the grip (with hatched band between the volutes, cf. **New York 57.11.13** (cat. 14.3) and the lower end of the vertical handle on **New York 54.11.2**, cat. 14.6), and the snake's body up the spine of the vertical handle (cf. **New York 57.11.13**, cat. 14.3). A date in the last quarter of the sixth century would accommodate these contemporary features and not be incompatible with the gorgoneion, which is similar to the canonical type of gorgon found, for instance, on the hydria in Elis and its companions (cat. 7.2 and following) that were made in the third quarter of the sixth century.

³⁰ *Berlin, Staatliche Museum Inv. Fr. 11*: Congdon 1981, 188-189, cat. 79, pl. 74.

³¹ Bothmer 1974, 16; Amandry 1980, 216; Johansen 1969, 54-64; Amandry 2002, 30. D. Robinson (1942, 182) dated the University of Mississippi hydria (cat. 14.18) slightly earlier, to c. 460-450, but based on the sum of evidence now available supports moving the date forwards at least a decade.

Above, **Once Paris Market** (cat. 14.22) was dated to the early fifth century because of its similarity to three early Classical vessels with a lion's head at the top of the vertical handle, **Naples 73144** (cat. 15.12), **Chicago, Field Museum 1973.3217.195785** (cat. 15.13), and **Switzerland, Private Collection (Ortiz)** (cat. 15.21), as well as the advanced style of the gorgoneion at its lower end. A good comparison for this hydria is found in a bronze oinochoe in the Antikenmuseum, Basel (ex-Tessin), which also has a female protome flanked by rotelles at the upper end, a beaded snake's body up the grip of the high handle, a gorgoneion at the lower end of the vertical handle, and tongues covering the shoulder (Figure 2.17).³² I. Vokotopoulou has dated this oinochoe to the first decade of the fifth century by I. Vokotopoulou, which is reasonable for the hydria as well.

Geographic Distribution, Manufacture (Appendix 1B, 1.14)

The four inscriptions on vases of this type, along with the findspots of the group as a whole, suggest that this group of bronze hydriai was made in the northeastern region of the Peloponnese, perhaps near to Argos.³³ Four of the vases (**Ankara** (cat. 14.8), **New York 26.50** (cat. 14.13), **Pompeii 21803** (cat. 14.17), and **Copenhagen IN 3293**, cat. 14.12) were found outside of this area but it is clear from their inscriptions that they all were in Argos at some point during their lives. It is most reasonable to imagine that they were made in the vicinity of Argos and given as prizes before they were sent away with the winners. Several other hydriai and fragments that lack the prize inscription support this suggestion. It seems fairly clear that **Nemea BR 379** (cat. 14.1) was made either

³² Vokotopoulou 1975, 31-33, pl. 24; Wallenstein 1971 79, pls. 23.2, 24.1 (Corinthian); Hill 1962, 58, cat. no. 14 (Aeginetan); Schefold 1960, 39-40, 179, cat. no. 178.

³³ Richter 1928, 190.

alongside the Argive vessels in the same workshop or another center in the northeastern Peloponnese that was very closely associated. Furthermore, **Baltimore 1954.766** is from Corinth, **Oxford (MS), University of Mississippi Art Museum** (cat. 14.18) was found in Aigion, **Boston 1899.469** (cat. 14.21) came from Elis, and **New York 26.50** (cat. 14.13) from an unspecified location in the Peloponnese. Two loose handles, one from **Argos** (cat. 14.15) and one from **Perachora** (cat. 14.14), should be added to the list. **Berlin 8064.18** (cat. 14.19) from Eretria and **New York 54.11.2** (cat. 14.6) were found further afield. In the case of **Ankara** (cat. 14.8), which was inscribed in Argos and also in Phokaia before being deposited in a tomb in Sinope, on the Turkish Black Sea coast, attests to how portable these vessels were and how far they might travel. On balance, the vases of this type with known provenances provide no reason to suppose that they were made away from the Argolid and strongly suggest a local center of manufacture. Stylistic details, such as hairstyle, drapery, and facial features betray a number of different hands, which may complicate the linear chronological progression proposed here. However, I would argue that similarities of profile, technique, and decorative approach found among these vessels and accompanying figures are significant and may recommend assigning them to a single production center or, at the very least, a network of extremely closely associated workshops near to one another in the northeast Peloponnese.

Group 15: Late Archaic/ Early Classical Bronze Hydriai with a Lion's Head at the Top of the Vertical Handle

At least 30 relatively diverse vessels and handles share the characteristic high handle of the Late Archaic and Early Classical period Argive prize-type hydriai.³⁴ They

³⁴ Diehl 1964, B 86-B 96, 25-28; Bothmer 1965, 601-602.

differ in shape, technique, and combinations of decorative elements but are united by the presence of a lion's head at the top of the handle. Each of these vessels has a lion's head facing inwards over the mouth of the vase, representing another motif borrowed from the Archaic repertoire and re-positioned on the upper, inner side of the vertical handle. The choice of a lion is not surprising. By the end of the sixth century, lions were well established in the bronze craftsman's vocabulary, appearing in both full and abbreviated forms. The motif is also familiar from other Archaic bronze vessels, especially oinochoai, volute-kraters, tripods, and cauldrons. This group is particularly significant as a transitional moment where the shift from Archaic to Classical is palpable, in the inclusion of both lions and sirens at the ends of the vertical handles. They mark the end of a major phase Greek bronze hydriai that began in the late seventh century, representing the final incarnations of the lions, palmettes, and gorgoneia of the Archaic and Early Classical periods at both ends of all three handles. After the middle of the fifth century, the kalpis shape eclipses the traditional shoulder hydria almost entirely, bringing with it a new set of new demands for the decorative elements.³⁵

The type begins relatively early, in the middle of the sixth century, but does not appear consistently until the period between 525 and 500. The earliest expressions of the motif occur prior to the changes in profile that accommodate the lion more successfully; these may be termed 'forerunners.' On these vases, the vertical handle is attached in the normal manner of an Archaic hydria, at the shoulder and on the outer edge of the lip. The upper end of the grip is rounded and taller than usual, assuming the form of a small, rounded lion's head that peeks over the lip and faces the open mouth of the vase. Even in

³⁵ M.B. Moore (1997, 80) notes that the shoulder hydria virtually disappears by c. 470 BC, although a few later examples do demonstrate that the shape continued to be made at least occasionally.

the earliest examples, horizontal projections from the lion's head wrap around the curve of the lip and end in rotelles with beaded edges. Various ornaments appear at the lower end of the handle, including palmettes and female protomes. As they exist today, the 'forerunners' seem to be isolated experiments with similar motifs rather than a cohesive set made together in a specific workshop or region. Together with the later versions of the type, they may point to a long tradition of which only a small fragment survives.

I. 'Forerunners'

Only two complete 'forerunners' survive, along with a few disassociated handles. The finest of these is a complete vessel from the subterranean shrine in Paestum. **Paestum 49802** (cat. 15.1) is of somewhat unusual shape, with a broad, rounded shoulder, strongly tapered body, and high, flared foot. Its profile is rounder and fuller than any of the other vessels found with it and does not appear to have been made alongside any of them. The degree of ornamentation also differentiates this hydria from its counterparts. It has a pattern of long, rounded tongues, each defined by a pair of narrow, chased lines, on the shoulder and a tongue pattern on the foot. These features are more common among members of this group than in the series in general but have not been encountered frequently up to this point. The character of the decorative motifs is exceptional, as well. A lion's head flanked by pairs of rotelles with beaded edges appears at the top of the vertical handle, pendant to a palmette and winged sphinxes at the bottom. Besides **Paestum 49802** (cat. 15.1), only one other vase in the entire series of bronze hydriai features sphinxes: **Athens 18232** (cat. 9.12). The lateral handles end in pairs of the Archaic motif of addorsed lions' protomes shown in profile at the sides, reminiscent of the horses arranged similarly on **Naples 86527** (cat. 4.12) and **Vienna 2907** (cat. 4.22).

This early vessel is related fairly closely to another complete vase found elsewhere in Southern Italy, **Taranto 134906** (cat. 15.2). Its shape is akin to **Paestum 49800**, **49803**, and **49804** (cat. nos. 6.1-6.3) but is less graceful in proportion, with a rounder shoulder, a gentler taper in the lower body, and a shorter foot. Like the Paestan vase, the vertical handle has a lion's head with flanking rotelles at the upper end. In this case, the lion's face is slender and long, resulting in a strangely proportioned animal form. The lateral handles represent an early, somewhat ungainly experiment with a form that eventually will supplant the flattened grips and figured terminals of the Archaic period. It is round in cross-section with a relief ring at the mid-point, ending at either side with a semi-circular disc attached with large round pins. A similar approach to fashioning the lower end of this handle is found on at least one other vertical handle, **Delphi** (cat. 15.6), which ends with an irregular palmette with five rounded leaves defined with pairs of incised lines and half-volutes incised onto a rounded panel.

Two fragments that preserve just the upper part of the vertical handle, **Athens 7135** (cat. 15.3) and **Athens 6405** (cat. 15.4), also belong to this first phase of production. **Athens 6405** (cat. 15.4) may be the older of the two, with a simple, rounded lion's head between widely-spaced rotelles. **Athens 7135** (cat. 15.3) is slightly more developed with a well-defined lion's head with encircling ruff and modeled features between two rotelles with beaded edges and incised rosettes on the outer faces.

Another unrelated vertical handle, **Olympia B 1190** (cat. 15.8) has a lion's head and flanking rotelles at the top of a smooth grip framed by relief ridges at either side and a female head of the Telestas type below. The lion is simply formed, with a rounded head and crisply modeled features, with semi-circular ears projecting from the head. These

early vessels may represent no more than a few, isolated experiments with an Archaic motif that coincidentally became of great interest in the next half-century when the profiles of the vessels changed and could accommodate ornaments more successfully in the upper position on the vertical handle. Alternatively, these forerunners may have been instrumental in modifying the shape of bronze hydriai and especially the form of the vertical handles in the later sixth century, serving as prototypes for the changes that occurred.

II. Mature Phase

When hydriai of this type reappear towards the end of the century, they are closely related in profile to the Argive prize-type vessels but tend to be somewhat more rounded in both the neck and the shoulder, bridging the gap between the Archaic shoulder hydria and the emerging kalpis of the Classical period. As a group, the profiles are fairly consistent. They have narrow mouths with delicately overturned lips that are (in most cases) more substantial than on the hydriai of *Group 14*. The necks tend to be curved and more elongated than before. The shoulders are wide and relatively flattened on the upper surface. The bodies are full but taper more emphatically than the Argive prize-type hydriai. The side handles are almost always fluted and curve upwards in the center, often with a vertical ring of large beads at the highest point. The feet usually have a flared profile and are narrower and taller than they were previously.

When the profile of the bronze hydria is updated and the tall, curved handle of the late sixth and early fifth centuries is implemented, the form of the lion changes from a small, round head peering over the edge of the mouth to a more strongly modeled head rendered in relief, projecting from the surface of the vertical handle as it descends down

from its highest point to meet the upper surface of the mouth. The lion began to be shown with an open-mouth, as if roaring. The resulting image bears a strong likeness to a lion's head waterspout, affixed either to a fountain or to the sima of a building. The conceit may well have been intentional, as the water pouring out of the hydria would have seemed like it was coming from the lion's mouth, a familiar image in the ancient Greek world, judging from the many representations of fountains on black- and red-figure hydriai and the large quantity of surviving marble and terracotta lion's heads from architectural contexts.

The lions' ruffs and manes are rendered with overlapping rows of flame-shaped locks, which covers nearly the entire surface of the grip on the inner side, from the highest point down to the juncture between the handle and the mouth of the vase. Upright rotelles positioned either perpendicular to or along the curve of the mouth flank the handle, as in the previous group. The handle is almost always soldered at both ends with a horizontal projection from the grip that fits around the lip at the top, and a wide, rounded element at the bottom that may take the form of (*A*) a palmette, (*B*) a gorgoneion, (*C*) the flattened forepart of a lion, or (*D*) a winged siren.

Overall, the subsidiary decoration is more elaborate than in the previous group. Beads and either tongues or ovules in relief usually are articulated around the outer surface of the lip. Several of the complete vases have patterns of tongues outlined in low relief on the shoulders, often bordered at the lower edge by a chased band of horizontal interlocking cables or guilloche. The side handles nearly all terminate in palmettes, either articulated in low relief onto a thin panel or with each leaf rendered plastically. The

simplicity of these palmettes represent a step towards eliminating imagery in this position altogether.

II.A. Lion Above, Palmette Below

A vertical handle in a private collection in Izmir (**Tatish**) (cat. 15.9) has one of the simplest expressions of the lion motif. Here, the vertical handle is higher than before and the lion is roaring. This handle may be taken as the last of the ‘forerunners,’ either as a transition between the two groups or as possibly the earliest of the later type. I place it here, rather than above, because of the shape of the handle, which is not as tall as it will become but is more like the later versions than the earlier. Like the earlier examples, the lion’s head projects higher than the tallest point of the handle. The three-dimensionality of the lion’s form and its active countenance, with a lively expression and open mouth, also associate it with the more developed phase of production.

A complete hydria in a New York private collection (cat. 15.10) is representative of the shape and decoration of the developed, mature phase. The concave neck is gracefully curved in such a way that seems to prefigure the continuous curve from the neck to the shoulder in the kalpides that follow in the latter part of the fifth century. The vertical handle is riveted to the body on both ends, an indication of its early position in the chronology of this particular group. The upper end of the handle shows the head of a roaring lion emerging in high relief. The subsidiary decoration on the grip of the handle is transformed into a recognizable motif. A column of beads up the spine of the grip is effectively turned into a snake’s body with the addition of a small, pointed head at the top. The side handles recall the Archaic ones with palmettes unfurling into snakes, as **Paestum 49801** (cat. 10.2), **Belgrade 199/1** (cat. 4.35), and **Belgrade 200/1** (cat. 4.36).

A second complete vessel of similar type recently appeared on the New York Art Market (**Fortuna 2008**) (cat. 15.11). It is similar in shape and decoration to the previous vessel except that the lion at the top of this vertical handle lacks the plastic rendering of the mane around and below the face, the tongue pattern is omitted on the shoulder, the side handles are not fluted, and the foot is less ornate.

II.B. Lion Above, Gorgoneion Below

At least four fully preserved hydriai pair the lion at the top of the vertical handle with a gorgoneion. The gorgoneia in this group, however, are different than those that appeared in the sixth century (*Chapter 1, Group 7*).

At the upper end of the vertical handle, **Naples 73144** (cat. 15.12) is similar to the previous vessels, with a roaring lion flanked by rotelles. As before, the spine of the handle is beaded with a snake's head at the top, just below the terminus of the mane. The lower end of the handle, however, is different, with a large, grimacing gorgoneion between a pair of pegasoi springing outwards. In concept, the motif of gorgoneion and horses at the lower end of this handle is reminiscent of **Jerusalem 91.71.315** (cat. 6.15). **Chicago, The Field Museum 1973.3217.195785** (cat. 15.13) is almost identical, except for slight variations in height, position of the handles, and small details of decoration, such as the hatched edges of the side handles, rather than the beads on the Naples hydria. A fragmentary lower end of a vertical handle, **Once Art Market (London, Bonhams 2007)** (cat. 15.14), shows a gorgoneion of the same type, flanked by a pair of bent arms and surmounted with a pair of winged horses. The side handles are also unusual with ornate palmettes at the terminals and nude female bodies with poloi on their heads on the grip. Similar lateral handles with a pair of figures rendered in relief are also found on a

nearly complete hydria recently on the **Art Market** (cat. 15.15) and on another pair of handles that almost certainly once belonged to a hydria, **Once New York Market (2006)** (cat. 15.16).

Because we know that casts of many bronzes kept in the Naples Archaeological Museum were reproduced by the Chiurazzi Foundry in Naples and purchased by the Field Museum in Chicago in the late nineteenth century, it may be more than coincidental that two such similar vessels can be found in Chicago today.³⁶ I would suggest that is more than likely that the Field Museum hydria, which was formerly in a local Chicago private collection, is a reproduction taken from the cast of **Naples 73144** (cat. 15.12) rather than an original Greek bronze hydria from the fifth century.

Ancona 25020 (cat. 15.17) is particularly close to **Paris 4643** (cat. 15.22) in shape but has a gorgoneion at the bottom of the handle, although it is less fierce than in previous examples and clearly made by a different craftsman than the one who made the vessel in Naples. The side handles are among the first of a type that will become commonplace among the siren kalpides of the following group. They are fluted and curve upwards, bound in the center with a ring of large beads, and end in elongated flattened palmettes. The more common, later version of this type of side handle eventually replaces the palmettes with fluted, circular disks. The lateral handles take with them a lone side handle from Samothrace, **Vienna VI 2434** (cat. 15.18).

A partially restored hydria in a private collection in Geneva (**Ortiz**) (cat. 15.21) follows the previous examples but adds a pair of gorgoneia at the ends of the side handles. So far as it is preserved, the shape of the body is comparable to the other Early Classical vessels in this group. Between the two sets of tongues, each outlined with a pair

³⁶ Tarbell 1909.

of incised lines, is a horizontal band of cables in the lateral handle zone. The intricate decoration on the body recalls **Ancona 25020** (cat. 15.17) and also the small hydria discussed above (**Once Paris Market**) (cat. 14.22). The top of the handle is canonical with a lion's head flanked by rotelle but at the bottom, paired rams and a "Gorgo-palmette" (cf. *Chapter 1*, cat. nos. 7.1-7.16) recall an earlier, Archaic motif.³⁷

II.C. Lion Above, Forepart of a Lion Below (See also above, Chapter 1, Group 3)

Three handles discussed briefly above (*Group 3*, pp. 38-44) re-appropriate the Early Archaic motif of the forepart of the lion at the bottom of the vertical handle. **Paris 4643** (cat. 15.22), **Toledo 64.125** (cat. 15.23), and **Athens Karapanos 378** (cat. 15.24). When the motif of the forepart of the lion appeared earlier, in the first decades of the sixth century, the lions were smaller and more plastically modeled, giving an animation that is lacking in the later examples, where the head and forepaws are hung at the end of the handle like a dead skin.³⁸ **Paris 4643** (cat. 15.22) closely resembles **Ancona 25020** (cat. 15.17) in both shape and decoration. These three vessels must have been made alongside one another, perhaps even by the same craftsman, judging from the similarity of both iconographic type and style. A contemporary handle from a small bronze vessel, likely an oinochoe, shares the decorative scheme seen on these three, with a roaring lion at the top and the flattened skin of a second lion at the bottom (Figure 2.18).³⁹

II.D. Lion Above, Siren Below

Here, for the first time, we encounter the winged siren at the lower end of the vertical handle, which appears with great frequency on hydriai and kalpides of the High

³⁷ Ortiz 1996, cat. no. 144.

³⁸ Stibbe 2005, 24.

³⁹ New York 1981.11.3.

Classical period.⁴⁰ A hydria from a tomb in Apollonia Illyrica, **Tirana 9221** (cat. 15.25), is representative of the type. The vertical handle takes the now-familiar form of an open-mouthed lion at the upper end of an exceptionally high grip. Rather than covering the surface in a two-dimensional pattern, the comma-shaped locks of the lion's mane are rendered in low relief above and below the lion's scowling face. To either side, the rotelles take the form of gorgoneia in low relief. This feature also appears on other handles, including **Ancona 4846** (cat. 15.26), **Berlin 8006a** (cat. 15.27), **New York 1993.133** (cat. 15.31), and **Sofia 1443** (cat. 15.29). **Berlin 10159** shares the motif of the gorgoneion on the rotelles but the rotelles in this example are oriented in a slightly different direction and lack the beaded edges of the others. The grip itself is beaded and ends in a pointed snake's head at the apex of the handle, which associates it with **United States Private Collection (II.A)**, **Ancona 25020** (cat. 15.17), **Naples 73144** (cat. 15.12), **Chicago, The Field Museum 1973.3217.195785 (II.B, cat. 15.13)**, **Paris 4363**, and **Athens Karapanos 378 (II.C, cat. 15.24)**, as well as **Ancona 4846** (cat. 15.26), **New York 1993.133** (cat. 15.31), and **Sofia 1443** (cat. 15.29), which also have sirens. Only **Berlin 10159** (cat. 15.30) differs slightly, with a smooth line in relief to indicate the body of the snake, a feature that first appeared on the spine of the vertical handle of **New York 57.11.13** (cat. 14.3). One other hydria, **Once London Market (Charles Ede)** (cat. 15.32), also pairs a siren with a lion at the top of the handle but clearly represents a parallel tradition to the others in terms of its relative austerity, lacking the elaborate subsidiary decorations and also in the austere appearance of the lion.

⁴⁰ Bothmer 1965, 602.

Comparanda and Chronology

Stibbe has proposed a date of c. 560-550 for **Paestum 49802** (cat. 15.1) based on its close relationship to **Athens 18232** (cat. 9.12) and the style of the lions on the side handles, which he associates with the zoomorphized lion on **Paestum 49801** (cat. 10.2) and the lions on the handles of the Vix krater (Figure 1.22).⁴¹ **Taranto 134906** (cat. 15.2) may also be assigned a date of c. 550, based on its relationship to both this and the three other Paestan hydriai from *Group 6*. The associated handles from Delphi, Athens, and Olympia should be of similar dates to their complete counterparts.

The vertical handle **Turkish Private Collection (Tatish)** (cat. 15.9) seems to be a transitional piece between the forerunners of the type produced in the sixth century and the more mature phase in the fifth. It is likely that the series was once continuous but that we are missing an intermediate stage. Rare ceramic examples, such as Paris, Petit Palais ADut 322 (from Vulci), which has been dated to the second half of the sixth century, clearly follow metal prototypes (Figures 2.19-2.20).⁴² Details in which the bronze inspiration for the terracotta vase are evident include the plastic lion's head at the top of the vertical handle, the pair of pendant palmettes in low relief at the bottom of the vertical handle, and the round disks with radiating flutes painted around the ends of the lateral handles.⁴³

⁴¹ Stibbe 1992, 9-10. Rolley (1982, 53-55) proposes a much later date, c. 510, which I think is far too late, given the profile of the handle and the early character of the subsidiary decoration.

⁴² *Paris, Petit Palais ADut 322*: Recalls the work of Nikosthenes as Potter and Psiax as Painter, c. 525-515; True in Cohen 2006, 252-253, cat. 71. Also in Diehl 1964, pl. 37.

⁴³ Shapiro 2000, pl. 58a-c; Beazley *ABV* 1956, 668; *CVA Paris, Musee du Petit Palais* 1941, 14, pl. (651) 11.1-9; *Paralipomena*, 317; Diehl 1964, T 222, pl. 37; *LIMC* 5 (1981), 243, s.v. "Hermes" (G. Siebert), pl. 220; *Revue du Louvre* 2000, 4, 28, 30, 31, figs. 1-4, 9.

Following this intermediate step, the only complete hydria of the *II.A* type, **New York Private Collection** (cat. 15.10), may be seen as the first of the fully mature type. Its overall decorative scheme, with a sculpted motif flanked by upright rotelles at the top of the high vertical handle paired with a palmette rendered in relief on the surface of an elongated plaque at the bottom, along with thin, curved lateral handles that end in palmettes, is close to the Argive prize-type vases of the *Group 14*. Also, the lion has a wider face, a more open mouth that bares the teeth but has a less articulated jaw-line, and a fairly crudely rendered ruff around the cheeks and chin. The undecorated band in the lateral handle zone bordered at the top and bottom by pairs of chased lines is an immediate precursor to the cabled friezes of the hydriai of type *II.B*. There are a few progressive features that separate this vessel from its counterparts in *Group 14*, including a longer neck, a more sharply tapered body, and a more complex foot. We may place it in the first quarter of the fifth century.

For the more developed version of the type, we may begin with those of type *II.C* with lions at both ends of the vertical handles, for which close external parallels may be found. Several bronze oinochoe handles show a similar motif of a flattened forepart of a lion at the lower end of the vertical handle, which may be helpful for dating the hydriai: Paris 2716 and Karlsruhe F 596 are slightly earlier, c. 500, Athens Karapanos 447 (from Dodona), Athens Karapanos 1221 (from Dodona), Athens 16196 (from Perachora), and Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 53 (Figures 2.21-2.24).⁴⁴ I. Vokotopoulou has dated Athens Karapanos 447 to the second quarter of the fifth century, the final decade of

⁴⁴ *Paris 2716 and Karlsruhe F 596*: Weber 1983, 377-378, cat. nos. III.B.11; *Oinochoai in Athens*: Vokotopoulou 1975, 48-49, cat. nos. 46, 47, fig. 20α, pl. 29a-δ.

which also is appropriate for Athens Karapanos 1221.⁴⁵ Two Etruscan bronze jugs whose dates are less certain also are related typologically: Paris 2745 and Karlsruhe F 360.⁴⁶ Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 53 should be roughly contemporary, dating c. 450.⁴⁷ Finally, Athens 16196, is slightly later, perhaps just after the middle of the century.⁴⁸ The handles on hydriai of this type, **Paris 4643** (cat. 15.22), **Athens Karapanos 378** (cat. 15.24), and **Toledo 64.125** (cat. 15.23), are particularly closely related to Athens Karapanos 447, Athens Karapanos 1221, and Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 53. Like the oinochoai and handles, the hydriai and fragments likely are products of the latter part of the second quarter of the fifth century.

The pattern of interlocking cables with punched centers found on **Paris 4643** (cat. 15.22), **Naples 73144** (cat. 15.12), **Chicago, The Field Museum 1973.3217.195785** (cat. 15.13), **Once Art Market** (cat. 15.15), and **Ancona 25020** (cat. 15.17) has a close parallel on the decorated bronze stand that supports a pointed neck amphora in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York 2004.171 a,b, Figure 2.25), which has been dated to the first half of the fifth century.⁴⁹ A pair of lateral handles recently on the New York Art Market (**Once New York Market [2006] [cat. 15.16]**) are certainly contemporary and a fragmentary side handle two male figures rendered in relief, **Athens 6584** (cat. 9.15), might also belong. Together, the hydriai of type *II.B* probably date to the second quarter of the fifth century.

⁴⁵ Vokotopoulou 1975, 48-49.

⁴⁶ Weber 1983, 425, cat. nos. IVetr.h.2,5.

⁴⁷ Vokotopoulou 1975, 49, cat. no. 48, pl. 3α-β.

⁴⁸ Vokotopoulou 1975, 49-50, cat. no. 49, fig. 21γ, pl. 30α-β.

⁴⁹ *New York 2004.171a,b*; Picón 2006, 101, fig. 107.

We can conclude that the lion's head was introduced at the top of the vertical handle in the second quarter of the sixth century and paired with various motifs until the image of a winged siren was introduced nearly a century later. The vessels of sub-group *II.D*, with a siren at the bottom of the handle, seem to be the latest incarnation of the type, made in the years just before and after c. 450. The overall shape of the vase and the decorative details of the subsidiary ornaments, including the beaded body of a snake up the grip of the vertical handle, the profile of the lateral handles and the palmettes at the ends, and the shape and decoration of the feet assure us that the hydriai and handles with a lion and a siren are closely related to the previous experiments with lions and palmettes, gorgoneia, and the foreparts of lions. The details of some of the lions demonstrate their later date. For instance, the incised mane and exaggerated modeling of the facial features of the lion at the top of vertical handle **New York 38.11.11a** (cat. 15.28) and the rounded, tiered mane above and below the lion's head on **Berlin 8006a** (cat. 15.27) clearly represent the final expressions of the motif.

Although the siren hydriai on the one hand mark the end of a long tradition, they also signal the beginning of a new era. The introduction of the siren at the lower end of the handle places this sub-group at the head of a long series of vases, mostly kalpides, made in the second half of the fifth century. All of the hydriai of this type (**Ancona 4846** [cat. 15.26], **Berlin 10519** [cat. 15.30], **Berlin 8006 a-c** [cat. 15.27], **London 1956.7-25.1** [cat. 15.33], **New York 38.11.11 a-c** [cat. 15.28], **New York 1993.133** [cat. 15.31], **Sofia 1443** [cat. 15.29], and **Tirana 9221** [cat. 15.25]) can be dated to the middle of the fifth century, c. 450, on the basis of style. These last vessels lead directly to a discussion

of *Group 16*, comprised of kalpides with sirens at the lower terminal of the vertical handle.

Geographic Distribution and Chronology (Appendix 1B, 1.15)

The diverse provenances and varying combinations of decorative motifs do suggest that multiple workshops were responsible. I propose that the ‘forerunners,’ found in both Southern Italy (Paestum and Ugento) and Greece (Athens and Olympia), likely are products of two different regional traditions, one in the west and another on the mainland. They are not similar enough to recommend assigning them to a single craftsman’s hand or even the same workshop, but they are closely associated with one another and probably were made with some awareness of one another; whether the transmission occurred through an artisan in one location who traveled to the other or through an exchange of objects across the Mediterranean, we cannot be certain. Assigning a Southern Italian origin for the Paestan hydria, at least, accords with the suggestion made above (*Chapter 1, Group 6*, pp. 75) that the other vessels from the same subterranean shrine were made in a colonial workshop in Southern Italy that had close ties to the Lakonian tradition.

The findspots of these hydriai suggest at least two different routes of circulation around the Mediterranean.⁵⁰ For the later versions of the type, at least two distinct routes of circulation may tentatively be identified. First, several finds along both sides of the Adriatic, including Dodona, in the east, as well as Sirolo, Lokris, and Castelbellino, in the west, and northwards along the same route, in Tirana, may suggest one pattern of distribution. The findspot of **Ancona 25020** (cat. 15.17), in Sirolo, on the Adriatic coast

⁵⁰ Richter 1939, 192.

of central Italy, is noteworthy in particular because it comes from Sirolo, which is near to Treia, where **Pesaro 3314, 3316** (cat. 12.2) was found. Furthermore, one pair of imitative handles with the Master of Horses theme was found in Sirolo itself. Brian Shefton notes that this vessel may serve as evidence for a second wave of ‘introduction gifts’ given to the inhabitants of this region as the Greeks made their way up the Adriatic en route to points north.⁵¹ The timing of the exchange is important because it is at just this point that the Greeks seem to be in the process of reorienting the focus of the trade of luxury objects to the north and east, rather than to the west. We might see these products as Magna Grecian, coming from a workshop in a colonial city such as Taranto or alternatively, from a mainland workshop with a reputation for prolific international trade. Along this line of inquiry, B. Shefton has proposed that the finds from Castelbellino and Ancona may well have come from Corinth. Evidence of the reverse of this trading pattern is found in an openwork bronze disc found in Perachora, which Shefton identifies as coming out of a Celtic tradition and Jacobsthal attributes to a Picene workshop.⁵² Regardless of the precise origin of the disc, it may serve for our purposes as evidence that the Corinthians were intimately familiar with the precise route up the Adriatic along which these bronze hydriai have been discovered.

Other hydriai belonging to this group suggest connections with Corinth, as well. Among the three members of sub-group *II.C*, with the flattened forepart of a lion at the lower end of the vertical handle, only the isolated handle **Athens Karapanos 378** (cat. 15.24) has a secure provenance, from Dodona. This handle and its companions, **Toledo**

⁵¹ Shefton 2000, 30; Shefton 2003 331.

⁵² Shefton 2000, 17, fig. 5; Payne 1940, 182; Dunabin 1962, 522 n. 8.

64.125 (cat. 15.22) and **Paris 4643** (cat. 15.22), must have been made alongside one another and probably by the same craftsman. They are too similar in both form and style to have been produced separately. Without the presence of good parallels that were made elsewhere, we might be tempted to assign these hydriai and handles to a workshop in or near Dodona, which was a major center of Greek metalwork. However, based on similarities between these handles and several comparable oinochoai, it is possible to propose that they were made in the northeastern region of the Peloponnese, which might account for the clearly close association between the Argive prize-type vessels and those belonging to this group. The oinochoai mentioned as comparanda above, including Athens Karapanos 447 (from Dodona), Athens Karapanos 1221 (from Dodona), Athens 16196 (from Perachora), and Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 53 are helpful in locating this second pattern of circulation. Athens Karapanos 447 has been assigned to a Corinthian workshop by I. Vokotopoulou.⁵³ Athens Karapanos 1221 may come from the same workshop.⁵⁴ The hydriai of this type, **Paris 4643** (cat. 15.22), **Athens Karapanos 378** (cat. 15.24), and **Toledo 64.125** (cat. 15.22), are particularly closely related to Athens Karapanos 447, Athens Karapanos 1221, and Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 53. Like the oinochoai and handles, the hydriai and fragments likely are products of the latter part of the second quarter of the fifth century and likely come from a workshop in the northeastern Peloponnese.

Naples 73144 (cat. 15.12), from Lokris, on the other hand, may have made in a western workshop. It is similar to **Ancona 25020** (cat. 15.17) in shape and overall

⁵³ Vokotopoulou 1975, 48-49, cat. no. 46, fig. 20α, pl. 29α-β.

⁵⁴ Vokotopoulou 1975, 49, cat. no. 47, pl. 29γ-δ.

decorative scheme, including the choice of motifs for both the upper and lower ends of the vertical handles as well as the tongue pattern above a horizontal band of interlocking cables on the shoulder. The details of the gorgon are quite different, however, with the inclusion of Medusa's bent arms and the presence of the two pegasoi rising from her head. The inclusion of the pair of figures on the grips of the lateral handles also is unusual. These features may be the result of a translation of a mainland motif in a colonial or western workshop. Finds in Samothrace and Sofia may suggest another route, moving through the northeast Aegean and up into the Balkan peninsula. These connections will be strengthened by finds in the later fifth and fourth centuries.

Conclusions

The Late Archaic and Early Classical bronze hydriai reveal formal, iconographic, and stylistic connections with arts of other media to a greater degree than in the preceding Archaic period, which allows us to be more certain of their chronology. They belong to a period of transition in the Greek world artistically and politically. On the one hand, they are the direct descendants of the Archaic tradition of making and decorating bronze hydriai busily with geometric patterns, animals, monsters, and figures. On the other hand, they signal the start of a new era in which the craftsmen were more interested in creating a balanced, harmonious shape with a more minimalistic aesthetic. Their distribution throughout the Mediterranean shows a new emphasis on the north and east, traveling up the Aegean as well as the Adriatic coast, following the changing paths of exchange between the Greeks and their neighbors. As we continue to examine the bronzes from the Classical and Late Classical periods, we may begin to consider the significance of the fact that bronze vessels of this shape seem to have followed contemporary trends in

settlement and trade and were exchanged along the major routes of circulation that were active in each period. Combined with other evidence, such as the diverse range of functions attested for the hydriai through the engraved inscriptions and the many uses demonstrated through representations of the shape in other arts, a picture of the bronze hydria as a central component of Greek culture begins to emerge.

Chapter 3: Classical Bronze Hydriai

During the first half of the fifth century, as the high-handled bronze hydriai of the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods continued to be produced in relatively large quantities, another new variation on the shape began to grow in favor in both metal and ceramic. The new shape, known as a kalpis, had a continuous profile from mouth to foot, resulting in a seamless, rounded shape.¹ The full body distantly recalls the shape of the squat hydriai of the early sixth century, but the continuously curved profile that swells and then tapers sinuously to a tall, narrow foot has quite a different (and more elegant) effect.² The foot nearly always is ogive with a cyma reversa profile in the central zone. The side handles have curved profiles, rounded grips that may be either smooth or fluted, and end in rounded disks that are either flattened or convex. The vertical handles are shorter and more acutely bent, reaching from the shoulder to the middle of the concave neck. When it first appeared, the kalpis had a relatively squat profile but it became progressively slimmer in proportion over the course of the fifth and fourth centuries. Potters of ceramic hydriai moved towards the kalpis shape in the Classical period, as well, and it seems to have been favored for representations of hydriai in red-figure vase-

¹ The term appears in literature meaning a pitcher in the *Odyssey* (7.20), Pindar's *Olympic Ode* (6.40), Euripides' *Hippolytos* (123), Aristophanes' *Frogs* (1330) and *Lysistrata* (358). According to a passage in the *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 1 (1095), it was the Thessalian word for hydria. It was used as a word for voting-box in Lucianus' *Hermotimus* (40.57) and in Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius* (53).

² Today, a kalpis can be distinguished from a shoulder hydria by its continuous profile. In bronze, at least, the change in shape is almost always accompanied by the shift in the shape of the vertical handle, joining the neck and shoulder with a short, acutely bent handle instead of at the mouth and shoulder with a longer, straighter grip.

painting (e.g. Paris CA 2587 or Ferrara 3058 (Figures 3.1-3.2; on representations, see *Chapter 6*).³

The Classical period seems to have been the height of inscribing bronze hydriai as votive offerings, prizes, gifts, and in some cases, recording personal names of the owners or craftsmen. Although added ornamental motifs seem, in many cases, to reveal aspects of use, the inscribed vessels suggest only a limited correspondence between function and decoration. The inscriptions will be mentioned here in passing but will be discussed as a group below in *Chapter 6* (see also *Appendix II*).

In terms of distribution, these vessels demonstrate new directions in relations between the Greeks and their neighbors to the west, north, and east. Continuing the trends established in the late sixth century, increased finds have been discovered outside of the Peloponnese, both in expected centers such as Athens, Delphi, and Ioannina, but also around further north, in Thessalonike and throughout southern Bulgaria, particularly in the latter half of the fifth century. The most significant difference in the distribution patterns, however, is the virtual disappearance of bronze hydriai in Italian contexts, raising the question of whether there was a local bronze industry in Southern Italy that ceased production after the sixth century or whether what had been a steady flow of imports ceased to enter the region for political or economic reasons. Instead, beginning in the fifth century and continuing into the fourth, the major focus of attention seems to have been to the north, leading up to and around the Black Sea, and east, with finds in the Dodecanese, including Rhodes and Chalke, as well as in Ionia and Caria, in Smyrna and

³ *Paris CA 2587*: Attributed to the Aigisthus Painter. Beazley *ARV*², 506.29; Beazley *Addenda*, 123, Beazley *Addenda*², 252; *CVA Louvre* 9, III, Id, pl. 50.3-6; Gericke 1970, 121; Christiansen 1988, 245, fig. 3; Duby and Perrot 1991, 218, fig. 37. *Ferrara 3058*: Attributed to Polygnotos; Beazley *ARV* 1032.58, 1679; *Paralipomena* 447; Beazley *Addenda* 155; *LIMC* 7 (1994), 283, cat. 3, s.v. “Pelops” (I. Triantis).

Mylasa. The patterns evident from the distribution of the excavated hydriai suggest that Greek trade penetrated far more deeply into the Balkans, reached all around the Black Sea, and stretched as far as Russia.

Bronze hydriai seem to have been highly valued throughout the Mediterranean and beyond as burial containers in this period. It is tempting to speculate *why*. Did new beliefs about the afterlife or a change in burial practices, particularly for those Greeks living in the regions of Ionia, Caria, and around the Black Sea, increase the demand for the vases and require a new iconographic vocabulary? Or did routes of commercial exchange expand into areas that especially valued metalwork? Did the use of hydriai, specifically, as prizes in major Panhellenic games give a measure of significance to the shape that was recognized more widely than before? Examinations of shape, decoration, contexts, and use help to answer some of these questions.

Nearly simultaneously with the introduction of the kalpis shape, solder replaced rivets as the preferred form of attachment, which placed new demands on the decorative elements and opened up new avenues for ornamental experimentation. These vessels show a reversal of the trend in the late sixth and early fifth centuries towards that oriented the primary decorative element at the top of a tall handle, facing over the mouth of the vase. Here, the lower end of the vertical handle resumed its position as the main site for ornamentation. Craftsmen took one step further in streamlining the decorative motifs by eliminating the upper end of the vertical handle as a potential site for figural decoration. The increased use of solder allowed the top of the handle to be attached inside the curved part of the neck with a round or oblong appliqué. The panel sometimes was left undecorated but more often has either radiating petals or other floral patterns in low

relief. The grip itself was shorter than before and more acutely curved because of the reduced height that it now spans. At the lower end, a plain round disk was sufficient for attachment but a large panel that wraps around the contour of the shoulder and decorated with the motif of a winged siren rendered in high relief was incorporated frequently.

Although the bottom of the vertical handle was clearly the main decorative focus, the subsidiary ornaments consistently were elaborated with geometric and floral patterns. The thin, curved lips usually have a ring of small, square beads along the outer perimeter. The ends of the lateral handles joined the body of the vase with round disks, either flattened or convex, that were either left plain, fluted, or decorated with radiating petals or a kymation in low relief. The foot was almost always ogive. Sometimes it was left plain (especially in the earlier examples) but often it was decorated with either a ring of hanging petals or an alternating kymation frieze in the central zone.

Numerous undecorated hydriai and kalpides from the Classical period also survive. These examples demonstrate a range of skill and attention; some seem hastily constructed, with thick bodies and minimal consideration of proportions, while others are exquisite examples of the shape, harmonious in their simplicity and balanced proportions. They remind us that the seemingly ubiquitous decorative motifs that appear elsewhere were not strictly necessary and represent deliberate choices by the craftsmen and the owners of the vases. It should not be surprising that a number of hydriai and kalpides were made without sculptural decorations; surely many more plain vessels have been lost.

The Classical vases may be divided according to the distinctive decorative motifs that appear on the vertical handles:

- Group 16: Sirens
- Group 17: Plain, no added decorations
- Group 18: Attacking lions
- Group 19: Classical varia

Beginning with the kalpides of *Group 15* and continuing into those of *Group 16*, the lower end of the vertical handle re-emerges as the primary site for ornamentation, a decision that has long-lasting consequences and leads, in the fourth century, to the introduction of a separately worked panel. In the sixth century, the palmette was the favorite decorative motif because it was a convenient shape to mask rivets and serve as an anchor for the horizontal decorative elements that grew out of its volutes. In the first half of the fifth century, the palmette persisted in the same position, even though solder, for the most part, had already replaced rivets. By c. 450, the siren emerged as the preferred form, offering a broad surface area for soldering the handle to the body. The vessels of *Group 17* lack sculptural embellishment altogether. Many of these hydriai demonstrate the elegant power of the shape even without ornamental additions. A small group of kalpides and isolated handles with an unusual motif of a pair of lions shown in profile attacking a dismembered animal make up *Group 18*. Vessels in *Group 19* represent experiments made during the course of the fifth century that diverge from the mainstream trends of decoration and fragments that cannot be assigned to one of the other groups.

These vessels from the High Classical period have received little scholarly attention. Diehl included 35 siren kalpides in her catalogue.⁴ She assessed them chiefly

⁴ Diehl 1964, 34-39, cat. nos. 137-172.

on the basis of hairstyle and the character of the scroll patterns. In the following year, Bothmer proposed a more successful organization of the material according to the orientation of the wings.⁵ Diehl divided the plain vessels into two groups based on shape but I have combined them into one class of plain hydriai and kalpides to preserve the typology based on the character of the added decorations (or lack thereof).⁶ Diehl only knew of one of the vessels included here in *Group 18* (**Plovdiv 1519** [cat. 18.1]), which she incorporated into a small, assorted group from the Classical period.⁷ Bothmer added a second handle, **Amsterdam 1400** (cat. 18.3).⁸ The addition of a third handle of the same type, **Princeton y1985-9** (cat. 18.2), allowed for the creation of an independent group of Classical vessels ornamented with open-work compositions at the bottom of the vertical handle. Several of the vessels collected together in *Group 19* were included among Diehl's Classical varia, as well, although we may now add several more hydriai to this class that have been published or discovered since 1964.

The changes in shape and decoration that emerged in the last decades of the sixth century and continued throughout the fifth century began at approximately the same time as ceramic vase-painters transitioned from black-figure to red-figure techniques. It seems that there was a general feeling of artistic restlessness in the last quarter of the sixth century (at least in Athens) that led to a search for new forms, new techniques, and new directions of ornamentation that promised new possibilities. In ceramic vase painting, the

⁵ Bothmer 1965, 604.

⁶ *Hydriai shaped like jugs without figural decoration*: Diehl 1964, 28-30, cat. nos. B97-105a; *Kalpides without figural decoration*: Diehl 1964, 30-34, cat. nos. B106-B136.

⁷ Diehl 1964, cat. B 174.

⁸ Bothmer 1965, 604.

red-figure technique allowed a greater freedom in the representation of the human figure.⁹ Among bronze vessels, and specifically hydriai, new techniques and shapes afforded radical re-assessments of the decorative vocabulary.

Group 16: Classical Hydriai and Kalpides with Sirens

Shape

Over the course of the first half of the fifth century, the tall-bodied shoulder hydriai with high vertical handles of the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods gradually gave way to the kalpides of the High Classical period.¹⁰ These vases have narrow mouths with curved overhanging lips decorated with beads and small, convex ovules. Their slender, curved necks lead to short, strongly rounded shoulders and full, rounded bodies that taper rapidly at the lower end. The feet almost always are ogival. The profile of the vertical handle changes dramatically. Instead of joining to the vase on the underside of the mouth (as in the Archaic hydriai) or the upper side of the mouth (as in the Early Classical vases), the upper end of the vertical handle now is secured to the middle of the neck. The result was that the handle became shorter and more acutely bent because of the reduced distance that it is required to span. The side handles curve up in the center and attach at both ends with flattened or convex disks.

⁹ M.B. Moore (1997, 80), notes that “the decade of the 520s was a time of great artistic fermentation in the Athenian potters’ quarter,” resulting in a number of experiments “with the various possibilities and combinations of glaze, outline, incision, and added red or white in an attempt to produce new and expressive results, [of which] only red figure and white ground were to have a future.”

¹⁰ Diehl 1964, 34-38 (B137-B172); Bothmer 1965, 600. M.B. Moore (1997, 38) notes “the [ceramic] kalpis does not appear before the introduction of red figure” and that the “[angular shoulder hydria] is very rare after about 470 BC.” These dates give us a frame of reference for approaching the numerous bronze kalpides from the fifth century, both with sirens and lacking decoration altogether.

Technique

By the middle of the fifth century, solder was used almost exclusively to attach the handles to the body of the vase. At its upper end, the vertical handle was soldered to the neck with a thin plaque that is round or oval in shape. At the lower end, the handle widened to a thin, rounded panel that fit around the curve of the shoulder. Solder, rivets, or a combination of the two was used to secure the panel to the body. The side handles nearly always were soldered.

Decoration

The ornamental elements were reduced to a single motif of a winged siren in high relief at the lower end of the vertical handle. Subsidiary decorations – foliate patterns in low relief or chased at the upper end of the vertical handle, fluted disks at the ends of the side handles, beads and ovules on the mouth, and chains of lotus flowers and lotus buds on the foot – consistently add an element of richness and sumptuousness to the vessels. The finest of the siren kalpides are among the most accomplished vases of the entire series of bronze hydriai. The sirens each were individually made and therefore have small details and distinguishing features that make them unique, but as a group, they are remarkable in their consistency. More than 100 vases or fragments with sirens at the lower end of the vertical handles have been discovered, making this type the largest single group of the entire series of bronze hydriai. With very few exceptions, they show a winged siren perched on the heart of a pendant palmette and a scroll pattern, usually in open-work but occasionally in low relief on a thin panel, on the outer edges between the palmette and the siren's wings. The scrollwork, at least in part, serves to support the handle by providing a broader surface area for attachment and bracing the lower end of

the fragile wings. They can be divided into broad categories based on the position of their wings: up-turned, horizontal, or turned down.¹¹ A fourth type has an extended siren with long legs.

Shape and Chronology

The earliest of the siren vessels must be the hydriai with roaring lions at the top of the handle, discussed previously with the Early Classical vessels of *Group 15*. These include **Tirana 9221** (cat. 15.25), **Toledo 64.125** (cat. 15.23), **Once Art Market (London, Charles Ede 2001)** (cat. 15.32), as well as a vessel in **Cluj (Klausenburg)** (cat. 16.44), for which the siren is the only remaining element of the vertical handle. The curved necks, shoulders that are flattened on the upper side before curving down to an elongated, evenly tapering body and undecorated feet that either are flared or ogive certainly are later than the articulated hydriai of their ceramic counterparts by the Antimenes Painter represented by Munich 1722 (Figure 3.3).¹² If we may judge from the chronology of ceramic hydriai, which has been studied far more extensively and on the basis of many more examples, the last of our hydriai should date to the first quarter of the fifth century.¹³

Paralleling the transition from black- to red-figure technique and the change in shape from hydria to kalpis in ceramic vase painting, there seems to be a period of overlap in the production of bronze hydriai during which both forms of the vessel were produced. A number of siren kalpides characterized by their “plump” profile must date to

¹¹ Bothmer 1965, 603.

¹² Beazley *ABV* 269.33; *Addenda* 35; Burow 1989, 38, 43 n. 276, 51 n. 334, 60f., cat. no. 111, pl. 109b, 110.

¹³ Moore (1997, 38) notes that the Archaic shoulder hydria is found only very infrequently after c. 470 BC.

the early fifth century.¹⁴ These may be compared to the red-figured kalpides by the Berlin Painter (e.g. London E180, Figure 3.4), or the Aegisthus Painter (e.g. Paris Ca 2587 or London E 197, Figures 3.1, 3.5).¹⁵ These vessels include **Istanbul 7** (cat. 16.72), **Once Art Market (Geneva, Münzen und Medaillen 1967)** (cat. 16.1), **Once Art Market (Geneva, Münzen und Medaillen 1967)** (cat. 16.2), and **Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1994)** (cat. 16.3), each of which have a short, curved neck, wide, rounded shoulder, and fully body. **Athens, Goulandris Museum 729** (cat. 16.5), **St. Petersburg P 1836** (cat. 16.6), **Varna VI 197** (cat. 16.7), and **Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1997)** (cat. 16.4) follow the first examples closely but have a slightly less broad shoulder.

Following these early fifth century examples, we might assign a second group to the following generation in the second quarter of the century by comparison to such red-figured kalpides as London E 198, attributed to the Niobid Painter (Figure 3.6).¹⁶ These include **Athens 7914** (cat. 16.8), **Athens 13789** (cat. 16.9), **Athens, Private Collection (Goulandris 750)** (cat. 16.10), **Atlanta 2004.25.1** (cat. 16.11), **Cleveland 1986.23** (cat. 16.12), **Kiev 41-433 (Pischane 1)** (cat. 16.13), **London 1927.7.13-1** (cat. 16.14), **St. Petersburg** (cat. 16.15), **Thasos P 6764** (cat. 16.16), and **United States Private Collection** (cat. 16.17). **Thessalonike 5223** (cat. 16.18) and **Woronesh** (cat. 16.19) may also belong to this phase of production but the bodies have been damaged to such a degree that it is difficult to be sure of the accuracy of their restoration. These kalpides are

¹⁴ Moore 1997, 38.

¹⁵ *London E 180*: from Tarquinia, c. 500-450, Attributed to the Berlin Painter. *Addenda*, 98; *Addenda*², 197; *CVA British Museum 5*, pl. 71.4. *Paris Ca 2587*: c. 500-450, Attributed to the Aegisthus Painter; *Addenda*, 123; *Addenda*², 252; *CVA Paris, Musee du Louvre 9*, pl. 50.3-6. *London E 197*: from Rhodes, c. 500-450, Attributed to the Aegisthus Painter. *ARV*², 506.30; *CVA British Museum 5*, pl. 80.2

¹⁶ *London E 198*: from Nola, c. 425-425, Attributed to the Niobid Painter. *ARV*², 606.79; *Addenda*², 267; Reeder 1996, 81, fig. 7.

not remarkably different in shape from the previous vessels but have slightly longer necks, less broad shoulders, and more upright bodies. Unlike the flattened, fluted disks used earlier in the century to join the top of the vertical handle and the two lateral handles to the body of the vase, we are introduced here to concave disks, which require less soldering – just around the outer edges of the circle, rather than across its entire surface. The ogive foot replaces the earlier flared shape almost entirely and tends to be less broad, taller, and decorated with a pattern of impressed tongues around the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The use of silver inlays also appears here for the first time, e.g. on **Athens 7914** (cat. 16.8) and **Thessalonike 5223** (cat. 16.18). **Göteborg RKM 59-61** (cat. 16.20) and **Harvard University Art Museums 1949.89** (cat. 16.21) are not far from the previous vases but the foot of each of these is unusual. In the case of the vase in Harvard, it is broader than normal. The Göteborg example, in contrast, is very thin and narrow. Neither looks as though it belongs.

At least three siren kalpides, **Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1999)** (cat. 16.73), **Once London Market (Bonhams 1998)** (cat. 16.60), and **Istanbul 111** (cat. 16.61) may be dated to c. 450, between the second and third stages of production. These vessels have slimmer shoulders and a more even rate of taper down the length of the body than before but retain the short neck and broad diameter across the shoulder from the earlier part of the century. **Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1997)** (cat. 16.4) may also fall into this gap between the earlier and later phases of production, with wide, flattened shoulders and tapered bodies.

After c. 450, the shape of the kalpis becomes less rounded and more attenuated. The shoulder becomes flatter and slimmer and the body tapers less dramatically at the

widest point below the shoulder down to the foot. **Once New York Market (Sotheby's 2007)** (cat. 16.22) may be compared to Brussels R2509 by the Painter of Munich 2335 (Figure 3.7), which has been dated to the third quarter of the fifth century.¹⁷ **Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)** (cat. 16.63) finds a nice comparison in London E251, an unattributed Attic red-figured kalpis, dated to the second half of the fifth century (Figure 3.8). The tradition of ornamenting bronze hydriai with sirens at the bottom of the vertical handle seems to have slowed dramatically in the third quarter of the century. In the final decades of the century, new approaches and more ambitious mythological motifs gradually seem to have supplanted the Classical motif.

It is less clear where to situate **New York Private Collection** (cat. 16.23), **Once Munich Market (Ariadne 2008)** (cat. 16.62), and the ovoid **Athens, Kanellopoulos 6** (cat. 16.76) within the chronology. They are irregular in both shape and decoration in these examples, we must acknowledge that they may be later examples from workshops outside of the mainstream tradition that might not have followed typical, current trends as closely as the more traditional centers of manufacture.

Style

A. Wings turned upwards

The sirens with outstretched, up-turned wings are by far the most numerous type. The best of these are of the highest sculptural quality. Stylistic comparisons allow us to identify groups of objects with similar characteristics and offer points of comparison between different craftsmen's interpretation of the motif. When the siren first appeared at the bottom of the vertical handle of the Early Classical hydriai of *Group 16*, the siren and

¹⁷ *Brussels R2509*: Beazley *ARV*, 1166.102; *CVA Brussels*, Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire 1, III.I.D-III.I.D.2, pl. 4.2a,b; Vanhove 1992, pl. 178, cat. no. 34.

its accompanying palmette were given approximately equal priority in terms of size. When the sirens adorn kalpides, the scheme of siren, palmette, and scrollwork remains consistent but the proportions of the decorative elements in relation to one another changed. The siren was given greater prominence in the arrangement by reducing the palmette to a diminutive, subsidiary motif that served primarily as a footrest for the siren. The scrolls became more elaborate. In place of the single pair of coiled spirals on each side of the siren seen in the hydriai above, in the case of the kalpides, two or even three pairs of spiraled volutes may unfurl from the palmette.

The siren kalpides show such a range of stylistic diversity and quality of craftsmanship that it is difficult to identify chronological markers and arrange them sequentially. There seems to be a general tendency to move from heavier to lighter proportions, noticeable especially in the palmette and scrolls beneath the siren's feet, but there is such a wide range in the quality of the craftsmanship demonstrated in these vases and handles that it is nearly impossible to discern any unifying 'rules' or tendencies that govern their development. With this large group, it perhaps is better to speak of variations, rather than a linear trend of evolution. Below, I propose a number of new classes within the group as a starting point to discuss issues of production and exchange.

Class of the Sirens with Feathered Chests

The siren guarding the handle of **Athens 13789** (cat. 16.9) is one of the finest surviving examples of a particularly elaborate approach to rendering the fantastic creature. In addition to an impressive wingspan and delicate coiffure, features shared by many of the winged sirens found on vessels of this type, the expanse of the chest that normally was polished smooth instead was covered with a finely chased pattern of

narrow feathers, each individually delineated with an outlined border and central rib. The feathered chest of the siren is a distinctive feature that appears on just a few other vessels. One other vertical handle, **Once Art Market (New York, Ward)** (cat. 16.24) follows **Athens 13789** (cat. 16.9) in its plastic rendering of the feathers across the chest, but otherwise differs markedly in the style of the siren, with a slimmer face, more delicate facial features, a longer hairstyle, and wings that curve downwards at the top to give greater three-dimensionality to the figure. The sirens on **Thessalonike 5223** (cat. 16.18), **United States, Private Collection** (cat. 16.17), **Greece, Private Collection (Athens, Goulandris 750)** (cat. 16.10), **United States, Private Collection (New York, White-Levy)** (cat. 16.25), **London 1927.7.13-1** (cat. 16.14), and **Kiev 41-433** (cat. 16.33) also have feathered chests but these are rendered in light chasing, rather than in low relief. With the exceptions of **Thessalonike 5223** (cat. 16.18), which differs in the hairstyle and the treatment of the surrounding scroll pattern, and **Kiev 41-433** (cat. 16.13), which has a short, rolled coiffure, heavier scrolls, and the addition of demi-palmettes adjacent to the pendant one below the siren's feet. The other sirens with chased feathers on the chest are stylistically very near to one another and may be products of the same workshop.

Class of the Intricate Scrolls

The degree of delicacy achieved in the scrolls accompanying the siren on the **New York Art Market (Ward)** (cat. 16.24) handle is paralleled on one other instance, **Paris 2674-75** (cat. 16.26). These two do not seem to have been made by the same hand but share a similar quality of lightness and experimentation with the floral forms surrounding the siren's feet. The arrangement of the siren's hair also is similar. **Thessalonike 5223**

(cat. 16.18) and **Cleveland 1986.23** (cat. 16.12) use the typical palmette and scroll elements but are particularly elaborate in their configurations.

Class of the Flattened Palmettes

In contrast to the delicacy of the previous floral ornaments, there are at least three handles on which the palmette and scrolls are rendered two-dimensionally on the surface of a flattened panel rather than in openwork. Two vertical handles, **Hartford 1917.825** (cat. 16.27) and **Once London Market (1981)** (cat. 16.28), as well as a complete kalpis, **Atlanta 2004.25.1** (cat. 16.11), belong to this class. However, the treatment of the siren itself is different enough in each of these to assume that they were not made together.

Class of the Unarticulated Palmettes

Perhaps falling between the extreme lightness and heaviness of the kalpides previous two classes, there seems to have been an intermediate method of rendering a heavy, circumscribed palmette beneath the siren's feet together with openwork scrolls above. These palmettes are rendered in low relief on the surface of a semi-circular panel; the outline of the lower part of the handle does not reflect the articulation of the individual leaves. **London 1927.7.13-1** (cat. 16.14) and **Harvard University Art Museums 1949.88** (cat. 16.21) share this feature. **Athens 7914** (cat. 16.8) has a similarly heavy palmette but the wings rise vertically rather than tilting.

Class of the Sirens with Arched Wings

A few sirens are noteworthy for the highly unusual shape of their wings which are arched backwards to rest against the shoulder of the vessel rather than pointed upwards. At present, this class is represented by number of vessels found around the Black Sea. These include **St. Petersburg** (cat. 16.15), **St. Petersburg P 1836** (cat. 16.6), **St.**

Petersburg TKH (cat. 16.29), **St. Petersburg GK/N 69** (cat. 16.30), and **Thasos P 6764** (cat. 16.16).

Class of the Sirens with Broad Wings

At least seven kalpides can be distinguished by a strong emphasis on the horizontality of the wingspan of the siren. Here, the wings spread out to the side before curving upwards, resulting in an exaggeratedly broad figure. These vessels include **Göteborg RKM 59-61** (cat. 16.20), **Ioannina** (cat. 16.31), **Once Vienna, ex-Trau** (cat. 16.32), **Once London Market (Bonhams 2004)** (cat. 16.33), **Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 1967)** (cat. 16.1), **Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 1967)** (cat. 16.2), and **Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1994)** (cat. 16.3), **Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1997)** (cat. 16.4). The members of this class also share a very minimal approach to the scrolls between the palmette and the siren, limited in most cases to a single long connector with volutes on both ends.

Class of the Sirens with Articulated Palmettes, and Double Scrolls

At least four siren handles have similar coiffures with long tresses hanging over the figure's shoulders, unfeathered chests, articulated palmettes, and two pairs of scrolls emerging from the volutes of the palmette. These must have been made in the same workshop. These include **United States, Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 16.35), **United States, Private Collection (Smith)** (cat. 16.36), **Boston 1899.467** (cat. 16.37), **Munich 3858a** (cat. 16.38), and **Once New York Market (Sotheby's 2007)** (cat. 16.22). Fragmentary handle **Munich 4020** (cat. 16.40) likely also belongs, although its scrolls are fragmentary and the palmette is missing entirely. A second fragmentary handle, **Ex-KruppR2** (cat. 16.39) may also be of the same type but perhaps was made elsewhere or

by a different hand, judging from the chasing on the wings instead of the more usual plastically rendered feathers. Similar compositions with sirens with a short, rolled coiffure rather than the longer tresses are found on **New York 09.221.12** (cat. 16.41), **Once London Market (Sotheby's 1988)** (cat. 16.42), **Brussels A3593** (cat. 16.43), and **Varna VI 197** (cat. 16.7).

Class of the Sirens with a Single Pair of Scrolls

Four handles are similar to the previous class but have only a single set of scrolls connected with a long extension between the palmette and the siren's wings. **Cluj (Klausenburg)** (cat. 16.44) and **Ex-Fejerwary** (cat. 16.45) are both of this type. Significant differences between the two are evident in the roundness of the wings and palmette of **Cluj (Klausenburg)** (cat. 16.44) and the angularity of the same elements on the handle formerly in the Fejerwary collection (cat. 16.45). A pair of crudely worked handles, **Once Art Market** (cat. 16.46) and **Munich 3857** (cat. 16.47) clearly belong together.

Class of the Sirens without Palmettes

At present, only one kalpis featuring a siren without a pendant palmette survives. **New York Private Collection** (cat. 16.23) may represent a larger class that does not survive. Alternatively, it may always have been an anomaly. In place of the customary palmette and scrolls, this siren perches on a small, rounded platform, behind which the tail feathers hang down.

B. Horizontal Wings

Only a few extant kalpides show sirens with horizontal wings. Three complete kalpides of this type survive. They generally are less finely crafted than the siren kalpides

of type *A* with wings pointed upwards and use chasing more freely to articulate details than the volumetric modeling seen above. There are at least two identifiable variations of this version of the siren motif. The first, represented by one complete vessel, **Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)** (cat. 16.63), and five vertical handles, **Ioannina** (cat. 16.67), **Vienna VI 4625** (cat. 16.66), **Varna VI 329-331** (cat. 16.65), as well as those in private collections in **Paris** (cat. 16.68) and **Athens** (cat. 16.69). These sirens have plastically rendered wings constructed similarly to their counterparts with wings turned upwards. At least three of these handles address the awkwardness of joining the handle to the shoulder of the vessel with an ungainly but intentionally visible plaque whose front side takes the form of a siren. On **Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)** (cat. 16.71) and **Varna VI 329-331** (cat. 16.65) a convex, fluted disk behind the siren was added, similar to those used at the ends of the lateral handles on many kalpides of this period. **Varna VI 4625** (cat. 16.66) shows another solution, with a pair of volutes in relief behind the figure's head. This problem will receive far more attention in the vessels of *Group 20* from the late fifth and fourth centuries.

Other sirens with horizontal wings use a solid, flattened plaque for the entire composition, such that the head and body are rendered in higher relief than the flattened wings and scrolls, which are indicated largely by chasing. This approach is seen on the sirens of **Istanbul 111** (cat. 16.61), **Ioannina** (cat. 16.67), **Once London Market (Bonham's 1998)** (cat. 16.60), all of which likely were made by the same hand. **Once Anderson Galleries, ex-Simkhovitch** (cat. 16.70) is of the same type is stylistically far removed. Perhaps it was made by a different craftsman or workshop or possibly even in a different region.

C. Wings pointed down

Even fewer kalpides have sirens with overhanging wings. The type generally is of lower sculptural quality than the vases and handles with sirens whose wings point upwards. Two complete vases that have appeared on the art market in the last decade or so demonstrate that the shape of these kalpides was comparable to the other two subtypes despite the differences between the shape of the wings of the siren on the handle. These handles show an increased use of chasing to an even higher degree than in subtype *B*, with sirens with wings that stretch horizontally.

Like the vessels of type *B*, above, there are two distinct threads of production evident in the few remaining sirens of this type. First, there is a more sculptural variety, with a modeled head and strangely proportioned avian body with a short torso, broad chest and wings that droop downwards. **Istanbul 7** (cat. 16.72), **Once London Market (Bonhams 1997)** (cat. 16.81), and **Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1999)** (cat. 16.73) share a common approach to rendering the wings, divided into two horizontal tiers, each of which is articulated with a row of more or less rectangular 'feathers.' A palmette with extended volutes appears at the bottom of each handle. The surface of these palmettes and their extensions are concave rather than rendered in relief. The second type of siren with drooping wings relies more heavily on chasing for details of the siren's wings and the articulation of its body, particularly in the delineation of the juncture between the bird's chest and legs. This tradition is represented by two complete or nearly complete kalpides, **Israel, Private Collection (Jerusalem, Borowski GR 173)** (cat. 16.79) and **Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1999)** (cat. 16.73), along with at least

four handles, **Boston 112.64** (cat. 16.78), **Bonn C 107** (cat. 16.77), **Bowdoin College 1915.26** (cat. 16.80), and **Once London Market (Sotheby's 1986)** (cat. 16.82).

D. Elongated sirens

At least kalpides and one loose vertical handle deviate from the normal scheme and represent elongated sirens with extended legs at the lower ends of the vertical handles. The lengthening of the legs may seem like a minor adjustment but transforms entirely the effect of the image. This class includes **Once New York Market (Fortuna 2007)** (cat. 16.84), **Jerusalem 83.30.19** (cat. 16.83), and **Vienna VI 2271** (cat. 20.5). Each seems to have been an independent experiment with a similar motif; they do not appear to have been made as a series. The two complete vases in Jerusalem and on the New York Art Market, however, are related more closely in type, if not style. Although it does feature a standing siren at the end of the handle, the single vertical handle (**Vienna VI 2271**, cat. 20.5) probably can be dismissed, fitting better with the Late Classical hydriai (below *Chapter 4, Group 20*), where a comparable handle depicting Eros pouring a libation can be found.

Comparanda for D. Elongated Sirens

What the Fortuna siren resembles most closely is not a Greek bronze siren but a Near Eastern relief figure from the second millennium BC, now in the British Museum in London.¹⁸ The plaque represents a nude figure that is a composite of a bird and a woman. The full-breasted chest, smooth stomach, and long legs are fully human, but the wings that hang down behind her back and her avian claws are bird-like. She wears a tiered headdress made of four rows of animal horns that curve upwards in the center. A single

¹⁸ Albenda 2005, 171-190; Frankfort 1996, 110-111. The controversial identification of the iconography is irrelevant for this purpose. The form is the important point of comparison.

panel of locks falls down to her shoulders on both sides. She holds in her raised hands a ring and a horizontal bar. Beneath her feet are a pair of lions shown in profile with heads turned frontally and a pair of tall, standing owls. The overall frontality and the shape of the headdress are very similar to the siren on the Fortuna kalpis.

The clay relief in London and the Fortuna hydria are far apart in date and in subject matter. The Fortuna hydria certainly does not represent an already ancient Near Eastern deity nor does it intend the same meaning behind its significant forms. For instance, the tiered headdress worn by the Near Eastern goddess is symbolic of a horned cap worn by divinities.¹⁹ The Fortuna siren wears something more like a turban, with its cloth material indicated by the spiraling layers of the textured hat. The Fortuna siren is not a fertility goddess with large breasts and full hips. She does not reign over the animals. The siren is highly unusual in form and strongly recalls this exotic relief in its frontality and its approach to the construction of a winged female figure. It is not inconceivable that the craftsman may have had an image like this in mind as he made the vase once in the Fortuna Gallery.

Siren Kalpides with Inscriptions

The significance of the inscriptions on vessels of this type will be discussed below in *Chapter 6*, but we may note here that nine of these vessels bear inscriptions. **Atlanta 2004.25.1** (cat. 16.11) was given as a prize in the games of the Dioskouroi in Phokaia, in Ionia. A kalpis in a private collection in California also was a prize, from games held in Sounion, “ΑΘΛΑ ΑΠΟ ΣΟΥΝΙΟ.” A vessel recently on the New York art market (**Christie’s 2008**, cat. 16.58) may have been awarded to a victorious athlete at Kleitor, in

¹⁹ Albenda 2005, 173.

Arcadia, “ΕΚ ΛΕΓΟΡΟΣΤΟΝ ΑΕΤΗΛΑ.” **Once New York Market (Sotheby’s 1999)** (cat. 16.73) was inscribed twice, once as a dedication to the Muses at Thespias and at a different time, with the name of a man (?), “Philomelas [son of] Me[lan]thos.” **Once Basel Market (Münzen und Medaillen 1967)** (cat. 16.1) is inscribed «ΑΘΑΝΑΔΟΡΑ ΑΜΦΟΤΙΔΙ / ΝΙΚΟ,” explaining that it was given as a gift between two women, Athenadora and the daughter of Amphotis. **Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)** (cat. 16.71) presents a similar situation, given by Ploutis, daughter of Simondaos to the daughter of Pouthis, “ΠΛΟΥΤΙΣ ΣΙΜΟΝΔΑΟ ΠΟΥΘΙΔΙ”. **Once Basel Market (Münzen und Medaillen 1967)** (cat. 16.2) also belonged to a woman, Ageisandria, according to its inscription, “ΕΡΡΑΤΑ / ΑΓΕΙΣΑΝΔΡΙΑ.” In addition, the foot of **Paris 2674-75** (cat. 16.26) has an (now) illegible graffito on the inner surface of the foot. We can only speculate on the function of this graffito but it is tempting to wonder if it might have been related to the production of the vessel, marking the designated foot to add to a specific vessel body.

Geographic Distribution (Appendix 1C, 1.16)

Even more emphatically than in the previous group, it appears that there were at least two distinct routes of circulation, one along the western coast of Greece, up the Ionian sea into the Adriatic. This route explains finds in Thebes, Ioannina, Apollonia Illyrica (Albania), Lecce, and Castelbellino. The second route seems to have gone eastwards up the Aegean coast, beginning in the south with finds from Chalke, Rhodes, and Mylasa and continuing up through Athens, Toroni, Thasos, and Sofia to points eastwards such as Varna, Pischane, Kertsch, and Woronesh.

Examples of the first sub-type of the siren kalpides, *A*, with wings turned upwards, have been found from the Kerameikos in Athens, where bronze is a fairly rare inclusion in a burial assemblage (**Athens 13789** [cat. 16.9]), to central Greece, particularly Thebes and the surrounding area (**Athens, Goulandris Museum 729** [cat. 16.5], **New York 09.221.12** [cat. 16.41], **Paris 2673** [cat. 16.48], **Munich 3858a** [cat. 16.38], **Munich 3858b** [cat. 16.34], and **Athens 7914** [cat. 16.8]), western Greece (**Ioannina** [cat. 16.31] and **Munich 3857** [cat. 16.47]) to northern Greece (**Thessalonike 5223** [cat. 16.18]), **Thasos P 6764** ([at. 16.16]) and up into Bulgaria (**Varna VI 197** [cat. 16.7]), to Rhodes (**London 1927.7.13-1** [cat. 16.14]), and even in Italy (**Munich 3642** [cat. 16.49] and **Ex-Trau** (cat. 16.32)). Well outside of the normal boundaries of the Greek world, several vases were found in the area of the Black Sea (**St. Petersburg** [cat. 16.15], **St. Petersburg GK/N** [cat. 16.30]) and even further to the east, **Kiev 41-33** [cat. 16.13]. The hydria in Kiev was found in a deposit unearthed from a peat bog and contained a set of bronze vessels that also included a louterion with a winged siren beneath the swinging handle, a handle-less louterion with a plaque depicting a griffin attacking a stag, a situla with a bust of Athena under one handle and a lion spout beneath the other, a pointed amphora with flattened lion's heads beneath the handles, a situla with palmettes beneath the handles, an amphora with palmettes beneath the handles, and an undecorated pointed amphora (Figures 3.9-3.14).²⁰

The other sub-types, *B* and *C*, with sirens whose wings stretch out horizontally or point downwards, are far fewer in number but demonstrate a similarly wide pattern of distribution. Only three kalpides with sirens with horizontal wings have secure provenances: **Istanbul 111** (cat. 16.61), from Eretria, **Ioannina** (cat. 16.67), from

²⁰ Reeder 1999. 193-204.

Botonosi, and **Varna**, from Varna in northeastern Bulgaria, along the coast of the Black Sea. Of the vases with sirens whose wings point downwards, Bonn C 107 came from Egypt and **Istanbul 7** was found in Myrina in Mysia (Asia Minor). The wide distribution of these vases attests to the significance and relevance of the motif in the latter half of the fifth century.

Group 17: Plain Classical Bronze Hydriai and Kalpides

At least 75 hydriai and kalpides without sculptural decoration survive today. Some have decoratively fluted disks at the ends of the handles. Others are remarkable for their austerity and harmonious proportions. Many are important because they bear inscriptions. More plain kalpides are inscribed than hydriai of any other type, and reveal information about the vases and their uses (See below, *Chapter 6, Appendix II*).

Hydriai

A few of the earliest among the surviving plain hydriai have been discussed already (*Chapter 1, Group 8*) in relation to the later phase of hydriai with ivy leaves at the ends of the handles. The distinctive features of these vessels, which include **New York 06.1078** (cat. 17.5), **Athens Karapanos 1189** (cat. 17.3), **Athens Karapanos 697** (cat. 17.2), **Arta** (cat. 17.6) and **Königsberg F 19** (cat. 17.4), include their squat profiles and vertical handles with thick, rectangular grips decorated on the front side with a simple motif of a long, rounded leaf (tear-drop shaped) in low relief. At the bottom, the handle widens into an undecorated circular panel that is soldered to the body of the vase.

Athens Karapanos 1189 (cat. 17.3) stands apart from the others in that it has a hole that appears to have been carved intentionally into the body of the vase at the lower end, near the foot. This may indicate that the vase has been outfitted with some kind of

nozzle or spout in a period of re-use; the same feature was noted on the hydria from Pompeii that was inscribed as a prize from Argos (see above, *Group 14*). The body of **Athens 7917** (cat. 17.1) is not far from the previous examples but it lacks lateral handles and a foot, and the vertical handle is round in cross-section and lacks the characteristic leaf on the grip. The lower end of the handle also differs in its method of attachment, joined with rivets rather than solder. Across the lower part of the body, it was divided into two parts and re-attached. On the upper side of the mouth, the vase is inscribed as a gift to Timonoas (TIMONOΑΣΔΩΠΟΝ) (for the significance of the inscription, see below, *Chapter 6, Appendix II*). Two other plain hydriai, of broader shape, are similar enough in shape to another to propose that they were made together. These include **St. Petersburg P 1851.1** (cat. 17.7) and **St. Petersburg Ju-O-2** (cat. 17.8).

Shape and Chronology

We may use similar criteria for establishing the chronology of this group as discussed above for the siren kalpides. Vessels from the first quarter of the fifth century compare closely with the early red-figure kalpides of the Berlin Painter and the Aegisthus Painter (Figures 3.4-3.6), with short necks, broad shoulders, and wide bodies that taper at the bottom to low, spreading feet that take a flared or ogive profile. Like the contemporary siren kalpides, these early vessels tend to be more austere than their successors in the later part of the century, with plain, flattened disks used for attachment, often made of a piece with the grip of the handle itself. The handles usually are left unfluted. Likewise, the foot often is undecorated. Vessels from this phase include **Amsterdam**, **Athens 13972**, **Athens Kerameikos 2073** (cat. 17.10), **Berlin 30636** (cat. 17.11), **Bursa 1426-27** (cat. 17.12), **Kiev (Pischane 3)** (cat. 17.13), **Kiev (Pischane 4)**

(cat. 17.14), **London 67.6-8.719** (cat. 17.15), **Plovdiv 1540** (cat. 17.16), **Providence 25.112** (cat. 17.17), **Rhodes** (cat. 17.18), **Sozopol** (cat. 17.19), **St. Louis 169.24** (cat. 17.20), **Syracuse** (cat. 17.21), and **Vienna VI 3056** (cat. 17.22), as well as several vessels on the art market in recent years: **London (Rupert Wace 2007)** (cat. 17.23), **Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2006)** (cat. 17.24), **Once New York Market (Sotheby's 2004)** (cat. 17.35), **Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1995)** (cat. 17.27) and **New York (Apolonia Ancient Art 2008)** (cat. 17.26). In addition, **United States Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 17.28) and a complete but damaged vessel, **Izmir, Muze Calismalari** (cat. 17.29) closely resemble the profile of London E164, which has been attributed to the Berlin Painter by M. Robertson (Figure 3.15).²¹

Following these remarkably undecorated vessels there are a number of kalpides without added ornaments but have subtly decorated structural elements. In shape, they retain the short, curved necks from the earlier phase but have a slightly more elongated profile caused by a more gently curved shoulder and the resulting slower taper from shoulder to foot. In contrast to the absence of decorative elements seen before, the following vessels often have fluted disks at the ends of the handles. Some seem to have been made together with the grip of the handle, while others were formed and joined separately. More often than not, they also feature a pattern of flutes around the foot. These include **Istanbul (formerly Inv. C)** (cat. 17.30), **Istanbul (formerly Inventory D)** (cat. 17.31), **Plovdiv 1637** (cat. 17.32), **St. Petersburg P 1834.1** (cat. 17.33), and **Thessalonike 5243** (cat. 17.34), in addition to at least four kalpides from the art market: **Once London Market (Bonhams 2004)** (cat. 16.33), **Munich, (Gorny & Mosch 2007)**,

²¹ Gardiner 1910, 334, fig. 88; BCH 1899, 164, fig. 3; JHS 27 1907, 32, fig. 21; CVA *London, British Museum* 5, III.Ic.11, pls. 71.2, 74.1.

and **New York (Fortuna 2007)** (cat. 17.39). The profiles of both **Olympia (no inv. number?)** (cat. 17.42) and a vessel with a Rhodian inscription that is now lost, associate them with these vessels of the second quarter of the sixth century. Each of these outliers, however, lacks the distinctive ornamental handles and decorated foot.

Finally, there are several vessels with a straighter profile that more closely resemble Brussels R2509 by the Painter of Munich 2335 and date to the third quarter of the century (Figure 3.7): **Kiev (Pischane 5)** (cat. 17.40), **St. Petersburg P 736** (cat. 17.41), **Taranto 113502** (cat. 17.43), **Veroia 1004-1018-1021** (cat. 17.45), **Once New York/ Market (Arte Primitivo/ Howard S. Rose Gallery)** (cat. 17.44), in addition to the silver kalpis from the so-called “Prince’s Tomb,” at Vergina (*Appendix III*).²² A small kalpis in Athens (**Athens, Cycladic Museum 731**, cat. 17.46) may also belong but its small size differentiates it from the others; it finds a better parallel in the petite silver version of the shape from Gephyra, **Thessalonike 7228** (*Appendix III*). **Olympia (no inv. number?)** (cat. 17.47) also may follow, but its profile is too badly damaged to be certain.

The date of an ovoid vessel, **New York 1999.460** (cat. 17.48), is unclear but the character of its handles, without carinations and made together with the adjoining elements, may suggest a date in the first half of the fifth century. A contemporary vessel, **Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2008)**, must have been made together with the previous vessel.

Inscribed Plain Kalpides

Several of the undecorated vessels are particularly significant for the information they reveal about their ownership and use through inscriptions placed on the upper side of

²²*Brussels R2509*: Beazley *ARV*, 1166.102; *CVA Brussels, Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire 1*, III.I.D-III.I.D.2, pl. 4.2a,b; Vanhove 1992, pl. 178, cat. no. 34.

their mouths. All of the inscriptions will be discussed further below, in *Chapter 6 (Appendix II)*. A kalpis from a tomb in **Aegina** (cat. 17.53) is inscribed “ΠΑΛΑΘΟΝ ΕΚΕΣΘΕΝΕΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΝ ΗΥΙΟΙ ΠΡΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΗΕΛΛΑΝΙΟΙ ΔΙΙ.” An unprovenanced vessel in Athens, **Athens 13792** (cat. 17.9), has three inscriptions “ΑΙΑΝΙΑΣ/ΤΑ ΣΟΦΙΑΣ/ ΕΘΛΟΝ ΠΑΡ ΠΡΟΤΕΣΙΛΑ.” The last of these inscriptions records its use as a prize for the winner in games in honor of the Greek hero Protesilaos. A vase from Notion, near Kolophon, in Asia Minor (**Berlin 30636** [cat. 17.11]), reads “ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΓ ΛΑΜΨΑΚΟ ΕΠΙ ΔΕΟΦΑΝΤΟ ΤΟ ΛΑΜΠΡΟ,” which tells us that it was awarded as a prize for games in Lampsakos, also in Asia Minor. A fragmentary inscription on the mouth of a vase from Botonosi, in the western part of central Greece (**Ioannina**, cat. 17.59) is inscribed : “-] ΕΠΑ [-] Ο [-] ΕΣ ΤΗΣΠΙΑΣ”, testifying that it was given as a prize in games from Thespiiai, in Boiotia. A vase in a **Private Collection in New York** (cat. 17.28) is also inscribed “ΘΕΡΣΟΝΕΙΑ,” which may have been the name of its (female) owner.

Other games are mentioned on **New York 1999.460** (cat. 17.48), “ΕΧΣ ΑΝΑΚΙΟ ΑΘΛΟΝ,” in this case, the games of the Dioskouroi from an unspecified location. Another kalpis from Chersonnes (cat. 17.65), which is now lost, bears the same inscription, “ΕΧΣ ΑΝΑΚΙΟ ΑΘΛΟΝ.” Games from Athens, in honor of Artemis, are mentioned on a plain kalpis formerly on the **Art Market** (cat. 17.70), “ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ ΠΑΡ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ.” This inscription is particularly significant because the beginning of the phrase uses the same formula as the inscriptions on Panathenaic amphorae, given as prizes for winners in the major games, held in honor of Athena, at

Athens. Theban games are recorded on **Providence 25.112** (cat. 17.17), “TON ΘΕΒΑΙΣ ΑΙΘΛΟΝ.” Games at Tanagra, in central Greece, are recorded on a vessel in a **Private Collection** in Chicago (cat. 17.78).

A vase in **Thasos** (cat. 17.78) records its use as a gift from Diogenes to a woman named Nikippai, “ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΣ/ ΝΙΚΙΠΠΑΙ/ ΕΔΟΚΕ.” An unusually descriptive inscription on a vase in Thessalonike, **Thessalonike 5243** (cat. 17.43), tells that it was given in honor of Athenian citizens who died in war, “ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΑΤΗΛ(Α) ΑΠΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝΤΟΙΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ.” A small kalpis recently in the Fortuna Gallery (**Once New York Market**) has an illegible inscription (cat. 17.39).

Geographic Distribution and Manufacture (Appendix 1C, 1.17)

Like the siren kalpides of the previous group, the findspots of these vessels suggest certain patterns of exchange that can be traced across the Mediterranean and raise questions of where the vessels were made and with whom they were exchanged. I propose that the few plain hydriai noted at the beginning of this group suggest a central Greek provenance, having been found in Arta, Dodona, Delphi, and Galaxidi. The kalpides present a similar scenario as noted above for those with sirens. There seems to be one distinct Adriatic route that may have included stops in Olympia, Galaxidi, and Ioannina on the eastern side and Camarina, Canaliccio, and Taranto in the west. The northeastern path is represented even more emphatically with the finds presented here, including stops in Aigina, Piraeus, Thebes, Veroia, in the vicinity of Thessalonike, and Thasos, as well as up into Thrace and modern Bulgaria, in Duvanlij, Kazanlak, Dalboki, and Mesembria. Even further to the east, vessels of this type have been found in Rhodes and all along the Ionian coast up to the Black Sea. The presence of these vessels in these

areas demonstrate increasing wealth and Greek influence throughout Macedonia, Thrace, and points further north and east as the Athenian empire thrived in the Classical period and enjoyed heightened international trade. Many of these vessels are close enough in shape to the siren kalpides to suggest that these two types were made in close association with one another, likely in the same workshops, representing two contemporary variations on the same theme.

Group 18: Classical Bronze Kalpides with Attacking Lions at the Lower End of the Vertical Handle

There are three kalpides that surely belong together and likely were made by the same hand, **Plovdiv 1519**, **Amsterdam 1400**, and **Princeton y1985**. The last of these, in Princeton, seems to have been awarded as a prize in a wrestling contest, judging from its inscription “ΠΑΛΑ...ΕΥΜΠ.” The first part of the inscription may derive from the ancient Greek verb for wrestling, *παλαίω*. The distinctive motif at the lower end of their vertical handles takes the form of two lions attacking, with a satyr’s head below. A handle in Malibu (Figure 3.16) can be associated closely with these three handles by way of the similar openwork technique with which they are constructed but shows a different subject, in this case a pair of satyrs flanking a volute krater.

Group 19: Classical Varia

Several hydriai and kalpides date to the Classical period but do not fit within the previous groups. It is likely that they do not represent unique experiments but rather they are the only of their kind to survive.

A kalpis in Berlin, **Berlin 7907** (cat. 19.3), is unusual in three ways. Most importantly, the motif below the vertical handle is a satyr’s head in low relief, placed as if

it were emerging from the body of the vase itself. Second, the vertical handle is joined to the neck so high that it really is secured to the underside of the mouth. Third, at the bottom, the vertical handle is attached to the vase at the lower end without any sort of spreading panel.

An exceptionally fine kalpis formerly at Sotheby's (**Once New York Market**, cat. 19.7) is remarkable both for its iconography - two sphinxes represented in profile, facing each other with heads turned outwards - and for its inscription, "ΣΚΑΦΣΙΣ ΗΕΡΜΑΙΑ ΕΔΟΚΕ ΚΥΤΙΣ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΗ ΕΔΟΚΕ," which explains that the vase was given as a gift twice, each time to a woman (Hermaia/ Philoxene).

A kalpis recently on the **Art Market (New York, Ariadne 2008)** (cat. 19.4) is closely related to the siren kalpides in both shape and general concept of decoration. At the end of the vertical handle, a different winged creature replaces the siren; in this case, a winged female figure wearing a long chiton is shown in the *knielauf* pose used to indicate swift movement. Like the sirens, her wings are outstretched and pointed upwards. She balances on an undulating platform with coiled volutes at the ends. On the basis of stylistic affinities, we can assign this vessel to the same or a closely related workshop as a figure at the bottom of the handle of a Classical bronze oinochoe (**Once Art Market [Trocadero 2007]**) and a bronze vessel recently discovered in Arta with a vertical handle ending in a holding an amphora that has been identified as a hydria but more closely approximates an olpe in its profile and the shape of its handle (Figures 3.17-3.18).²³

²³ *Christie's New York* 12.07.2006, cat. 90. *Archaeological Reports 2002-2003*, 57, fig. 97.

A typologically similar figure on a hydria in **Sofia** (cat. 19.5), with a lion at the top of the vertical handle, was interpreted as Iris by D. von Bothmer, but perhaps identifying the woman as Nike makes more sense in the context of bronze hydriai; the motif is shown on at least five kalpides of the early fourth century (cat. nos. 20.2-20.4, 20.46-20.48).²⁴ These three vases represent transitional experiments between the High Classical siren vessels and the Late Classical vases with repoussé appliqués that will be discussed below in *Chapter 3, Group 20*.

Conclusions

The Classical bronze hydriai and kalpides attest to the continuation of an active production and trade of these vessels as luxury goods throughout the Mediterranean, concentrated particularly in the north and eastern areas near the Black Sea and along the Ionian coast of Asia Minor. Their inscriptions add to a mounting argument for understanding the hydriai as vessels central to Greek culture and identity, serving a wide range of functions in daily life, in contests, and in religious celebrations.

²⁴ Bothmer 1965, 603.

Chapter 4: Late Classical and Hellenistic Bronze Hydriai

The Late Classical vessels represent the apogee of the long series of bronze hydriai begun in the last decades of the seventh century. In contrast to the dramatic shifts in shape, decoration, and technology that characterized developments in the late sixth and mid-fifth century, the transition from the High Classical to the Late Classical period that occurred in the last quarter of the fifth century was relatively subtle. At first, the major difference was limited to a more ambitious approach to the decorative panel at the lower end of the vertical handle, for which craftsmen left behind the powerful animals and fantastic sirens of the previous two centuries and turned to the world of mythology. This change opened up a range of new and innovative ornamental elements. Simultaneously, the character of the subsidiary decorations on the side handles and feet also were modified, shifting from the simple patterns of radiating flutes seen so often on the siren kalpides to a more sophisticated kymation motif rendered in low relief. Otherwise, the profiles of the vessels, the shape of the handles and feet, and the techniques used for joining the parts together remained consistent.

These changes, however, represent a profound transformation in the craftsman's conception of the decoration of bronze hydriai, marking the beginning of a new desire to show more complex mythological scenes that involved one or two human figures, often actively engaged with an object or with one another, rather than the static, frontal compositions of the previous generations. Following the introduction of these new iconographic possibilities, a reassessment of the role of ornamentation on bronze hydriai seems to have driven a significant break with tradition in terms of the construction of the vessels. Previously, Archaic and Classical bronze craftsmen had limited their decorative

repertoire primarily to elements that aided in the functionality of the vessel. The ornamental elements were cast in a piece with the handle itself and offered an increased surface area to ensure a strong join between the handles and body. Now, however, artisans freed themselves from this utilitarian requirement by borrowing the simple shapes used at the ends of the handles on the undecorated vessels (*Chapter 2, Group 17*) that were perfectly adequate for fitting the cast parts together with the hammered body. An independently worked panel beneath the vertical handle then was introduced in the same position below the vertical handle that the previous decorative elements had occupied. Separating the decorative plaque from the grip of the handle allowed them to work the appliqué in a delicate repoussé technique. A major question surrounding the new method of construction is whether technological innovation drove the change or whether a desire to explore uncharted compositional and iconographic avenues was the generative factor.

By the early fourth century, developments in profile followed the advances in decoration. These changes resulted in slimmer, more upright vessels with elongated, harmonious proportions. Frequent use of silver inlays (and occasionally other materials, such as copper and niello), as accents on the lip, handles, and foot adds to the elegance of the Late Classical hydriai and attests to the wealth of the clientele.

The Late Classical hydriai are intimately related, by way of their sculpted appliqués, to overarching developments that broadly influenced arts of all media in the late fifth and fourth centuries. The newly introduced independent appliqué enabled artisans to explore contemporary trends in Greek sculpture on a small scale, most notably the dynamism of the human figure in motion, the effects of drapery arranged artfully for

dramatic effect over sensuous, languid bodies, and various modes of interaction between pairs of different types of figures. Through the appliqué, the craftsmen responsible for decorating bronze vessels responded to important artistic developments of the period in ways they had not done previously, moving beyond the adaptation of the iconographic preferences *du jour* for their compositions. Now, they expanded their repertoire to engage with more nuanced elements of style and modes of representation brought to the forefront of the contemporary art world by well-known artists of the period, including Skopas, Praxiteles, Lysippos, and their contemporaries. The repoussé panels are closely tied to other important types of fourth century metalwork that employ the same technique, especially panels adorning the covers of box-mirrors (*Klappsiegel*), decorated armor, including cheek-pieces from helmets and shoulder-panels on breastplates, and small, decorative boxes.¹ The wide transmission of fourth-century styles across the increasingly international, cosmopolitan Greek world may be due, at least in part, to the dissemination of small, portable luxury objects such as these vessels, boxes, and mirrors. It is fortunate to have these numerous examples of original Greek metalwork from a period when bronze was a preferred medium for sculpture and from which we have so few examples of larger-scale work.

As the sophistication of the decorative aspects of the hydriai increased substantially, there seems to have been a marked decrease in the number of vases produced compared to the impressive output of the Archaic and Classical workshops. So far, fewer than 100 bronze kalpides made after c. 400 are known, a strong contrast with the nearly 300 Archaic vases and over 200 Classical vessels that have been found. After

¹ *Mirrors*: Zücher 1940; Schwarzmeier 1996. *Armor*: Pflug 1988; Aitken 1982. *Boxes*: Misopoulos-Leon 1990.

the fourth century, the numbers are even more severely reduced. Only a handful of bronze hydriai survive from the Hellenistic period. The sudden drop in quantity in the archaeological record of the fourth century and virtual disappearance in the Hellenistic period may suggest one of several conclusions. Perhaps the once-axiomatic shape was supplanted by another solution for water or changes in funerary customs rendered the formerly ubiquitous hydria unnecessary or somehow inappropriate for the secondary purpose of burial. It is also possible that the need for bronze above ground in the form of coinage, armor, weapons, and other essential implements became more important. Alternatively, perhaps new political systems in the Hellenistic period redirected routes of trade and communication to such a degree that many vases have yet to be discovered. The small trickling of bronze hydriai produced in the Hellenistic period proves that the shape did continue to be made in this material.

The findspots of the Late Classical vessels continue and expand the pattern of distribution established earlier in the fifth century with the siren kalpides and undecorated vases. Macedonia, Thrace, Asia Minor, and the eastern Aegean islands, particularly the Dodecanese, have yielded a large number of vases from this period, which reflects the increased political presence of these areas in the Greek world of the fourth century. Central Greece, including Thessaly, Boiotia, Phokis, also seems to have played an important role in the trade, and possibly the manufacture, of the vessels.

Almost all of the Late Classical bronze kalpides are of the same general type, consisting of kalpides with mythological appliqué, most of which are worked in repoussé (*Group 20*). The final group (*21*) is composed of an assortment of hydriai and fragments that date to the fourth century or Hellenistic period. These are distinguished

from the Classical vessels in their generally slender shape and unusual, generally simpler, decorations and from those belonging to *Group 20* in technique and character of ornamentation. The vessels of *Group 21* do not represent a cohesive manufacture but rather are the few, late remnants of an illustrious tradition. As it stands, they are significant primarily because they prove that the shape continued to be made in this particular material after the close of the fourth century. Further excavation may well change our conclusions about both the quantity and quality of this later material.

Group 20: Late Classical Greek Bronze Kalpides with Mythological Appliqués

Despite the gracefulness of the shape, the technical virtuosity of the sculpted reliefs, the evident relationship to contemporary arts in other media and on larger scales, and the tantalizing questions of manufacture and exchange that they provoke, this group of bronze kalpides has been all but ignored by scholars.² When E. Fölzer first surveyed extant hydriai as a group in 1906, she included four bronzes from the fourth century.³ Twenty years later, W. Lamb counted eight.⁴ K. A. Neugebauer supplied two additional examples in 1930.⁵ In the next decade, P. Devambez briefly addressed the subject and added one further vase in Istanbul.⁶ C. Picard brought the number up to 14 in 1940.⁷ G. M. A. Richter compiled a list of 21 vases.⁸ E. Diehl recorded nearly 30.⁹ In the following

² Diehl 1964, 39-43, cats. B 178-B 205; Richter 1946, 361-367; Picard 1940, 75-103; Lamb 1929, 133f., 162f., 182f., 210f.; Fölzer 1906, 91-92.

³ Richter 1946, 363. Fölzer 1906, 91-92.

⁴ Richter 1946, 363. Lamb 1929, 133f., 162f., 182f., 210f.

⁵ Richter 1946, 363, Neugebauer 1930, 263-268.

⁶ Richter 1946, 363. Devambez 1937, 57-63.

⁷ Richter 1946, 363. Picard 1940, 90.

⁸ Richter 1946, 363-365.

year, D. von Bothmer added at least four.¹⁰ Today, over 50 are known. Since the 1940's, A. Schwarzmeier, whose work focuses on the production, style, and iconography of the appliqué appended to bronze mirrors from the fourth century, has made a serious attempt to situate the contemporary kalpides within the wider context of the world in which they were produced.

Shape

Over the course of the fourth century, the profiles generally follow H. Bloesch's developmental principle of "stout to slender," transforming from broad, rounded vessels that would not be out of place among the Classical siren kalpides to attenuated, slender ones with a graceful, tapered form.¹¹ The Late Classical bronze kalpides find good contemporary parallels in both the so-called Kerch pottery found in the eastern Crimea (ancient Pantikapaion) and some particularly fine black-glazed Attic vases.¹²

In the last quarter of the fifth century, when the vessels with mythological appliqué first appear, the profiles consist of a slender, curved neck, a broad shoulder that swells to its widest point in the lateral handle zone, and tapers fairly steeply towards a narrow, ogive foot. The shape of **Thessalonike MΘ 7552** (cat. 20.2) can also be situated by way of comparison with its ceramic counterparts. It is somewhat more slender than London E 189 (Figure 4.1), an Attic red-figure hydria attributed to the Polygnotan Group and dated to c. 440, with a slightly more tapered body and higher foot.¹³ On the other

⁹ Diehl 1964, 39-43, cats. B 178-B 205.

¹⁰ Bothmer 1965, 604.

¹¹ Bloesch 1951.

¹² Schefold 1934; Kopcke 1964.

hand, the well-known hydria by the Meidias painter, London E 224 (Figure 4.2), has a longer neck and is more narrow across the shoulder.¹⁴ This vase has been dated to c. 420, perhaps just after the Thessalonike vessel.¹⁵ **New York 37.11.6** (cat. 20.1) and the original production of **Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)** (cat. 20.3) should be of similar date, although the latter evidently was reworked in the Hellenistic period.

A few additional vessels and fragments have vertical handles made in a piece with the appliqué and must be among the earlier members of the group. Three kalpides, **Berlin 8068** (cat. 20.4), **Malibu 73.AC.15** (cat. 20.14), and **Chantilly** (cat. 20.58), likely date to the first quarter of the fourth century. They have more streamlined and upright shapes than their predecessors but are less elongated than many that follow. The profiles of these three kalpides do not find exact parallels in ceramic versions of the shape but generally are comparable with several Kerch vases of the early fourth century. A hydria from the burial mound at Yuz Oba, St. Petersburg YU.O.26, from c. 375-370, has a slight sag in the lower part of the belly, just above the foot, in contrast to the more streamlined bodies of the bronze vessels. New York 24.97.5, attributed to the Hesperides Painter and dated to the early fourth century, has a slightly longer neck and tapers more strongly in the lower body (Figures 4.3-4.4).¹⁶

¹³ *CVA British Museum* 6, III, IC pl. 86.1.

¹⁴ *CVA British Museum* 6, III, Ic, pl. 91.1; Burn 1987, 15-25.

¹⁵ Richter (1937, 532) proposes a similar comparison and date for the following kalpis, **New York, 37.11.6**, which is very close in shape and decorative scheme to this example.

¹⁶ *St. Petersburg YU.O.26*: Trofimova 2007, 253, cat. 150.

Tire 93/93 (cat. 20.9) and **United States Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 20.10) likely postdate the previous vessels by just a few years because of marginally later features, including their slightly longer and more curved necks. **Malibu 73.AC.15** (cat. 20.14), **Malibu 79.AC.119**, and **Volos** (cat. 20.11) follow, with slightly longer, more strongly curved necks, higher shoulders, and more gently tapering bodies. They also differ from their predecessors in the separation of the grip and the decorative panel beneath the vertical handle, which was made separately as an appliqué. These may date to the second quarter of the fourth century.

At least 30 kalpides seem to have been made during the later years of the second quarter of the fourth century and throughout the third quarter.¹⁷ These include **Athens 18775** (cat. 20.17), **New York Private Collection** (cat. 20.19), **New York 53.11.3** (cat. 20.18), **Nessebar** (cat. 20.23), **Nessebar** (cat. 20.24), **Sofia 5039** (cat. 20.25), **Munich SL 34** (cat. 20.26), **Delphi** (cat. 20.27), **United States Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 20.28), **New York 51.11.8** (cat. 20.30), **United States Private Collection (New York, Segredakis)** (cat. 20.31), **Chantilly** (cat. 20.32), **Bucharest 48899** (cat. 20.33), **London 312** (20.34), **Chantilly** (cat. 20.35), **Atlanta 2001.2.1** (cat. 20.37), **Istanbul 5310** (cat. 20.38), **London 313** (cat. 20.42), **United States Private Collection (New York, White-Levy)** (cat. 20.44), **United States Private Collection** (cat. 20.45), **Athens 18787** (cat. 20.46), **Amphipolis 7344** (cat. 20.47), **Once New York Market (Symes 1999)** (cat. 20.48), **Boston 1984.750** (cat. 20.49), **New York 44.11.9** (cat. 20.50), **Athens**

¹⁷ G. Richter (1946, 366) proposes that “[judging] by the fairly constant style of the reliefs, the period of time during which the vessels were made cannot have been over long; they must have been created under the direct stimulus of Praxitelean works...during the second half of the fourth century.” Given the far greater evidence available today for dating ceramic vessels, it seems prudent to revise her date slightly, to the second and third quarters of the century, for most of the mature bronze kalpides of this type.

7913 (cat. 20.53), **Nessebar** (cat. 20.54), **Paris 4997** (cat. 20.55), **Elis M 2791** (cat. 20.56), **Corfu 3475** (cat. 20.57), **Chantilly** (cat. 20.58), **Once New York Market (Symes 1999)** (cat. 20.59), and **Thasos** (cat. 20.60). These mature Late Classical kalpides can be closely associated with several fine black-glazed vases of the same shape that are roughly contemporary in date, including Paris CA 2272, Athens 2336, New York 23.74, Berlin 2854, and London 64.10-2.1512 (Figures 4.5-4.9).¹⁸ A kalpis of this shape also appears beside the marble copy of the Aphrodite of Knidos in the Vatican (Vatican 812, Figures 4.10-4.11), the original of which probably was made just after the middle of the fourth century.¹⁹ These vessels do change over time, generally towards a longer, more curved neck, a lower shoulder, and a more slender, elongated body, but they share many characteristics that make it difficult to order them more precisely within this broad period spanning the middle of the fourth century. Details of technique and decoration help to refine the general dates given here.

Technique

The first of the Late Classical kalpides are closely related to their contemporary counterparts ornamented with winged sirens in technique as well as shape. At first, the major differences between the vessels of *Groups 16* and *20* are observed in the character of their decorative elements (e.g. sirens vs. more ambitious mythological subjects with fully human figures) and not in a significant technical advance. **Thessalonike MΘ 7552** (cat. 20.2), **New York 37.11.6** (cat. 20.1), **Berlin 8068** (cat. 20.4), **United States,**

¹⁸ *Paris CA 2272*: c. 370/60, Kopcke 1964, 35, cat. no. 71, pl. 23.1; *Athens 2336*: c. 360, Kopcke 1964, 35, cat. no. 2; *New York 23.74*: c. 360, Kopcke 1964, 35, cat. no. 73, pl. 22.1-2; BMMA 1923, 253f., fig. 6; Richter 1953, 115; *Berlin 2854*: c. 350/40, Kopcke 1964, 36, cat. no. 77, pl. 23.4; *London 64.10-7.1512*: c. 320/10, Kopcke 1964, 36, cat. no. 88, pl. 24.1. We might also compare New York 30.115.32, New York 00.10, and New York 09.221.2a, from the middle of the fourth century.

¹⁹ LIMC 2 (1984) 50, cat. 391, s.v. "Aphrodite" (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

Private Collection (New York) (cat. 20.10), **United States, Private Collection (Boston)** (cat. 20.8), and **Paris 597** (cat. 20.7) differ from the rest of the vessels belonging to *Group 20* in the construction of the vertical handle, which was made together with the ornamental relief at the lower end and cast, rather than worked in the more delicate repoussé technique. By c. 400, however, a major change in technique had taken place. The decorative panel below the vertical handle was relieved of its utilitarian responsibility and introduced as an independent element. **Malibu 73.AC.15** (cat. 20.14) likely is one of the earliest examples of the new approach. A vessel in Boston (cat. 20.8) and its slightly later counterpart in Tire (cat. 20.9) present an interesting juxtaposition because despite the high degree of similarity between their appliqués in both subject and iconographic type they are made with different techniques. The earlier is cast with the grip of the handle, while the latter is worked separately in repoussé.

The transition from one compound element to two separate parts results in a significant reduction in the surface area of the panel needed to secure the handle to the shoulder of the vessel. The paring down of the panel at the bottom of the vertical handle may indicate that either a stronger soldering compound was discovered, allowing a smaller surface area to provide a secure join or alternatively, perhaps craftsmen had a greater confidence in their materials after having been proficient with soldering techniques for at least a century. Alternatively, artistic ambitions may have prompted a change in manufacture. At first, craftsmen sought new solutions within the existing technological framework. They showed great ingenuity in accommodating fully formed human figures in the space formerly occupied by an abbreviated fantastic creature and

then making room for two figures or singletons in more nuanced landscapes. Increasingly sophisticated compositions demanded a break with tradition.

When the shift to an independently worked panel occurred, the shape of the plaque was adjusted by widening it slightly, which had the advantages of allowing two figures placed side-by-side more easily and also ensuring an adequate surface area for soldering the panel to the vessel. The mature panels take a roughly rectangular contour, superseding the triangular outlines of the earliest plaques, such as on **New York 37.11.6** (cat. 20.1) or **Thessalonike MΘ 7552** (cat. 20.2). When the decorative panel became separated from the grip of the handle, craftsmen were confronted with the new problem of negotiating the relationship between the two parts. In nearly all cases, an intermediate or transitional plaque was introduced to ease the awkwardness of the junction between the two separately produced parts. The degree to which the grip, transitional panel, and appliqué conform to the contours of one another vary widely.

A more important effect of the change in the method of attachment, however, was the freedom to treat the newly separated decorative panel more delicately. Use of the repoussé technique, which involves hammering a thin sheet of metal from both the front and the back, allows a nuanced relief with varying degrees of three-dimensionality. This method of working bronze gained great favor in the fourth century among craftsmen making the appliqués intended for hydriai, as well as for decorated armor and mirror covers.

Other technical features also moved in new directions. For example, craftsmen introduced a new way of treating the lateral handles. The side handles on **Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)** (cat. 20.3) may serve as an example of the older

method of construction seen on the side handles among the Classical kalpides of *Groups 16 and 17*. Here, the unfluted grips and rounded disks at the sides were made together in a single piece and joined directly to the shoulder without an intervening apparatus. Most of the vessels of *Group 20*, however, have horizontal handles consisting of three separately made parts: a fluted, curved grip, round, flattened disks that receive the terminals of the grip, and convex disks that join the handle to the body of the vase. The new approach appeared nearly contemporaneously with the introduction of a mythological motif other than a siren beneath the vertical handle. We have seen it already on **New York 37.11.6** (cat. 20.1), one of the earliest vessels belonging to this group.

The vertical handles were fluted more emphatically than before, with deeper channels and sharper carinations that continued around the entire circumference of the rounded grips. They usually joined the neck with a flattened oval or round plaque, similar to those in the same position on the High Classical bronze kalpides. In the fourth century, they often took a convex shape, as noted on the lateral handles. Below, the vertical handle meets the shoulder with an elongated panel that fits around the curved surface and ensured a good grip, as on the siren kalpides of *Group 16* or the plain vessels of *Group 17*. By the early fourth century, this panel was dramatically reduced in size and took on a variety of decorative, floral forms that ornamentally masked the point of attachment and framed the appliqué below. These will be discussed below as a potential criterion for assessing issues of manufacture and assigning objects to specific artistic ‘hands.’

Although contrasting inlays of silver had been used before on a few siren kalpides, such as **Athens 7914** (cat. 16.8), the use of added materials also increased dramatically in the fourth century, as demonstrated by the silver added to the cast parts of **Boston**

1984.750 (cat. 20.49), **Athens 18787** (cat. 20.46), **Athens 18775** (cat. 20.17), **Thasos** (cat. 20.60), and **Once New York Market (Symes 1999)** (cat. 20.48) or the silver and niello on **New York 37.11.6** (cat. 20.1).

Decoration

The decorative motif on the large panel beneath the vertical handle was the primary ornamental locus on these vessels. The plaque assumed a number of different forms, ranging from two figures interacting with one another or a single character engaging with an animal to one figure alone with religious or athletic implements. As mentioned above, these compositions are largely similar in form, assuming the same basic shape, differing primarily in subject matter and details of style and iconography. In this broad view, then, the decoration on the vessels is fairly consistent throughout the group.

Likewise, the subsidiary decoration on these kalpides was remarkably consistent, offering minor variations on a theme. As with their Classical predecessors, the overhanging lip was given a concentric row of small beads above a frieze of ovules, which were rendered plastically. The lip itself was relatively thin and has a subtle convex curve; the lower edge often undulated with the rounded ends of the ovules (e.g. **New York 44.11.9**, cat. 20.50) but also could be horizontal, with the ‘eggs’ articulated within the defined space, as on **London 313** (cat. 20.42), **Malibu 73.AC.15** (cat. 20.14), **United States, Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 20.28).

The lateral handles tend to be lighter than before, perhaps due to the deep fluting on all sides, which reduces the weighty appearance of the solid, rounded grips. A convex disk ornamented with floral patterns that include broad petals that align, more or less,

with the ends of the fluted channels forms a graceful terminus to the grip. A third element, a flattened, circular disk complemented the decorated elements and secured the attachment. Most often, the ornaments are rendered in low relief but in at least one case (**Atlanta 2001.12.1**, cat. 20.37), a pattern of chased schematic florals appeared. In at least six further examples, plain disks substituted for the decorative ones, including **United States, Private Collection (New York, Segredakis)** (cat. 20.31), **New York 51.11.8** (cat. 20.30), **Malibu 73.AC.15** (cat. 20.14), **United States, Private Collection (New York, White-Levy)** (cat. 20.44), **United States, Private Collection** (cat. 20.45), and **Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)** (cat. 20.3).

The foot nearly always was ogival with a kymation pattern in relief around the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The proportions of the foot in relation to the vessel and the details of profile such as the relative width of the upper, middle, and lower zones, differed significantly. For instance, **New York 37.11.6** (cat. 20.1) has a fairly narrow foot compared to the fullness of its body and its three sections are roughly equal in height to one another. **Berlin 8068** (cat. 20.4), on the other hand, is low and broad, with an exaggerated central section. The feet of **United States, Private Collection (Boston)** (cat. 20.8), **Malibu 79.AE.119** (cat. 20.16), **New York 51.11.8** (cat. 20.30) and **Volos** (cat. 20.11) are particularly narrow and steep, lacking the gentle slope of the middle zone of their counterparts. **Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)** (cat. 20.3), **Malibu 73.AC.15** (cat. 20.14), **United States, Private Collection (New York, White-Levy)** (cat. 20.44), **United States Private Collection** (cat. 20.45) lack the characteristic ornamentation and are left plain.

Like the side handles, the vertical one was fully fluted with sharper carinations and deeper channels than before. In contrast to the convex disks with radiating flutes that were common in the High Classical period, it usually was joined at the top with an oval plaque that conform to the curve of the neck and are covered with varying foliate patterns either rendered in low relief (e.g. **Athens 18787** [cat. 20.46]) or chased into the surface (**United States Private Collection** [cat. 20.45]). A plain rounded disk reminiscent of many on vessels from *Group 17* appears on **Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)** (cat. 20.3). Occasionally, the patterns reflected those on the lateral handles and foot, with alternating small, pendant palmettes and pointed lotus buds around the outer perimeter of the panel (for example, **Once New York Market (Symes 1999)** (cat. 20.48). More often, the design was less rigidly defined, with schematic leafy motifs punctuated with small rosettes (for instance, **Athens 18775**, (cat. 20.17) These panels seem to have been worked quickly, either on the wax model prior to casting or chased directly into the surface of the plaque, and vary widely from vase to vase.

The lower end of the vertical handle underwent the most dramatic transformation over the course of the late fifth and fourth centuries. At first, in keeping with the High Classical tradition, the lower end of the handle widened into a long, thin panel fitted around the curve of the shoulder. As on the siren kalpides, a figural motif was rendered in high relief, centered on the front side, set off from the low background by a spreading element, usually in the form of wings or billowing drapery. The outer perimeter was filled with curling volutes and delicate floral motifs, although not in the characteristic light, openwork style of the previous decades. This early approach is best seen on **Thessalonike M^Θ 7552** (cat. 20.2) or **New York 37.11.6** (cat. 20.1). Following these

early efforts, the panels became lighter and the flanking florals and scrolls were eliminated. They were replaced with longer, spreading wings or billowing drapery to frame the composition. This stage may be represented by **Berlin 8068** (ca. 20.4) or **United States Private Collection (Boston)** (cat. 20.8). One slightly later example, **Once New York Market** (cat. 20.6) swings to the other side of the pendulum, exaggerating the once-ubiquitous siren and palmette combination by showing an elongated siren playing a lyre, standing above a scroll pattern of unprecedented elaboration. With this one exception, however, the long, triangular compositions of the late fifth century gave way by the early fourth century to a narrow, transitional panel that anchors the handle and frames the independently worked appliqué affixed below. Individual craftsmen experimented with the shape of the panel and the degree to which it accommodated the contour of the newly added element. In general, over the course of the fourth century, the transitional panel became increasingly personalized to suit the demands of its particular appliqué.

Craftsmen seem to have had some difficulty in resolving the transition between the handles and the appliqués. On a very few examples, such as **Atlanta 2001.12.1** (cat. 20.37), the parts sensitively and gracefully correspond; here, the transitional element was made together with the appliqué, rather than the grip, resulting in an undulating upper edge that rises and falls with the rounded edges carved channels of the vertical handle. Because the intermediate panel and the appliqué were manufactured together, the problem of fitting them together was eliminated. **United States, Private Collection (New York, White-Levy)** (cat. 20.44) was made in the same way. Other approaches to addressing this issue can be seen, for instance, on **Boston 1984.750** (cat. 20.49), on which

the transitional panel has been manipulated after its production to accommodate the highest points of the appliqué, such as the head and upper edge of the figure's wings. **Malibu 73.AC.15** (cat. 20.14) also shows deliberate refashioning in the intermediate element with shapes corresponding to the panel that was inserted beneath it. The artisan responsible for joining the pieces on **Thasos** (cat. 20.60) may have been attempting a similar effect but was less successful, trimming the lower edge of the transitional panel neatly into a semi-circle to allow for the arc of the top of the decorative panel. The majority of the Late Classical kalpides reveal some effort to reconcile the shapes and parts with one another, but a few such as **Malibu 79.AE.119** (cat. 20.16), **United States, Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 20.28), **Athens 18787** (cat. 20.46), and **Once New York Market (Symes 1999)** (cat. 20.48), the problem seems largely to have been disregarded, resulting in a disjointed, paratactic arrangement. **Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)** (cat. 20.3) presents a similar situation but seems to have been reworked in a later period. The ornamentation of this transitional element, which often seems to have been worked cursorily, is distinctive and may be useful for understanding workshop practices and identifying the work of individual artists or at least regional or chronological trends.

With the introduction of the independent appliqués, the panels take on a roughly rectangular shape but without rigid boundaries. The upper edge usually curves with the rise and fall of the outline of the figure's (or figures') wings or drapery. The sides also respond to the width of spreading wings or blowing garments. At the bottom, an irregular horizontal platform often acts as a ground line for the figural composition.

Mythological subjects

The subjects chosen for the appliqués fall into a number of categories that are at least potentially revealing of the function(s) of the vessels as water vessels, prizes for contests, wedding gifts, religious implements, and sympotic accoutrements. The figure of Nike, goddess of victory, emerges on the very earliest examples and persists throughout the fourth century, also appearing on one of the latest vessels of this type. Eros, god of love, also was a favorite, holding religious implements or interacting with a female counterpart. Other couples, such as Boreas and Oreithyia, Dionysos and Ariadne, and Zeus and Ganymede, are represented in relatively large numbers. Dionysos is shown numerous times in the company of drunken satyrs, and at least once with his favored pet, the panther. He is not, however, the first deity to interact with animals on bronze kalpides of this period; Artemis hunting a stag is one of the earliest motifs appropriated for this position. Athena appears once, fighting a giant. Mythological figures besides deities are used sometimes, including the hero Herakles, who carries a baby Eros on his arm, and the musician Orpheus, who plays his lyre for a satyr. In at least two instances, a figure of Pan appears in compositions that are more familiar with other casts of characters- in one case, he abducts a nymph in a pose that bears a strong resemblance to representations of Boreas' rape of Oreithyia, and in another, he approaches a lounging Hermaphrodite, which is reminiscent of Theseus abandoning Ariadne on Naxos or Dionysos' subsequent discovery of the sleeping princess.

It also is important to note what subjects do *not* appear on the appliqués that might be expected. Although multi-figural groups regularly adorn the covers of contemporary box mirrors, groups of more than two figures do not appear on any of the

surviving kalpides from the fourth century. This may be, at least in part, a result of the more or less rectangular space delineated for the appliqué by the outer edges of the transitional panel between the grip and the independently worked appliqué below; if so, that is an arbitrary boundary chosen for aesthetic reasons, because the plaque does not restrict the size or shape of the appliqué in any way. Erotic scenes, which frequently appear on mirrors, are never seen in the surviving group of kalpides of this type. Combat motifs sometimes adorn mirrors but more often are found on decorated armor, especially cheek-pieces of helmets and shoulder-flaps from breastplates, but only one extant hydria features such a composition (**Malibu 73.AC.15**, cat. 20.14). Perhaps more surprisingly, scenes that involve water, such as the abduction of Europa (and similar scenes substituting other mythological women) or Eros with a dolphin, which are commonplace on mirrors, have yet to be found on a bronze hydria, despite the seemingly appropriate nature of the subject matter.²⁰ Perhaps the water-related imagery was omitted because of

²⁰ A bronze appliqué from Myrina, Paris 4367, is a possible exception, showing a youthful Eros gliding through the water alongside a dolphin. It has been identified as part of a hydria in numerous publications (Figure 4.12). Diehl (1964, 221, B 184) this appliqué was once attached to a hydria because of the presence of two side handles found nearby, but these may or may not be associated. Cf. also Pottier and Reinach 1887, 495, 580, cat. 488, pl. 50.2 and Schwarzmeier 1997, 26 n. 152, pl. 14.2. Picard (1940, 90), Richter (1946, 363 n. 11), and Bothmer (1965, 604) express doubt over its assignment to a hydria. However, no fragments of the body were found that have been associated with the vessel, nor is it certain whether two side handles that were found near it were part of the same vessel.

If it does, indeed, belong to a hydria, it is different in shape, technique, orientation, and decoration from all the known appliqués that can be assigned securely to a hydria or kalpis. The horizontal orientation of this plaque is paralleled on **Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)** (cat. 20.3) but this relief is a later, Hellenistic addition to a kalpis of the late fifth century and it is unclear whether it actually was intended for a hydria itself. Furthermore, it is an unbalanced composition; the right and left sides are asymmetrical in contour and technique (solid vs. openwork) and the dip on the upper side between the highest points of the wings is off-center, which is awkward for situating beneath a handle of any kind. In all respects, it would be more appropriate on a mirror cover, where there are multiple close parallels, including Paris Br 1704, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 3786, Hartford 1917.826a-b, Boston 98.671, Greece, Private Collection (Athens), and Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1986) (Figures 4.13-4.18). *LIMC* 3 (1986), 868-869, cats. 168-172, s.v. "Eros," (A. Hermary). For the Sotheby's appliqué, see Schwarzmeier 1997, 343, cat. 270, pl. 15.2. In addition to the metal examples, there are several ceramic askoi with relief appliqués that clearly imitate this motif: London BMG 151, London 1953.7-7.5, and Ruvo, Jatta Collection. Also cf. a red-figured oinochoe, Oxford 1945.2, from c. 400 (*LIMC* 3 (1986), 868, cat. no. 159, s.v. "Eros," (A. Hermary), pl. 617) an Apulian lekythos, Manchester IV C9, from c. 310 (*LIMC* 3 (1986), 868, cat. no.

its associations with salt-water and the open sea, whereas hydriai were used to collect fresh water from a fountain.

We can explore the subjects chosen for these vessels individually. This approach allows for the identification of stylistic and iconographic parallels among the other vessels of the same type and also considerations in relation to similar appliqués destined for different kinds of objects and compositions rendered in other media. A discussion of the significance of the motifs for revealing aspects of the ways the vessels might have been used will follow below in *Chapters 5 and 6*.

Nike

In the last quarter of the fifth century when the figured mythological appliqués appeared, they relied on familiar compositional paradigms, exchanging the single figure of a siren with a single human figure. Like the siren, these figures often had wings, which serve to separate the figure from the background and to frame the scene. One of the earliest of the Late Classical appliqués, **Thessalonike M^Θ 7552** (cat. 20.2) takes the form of a winged Nike holding a torch across her waist, alighting on the leaves of an acanthus plant. Although her pose is frontal and fairly static, not betraying imminent motion except in the crossing of one leg over the other, it is evident that she has just alighted from the way her himation billows behind her legs and part of her garment flutters across her chest and off to the right side. Painted scenes of Nike bearing offerings,

163, s.v. “Eros,” (A. Hermary), pl. 617), a small silver relief from Rhodes, London 1907.12-17.2, from the last quarter of the fifth century (*LIMC* 3 (1986), 868, cat. no. 173, s.v. “Eros,” (A. Hermary), pl. 618); a chalcedony gem, St. Petersburg 605, from the second quarter of the fourth century (*LIMC* 3 (1986), 869, cat. no. 184, s.v. “Eros,” (A. Hermary), pl. 619); and a black-glazed hydria with relief decorations, Ruvo J1, from the third century (*LIMC* 3 (1986), 868, cat. no. 183, s.v. “Eros,” (A. Hermary), pl. 618).

It is, of course, possible, that a relief intended for a mirror was appropriated for a hydria. If so, then several important questions regarding manufacture are raised, the most important of which is whether the reliefs for mirrors and hydriai were interchangeable.

trophies, or ritual implements are common in Attic red-figure vase painting in the fifth century, but she is almost always shown in profile.²¹ Her frontal presentation with prize in hand marks her as a precursor to the type of Hellenistic triumphant Nike produced in large numbers and in a variety of media.²²

The goddess remained a favored subject for bronze appliqués on kalpides throughout the fourth century. Her popularity may be credited to her role as a mythological signifier of victory and also to her winged form, which was highly appropriate for for this type of appliqué. The appliqué on **Athens 18787** (cat. 20.46) shows a single female figure that may be interpreted best as Nike based on the presence of her wings. Her pose and gesture, however, indicate a conflation with Aphrodite. The position of her body derives from Praxiteles' Aphrodite of Knidos (e.g. Vatican 812, Figure 4.10-4.11).²³ The gesture follows from the type often referred to as "Aphrodite Anadyomene" (cf. Figure 4.19, Vatican 806), which is characterized by the goddess wringing out her wet locks at the moment of her birth, as she rose out of the sea.²⁴ This Nike-Aphrodite finds numerous parallels in a broad range of materials and scales from the fourth century and Hellenistic period.²⁵

²¹ Cf. especially *LIMC* 6 (1992), 859-860, cat. nos. 94-117, s.v. "Nike," (A. Moustaka, A. Goulaki-Voutira, and U. Grote).

²² For example, *LIMC* 6 (1992), 881-888, cat. nos. 380-560, s.v. "Nike," (A. Moustaka, A. Goulaki-Voutira, and U. Grote).

²³ *Vatican 812*: *LIMC* 2 (1984), 50, cat. 391, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

²⁴ *LIMC* 2 (1984), 76, cat. 667, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

²⁵ For gesture, see *LIMC* 2 (1984), 55-56, cats. 425, 404, 432, 430, 438, 437, 431, 446, 448, and especially 75-77, cats. 665, 674, 675, 679, 672, 677, 682, 68; *LIMC* 2 (1984), 50, cat. 391, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

A third variation of the motif appears on **Once Art Market, New York (Symes 1999)** (cat. 20.48). The plaque shows a single winged, female figure extending a wreath of olive (?) leaves in her outstretched right hand. This appliqué belongs to a long tradition of representations of Nikai bearing offerings or prizes, including libation vessels, thymiateria, and boxes, as well as wreaths, fillets, armor, tripods, trophies, and occasionally musical instruments.²⁶ The pose of the figure is similar to Eros on **Volos** (cat. 20.11, below), with a figure of Eros holding a thymiaterion and pyxis. Another appliqué with the same subject, **Amphipolis 7344** (cat. 20.47), also shows a single, winged female figure wearing a sheer garment that emphasizes the form of her body beneath. Like her counterpart on **Once New York Market (Syme 1999)** (cat. 20.48), she holds a wreath aloft in one outstretched hand, but the effect of this figure is far more dynamic.

Eros

The figure of a youthful Eros frequently was chosen to ornament Late Classical kalpides.

Like Nike, he appears early in the series alone as a winged figure cast in a piece with the handle itself. The first appliqué of this type, **Berlin 8068** (cat. 20.4), shows a nude youth with long, outstretched wings balancing on a narrow platform. A wreath hangs over his left shoulder and he holds a ball in each of his raised hands. At least two different ancient literary sources associate the young Eros with a ball. In the first, a sixth-century fragment by Anakreon, the poet writes “once again, the golden-haired Eros strikes me with his

²⁶ For example, *LIMC* 6 (1992), 858-888, cat. nos. 94-560, s.v. “Nike,” (A. Moustaka, A. Goulaki-Vuotira, U. Grote).

purple ball and summons me to play with the girl in the fancy sandals.”²⁷ The second comes from the *Argonautika*, by the third-century poet Apollonios of Rhodes, in which Aphrodite offers a young Eros a ball in exchange for the favor of making Aetes’ daughter fall in love with Jason. She describes the ball that formerly had belonged to Zeus himself, saying

[It is] a well-rounded ball; no better toy will you get from the hands of Hephaistos. All of gold are its zones, and round each double seams run in a circle; but the stitches are hidden and a dark blue spiral overlays them all. But if you should cast it with your hands, like a star, it sends a flaming track through the sky.²⁸

Despite the visuality of these passages, the subject is not common in art, but it does appear on at least one Roman bronze statuette, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles Br 306, dated to the Imperial period (Figure 4.21).²⁹

A second figure of Eros, on **Volos** (cat. 20.11), is of a more canonical type and is helpful for determining a more precise date for this vessel. Here, a mature, fleshy Eros holds an elaborate, tiered thymiaterion in one hand and a round, lidded pyxis in the other. The appliqué on this vase owes a clear debt to both the High Classical siren kalpides, evident in the construction of the wings that rise up and away from the shoulder of the vase and hang down to frame the composition, and also to its immediate Late Classical predecessors, most notably **Berlin 8068** (cat. 20.4), showing Eros holding two balls.

²⁷ Anakreon, fr. 358. Trans. Campbell 1993, 83-84.

²⁸ *Argonautika* 3.129-145. Trans. Seaton 1912, 202-203. Also see *Palatine Anthology* 5.214 (Meleagros) (Paton 1970, 234-235), “This Love that dwells with me is fond of playing at ball, and to thee, Heliodora, he throws the heart that quivers in me. But come, consent to play with him, for if thou throwest me away from thee, he will brook this wanton transgression of the courtesies of sport.”

²⁹ *Paris, Cabinet des Médailles Br 306: LIMC* 3 (1986), 856, cat. no. 7b, s.v. “Eros,” (A. Hermary), pl. 609.

Several related compositions from the fourth century show Eros with a similarly elaborate incense burner. On at least two vessels, a fragmentary Attic lekythos-aryballos from the early fourth century (New York 1906.1021.200) and a Paestan bell krater from the workshop of Python that has been dated to the second half of the fourth century (Paris K 264), he presents an elaborate censer to his mother, Aphrodite (Figures 4.22-4.23).³⁰ A diminutive Eros holds a tray of fruits or cakes in one hand and a tall thymiaterion of the same type as the one shown on the bronze appliqué in the other on an Apulian red-figure lekythos attributed to the Lampas painter (Berlin, Private Collection) (Figure 4.24).³¹ The lekythos likely was made c. 340. Eros appears on a Gnathian-ware Apulian askos from the second half of the fourth century, Ruvo, Museo Jatta 1290, with a tiered incense burner that closely resembles the one on the kalpis appliqué, although in this case he stands next to it rather than holds it (Figure 4.25).³² Another good comparison is found on an oinochoe from Canosa, Bari 5924, dated to c. 320 (Figure 4.26).³³ A figure on a fourth-century silver ring, Munich Münzsammlungen 2494, holds the thymiaterion as on the kalpis appliqué but moves in the opposite direction (Figure 4.27).³⁴

The profile of the vase is not far from a red-figure kalpis of Attic fourth-century style, London E 241 (Figure 4.28), except that the vase in Volos has a more steeply

³⁰ *New York 1906.1021.200*: LIMC 3 (1986), 918, cat. 805, s.v. "Eros," (A. Hermary), pl. 609. *Paris K 264*: LIMC 3 (1986) Eros, 918-919, cat. 817c, s.v. "Eros," (A. Hermary), pl. 609.

³¹ LIMC 3 (1986), 892, cat. 492, s.v. "Eros," (A. Hermary), pl. 609.

³² LIMC 3 (1986) 897, cat. 535, s.v. "Eros," (A. Hermary), pl. 609.

³³ LIMC 2 (1984) 118, cat. 1208, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann)

³⁴ LIMC 3 (1986), 897, cat. 537, s.v. "Eros," (A. Hermary).

sloped shoulder.³⁵ The body and pose of the striding figure is closely paralleled on a fragmentary ancient clay impression of a mirror cover, Corinth MF-8612, which has been dated to c. 375-350 by B. Barr-Sharrar (Figure 4.29).³⁶ It is reasonable to propose that this kalpis was made near the middle of the century based on its iconographic comparanda and its place within the series of Late Classical hydriai of this type.

A third version of the motif is found below the vertical handle of **Paris 597** (cat. 20.7). The youthful god is represented far more three-dimensionally than on the vase in Berlin (cat. 20.4). His fragile, outstretched arms have not survived but the gesture, with the left arm down by his side and the right one raised, seems to be that of a libation pourer. If so, he may have held an oinochoe and a phiale, but it is possible that different ritual implements were chosen. Like Nike, Eros was shown regularly on fifth- and fourth-century Attic and South Italian red-figure vases with ritual implements in his hands, including wreaths, tripods, fillets, boxes, and mirrors, along with phialai, oinochoai, and incense burners.

This figure of Eros bears a clear relationship to the style of the famous fourth-century sculptor Praxiteles, best known for his nude Aphrodite and numerous sculptures of lithe male figures. One may compare Eros' pose to the marble Hermes and Dionysos group from Olympia (Figure 4.30), to the Pouring Satyr often attributed to the master (Palermo, Figure 4.31), or to the Apollo "Sauroktonos" type, known from an adaptation of Praxiteles' renowned sculpture now in Cleveland (Figure 4.32), and also from a

³⁵ Boardman 1989, 190-194, fig. 415.

³⁶ Barr-Sharrar 2008, 109, fig. 97.

marble copy in the Louvre, Paris 441 (Figure 4.33).³⁷ The so-called “Farnese” or “Palatine” type of Eros, so-termed from a large-scale marble Roman adaptation of a sculpture from c. 370-360, once in the Farnese gardens in Rome, Paris MA 2266 (Figure 4.34), demonstrates the continued interest in the theme well beyond the fourth century.³⁸ This figure also relates closely to the Late Classical bronze sculpture recovered from the Bay of Marathon, known as the “Marathon Boy,” that has been dated to the last quarter of the fourth century (Figure 4.35).³⁹ Like our bronze handle, this sculpture clearly betrays a Praxitelean influence in its slender, youthful body and exaggerated contrapposto position. The gesture of the “Marathon Boy” is very near to that on the figure adorning the handle in Paris, with one arm raised and the other extended. Both likely were outfitted with additional, religious accoutrements.

Since the body of this vessel no longer survives, the handle itself is our best (and only) evidence for its date. If not for the mature style of the figure at the bottom, this handle would fit easily into the early fourth century with its shallowly fluted grip and the construction of the handle together with the appliqué. However, the proportions and pose of Eros’ body suggest a later date, perhaps near 350. M. Pfrommer dates this handle to the early third century on the basis of its relationship to a figure of Eros leaning his weight on his left leg holding a bow in his extended left hand made by Praxiteles and

³⁷ *Cleveland Museum of Art 2004.30 (Sauroktonos)*: Ajootian in Palagia and Pollitt 1996, 116-122, fig. 67; *Pouring Satyr (Palermo)*: Ajootian in Palagia and Pollitt 1996, 110-113, fig. 60.

³⁸ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 862, cat.78a, s.v. “Eros,” (A. Hermary), pl. 614; Ajootian in Palagia and Pollitt 1996, 113-116.

³⁹ Mattusch 1997, 15-16; Ridgway 1997, 343-44, n. 38, pl. 84a-c; Stewart 1990, 177, cat. 497, figs. 497, 499; Boardman 1995, fig. 42; Todisco 1993, 133, pl. 298; Houser 1993, 102, 104-107; *Mind and Body* 1989, 179-181, no. 71; Papaioannou 1984; Rhomaios 1924, 152, fig. 3.

described by Kallistratos.⁴⁰ I would argue, however, that it belongs at least half a century earlier because of its earlier, more conservative features that are rendered obsolete by the mid-fourth century and do not reappear on later vessels.⁴¹ In the second half of the fourth century and beyond, appliqués on bronze kalpides almost always were made and attached separately, most often show a pair of figures, and tended to move away from frontal compositions framed by heavy wings.

The latest of the nude, youthful, winged Erotes appears on a fragmentary appliqué from Bonikovo in Akarnania, **New York 07.286.89** (cat. 20.12). Here, he holds a phiale and oinochoe for pouring libations. Although they depict similar subjects, the New York appliqué is considerably later, probably by more than half a century, than its counterpart, **Paris 597** (cat. 20.7).⁴² Its advanced date is demonstrated by the thinness of the carved bronze panel, the delicacy of the repoussé, the separation of the appliqué from the handle, and the proportions and pose of the slender, languid figure. The spiky, stylized acanthus leaf in the upper right corner (the left side is broken, but would have had a matching motif) associates the plaque with two kalpides from the middle of the fourth century, **Atlanta 2001.12.1** (cat. 20.37) and **United States Private Collection (New York White-Levy)** (cat. 20.44). The exaggerated S-curve of Eros' contrapposto position and his slim body are at home in the late fourth century.

⁴⁰ Pfrommer 1980, 538-539. Ajootian 1996, 114. Kallistratos *Imagines* 3.

⁴¹ Pfrommer 1980, 539.

⁴² J. Gaunt (2005, 22 n. 6) proposes that this fragmentary appliqué “may be a late work by the same hand” as **United States Private collection (New York, Levy-White)** (cat. 20.44) and **Atlanta 2002.12.1** (cat. 20.37).

Eros appears with instruments of libation, including phialai and oinochoai, on red-figure vases from the early fifth century onwards, such as a lekythos from Selinunte by the Brygos Painter (Palermo V 668), dated to c. 490-480, an amphora (Paris G 435) from c. 460-450, and two Apulian cups, Verona 143 Ce and Lyons E 316-4, both from the third quarter of the fourth century (Figures 4.36-4.39).⁴³ The legacy of the motif of Eros with various religious accoutrements, including vessels as well as thymiateria, can be found on a marble relief from the sanctuary of Aphrodite below the Athenian Akropolis, Athens 1451-1452, dated to the second half of the second century BC (Figure 4.40).⁴⁴

One related but extremely damaged, fragmentary appliqué (**London 306**, cat. 20.13) may represent Dionysos but can be discussed here because of its iconographic similarity to the appliqués with representations of Eros. It is particularly close in style to **New York 07.286.89** (cat. 20.12). It shows a winged youth holding a thyrsos in his right hand and the edge of his chlamys over the opposite arm. This figure leaves many questions unanswered. Most importantly, is this a conflation of Eros and Dionysos? While Eros appears alone with some frequency on this type of appliqué, this is our only example of Dionysos in such a scene, making it a particularly valuable addition to the corpus. An unbearded Dionysos standing alone with these attributes is not a frequent subject in Greek art, generally, though it does appear on a gold ring from Sicily (Berlin

⁴³ *Palermo V 668*: LIMC 3 (1986), 888, cat. no. 457, s.v. "Eros," (A. Hermary); *Paris G 435*: LIMC 3 (1986), 889, cat. 458, s.v. "Eros," (A. Hermary), pl. 632; *Verona 143 Ce*: LIMC 3 (1986), 890, cat. no. 468a, s.v. "Eros," (A. Hermary), pl. 633; *Lyons E 316-4*: LIMC 3 (1986), 890, cat. 468b, s.v. "Eros," (A. Hermary), pl. 634.

⁴⁴ *Athens 1451-1452*: LIMC 3 (1986), 886, cat. 447, s.v. "Eros," (A. Hermary), 632.

8187, Figure 4.41) from the fourth century, on which the languid god holds a thyrsos and a kantharos.⁴⁵

Eros also appears in another context entirely, as an infant carried by Herakles, on **Malibu 79.AC.119** (cat. 20.16). Herakles, who is nude except for the lion's skin that hangs over his shoulder and behind his back, walks to left with a sure-footed, wide-legged stance, carrying a club. In his opposite arm, he holds a small, winged boy against his hip. Eros steadies himself by wrapping his arm around Herakles' shoulder and sitting obliquely on the hero's forearm. This pair is not associated with one another in any extant literary source.⁴⁶ However, as S. Woodford notes, there is a vibrant visual tradition of the hero and Eros and/or erotes.⁴⁷ She identifies several types of representations in which the pair appear: Herakles helping a young Eros to climb onto his shoulder as he kneels down, Eros accompanying him as he walks with his hands tied behind his back, Erotes playing with or stealing the hero's equipment while he is sleeping, dining in the company of Omphale, or the two figures on opposite sides of an altar.⁴⁸ The appliqué in Malibu is so far unique not only among the extant Late Classical hydriai with mythological reliefs but also does not have any particularly close iconographic parallels within the other compositions that show related subjects.

The iconography of this pair, with the man carrying the baby "as a parent would carry a child," draws from the established pictorial vocabulary of Dionysos with an infant

⁴⁵ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 433, cat. no. 98, s.v. "Dionysos," (C. Gasparri), pl. 304.

⁴⁶ *LIMC* 5 (1990), 172-176, s.v. "Herakles," (S. Woodford).

⁴⁷ *LIMC* 5 (1990), 172, s.v. "Herakles," (S. Woodford).

⁴⁸ *LIMC* 5 (1990), 172, s.v. "Herakles," (S. Woodford).

Eros.⁴⁹ Comparable motifs are known as early as the fifth century, as seen on a fragmentary Attic red-figure stamnos from Vulci attributed to the Painter of the Stamnoi of Florence, Ferrara 3737, an infant Eros reaches out for Dionysos from the arms of the nymph who carries him (Figure 4.42).⁵⁰ This vase has been dated to the second quarter of the fifth century. On a mid-fifth century Attic red-figure pelike from Cerveteri, Villa Giulia 49002, Hermes, walking to left, holds a small figure of Eros wrapped tightly in the folds of his cloak as he approaches Dionysos, whose arms are extended to take the baby from him (Figure 4.43).⁵¹ The subject is poignantly represented on a neck-amphora with twisted handles from Vulci by the Achilles Painter, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 372 (Figure 4.44).⁵² The most famous example of a similar motif on a larger scale is found in a Roman copy of Praxiteles' marble Hermes with the infant Dionysos from Olympia, the original of which was produced c. 330 (Figure 4.30).⁵³ Eros appears with a consort on at least eight additional kalpides belonging to this group, which will be discussed below with the appliqués bearing scenes of divine (or semi-divine) couples.

Sirens

Given the propensity of bronze craftsmen responsible for producing bronze hydriai towards the image of the mythical, winged siren on hydriai and kalpides throughout the fifth century, it is hardly surprising to see the same motif appear in the

⁴⁹ *LIMC* 5 (1990), 175, s.v. "Herakles," (S. Woodford).

⁵⁰ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 481, cat. 703, s.v. "Dionysos," (C. Gasparri).

⁵¹ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 480, cat. 683, s.v. "Dionysos," (C. Gasparri).

⁵² Oakley 1997, 115, cat. 4, pl. 5, fig. 24A, dated c. 450-445.

⁵³ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 479, cat. 675, s.v. "Dionysos," (C. Gasparri).

Late Classical period, reconfigured to reflect the new tendency to show more elongated figures. The siren on **Vienna VI 2271** (cat. 20.5) fits typologically into the final class of siren kalpides with elongated bodies (cat. nos. 16.83-16.84). However, it is more comfortably situated here among the Late Classical vessels, on the basis of its three-dimensionality, the more substantial form of the figure itself, the more naturalistic wings, the lack of schematic scrollwork surrounding the figure, and the freedom of the gesture in raising both arms away from the body. Her outstretched left arm once held an implement that makes her comparable to the figure of Eros on **Berlin 8068** (cat. 20.4) from the late fifth century. The chosen subject, along with the distinctively Classical features of the handle itself, including the flattened, round disk ornamented with radiating flutes at the upper terminal and the plain grip without the carinations that are so common in the fourth century, recommends an early date, likely in the last quarter of the fifth century.

Another siren kalpis is certainly later than the previous handle, **Once New York Market** (cat. 20.6). On the one hand, its composition is nearer to the canonical siren kalpides of the fifth century than the handle in Vienna, with the inclusion of a very elaborate openwork scroll and palmette pattern below the feet of the siren and underneath the wings. Ultimately, however, the three-dimensionality of the mythological creature and the inclusion of the lyre that she holds against her left hip and plucks as she stands, secures her position among the Late Classical appliqués, as does the profile of the vessel to which she is attached and the techniques used to join the parts together.

Artemis

With **New York 37.11.6** (cat. 20.1), we are introduced to an entirely new and more ambitious approach to the ornamentation of a bronze kalpis. This vessel is one of if

not *the* earliest surviving example of a two-figured composition in this position. The presence of more than one figure alone would be impressive, but the dynamism and energy of the image is unprecedented. The chiasmic composition shows a lithe, winged woman subduing a stag. In contrast to Nike's fleshy, rounded form on **Thessalonike MΘ 7552** (cat. 20.2), the style of the figure on this appliqué is far more delicately and skillfully rendered.

Although the stag allows us to identify the female figure as Artemis with certainty, her pose suggests a degree of intentional conflation with Nike. The composition derives from the iconographic paradigm of Nike with a bull, most immediately familiar from the parapet of the Nike Temple on the Athenian Akropolis, which was carved around the same time as this vessel was made, in the last quarter of the fifth century (Figure 4.45).⁵⁴ Besides the Nike parapet reliefs, this composition may be compared to a number of related objects. A winged female figure sacrifices a bull on a late fifth-century gold ring from Crimea, St. Petersburg II 1934/5.9 (Figure 4.46).⁵⁵ On a mirror cover from Megara, London 290, which has been dated to c. 375, a winged female wearing a long chiton and himation that has slipped from her left shoulder sits astride a bull and subdues it by holding its muzzle with her palm (Figure 4.47).⁵⁶ Her opposite hand is damaged and may or may not have held a knife. A later box mirror, from Corinth, Athens 16115, dated to the third quarter of the fourth century by W. Züchner, is also closely related iconographically, with a winged Nike taming a bull by balancing on its back and pulling

⁵⁴ *LIMC* 6 (1992), 866, cat. 169, s.v. "Nike," (A. Moustaka, A. Goulaki-Voutira, and U. Grote), pl. 576.

⁵⁵ *LIMC* 6 (1992), 866, cat. 171, s.v. "Nike," (A. Moustaka, A. Goulaki-Voutira, and U. Grote), pl. 577.

⁵⁶ Züchner 1942, 47, 218, cat. KS 62, fig. 124.

its head backwards with one steady hand (Figure 4.48).⁵⁷ In addition to its iconographic affinity to the mannered relief sculptures of the parapet around the Temple of Athena Nike in Athens, the style also bears a clear relationship to it, particularly in the dramatic swirl of drapery created by the dynamic pose of the goddess as she overcomes her victim.

To explain the presence of wings on this figure of Artemis, who normally was represented without wings, G.M.A. Richter recalls the long tradition of a winged Artemis in the guise of the Potnia Theron, an aspect of the goddess that had been known and favored in the Greek world at least as early as the Orientalizing period in the seventh century.⁵⁸ An anthropomorphized handle in the form of an Artemis surrounded by her animals even appeared on one of the most elaborate bronze hydriai from the sixth century, **Bern 11620** (cat. 12.1). Richter cites further contemporary parallels for a winged Artemis with her sacred animals on a fifth-century oinochoe in Paris by the Dutuit Painter, on Melian reliefs, on coins from Tauric Chersonese, Hierokaisareia (Lydia), and Kastabala (Cilicia), and on rock-cut sculptures in Thrace.⁵⁹

Richter argues further that the figure should be understood as Artemis because she is taming the animal rather than sacrificing it, but this point is difficult to prove and unnecessary to the argument. Several nearly contemporary images with female figures that are undoubtedly intended to be identified as Artemis hunting a stag exist, including

⁵⁷ Züchner 1942, 47-48, cat. KS 63, fig. 22. *LIMC* 6 (1992), 866, cat. 179, s.v. "Nike," (A. Moustaka, A. Goulaki-Voutira, and U. Grote).

⁵⁸ Richter 1937, 535. Cf. also *LIMC* 2 (1984), 626-628, cat nos. 21-57, s.v. "Artemis," (L. Kahil), pls. 443-447.

⁵⁹ Richter 1937, 535, notes 3-8. *Paris oinochoe*: Beazley *ARV*², 106fl, along with a lekythos in Syracuse and an amphora in St. Petersburg. *Melian reliefs*: Jacobsthal 1931, 25f., cats. 16-18, pl. 9. *Coins*: Poole 1877, 3, no. 7, VII: Head 1902, 102, nos. 3-4; Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 354, pl. H, no. 7; Reinach 1888, 71f. (doubts the coins are Cilician). *Thracian sculptures*: Heuzey and Daumet 1876, pl. V. Richter's parallel's for Artemis on the deer, cv. Zahn 1916-17, col. 303 n. 2; Bieber 1910, 9f., pl. 2; Bieber 1910, 9f., pl. 2; Bieber 1915, no. 74, 36, pl. 32.

an Apulian volute-krater in Ruvo, a late fifth-century marble relief from Attica, Cassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen 774, a red-figure pelike by the Herakles painter from Sant'Agata de' Goti, London E 432, dated to c. 370, and an early Hellenistic marble statue group from Delos, Delos A 449 (Figures 4.49-4.52).⁶⁰

Maenad

Another kalpis with an innovative approach to the addition of a mythological appliqué beneath the vertical handle is **United States Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 20.10). The appliqué takes an ecstatic maenad as its subject, which is so far unique among the surviving corpus of Late Classical bronze kalpides but belongs to a rich tradition of dynamic female figures that ultimately derive from the Nikai on the frieze of the parapet surrounding the Temple of Athena Nike in Athens, constructed no earlier than c. 424-420, according to P. Schultz's recent re-assessment.⁶¹ B. Barr-Sharrar notes the close relationship between the dramatic and engaging Nikai on extant slabs of the parapet frieze, the maenads on the central frieze of the Derveni krater, and the female figures from numerous Neo-Attic reliefs from the Late Hellenistic period.⁶² Although they clearly are products of different workshops or at the very least, differently trained hands, the maenads must share a common iconographic prototype. Their relationship is evident, for instance, in the large, archaizing eye rendered frontally despite the profile position of the rest of the face and the awkwardness in the position of the rear foot emerging below

⁶⁰ Sichtermann 1966, 42, pl. 86, Richter 1937, 537. *Cassel 774: LIMC 2* (1984), 653, cat. 397, s.v. "Artemis," (L. Kahil); *London E 432: LIMC 2* (1984), 653, cat. 396, s.v. "Artemis," (L. Kahil); *Delos A 449: LIMC 2* (1984), 654, cat. 402, s.v. "Artemis," (L. Kahil).

⁶¹ Schultz 2001, 1-2.

⁶² Barr-Sharrar 2008, 122.

the drapery as she strides forward lightly with one leg in front of the other.⁶³ A series of large-scale, Neo-Attic maenads sculpted in relief (cf. New York 35.11.3, Figure 4.53) is frequently associated with the tradition of ecstatic maenads to which the maenad on the bronze kalpis belongs.⁶⁴

The maenad on the kalpis is not an exact copy of any of the Derveni figures or Hauser's Neo-Attic types but is rather a composite figure that comes out of the same tradition.⁶⁵ Her exaggerated pose and attributes, including the coiling snake and long thyrsos, allow us to identify her reverie as Dionysiac. We might compare her extreme contrapposto position that causes her back to bend backwards and head to tilt upwards to the well-known marble copy in Dresden of Skopas' maenad, created originally in the second quarter of the fourth century, according to A. Stewart (Figure 4.54).⁶⁶

On the Derveni krater, the maenad with a baby slung over her shoulder stands in a strikingly similar position to the figure on our appliqué, the details of the composition are not identical (Figure 4.55). Both women are turned slightly outwards so that the chest and hips are shown on the oblique. Both of their garments are open, revealing the right breast, although the dresses fall away differently. The Derveni maenad's chiton is unbuttoned on one side and hangs down in the front and back. On the kalpis, her dress slips over her shoulder and gathers near the elbow. The Derveni figure stands with her legs in profile,

⁶³ Barr-Sharrar 2008, 178.

⁶⁴ These often are identified as adaptations of original works by Kallimachos, a sculptor from the last quarter of the fifth century

⁶⁵ Barr-Sharrar 2008, 124, fig. 111.

⁶⁶ Stewart 1977, 91. Stewart's date is considerably earlier than that proposed by others; Fuchs prefers a production in the 340s, while Arnold would rather see it as late as the 320s. Mingazzini assigns it a Hellenistic date, between c. 200 and c. 170. Also see the description of this work by Kallistratos, *Descriptiones* 2.1-4.

while our maenad crosses one leg over another. Unlike the barefoot figure on the Derveni vessel, the woman on the kalpis wears slippers with curling laces, similar to those worn by Oreithyia on the appliqué below the vertical handle on **Athens 18775** (cat. 20.17). Barr-Sharrar points to a similar composition on a smaller scale on a gold earring from the Great Bliznitsa tumulus, St. Petersburg BB192 (Figure 4.56).⁶⁷ Elsewhere, numerous other related compositions also express the legacy of the Nike parapet. On a Neo-Attic round marble base with a frieze of ecstatic maenads in relief, one stands in a similar position to the figure on the kalpis but holds a wreath in her front hand and her drapery in her back hand.⁶⁸ Another related Neo-Attic maenad with a wreath appears on a marble calyx krater, New York 23.184 (Figure 4.57).⁶⁹

Ecstatic maenads in the same typological vein are found elsewhere, for instance, on red-figure Campanian skyphos from the late fifth or early fourth century (c. 410-380), Boston 03.824 (Figure 4.60).⁷⁰ On this vase, a pair of maenads walk to left; the first of the two is a sister of our maenad on the appliqué, walking to right on the oblique with her head tilted backwards and holding a thyrsos in her outstretched back hand. The technique of constructing the appliqué together with the handle, the flatness of the relief itself, and the close iconographic relationship with other maenads recommends a date for this vessel in the second quarter of the fourth century.

⁶⁷ Barr-Sharrar 2008, 124, fig. 109.

⁶⁸ Barr-Sharrar 2008, 125-127, fig. 112.

⁶⁹ Barr-Sharrar 2008, 125, 127, fig. 113. Also Grassinger 1991.

⁷⁰ *LIMC* 7 (1994), 312, cat. 45, s.v. "Pentheus," (J. Bazant and G. Berger-Doer).

Zeus and Ganymede

Two appliqués likely also from the second quarter of the fourth century show a different subject, Zeus' seduction of Ganymede, **United States Private Collection (Boston)** (cat. 20.8) and **Tire 93/93** (cat. 20.9). These two panels represent experiments with yet another solution to the problem of framing the composition without the use of floral filling ornaments. Instead of a single mythological figure with wings, these two plaques show Zeus in the form of an eagle, with his head facing frontally from the bottom of the vertical handle and wings stretched out widely to the sides. A wingless figure of Ganymede that is stylistically not far at all from the Erotes on **Berlin 8068** (cat. 20.4) or **Volos** (cat. 20.11) stands in front of the bird. The enveloping wings of the avian Zeus, whose head protrudes from the shoulder of the vase, and the three-dimensionality of the picture plane created by the illusion of Ganymede standing *in front* of the approaching eagle infuse the panels with an element of imminent movement. Although the appliqués are not they are so close iconographically that they must have been made in awareness of one another. It is interesting, however, that they are made using different techniques. The panel on the kalpis in Boston was cast together with the vertical handle but the one in Tire was created in repoussé and applied separately beneath the grip.

The only other vessel that compares to these two in terms of the unusual treatment of the lower end of the vertical handle, with a head rising in relief from the bottom of the grip as though it is emerging from the fabric of the body itself, is **Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)** (cat. 20.3). Judging from its broad profile, this kapis seems to have been produced originally in the late fifth century but was reworked in the Hellenistic

period. It is unclear whether the female head at the bottom of the handle was part of the original construction or is a later modification.

The story of Zeus and Ganymede resonated strongly with Late Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman audiences throughout the Mediterranean world. The type may have originated in large-scale sculpture. Its most famous representation seems to have been a fourth century bronze group by Leochares mentioned by Pliny.⁷¹ Related depictions of the pair from the fourth century onward are numerous, including a mid-fourth century mirror cover from the vicinity of Amphissa in central Greece, Berlin 7928, and also two reliefs from black-glazed “Plakettenvasen,” Berlin V.I. 5901 and Mykonos 289, both of which have been dated to c. 300 (Figures 4.61-4.63).⁷² Two painted terracotta reliefs from the Hellenistic period, from Canosa, are of the same iconographic type, Baltimore 48.344 and 48.345 (Figure 4.65).⁷³ In the Hellenistic period, the motif also extended to the West, as demonstrated by a small bronze relief from Viterbo, Berlin 10193, in which Catmite, the Etruscan equivalent of Ganymede, reaches up to grasp the neck of a swan (Figure 4.66).⁷⁴ The relief has been dated to the third century. Continuation into the Roman period is attested by an Italian mosaic now in Sevilla, Casa dela Condesa de Lebriha, dated to c. AD 150 and a Severan mosaic from the imperial

⁷¹ Pliny *HN* 34.79.

⁷² *Berlin 7928*: Züchner (1942, 62, cat. KS 86, pl. 7) dates this vase to c. 375, but it has been assigned variously to the first half of the fourth century. Furtwängler (1887, pl. 147z) places it later, between 350 and 340. Curtius 1959, 371, prefers it even later, following Leochares. Zahn (1921, 25) and Lippold (*RE* XII, 5f.) compared to the q of Leochares. See also Richter 1930, 283f., fig. 734; Bieber 1937, 66; Lucas 1906, 272 for a date in the Hellenistic period. *Mykonos 289*: *LIMC* 4 (1988), 164, cat. 197, s.v. “Ganymede,” (H. Sichtermann). *Berlin V.I. 5901*: *LIMC* 4 (1988), 164, cat. 198, s.v. “Ganymede,” (H. Sichtermann); Bruneau 1962, 193f.

⁷³ Milne 1955, 70; *Flight: Fantasy, Faith, Fact, a Loan Exhibition Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of Powered Flight, 1903-1953*, Dayton, OH, 1953, 7, cat. nos. 40a, 40b, pl. 3 (40a).

⁷⁴ *LIMC* 4 (1988), 170, cat. 9, s.v. “Ganymede/Catmite,” (H. Sichtermann).

villa at Baccano, Rome, Museo Nazionale 1241 (Figure 4.67).⁷⁵ G.M.A. Richter notes that a Roman marble sculpture, Vatican 2445 (Figure 4.68) likely follows what she identifies as a Hellenistic pictorial prototype. The three appliqués from the two Late Classical kalpides and the contemporary mirror, however, demonstrate that type was known at least as early as the fourth century.⁷⁶

Divine Couples

In the mature phase of the Late Classical hydriai, several mythological couples were favored, including Boreas and Oreithyia, Dionysos and Ariadne, and a third pair that has been identified alternately as Eros and Aphrodite, Eros and ‘Psyche,’ or Iris and Zephyr. We may consider these couples in turn, from those that can be most securely identified to the more speculative.

Boreas and Oreithyia

At least ten bronze kalpides with appliqués showing Boreas abducting Oreithyia have been identified, making it by far the most frequently represented theme among the Late Classical kalpides. The complete (or nearly so) vessels include **Athens 18775** (cat. 20.17), **United States Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 20.19), **New York 53.11.3** (cat. 20.18), **Nessebar** (cat. 20.23), **Nessebar** (cat. 20.24), and **Sofia 5039** (cat. 20.25). These are joined by several loose appliqués, including **Once Art Market** (cat. 20.21), **London 310** (cat. 2.22), and **Munich SL 34** (cat. 20.26). In addition, at least two vessels that have lost their appliques bear outlines of of solder below the vertical handle make the

⁷⁵ *LIMC* 4 (1988), 162-163, cat. 173, s.v. “Ganymede,” (H. Sichtermann)

⁷⁶ Ridgway 1997, 247, pl. 58.

subject of its now-lost ornamental panel clear. These include **Delphi** (cat. 20.27) and **United States Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 20.28).⁷⁷

Although all of these appliqués clearly follow a common iconographic model with a winged male figure standing partially behind a wingless female and holding her to him by wrapping his arm(s) around her waist, there are significant differences in details of style, gesture, and clothing that make clear that they were not made by a single hand. On **Athens 18775** (cat. 20.17), the two figures are masterfully treated, with great attention to the smallest ornamental details, such as the fine chasing on her slippers and subtle differences in texture between the smooth skin of the figures, Oreithyia's light, clinging drapery, and the variegated feathers of Boreas' wings. The two move together in a graceful choreography that seems as though it is still in motion. Her drapery flutters around her feet, her feet dangle in the air, and his torso leans backwards to accommodate the shift of weight as he sweeps her off the ground. His weight is unbalanced, thrust onto his left, advancing leg, as his right leg trails behind. As he lifts her with both arms wrapped around her waist, she holds onto his wrist with her left arm and reaches her right arm behind his shoulders and grasping the hem of her chiton. **United States Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 20.19) has a comparable composition but lacks the suggestion of movement noted on **Athens 18775** (cat. 20.17). Here, Oreithyia's drapery is stiff, Boreas' weight is centered on both feet, and he turns to face forward, stopping the action. Other differences include Oreithyia's hand, which reaches out beyond Boreas' shoulder, and the addition of Boreas' calf-length boots.

⁷⁷ The collector reports that D. von Bothmer reached the same conclusion for this kalpis.

On **New York 53.11.3** (cat. 20.18), Boreas wears boots and a short garment that covers one shoulder. Here, he turns to look backwards over his right shoulder, reversing the composition of **Athens 18775** (cat. 20.17). The figures relate to each other in a different way, as well. As he grasps her waist with his left arm, she bends backwards theatrically, raising one arm to her hair. Her right arm reaches behind his shoulders, where he reaches up and grabs her wrist. Similar configurations appear on **Once Art Market** (cat. 2.21) and **London 310** (cat. 2.22). At least three surviving box mirrors have similar appliquéés that must have been made alongside the two that were appended to the New York and London kalpides: Athens 7416, New York 1988.11.6, and Once London Market (Sotheby's 1988) (Figures 4.69-4.71).⁷⁸

Nessebar (cat. 20.23) is more closely related to these than the model of **Athens 18775** (cat. 20.17). Instead of the active participant of the previous appliquéés, here Oreithyeia appears very nearly limp. She bends backwards with such exaggeration, allowing the left arm to hang down while the right is raised to her hair. **Munich SL 34** (cat. 20.26) and **Sofia 5039** (cat. 20.25) follow closely, though the style of the figures has become in these two versions far more squat and rounded than their elegant, languid counterparts on **Athens 18775** (cat. 20.17). **Nessebar** (cat. 20.24) is not far from these last examples, although the composition is reversed, with Oreithyeia on Boreas' right side. These may represent the products of a second center of manufacture or, more likely, a second artistic hand with a slightly different interpretation of the motif based on a common model.

⁷⁸ *Athens 7416*: From Eretria. Schwarzmeier 1997, 22, 241, cat. 13, pl. 53 (top); Züchner 62, 170, cat. KS 87, fig. 83; Verdélis 1950/51, 88; *LIMC* 3 (1986), 138, cat. 68, s.v. "Boreas," (S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou). *Once London Market (Sotheby's 1988)*: Provenance uncertain. Schwarzmeier 1997, 22, 204, 342, cat. 267, pl. 53 (bottom); *Sotheby's London 11.7.1988*, 160, cat. 345, 161.

Boreas, the North Wind, and Pindar's "King of the Winds" was the son of Eos and Astraios and the father of Zetes and Calais, winged boys who came to the rescue of the Thracian king, Phineus, when he was plagued by the Harpies.⁷⁹ In art, he appeared most often with Oreithyia, one of the daughters of the Athenian King Erechtheus, whom he abducted from the banks of the Ilyssos River in Athens. The story was known at least since the early fifth century or at least seems to have increased in popularity at that time.⁸⁰ Herodotus proposed "the northerly gale which wrecked the Persian fleet before Artemisium is supposed to have been summoned up by Athenians praying to their 'son in law' for aid. The Athenians, then, are said to have founded a cult by the Ilyssos in gratitude, Alternatively, the legend may have had particular contemporary relevance after the "marriage of the Athenian magnate Miltiades to Hegesipyle, daughter of the Thracian king Olorus."⁸¹

On Attic red-figure vases, mostly dating from the second and third quarters of the fifth century, Boreas was frequently shown pursuing Oreithyia, running towards her with extended arms while she looks back at him and throws her arm(s) open in a gesture of surprise or protest. Some vase-painters, especially the Oreithyia and Niobid Painters, chose a more dramatic moment of the story, in which Boreas actually captures the maiden.⁸² This highly dynamic moment found particular favor with South Italian vase-

⁷⁹ Pindar *Pythian Ode* 4.181-182.

⁸⁰ Possibly earlier, if one accepts Pausanias' (5.19.1) identification of the subject on the Chest of Kypselos. See Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 36-41.

⁸¹ *Histories* 7.189, 6.39.

⁸² As Munich 2345 (*ARV*², 496.1,2) by the Oreithyia Painter. *LIMC* 3 (1986), 137-138, cat. no. 62b, s.v. "Boreas," (S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou), pl. 119; Bowdoin College 08.3 (*ARV*² 606.68) by the Niobid Painter. *LIMC* 3 (1986), 137, cat. 56, s.v. "Boreas," (S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou), pl. 118.

painters of the late fifth and fourth centuries and also in bronze craftsmen who specialized in repoussé appliqués for vases and box mirrors in the fourth century.

The iconographic type of Boreas and Oreithyia, as seen in these appliqués, borrows a scheme found frequently in scenes of abduction with a varied cast of characters. On a large Apulian lekythos, Geneva, attributed to the Darius painter, Paris abducts Helen by striding to left as he grabs her by the waist, while she steadies herself with one hand behind his shoulders.⁸³ Her outer hand is left free to lift her veil in a bridal gesture, not unlike the appliqué on **New York 51.11.3** (cat. 20.18) and at least two of the stray plaques, including **London 310** (cat. 2.22) and **Once Art Market** (cat. 2.21). This vase has been dated to c. 340-330. A small terracotta appliqué from the second half of the fourth century, possibly from Tanagra (Berlin 8148, Figure 4.77) shows Hades moving to left as he bends his knee deeply to sweep Persephone up by wrapping his left arm around her hip. Persephone, in most representations of her abduction, protests more vehemently than Oreithyia, throwing her arms up and reaching away from her captor.⁸⁴ The stunning painted scene from the Tomb of Persephone in the Royal Tumulus at Vergina also is not far from the previous examples, although Hades drives a chariot instead of pursuing her by foot (Figure 4.78). In at least two other examples, a fragmentary Apulian bell krater from Taranto by the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos and an Apulian hydria by the Baltimore Painter, the composition parallels the motif appropriated for Boreas and Oreithyia (Figures 4.79-4.80).⁸⁵ Several images of Thetis' abduction by Peleus are also

⁸³ *LIMC* 4 (1988), 531, cat. 174, s.v. "Helene," (L. Kahil).

⁸⁴ *LIMC* 4 (1988) 383, cat. 105, s.v. "Hades," (R. Lindner).

⁸⁵ *Amsterdam 2588*: *LIMC* 4 (1988), 384, cat. 112, s.v. "Hades," (R. Lindner). *Bari, Coll. Macinagrossa 26*: *LIMC* 4 (1988), 384, cat. 113, s.v. "Hades," (R. Lindner).

related, though in most cases, Peleus is unable to lift Thetis' feet from the ground because of her shape-shifting abilities.⁸⁶

A few ceramic vases are particularly close to the bronze appliqués with Boreas and Oreithyia. An Apulian amphora by the Darius painter, Naples 81951 (Figure 4.72), is even closer to the compositions familiar from the bronze appliqués. Here, Boreas has lifted Oreithyia off the ground, his arms wrapped around his waist, as she steadies herself with one hand on his forearm and the other behind his shoulder.⁸⁷ As on the bronzes, the pair is graceful and beautifully choreographed with little sign of struggle or unwanted attention. This vase is contemporary with the previous example, c. 360-350, and likely contemporary with the bronzes. A red-figured Apulian volute krater attributed to the Lykourgos Painter, London 1931.5-11.1 (Figure 4.73) shows Boreas just at the moment that he sweeps Oreithyia off her feet by wrapping his arms around her waist. This vase has been dated to c. 360-350.⁸⁸

On a more monumental scale, the fragmentary akroterial sculpture from the Temple of Athena at Delos, Delos A 4287 (Figure 4.74), is also intimately related. It may have provided, at least in part, the iconographic paradigm for the scene on the bronze appliqués.⁸⁹ The group is comprised of two figures. Boreas stands frontally on the left, leaning slightly towards the right with the strain of lifting Oreithyia by wrapping his proper left arm around her waist. Here, Boreas has raised his bride higher than in most of

⁸⁶ Cf. *LIMC* 8 (1997), 8-9, cats. 10-20, s.v. "Thetis," (R. Vollkommer).

⁸⁷ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 138, cat. 65, s.v. "Boreas," (S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou)

⁸⁸ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 138, cat. 64, s.v. "Boreas," (S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou). Also cf. *Chronology* in Trendall 1989, 270.

⁸⁹ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 138, cat. 67, s.v. "Boreas," (S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou).

the other representations, so that her waist is at the level of his shoulder. In order to better disperse the weight of the stone composition, Oreithyia's arm follows the contour of the top of her abductor's head, and her torso leans heavily against his head. Her head is positioned almost directly above his and bent down towards him. This sculptural group is considerably earlier than the small-scale compositions noted above, dating to c. 420, and may have served as a model for the bronze craftsman responsible for the bronze kalpides with similar subjects.

Pan and Nymph

A fragmentary appliqué (**Princeton y1989-56**, cat. 20.29) that shows a figure of Pan abducting a woman, presumably a nymph. It follows the same iconographic model as the Boreas and Oreithyia appliqués. We might see it as an intentional reference to the popular myth.⁹⁰

Dionysos and Ariadne

At least five kalpides show another mythological couple, Dionysos and Ariadne. These appliques are less closely related to one another than those with Boreas and Oreithyia. These repoussé panels differ from most of the others in having the contours of the figures themselves serve as the edges of the vignette, without flying drapery or spreading wings to fill out the background. At least two different types may be discerned according to whether the couple is shown mid-movement (usually striding to right) or whether they stand statically side-by-side. **New York 51.11.8** (cat. 20.30) shows

⁹⁰ There are at least two fourth-century mirror covers that show Pan and a nymph but neither is a good iconographic parallel for the Princeton appliqué. The first, Berlin 8148, is divided into two parts (*LIMC* 8 (1997), 932, cat. 181, s.v. "Pan," (P. Weiss) (Figure 4.75). Pan, who is seated on a rock and holding a tall walking stick, looks across to a maenad or nymph who is dressed finely other than the fact that her garment has slipped from her shoulder to reveal one breast. The second, Paris Br 1710, features a muscular Pan with a knotty walking stick who gestures to a nymph (or maenad) who pulls away from him in a choreographed, graceful dancing gesture not unlike the maenad on **New York Private Collection** (cat. 20.10) (Figure 4.76).

Dionysos, wearing a knee-length himation and cloak with tall boots, moving to right. His right arm trails behind, while his left arm reaches around the waist of his companion, who walks in the same direction, holding a torch in her outer hand. The fluttering edges of both figures' garments create a billowy frame for the couple that substitutes for the wings incorporated into most of the compositions on the Late Classical kalpides of this group.

Bothmer reconstructed the damaged appliqué belonging to **New York 51.11.8** (cat. 20.30) on the basis of its similarity to a contemporary box mirror with a similar repoussé plaque on its cover, Princeton 64 (Figure 4.81).⁹¹ The iconographic type shown on the kalpis and the mirror is reminiscent of an image from a tondo of a earlier red-figured cup by the Ashby Painter showing Apollo striding to right with a female consort. It also bears a resemblance to an red-figure volute krater from Ruvo by the Promonos Painter that has been dated to the early fourth century, on which Ariadne, leading with her torch, wraps her arm around Dionysos, who holds his lyre in his lowered right arm, as they both move to right (Figure 4.82).⁹² Another appliqué, **United States, Private Collection (Segredakis)** (cat. 20.31), is near to the New York kalpis and its twin in Princeton, except that in this case, neither Ariadne nor Dionysos holds a torch or thyrsos.

Three additional vases show a different version of the Dionysos and Ariadne motif. A separately worked repoussé panel attached beneath the vertical handle of **Chantilly** (cat. 20.32) shows a pair of figures that may be identified as Dionysos and Ariadne because of the thyrsos supported in the crook of the male figure's arm. This

⁹¹ *Princeton 64*: Hotel Drouot 5.19-20.1904, 16, cat. 129, pl. 5; Elderkin 1925, 124; Züchner 1942, 112, cat. 12; Bothmer 1954/55, 199f.; Schwarzmeier 1997, 22, 204, pl. 37.2.

⁹² *London E 64*: c. 500, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1974, cat. 314, pl. 24.2 *Naples H 3240*: Beazley *ARV*² 1336.1; *LIMC* 3 (1986), 483, cat. 719, s.v. "Dionysos," (C. Gasparri).

plaque is unusual in the degree of open space between the two figures and the lack of any garments or wings to function as a background for the composition. **Bucharest 48899** (cat. 20.33) has an almost identical appliqué, with only minor stylistic differences in the slender faces and bodies of the figures. A third related appliqué appears on **London 312** (cat. 20.34), but in this in this case, Ariadne holds the thyrsos. Instead of standing shoulder-to-shoulder, Ariadne allows the thyrsos to rest across her body while she reaches up to adjust her hair. The figure of Dionysos shifts the focus of the composition inwards by looking over his right shoulder at his partner and leaning against a centrally positioned stump between them.

A related but not exactly parallel composition appears on a fragmentary mirror cover from the middle of the fourth century. Boston 01.7513b shows Ariadne and Dionysos seated on a long rock with their bodies twisted to face one another and their arms wrapped around the other's shoulder (Figure 4.83).⁹³ Another version of the same motif is seen on a black-glazed vase with relief appliqués in the British Museum, London G 29, from the end of the fourth century. Here, Dionysos and Ariadne sit on opposite sides of a rock, holding thyrsos and turning towards the center to face one another (Figure 4.84).⁹⁴ This composition also bears a resemblance to scenes on at least two bronze appliqués showing Eros holding a mirror, accompanied by a female companion (below).

Eros and 'Psyche'

The iconographic type of **London 312** (cat. 20.34) is closely related to at least eight vases and fragments with repoussé panels that show another mythological couple

⁹³ Comstock and Vermeule 1971, cat. no. 365; Vermeule 1988, 123, with bibliography; www.mfa.org.

⁹⁴ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 485-486, cat. 751, s.v. "Dionysos," (C. Gasparri).

that is less easy to identify than the previous pairs. The figures tend not to have identifying attributes, making it difficult to be certain who they are meant to be. They have been alternately called Iris and Zephyr, Eros and Aphrodite, or Eros and Psyche. Other possibilities might include Orestes and Electra, as seen on a well-known marble pair in Naples, although neither of these figures is represented with wings (Figure 4.85).⁹⁵ It may be unfair, or even unnecessary, to try to assign a single identity to these pairs that tend to be discussed together. In fact, details of the compositions themselves may suggest that they are not meant to be taken together, such as the inclusion of wings only on the male figure, as on **Atlanta 2001.12.1** (cat. 20.37), or on both figures, such as on **Berlin 30071** (cat. 20.36), **Istanbul 5310** (cat. 20.38), **Berlin 7806** (cat. 20.39), or **London 313** (cat. 20.42). On **Chantilly** (cat. 20.35) and **London 311** (cat. 20.40), the female figures are not winged but the side of the male figure is damaged, making it impossible to be certain whether or not he originally had wings or not.

Diehl proposes to interpret the couple as Iris, the messenger of the gods, and Zephyr, the personification of the West Wind.⁹⁶ She cites a fragmentary Archaic poem by Alkaios, who provides the link between these two figures by explaining that Iris and Zephyr were the parents of Eros.⁹⁷ I disagree with her identification largely because neither Iris nor Zephyr (as individuals or as a couple) has a firmly established iconography that is helpful for securely interpreting these scenes. Iris sometimes resembles a winged Nike and in other cases acting as a female equivalent of Hermes

⁹⁵ *Naples 6006: LIMC 7* (1994), 71, cat. 5, s.v. "Orestes," (H. Sarian and V. Machaira), pl. 51. This, however, is a popular post-antique identification of the original Pasitelean pair.

⁹⁶ Diehl 1964, 221, cats. B 185-190.

⁹⁷ Diehl 1964, 40 n. 108. Alcaeus fr. 327 L-P; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 765e and following.

complete with winged boots and/or kerykeion.⁹⁸ Zephyr, too, is changeable, and is best identified in the company of his brothers Boreas and Notos, the North and South winds.⁹⁹

A handful of images feature a male-female pair that has been identified reliably as Iris and Zephyr. The first, from the bottom of an early fifth-century bronze hand-mirror, London 1923.5-14.1, shows a two figures flying out of a lotus blossom.¹⁰⁰ Iris, on the left, is winged and wears a chiton and long himation with dovetail folds on the hem hanging over her outside shoulder (Figure 4.86). Her companion, Zephyr, is nude and holds a wreath. They both wear winged boots. The second image, from c. 460, is a clay relief from Lokris, Taranto IG 8326 (Figure 4.87).¹⁰¹ On this small relief panel, a pair of diminutive winged figures powers the chariot in which Aphrodite and Hermes are riding. The figure in the back, Iris, again wearing a long garment, and holds an alabastron. Zephyr, nude, offers a dove. The third, a fragmentary Late Classical Tarentine relief, New York 10.210.43, is perhaps the closest to the appliqués on the bronze kalpides (Figure 4.88).¹⁰² On this panel, Iris and her husband (both winged) again pull a chariot for Aphrodite. Iris wears a sheer garment, pulling it away from her hips on the outer left side of the composition. Zephyr looks back towards Aphrodite and reaches his hand out towards her. He is nude and has no obvious attributes. Although this couple bears a

⁹⁸ *Similar to Nike*: LIMC 5 (1990), 744, cat. nos. I.3, I.3a, I.11a, s.v. "Iris I," (A. Kossatz-Deissmann), pls. 484-485. *Similar to Hermes, with kerykeion*: LIMC 5 (1990) 745-746, cat. nos. I.16-1.37, s.v. "Iris I," (A. Kossatz-Deissmann), pls. 485-486.

⁹⁹ J. Oakley in LIMC 8 (1997), 308-309, cat. nos. 1-9, s.v. "Zephyros," (J. Oakley).

¹⁰⁰ LIMC 5 (1990), 746, cat. 38, s.v. "Iris I," (A. Kossatz-Deissmann). Greifenhagen 1957, 36-38, fig. 28.

¹⁰¹ LIMC 5 (1990), 746, cat. 39, s.v. "Iris I," (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); LIMC II Aphrodite, 116, cat. 1189; LIMC 2 (1984), 117, cat. 1329, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

¹⁰² LIMC 5 (1990), 746, cat. 40, s.v. "Iris I," (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); LIMC 2 (1984), 117, cat. 1190, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Simon 1959, 37-38.

somewhat generic resemblance to the male-female couples seen on the following appliquéés, there is no particularly compelling reason to call them Iris and Zephyr over one of the other possibilities. If Iris appears at all in the entire series of bronze hydriai, it is most plausible to identify her as the winged woman in a *knielauf* position that substitutes for the sirens at the bottom of the vertical handle on two Classical bronze hydriai, **Sofia** and **Once New York Market (Ariadne 2008)** (cat. nos. 19.4-19.5).

Eros appears so frequently on the hydria appliquéés and, as god of love, is appropriate for these vases that are frequently associated with women. It is difficult to disassociate him from the images. Two appliquéés, **Chantilly** (cat. 20.35) and **Berlin 30071** (cat. 20.36), are closely related to **London 312** (cat. 20.34) with a pair of figures standing more or less frontally, looking inwards towards one another, separated by a tree stump. Whereas the thyrsos allowed us to identify Ariadne and Dionysos on the previous vessels, the mirror held by the male figure helps us to be certain that he is to be understood as Eros in this composition, not Zephyr. The identity of his companion, however, is less certain.

The two most plausible options may be Aphrodite or Psyche. The literary and artistic relationships between Eros and Aphrodite are contradictory, at best. According to Hesiod, Eros predated the goddess and was present at her birth.¹⁰³ This tradition is visualized on a silver medallion from Galaxidi, Paris MNB 1290, which T. Carpenter suggests may be reminiscent of the scene represented on the base of Pheidias' chryselephantine cult statue of Zeus at Olympia (Figure 4.89).¹⁰⁴ Other scenes, such as

¹⁰³ Hesiod *Theogony* 173; Carpenter 1991, 69.

¹⁰⁴ *Athens Acr. 2526*: Carpenter 1991, 83, fig. 89, after Robertson *HGA*, 205. *LIMC* 2 (1984) 114-115, cat. no. 1173, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann), pl. 117.

that from the east frieze of the Parthenon, where a small figure of Eros leans against Aphrodite's knee in a clearly child-like position, suggest that a variant story understood the relationship to be that of a mother and son (Figure 4.90).¹⁰⁵

In general, when Eros appears with his mother he is depicted on a smaller scale, even when he is shown as a youth, not a baby. He often performs filial acts, attending to Aphrodite's needs.¹⁰⁶ There are exceptions to this generalization, of course. Most notably Bari 5924, mentioned above, Eros is represented at nearly the same scale and lifts her veil as a bride.¹⁰⁷ This is not, however, the usual way of showing these two figures interacting with one another. Other exceptions include a few small, red-figured squat lekythoi (e.g. Oxford 1966.714 and Taranto 4531) but even on these, the Erotes *are* represented either on a marginally smaller scale or lower level to indicate the relationship between the two figures and they do not interact as a romantic couple (Figures 4.91-4.92).¹⁰⁸ Eros and Aphrodite also occasionally share an intimate embrace but because Eros is a smaller figure, it may be best interpreted as a son seeking comfort from his mother, as on a South Italian bronze mirror cover from the third century, Boston 01.7514b (Figure 4.94).¹⁰⁹ More representative, perhaps, are a modern relief cast from an ancient mold dated to the later fourth-century, once belonging to a decorated cheek-piece, Bonn D 697 (Figure 4.96)

¹⁰⁵ *LIMC* 2 (1984), 133, cat. no. 1404, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann), pl. 138.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *LIMC* 3 (1986) Eros, cat. nos. 797-850, s.v. "Eros," (A. Hermary), pls. 655-657.

¹⁰⁷ *LIMC* 2 (1984), 118, cat. no. 1208, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann), pl. 138.

¹⁰⁸ Burn 1987, 111, 113, cat. nos. MM80, MM98, figs. 13c-d, 17c-d.

¹⁰⁹ *Boston 01.7514b*: Comstock and Vermeule 1971, cat. no. 368; Vermeule 1988, 123. *Bonn D 697*: *LIMC* 2 (1984), 29-30, cat. no. 187a, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann), pl. 21. Also see *LIMC* 2 (1984), 120, cat. nos. 1237-1245, s.v. "Artemis," (L. Kahil), pls. 24-125.

or a Lucanian red-figure calyx krater from Pisticci in Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 422, in which an elegantly dressed and bejeweled Aphrodite raises her veil as her son Eros, standing opposite her, holds her wrist (Figure 4.97).¹¹⁰ One might be tempted to see Aphrodite as Eros' companion on two repoussé appliqués, **Chantilly** (cat. 20.35) and **Berlin 30071** (cat. 20.36), on which the two figures are on the same scale but not particularly affectionate with one another. If any of them might be taken as this pair, these might be our best evidence for such a case.

When Eros is coupled with his lover, Psyche, on the other hand, he acts as husband and partner and is represented on the same scale as his consort.¹¹¹ Often the two share a gesture of affection, such as a hand on the cheek or chin or even a kiss. She sometimes performs the *anakalypsis* gesture of a bride. The identification of Psyche in this couple, however, is not perfect either. The development of Psyche as a personality (distinct from the notion of *ψύχη*, the soul) is somewhat obscure, but seems to have occurred somewhat later than the fourth century. In literature, Apuleius described Psyche as a distinct character in his second century AD work, *The Golden Ass*. Around the same time, she was given her own set of iconographic signals, she is shown with small butterfly wings, different from Eros' own long wings. G.M.A. Richter and others have noted that

...the name Psyche cannot be applied to the female figure with wings that appears in close association with Eros from the fourth century on, and that this figure, moreover, has nothing to do with the Platonic doctrine of the Soul... [It] is appropriate for the fourth century with its increased interest

¹¹⁰ Bonn: Rolley 1986, 172, fig. 151. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 422: LIMC 2 (1984), 137, cat. 1434, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

¹¹¹ LIMC 7 (1994), 578-582, cat. nos. 120-15, s.v. "Psyche," (N. Icard-Gianolio), pls. 455-460.

in women. Moreover, in view of the female Pans and Zeuxis' female centaur, a female counterpart of Eros would not be surprising. We are unable to think of a Greek name for such a figure.¹¹²

However, as J. Bremmer remarks, from the Hellenistic period onward Eros is often pictured with a girl and it is attractive to see here a model for Apuleius' fairy-tale-like story."¹¹³ It may be more accurate, therefore, to refer to a generic female companion of Eros, rather than to associate her with the name of Psyche. Since it is true that many of the representations of Eros and Psyche that can be called so with certainty are later in date than our appliqués and are able to be attributed largely on the basis of Psyche's accrued iconographic markers, I propose that we might think of 'Psyche' here as a Eros' feminine equivalent, love interest, and therefore the prefiguration of the figure of Psyche as we understand her today.

Because this figure does not yet have a distinct iconography of her own in the fourth century, it is less troubling that she is sometimes winged and sometimes not. Indeed, the desire for symmetry in the contours of the appliqués may have played a role in the decision to include wings in some cases. The use of wings as a framing device has been encountered numerous times in the discussion of these vessels and their decorative plaques and so it perhaps is not surprising to find it here. The experiments without wings are more unusual but are paralleled on the panels showing Dionysos and Ariadne, above.

Atlanta 2001.12.1 (cat. 20.37) has an exceptionally fine appliqué with a pair of figures standing side by side. On the left, a winged male stands with a loose cloak draped over his shoulder, turning to look at his partner, a wingless female who lifts her veil away from her shoulder in a bridal gesture (*anakalypsis*). Although only one of the two has

¹¹² Richter 1946, 366-367 n. 22.

¹¹³ "Psyche" in Hornblower and Spawforth 2003, 1270.

wings, the composition is balanced with the elegant undulating folds of her cloak framing the right side of the panel and forming a pendant to Eros' outstretched wing. A fragmentary appliqué, **London 311** (cat. 20.40) is similar, although these two figures lean against a centrally positioned pillar between them, as seen on **London 312** (cat. 20.34), and the style is much softer and rounder. Because the female figure is not winged and neither bear attributes, we must consider the possibility that there was an intentional ambiguity that would allow them to be interpreted in different ways, according to the needs, desires, and imaginations of those who owned the vessels.

A third version of the same subject is found on at least five other appliqués, where the intimate and affectionate relationship between the two figures is evident through the physical intimacy of their gestures. In each of these cases, Eros reaches out to touch his partner's chin. These include **Istanbul 5310** (cat. 20.38), **Berlin 7806** (cat. 20.39), **Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)** (cat. 20.41), **London 313** (cat. 20.42), and the very fragmentary **London 309** (cat. 20.43).

A group of small-scale terracotta statuettes also show Eros with a female companion. These include two from Myrina, Boston 01.7700 and Paris MNC 519, and one in Cambridge, Harvard University Art Museums 54.1908. These are much like the couples seen on **Berlin 7806** (cat. 20.39), **Istanbul 5310** (cat. 20.38), **London 309** (cat. 20.43), and **London 313** (cat. 20.42), with the god reaching his hand towards his lover's face (Figures 4.98-4.99).¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ *Boston 01.7700*: Early first century. *LIMC* 7 (1994), 581, cat. 147a, s.v. "Psyche," (N. Icard-Gianolio); Burr 1934, 36-37, no. 15, pl. 6; Picard, C. 1940, 77, n. 3, 78, fig. 3; Higgins 1967, pl. 55c. *Paris MNC 519*: Second century. *LIMC* 7 (1994), 581, cat. 147b, s.v. "Psyche," (N. Icard-Gianolio). *Harvard University Art Museums 54.1908*: Hellenistic. *LIMC* 7 (1994), 581, cat. 147c, s.v. "Psyche," (N. Icard-Gianolio).

Eros and a statue of Aphrodite

Aphrodite's presence is more certain on two other appliquéés, belonging to **Boston 1984.750** (cat. 20.49) and **New York 44.11.9** (cat. 20.50). These also take up the theme of Eros with a mirror, a subject seen already on **Chantilly** (cat. 20.35) and **Boston 30071** (cat. 20.36). Here, he stares into a mirror as he adjusts his coiffure with his opposite hand. His elbow rests on the head of a diminutive archaistic figure (approximately half the scale of the larger figure) centered on a small, round plinth. She stands rigidly and frontally, wearing a heavy chiton under a short, belted himation, in the pose of an Archaic kore with one arm drawn to her chest and the other raising the hem of her dress at the top of her thigh. A rectangular base covers the length of the composition on the lower end, forming a ground line for the two figures. Richter dates the vessel in New York vase to the period between 340 and 320, based on the pose of the male figure. She suggests that "his attitude – leaning on a support, the body forming a pronounced double curve and one leg passing across the other—is characteristic of figures assignable to about 340-320...[and is comparable to] ripe Praxitelean creations [such] as the Sauroktonos, the Eros, the Hermes, and the Capitoline Satyr."¹¹⁵ The kalpis in Boston must be of similar date. A similar pair of figures later also appears in large-scale sculpture.¹¹⁶ A marble

¹¹⁵ Richter 1946, 362.

¹¹⁶ Archaistic statuettes appear with some frequency in the fourth century and afterwards, substituting a variety of different figures in the role of kore. There are several examples that are related, at least iconographically, to these that are attached to bronze kalpides. On a mid-fourth century red-figure Apulian calyx krater in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow 504, Iphigeneia stands inside an Ionic naiskos, leaning on a small statue of Artemis (*LIMC* 5 (1990), 715, cat. 22, s.v. "Iphigeneia," (L. Kahil); Figure 4.101).¹¹⁶ A similar diminutive figure appears beneath the elbow of a partially preserved pair that includes a woman wearing a chiton and himation over one shoulder leaning against a small, archaistic figure wearing a peplos beneath her chiton, Sparta 6664 (*LIMC* 2 (1984), 635, cat. 116, s.v. "Artemis," (L. Kahil); Figure 4.102). There are at least four other groups of this same type that feature two women: an early Hellenistic statuette from Larnaka, Vienna I 603, a terracotta work from Myrina, Boston 01.7751, a marble group, Delos A 1818, both of which are dated to the second century, and a fragmentary marble pair from the Athenian Agora, Athens, Agora Museum S 443, from the first century (*Vienna I 603: LIMC* 2 (1984), 654, cat. 406,

adaptation of a fourth century sculptural group, made in the early Roman period (c. 27 BC – 68 AD), New York 1990.247 (Figure 4.100) shows a life-size or slightly larger image of Dionysos, resting his elbow on a small, archaistic figure posed as an Archaic kore statue holding a flower in her extended hand.

Eros Leaning Against a Pillar

Two further appliquéés, both of which almost certainly are later than the two previous hydriai, imitate the model of the appliquéés with Eros and Aphrodite but vary the iconographic formula to use just one figure and stationary compositional element. The first, in a **Greek Private Collection (Thessalonike)** (cat. 20.51), shows a winged, nude youth leaning against a herm. The second, **Tirana 8915** (cat. 20.52), shows a winged boy leaning against a column, on top of which a theater mask is placed. Typologically, the Thessalonike appliqué is related to an early fourth century marble relief from Rome, Vatican 9561 (Figure 4.110).¹¹⁷ A fragmentary Hellenistic marble statue group from Athens, Agora Museum S 1192, shows Aphrodite in a similar position to Eros on the appliqué in Tirana, leaning against a column with the other hand on her hip (Figure

s.v. “Artemis,” (L. Kahil). *Boston 01.7551: LIMC 2* (1984), 65, cat. 552, s.v. “Aphrodite,” (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann). *Delos A 1818: LIMC 2* (1984), 65, cat. 553, s.v. “Aphrodite,” (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann); *LIMC 2* (1984), 635, cat. 117, s.v. “Artemis,” (L. Kahil). *Athens, Agora Museum S 443*: Harrison 1965, 54, 73, n. 23; Figures 4.103-4.105). Also related is a small figure with a draped, male figure on a marble group from Brauron, dated to c. 330, Brauron 1170 (*LIMC 2* (1984), 635, cat. 118, s.v. “Artemis,” (L. Kahil); Figure 4.107). A Roman adaptation of a similar pair, in Naples also is comparable (*LIMC 2* (1984), 635, cat. 119, s.v. “Artemis,” (L. Kahil); Figure 4.106). The patterned garment of the archaizing statuette on a fragmentary terracotta group, Paris Myr 931/ Ly 1649/ S 3199, is especially close to the Aphrodite figure on the kalpis in New York (F *LIMC 2* (1984), 635, cat. 120, s.v. “Artemis,” (L. Kahil); Figure 4.108). A large-scale version of the same iconographic type is known from the Temple of Apollo at Kyrene, in which a semi-nude Aphrodite rests her elbow against the top of a draped herm (*Kyrene 14.289; LIMC 2* (1984), 70, cat. 605, s.v. “Aphrodite,” (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Figure 4.109).

¹¹⁷ *LIMC 2* (1984), 11, cat. 18, s.v. “Aphrodite,” (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann). The relief is alternately considered a fourth-century original (Arndt and Lippold) or interpreted as Neo-Attic (Harrison).

4.111).¹¹⁸ Aphrodite leaning against a pillar, sometimes with a small figure of Eros atop the shaft, is a popular theme repeated numerous times in the Hellenistic period in diverse media, in both small- and large-scale (Figure 4.112).¹¹⁹

Dionysos and Satyrs

Aside from his romantic interlude with Ariadne, Dionysos appears several times among the Late Classical appliquéés in the company of his reveling, ecstatic followers. A complete vase from Eretria, **Athens 7913** (cat. 20.53), shows Dionysos with his arm around an unsteady satyr wearing a panther's skin around his shoulders. Both figures are slender and languid, betraying their Praxitelean influence. This appliqué finds a close parallel in a relief that once adorned a bronze mirror from Magna Graecia, Leipzig 1412 (Figure 4.113).¹²⁰ A small unfinished sculpture group from the slopes of the Athenian Akropolis near the Olympeion must be related, as well (Figure 4.114).¹²¹ Here, the youthful Dionysos standing languidly with one arm bent and raised to his own head and the other around the shoulders of a slightly shorter companion, probably a satyr.

Four other kalpides have appliquéés with alternative versions of the same motif, showing a slim, swaying Dionysos wearing boots and a chlamys, turning away from a bearded, rotund satyr posed frontally. These include **Nessebar** (cat. 20.54), **Paris 4997** (cat. 20.55), on which the satyr is given a thyrsos, **Elis M 2791** (cat. 20.56), on which the

¹¹⁸ *LIMC* 2 (1984), 42, cat. 300, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

¹¹⁹ *LIMC* 2 (1984), cat. nos. 569-594, 615, 620, 625, 626, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

¹²⁰ Züchner (1942, 38-39, cat. KS. 46, fig. 17) dates the relief to c. 350 and believes it is later than the hydria appliqué.

¹²¹ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 450, cat. 278a, s.v. "Dionysos," (C. Gasparri), pl. 325.

composition is reversed, with the satyr on the left side of the appliqué, as well as a fragmentary appliqué, Berlin 7980 (Figure 4.115).¹²²

Another variant on the motif is seen on **Corfu 3475** (cat. 20.57), where the satyr is of disproportionately large scale, compared to his divine companion. This scene reverses the scheme seen on at least two late fifth-century Attic red-figure choes attributed to the vicinity of the Shuvalov painter, Athens 1218 and Athens 1219 (Figures 4.116-4.117).¹²³ A tondo scene from an Attic red-figure kylix from Nola attributed to the Meleagros Painter, from the beginning of the fourth century, is related but not an exact prototype (Figure 4.118).¹²⁴

Once New York Market (Symes 1999) (cat. 20.59) presents the opposite situation, in which the figure of Dionysos is far larger than his accompanying satyr. The style of these two figures is far fleshier than on the kalpis in Corfu. Both figures have attributes. The satyr holds a torch in his outstretched right arm while the god holds a thyrsos in the crook of his left elbow. The appliqué adorning **Chantilly** (cat. 20.58) is of similar iconographic type except the pairs' trajectory is reversed, moving to right instead of left. This plaque differs from the Symes appliqué in the roughly equivalent sizes of the figures and a more conservative style.

Good parallels for this scene include figures on a Campanian hydria, London F 227, attributed to the Circle of the Parrish Painter and dated to c. 350 (Figure 4.119).¹²⁵ In

¹²² Schwarzmeier 1997, 33 n. 188; Züchner 1942, 178, fig. 91.

¹²³ *Athens 1218*: LIMC 3 (1986), 457, cat. 382, s.v. "Dionysos," (C. Gasparri). *Athens 1219*: LIMC 3 (1986), 457, cat. 383, s.v. "Dionysos," (C. Gasparri).

¹²⁴ *London E 129*: LIMC 3 (1986), 483, cat. 720, s.v. "Dionysos," (C. Gasparri).

¹²⁵ *London F 227*: LIMC 3 (1986), 448-449, cat. 265, s.v. "Dionysos," (C. Gasparri).

this case, the satyr is nude, as on the hydria appliqué and Dionysos is clad only in a himation that drapes around his lower body. The youthful god wraps his arm around the satyr, holding a thyrsos in one hand and a round instrument or shield in the other. In at least two other painted representations, Dionysos appears with Herakles in a comparable situation pm a red-figure Attic kylix attributed to the manner of the Jena Painter, Marzabotto, Museo Aria, and a second kylix, Würzburg H 5011 (Figures 4.120-4.121).¹²⁶ Two mirror covers in Paris are even more closely related. In each, Dionysos is heavily clad in boots, a knee-length chiton and himation around his back. On the first, a bronze mirror, Paris, Cabinet de Médailles 1355 (Figure 4.122), from the early third century, c. 290-280, according to A. Schwarzmeier, the two figures stride purposely to left, on the diagonal. Dionysos holds a cornucopia and a thyrsos in the hand behind the satyr's back.¹²⁷ Common stylistic elements associate the kalpis appliqué with this mirror cover, especially in passages of the heavy drapery and the distinctive character of the figures' faces. On the second, Paris Br 1708 (Figure 4.123), from the first half of the third century, the satyr is even more emphatic in his position, urging Dionysos along behind him.¹²⁸ In this case, they move in the opposite direction, away from a tall pillar on their left. The satyr is represented on a much smaller scale than the god, but is also placed on a slightly higher plane, which may be an attempt at perspectival foreshortening. The drapery in this example is particularly reminiscent of the Symes appliqué.

¹²⁶ Marzabotto: *LIMC* 3 (1986), 472, cat. 583, s.v. "Dionysos," (C. Gasparri). *Würzburg H 5011: LIMC* 3 (1986), 472, cat. 584, s.v. "Dionysos," (C. Gasparri).

¹²⁷ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 449, cat. 272, s.v. "Dionysos," (C. Gasparri); Züchner 1942, 39, cat. KS 48; Schwarzmeier 1997, 120, 179, cat. 199, pl. 51.2.

¹²⁸ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 449, cat. 273, s.v. "Dionysos," (C. Gasparri); Züchner 1942, 39-40, cat. KS. 40; Anderson 1981, 59-60, fig. 1.

Dionysos and Panther

Dionysos appears in one further context on at least one Late Classical kalpis, **Thasos** (cat. 20.60), on which he accompanies a panther represented on a nearly comically large scale. The two figures reach out to one another with gestures of affection. Dionysos cradles the panther's head in his extended right forearm, while the panther places one paw on the god's upper arm. The character of the relief is flattened, more so than is usual, nearly as much as **New York 07.286.8** (cat. 20.12), which may indicate a fairly late date in the fourth century or perhaps even early third century. This date accords with that given by the attenuated proportions of the profile of the vase itself.

The composition is unusual but there is some comparanda for the gentle affection between a human figure and his animal familiar. A fragmentary bronze relief from Corinth, Berlin (Figure 4.124) shows a reclining satyr reaching his hand up to pet the head of a seated lion.¹²⁹ Three reliefs attached to the covers of box-mirrors that show Dionysos and Ariadne seated opposite one another with a panther between them, which Ariadne reaches out to pet (Figures 4.125-4.127).¹³⁰ Finally, a bronze situla from the second half of the fourth century, Boston 03.1001 (Figure 4.128), has a frieze in relief around the upper half of the vessel that shows Dionysos seated on a tree stump, holding a thyrsos in one hand and reaching out to stroke the chin of a standing, obedient panther in the other.¹³¹

¹²⁹ Züchner 1942, 180, fig. 93.

¹³⁰ *New York 06.1229*, from Vomitza (or Elis?), c. 310: Schwarzmeier 1997, 307, cat. 181, pl. 16.1. *Athens 14480*, from a grave near Thebes, c. 300: Schwarzmeier 1997, 248, cat. 32, pl. 16.2. *London 1910.4-11.1* (ex-Somzée), c. 280: Züchner 1942, 34f., cat. KS 39; Schwarzmeier 1997, 299-300, cat. 160, pl. 32.2.

Athena and a Giant

Besides the figures and scenes that appear repeatedly, a few appear only once or twice. In some cases, the subjects are related more closely to compositions typically found on other types of small, decorative bronzes. **Malibu 73.AC.15** (cat. 20.14), for instance, shows Athena overpowering a kneeling giant. It has been noted already that combat scenes are far more common on armor or mirrors than on bronze kalpides. An appliqué in Rome, **Villa Giulia** (cat. 20.15), which W. Züchner has dated to the third quarter of the fourth century, takes up the same subject but reverses the composition.¹³² In this case, Athena, dressed in a long chiton, short himation, and aegis, is armed with a helmet and a shield rendered perspectively on the oblique so that the shield device, a gorgoneion is shown in profile and tilted backwards. The goddess raises her (now-missing) spear to strike the snaky-legged giant to her right. Although it may have belonged originally to a mirror, D. von Bothmer suggests that it once was attached to a kalpis from the fourth century.¹³³ The more recent discovery of the vessel in Malibu lends strength to his argument, demonstrating that the subject was considered appropriate for this type of vessel despite its infrequent appearance.

The popularity of this type of scene is expressed clearly in the number of times that the composition was repeated with different figures substituted for the protagonist. The violent interaction between these two figures culminates most famously in the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon, in the panel in which the figure that has been interpreted as

¹³¹ Rolley 1986, 182, fig. 161; www.mfa.org; Comstock and Vermeule 1971, cat. 428; Comstock and Vermeule 1988, 124 with bib.

¹³² Züchner 1942, 102, cat. BR 5, pl. 8.

¹³³ Bothmer 1965, 604.

Erinys pulling the hair of an anguiped giant and draws her arm back to strike. Another panel from the same frieze, in which Athena stands beside a giant who is being attacked by coiling snakes is also reminiscent of the bronze appliqué from the Malibu hydria (Figure 4.129). A more contemporary parallel can be found on a relief from a fourth-century black-glazed relief krater possibly from Melos, Munich 7486, on which Athena stands behind an anguiped giant (Figure 4.130). The relief plaque differs from the appliqué on the hydria in its verticality and in the physical relationship between the two figures, which is three-dimensional and closed, as Athena bends down and turns her shield outwards.¹³⁴ On the hydria appliqué, the figures stand opposite each other in a two-dimensional plane and Athena's shield is seen from the inside. Similar compositions also appear on medallions from at least three third-century Apulian volute kraters, St. Petersburg 1718, Oxford 1925.114, and Würzburg, Wagner-Museum H 2789 (Figures 4.131-4.133).¹³⁵

An appliqué from a mirror found in Elis, Boston 98.673b (Figure 4.134), dated c. 330-320, is related iconographically.¹³⁶ The relief shows Dionysos battling a giant in much the same position as Athena on the hydria appliqué. The figures are reversed, with the god on the left and the overpowered giant on the right, but they clearly derive from a similar prototype. Another appliqué of the same subject from a slightly later mirror,

¹³⁴ *LIMC* 4 (1988), 212, cat. 60, s.v. "Gigantes," (F. Vian and M.B. Moore).

¹³⁵ *LIMC* 4 (1988), 212, cat. 61 d, g, h, s.v. "Gigantes," (F. Vian and M.B. Moore).

¹³⁶ Züchner (1942, 51, cat. KS 70, fig. 23) dates this relief substantially earlier, to c. 375 and attributes it to a Corinthian workshop. He also identifies the figure as Artemis, but was later re-interpreted as Dionysos. Also see *LIMC* 4 (1988), 213, cat. 75, s.v. "Gigantes," (F. Vian and M.B. Moore), *LIMC* 3 (1986), 476, cat. 633, s.v. "Dionysos," (C. Gasparri), dated. c. 375; <http://www.mfa.org>.

Boston 01.7516b, also is closely related (Figure 4.135).¹³⁷ Although these plaques have been detached from the mirrors to which they were affixed, it is certain that both of these appliquéés belong to mirrors and not vessels because of the ring handles that appear at the lower end of the panels that would have been used to open the cover of the bronze box. On another mirror cover from the mid-fourth century in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg B 956, a Greek hoplite battles an Amazon in much the same position (Figure 4.136).¹³⁸ The same subject is represented on another example from the third quarter of the century, Munich 6676 (Figure 4.137).¹³⁹ Artemis attacks a giant in a similar pose with a large torch on a relief also from the third quarter of the century, from either Malessina or Eretria, London 291 (Figure 4.138).¹⁴⁰ Outside of bronze, Herakles battles a kneeling giant on a mid-fourth-century Apulian volute krater by the Lykourgos painter, St. Petersburg 1714 (Figure 4.139).¹⁴¹ The Hellenistic legacy of the motif is seen in a terracotta relief from Delos, Delos 58A (Figure 4.140).¹⁴²

The motif of Athena and a giant is one of the few types that appears to be more political than personal in nature, which marks it as possibly different in intent than many of the other mythological appliquéés attached to bronze hydriai. Alternatively, we might propose that these two appliquéés may have originally been intended for another kind of object but ultimately were appropriated for water jars. The second explanation seems

¹³⁷ *LIMC* 4 (1988), 213, cat. 76, s.v. “Gigantes,” (F. Vian and M.B. Moore); <http://www.mfa.org>.

¹³⁸ Schwarzmeier 1997, 289, cat. 133, pl. 38.1; *LIMC* 1 (1981), 617, cat 474, s.v. “Amazones,” (P. Devambez and A. Kauffmann-Samaras). Züchner 1942, 52, 55-56, cat. KS 75, fig. 24.

¹³⁹ Züchner 52, 109, cat. TKS 11, fig. 25.

¹⁴⁰ Schwarzmeier 1997, 19, 44, 292, pl. 42.2; *LIMC* 2 (1984), 726, cat. 1341, s.v. “Artemis,” (L. Kahil).

¹⁴¹ *LIMC* 4 (1988), 235, cat. 391, s.v. “Gigantes,” (F. Vian and M.B. Moore).

¹⁴² *LIMC* 1(1981), 617, cat. 468, s.v. “Amazones,” (P. Devambez and A. Kauffmann-Samaras).

more plausible given that similar scenes seem to have been common on plaques intended for contemporary mirrors and armor.

Orpheus and Satyr

The repoussé plaque on **United States Private Collection (New York, White-Levy)** (cat. 20.44) takes on a new theme that is thus far unique among this group of decorated bronze vessels, Orpheus playing his lyre for a satyr. Scenes of musicians generally are more common on bronze mirrors and ceramic vases. A late fourth-century mirror bears an appliqué with a figure of Eros playing a lyre of the same type as Orpheus on the bronze kalpis (Leipzig 08.199a,b, Figure 4.141).¹⁴³ The composition is otherwise quite different, with the winged youth seated alone on a stool, resting his feet on a footstool. The profile of the vase to which the White-Levy appliqué is attached demonstrates that it is significantly earlier than this mirror from Corinth. The style of the Orpheus and satyr on the repoussé plaque further confirms a substantially less advanced date, in the middle or perhaps the third quarter of the century. A second mirror, New York 14.130.4, shows a more closely comparable composition with different figures, substituting Marsyas, dressed in a Thracian (or Eastern?) costume, sits opposite a satyr who plays a flute (Figure 4.142).¹⁴⁴ The mirror, dated to the early third century, is perhaps the best iconographic parallel for the unusual composition on the White-Levy kalpis, although the shape of the kalpis demonstrates that it precedes the mirror by a margin of nearly half a century.

¹⁴³ Züchner 1942, 29-30, cat. KS 31, fig. 13.

¹⁴⁴ Schwarzmeier 1997, 310, cat. 188, pl. 18.2; Züchner 1942, 89-90, 190, cat. KS 150, fig. 104; Richter 1930, 173f., fig. 104.

Scenes of Orpheus playing his lyre for a variety of audiences, ranging from warriors and horsemen to satyrs to gods, seem to have been relatively common in the red-figure painter's repertoire.¹⁴⁵ Satyrs are not particularly frequent companions of Orpheus but do appear occasionally on painted vases. On a mid fifth-century column-krater by the Agrigento Painter from Naples, Naples 146739, Orpheus, dressed in a traveler's costume, sits on a rock and sings along with his lyre (Figure 4.143).¹⁴⁶ Opposite him, a satyr stands with one hand on his hip, leaning on a long branch that he holds in his proper right hand. He stares fixedly at Orpheus. On another column krater by the Painter of Tarquinia 707 (Portland 35.137, c. 430, Figure 4.144), the scene is reversed.¹⁴⁷ Orpheus, again on a rock but in this case only covered by a garment over his hips and legs, plays for a soldier who has stopped his horse to listen. Behind the pair, a satyr leans against a rock outcropping and places his other hand on his hip, pausing to hear the music.

Pan and a Hermaphrodite

The latest of the appliqués appears, ironically, on one of the very earliest vases belonging to this group, **Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)** (cat. 20.3). The subject itself is unusual and the style of the panel is even more irregular, with awkwardly proportioned figures and a fairly elaborate, heavy-handed attempt to set the scene within an outdoor landscape. The plaque forgoes the traditional spreading element (typically wings or drapery) that frames the composition and acts as a background. Additionally, the shift from vertical handle to appliqué is abrupt, omitting any framing elements to ease the transition between the two separately made pieces.

¹⁴⁵ *LIMC* 7 (1994), 84-85, cats. 8-26, s.v. "Orpheus," (M.-X. Garezou).

¹⁴⁶ *LIMC* 7 (1994), 85, cat. 22, s.v. "Orpheus," (M.-X. Garezou).

¹⁴⁷ *Portland 35.137: LIMC* 7 (1994), 85, cat. 23 (M.-X. Garezou).

The best explanation for the incongruity of the early shape of the vase and late style of the appliqué perhaps is that a plain kalpis from the late fifth century was re-worked sometime in the late fourth century (or even later, in the Hellenistic period, given the peculiarities of the appliqué). There are two other kalpides for which the body and the appliqué seem incongruous. **Thessalonike Py 208** (cat. 21.1) and **Chalkis** (cat. 21.2) both have appliqués that would be more comfortable on a Hellenistic box mirror, applied to bodies whose profiles predate an appropriate period for the ornament. The way in which the vertical handle of the vessel once on the Munich art market is secured around the shoulder of the vase is similar to the siren kalpides of *Group 16*. The lower end of the somewhat irregularly shaped vertical handle also shows evidence of reworking. Other examples of re-working bronze objects in antiquity or adorning an object with an appliqué likely intended for another use can be seen on a bronze mirror in the Cleveland Museum and on a box in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Figures 4.145-4.146).¹⁴⁸ Alternatively, we might see it as a modern pastiche.

As noted earlier for the fragmentary appliqué, **Princeton y1989-56** (cat. 20.29), this scene is perhaps a kind of comic parody of a story traditionally enacted by other characters; in this case, either Theseus' abandonment or Dionysos' discovery of Ariadne on Naxos.¹⁴⁹ On ceramic vases, scenes of Theseus leaving Ariadne seem to have been more common than images of her rescue by Dionysos. This composition draws on the iconographic type of Theseus deserting his paramour but Pan surely plays the role of Dionysos because of the hermaphrodite's bridal gesture. Related scenes that show a

¹⁴⁸ *Cleveland* 72.66: Schwarzmaier 1993, 354-367. *Malibu* 96.AC.87 (*ex-Fleischmann*): True and Kozloff 1994, no. 29.

¹⁴⁹ Thanks to Jasper Gaunt for first suggesting this idea to me, which I find compelling.

sleeping Ariadne along with one of her partners can be found on a few red-figure vases that are unquestionably earlier than this appliqué, including an early fifth-century Attic kylix cup by the Foundry Painter or perhaps near the Brygos painter, Tarquinia RC 5291, an Attic lekythos from the middle of the fifth century in the manner of the Pan Painter, Taranto 4545, and an early fourth-century Apulian stamnos by the Ariadne painter Boston 00.349a (Figures 4.147-4.149).¹⁵⁰ A satyr accosts a sleeping maenad on a rhyton by the Brygos Painter.¹⁵¹ A series of at least six Late Classical terracotta appliqués from Taranto are related typologically, although they feature a different cast of characters (Figure 4.150).¹⁵² The pose of the Hermaphrodite also prefigures the reclining female figures on the famous Portland Vase in the British Museum (Figures 4.151-4.152).¹⁵³

Production and Geographic Distribution (Appendix 1.D, 1.20)

The issue of production raises several important questions. First, what is the relationship between the appliqués and the vases to which they were appended? In what ways can they be associated with reliefs made using the same technique but attached to various other implements? Finally, is it possible to identify the locations and styles of individual ateliers? First, we can consider the relationship between a kalpis and its appliqué. Was the mythological relief made literally alongside the hydriai? Or, alternatively, were the decorative plaques constructed separately and applied to the vases

¹⁵⁰ *Tarquinia RC 5291: LIMC 3 Addenda* (1986), 1057, cat. 53, s.v. “Ariadne,” (M.-L. Bernhard and W. Daszewski). *Taranto 4545: LIMC 3 Addenda* (1986), 1057, cat. 52, s.v. “Ariadne,” (M.-L. Bernhard and W. Daszewski). *Boston 00.349: LIMC 3 Addenda* (1986), 1057, cat. 54, s.v. “Ariadne,” (M.-L. Bernhard and W. Daszewski)

¹⁵¹ Beazley 1928, 24-25, pl. 10.

¹⁵² Alessio et. al. 199, pl. 7.

¹⁵³ *London GR 1945.9-27.1*: Walker 2004, with bibliography.

after they were manufactured? In the first case, one might imagine that the sculpted panel was made for a specific vase and then sold or traded as a unit. In the second scenario, pairing the parts together seems more haphazard but would allow for a buyer to have had some choice in matching a vase with a pre-fabricated appliqué that suited his (or her?) interests.

Evidence for both possibilities exists. The earlier vessels of *Group 20*, including **Thessalonike MΘ 7552** (cat. 20.2), **New York 37.11.6** (cat. 20.1), **Berlin 8068** (cat. 20.4), **United States, Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 20.10), **United States, Private Collection (Boston)** (cat. 20.8), and **Paris 597** (cat. 20.7) were made with the vertical handle and appliqué at the lower end together, which argues for a non-negotiable relationship between the body, handle, and relief panel. Furthermore, the lower ends of the vertical handles on several kalpides, including **Atlanta 2001.12.1** (cat. 20.37), **Athens 18775** (cat. 20.17), **United States, Private Collection (New York, White-Levy)** (cat. 20.44), and **Boston 1984.750** (cat. 20.49) seem specifically designed to communicate with the shape of the particular relief that appears beneath it. In other cases, however, the transitional panel had to be manipulated to accommodate the added relief or simply does not interact with the appliqué at all. Little thought seems to have gone into fitting the parts together cohesively, for instance, on **Malibu 73.AC.15** (cat. 20.14), **United States Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 20.28), **Thasos** (cat. 20.60), **Chantilly** (cat. 20.58), **Athens 18787** (cat. 20.46), **Once New York Market (Symes 1999)** (cat. 20.48), or **Greece, Private Collection (Athens, Iolas no. 16)** (cat. 20.62).¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ **Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)** (cat. 20.3) also fits this criterion but since it appears to have been reworked at a later date, a lesser degree of communication between the parts is to be expected, or at least is understandable, whereas there is no easy explanation for the others.

There are also a number of kalpides, including **Malibu 79.AE.119** (cat. 20.16), **Istanbul 5310** (cat. 20.38), **United States, Private Collection** (cat. 20.45), and **Once New York Market** (cat. 20.6), on which the relationship between the two parts is less easy to define – the transitional panel and accompanying appliqué on these examples work in concert with one another but do not seem to have been designed with their specific matches in mind. In addition to the complete kalpides, there are numerous loose appliqués that have become disassociated with the bodies to which they were once applied.

The second part of this question, regarding the relationships between reliefs belonging to different types of objects, is equally ambiguous. The high degree of similarity between repoussé plaques attached to vessels, mirrors, and armor in this period strongly suggests that the appliqués of all types were made together. Once again, communication between the artisans responsible for their production and craftsman who made the vases, mirrors, or armor to which they would be attached seems to have varied from place to place. It is difficult to argue any other explanation considering the strong association, for instance, between the appliqués on the pairs of kalpides and mirrors, especially **Athens 18775** (cat. 20.17) and Athens 7416, **New York 57.11.7** and Princeton 64, or **Tire 93/93** (cat. 20.9) and Berlin 7928, each of which must have been made alongside one another. From a technical perspective, it makes sense to suppose that workers trained in repoussé would carry out the reliefs in that technique regardless of what they were ultimately intended to adorn, while those who were trained in casting handles might specialize in that aspect of production, as each task required a different degree of delicacy and attention to a different set of details. From a production standpoint, it also is more efficient to have each element made separately and join the parts together

at the last stage of manufacture. The metalworkers who made the appliquéés could have worked alongside the craftsmen responsible for hammering the bodies and casting the handles and feet of the kalpides but seem to have specialized in repoussé appliquéés, rather than in reliefs intended for one specific type of object. As far as the question of *choice* and who was responsible for deciding which appliqué belonged with which bronze implement (i.e. the maker or the buyer), it is not possible to say with certainty.

A third problem, perhaps more elusive, surrounding the production of the kalpides of this type is identifying *where* they were made, which has vexed the small group of scholars who have taken up the question. W. Lamb was the first to comment on the issue, suggesting a Rhodian provenance for the entire group.¹⁵⁵ C. Blinkenberg and K.A. Neugebauer stepped back from Lamb's specific proposal and offered a more general origin somewhere in "East Greece."¹⁵⁶ Kazarow hypothesized an Euboean workshop but also conceded the possibility of Corinthian manufacture.¹⁵⁷ Picard resisted pinpointing a location, preferring to leave the question open.¹⁵⁸ Züchner commented on a few of the vases, proposing that they were made in several different workshops that were geographically distant from one another. He suggested a Corinthian workshop for **London 311** (cat. 20.40), **London 312** (cat. 20.34), **Berlin 30071** (cat. 20.36), **Sofia 5039** (cat. 20.25), **London 310** (cat. 2.22), **Istanbul 5310** (cat. 20.38), and **London 313** (cat. 20.42), an Attic origin for **New York 37.11.6** (cat. 20.1) and **Berlin 8068** (cat. 20.4), a Chalkidian provenance for **New York 07.286.89** (cat. 20.12) and **Athens 7913** (cat.

¹⁵⁵ Lamb 1929, 184f.; Diehl 1964, 42.

¹⁵⁶ Blinkenberg 1933, 106; Neugebauer 1930, 263-269.

¹⁵⁷ Kazarow 1911, 315f.

¹⁵⁸ Picard 1940, 93.

20.53), and an Ionian manufacture for **Paris 597** (cat. 20.7) and **Munich SL 34** (cat. 20.26).¹⁵⁹ Richter was reluctant to offer a firm answer to the question but proposed that Attica “has...as good a claim as any” based largely on the frequent appearance of Boreas and Oreithyia on the appliqués.¹⁶⁰ Diehl does not attempt to locate any specific center(s) of production.¹⁶¹ Barr-Sharrar has proposed that an Athenian workshop may have been responsible for the magnificent Derveni krater, which she associates on stylistic grounds with at least one bronze kalpis in this group, **Athens 18775** (cat. 20.17).¹⁶²

Even with the far greater number of vases available for study today, it is difficult to pinpoint the origins of this group of kalpides. As Richter cautions, a findspot is not necessarily a good indicator of where a vase was made, given the portability of the object and the well-established systems of communication and trade throughout the ancient Mediterranean, particularly by the fourth century.¹⁶³ Despite the admitted unreliability of findspots, it is difficult to ignore the overwhelming majority of kalpides of this type that have been found in the northern and eastern parts of the Greek world. Of the c. 35 vessels with known provenances, at least 15 were found in Asia Minor or on the Eastern Greek islands, 5 come from Macedonia, and 6 have been excavated from Thrace and the Black Sea region, nearly all of which were found at ancient Mesembria. New vases continue to be discovered in present-day Albania and Bulgaria on a regular basis. Central Greece also has a good claim, with at least 9 vases, most of which come from the eastern part of the

¹⁵⁹ Züchner 1942, 193-196.

¹⁶⁰ Richter 1946, 366.

¹⁶¹ She does summarize the previous scholarship on the subject. Diehl 1964, 42.

¹⁶² Barr-Sharrar 2008, 112-114.

¹⁶³ Richter 1946, 365.

region, in Eretria, Pharsalos, and Lokris. On the other hand, not one of the vases with a secure findspot comes from Attica and only one comes from the Peloponnese (**Elis M 2791**, cat. 20.56), where we might expect to find a significant production center given its history as an important site for bronze hydriai. Not one has been discovered in Italy; the appliqué from Selce e Posthme in Albania is our sole remaining suggestion of the circulation of vessels from the fourth century along the Adriatic route that was a staple of the previous two centuries. These vessels demonstrate a connection between the manufacture of bronze hydriai and the eastern Greek world that has been absent from the record thus far. These diverse findspots establish even more firmly than the Classical hydriai that the Greeks were more interested in eastern and northern routes of trade, exchange, and communication, turning away from the West and towards the north and east in pursuit of their fortunes. This focus is not surprising given the strong connections between the Macedonians and their interests in these parts of the world. It may be that production centers shifted over time and opportunities for trading arose in different areas across the Mediterranean depending on their proximity to the manufacturing workshops.

Although it may be futile to try to assign specific vessels or groups of vessels with a particular geographic location, a few observations can be made. First, one needs only to look at the wide variety of style of the repoussé appliqués to see that they were made by a number of different hands across, presumably, a fairly wide network of workshops. Some, such as **New York 37.11.6** (cat. 20.1) and **Athens 18775** (cat. 20.17), seem so technically proficient and are of such high-quality craftsmanship, that we must presume they were made in a well-established workshop with experienced craftsmen.¹⁶⁴ Others,

¹⁶⁴ Barr-Sharrar (Barr-Sharrar 2008, 113) makes a similar observation for the Derveni krater.

like **London 313** (cat. 20.42) or **Thasos** (cat. 20.60), may well have come out a more provincial, or at least less mainstream, tradition.

In general, the profile of the bodies of the Late Classical bronze kalpides, especially those from the second and third quarters of the fourth century, and the overall character of the subsidiary decorations are so remarkably similar that it is tantalizing to think they were made, by and large, in close awareness of one another. This transmission might have occurred in many ways. Itinerant workers may have traveled around the Mediterranean. The vases themselves are portable and may have served as models as they circulated. Besides, although none of the preserved molds known today can be associated with hydriai specifically, there are a number of plaster molds from ancient vessels and implements that allowed for serial reproduction and copying.¹⁶⁵ Even when molds *do* survive they can hardly have been used more than once or twice with any accuracy of transmission. Molds, impressions, and translations into clay, however, may have served as mnemonic devices and patterns. This may have been the purpose of at least two groups of terracotta handle fragments in London and Boston (Figure 4.157) that clearly imitate the motifs found on bronze hydriai. The gorgoneia, rams, and beaded grips make clear that these date from the Archaic period but may indicate a practice that continued but has been lost from later periods. In a similar way, B. Barr-Sharrar suggests that the Gnathian relief lekythos mentioned above (Figure 4.59) in connection with **United States, Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 20.10) demonstrates a mode by which at least the concept

¹⁶⁵ Reeder 1974 (diss, Princeton University); Reeder 1976, 41-66.

of the motifs characteristic of the Derveni workshop was transferred to duplicate figures on any number of vases of other shapes and sizes.¹⁶⁶

Despite the similarity of subject on numerous appliqués, especially those with representations of Boreas and Oreithyia, Eros and ‘Psyche,’ or Dionysos and satyrs, none seem to be exact copies of one another; all seem to be worked individually and not reproduced exactly from a mold or by other mechanical means. Some appliqués are similar enough in both iconography and style, however, that we might propose they were made in the same workshop or even by the same hand. For instance, J. Gaunt has proposed that **Atlanta 2001.12.1** (cat. 20.37) and **United States Private Collection (New York, White-Levy)** (cat. 20.44) may be assigned to the same craftsman on the basis of stylistic similarities, including “the spiky acanthus leaves at top left and right of the plaques, the manner in which the plaques are scalloped above to accommodate the fluting of the handle, the treatment of the landscape on which the figures’ feet rest, some passages in the drapery, and the way in which the two figures project from the background.”¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, he suggests that a third appliqué, **New York 07.286.89** (cat. 20.12), may be a later work by the same artisan because of the repetition of the distinctive acanthus motif at the top corners of the plaque. At least two mirror covers, *Paris Br 1707* and *Copenhagen 103 (Chr VIII 938)*, both of which are related stylistically to the previous appliqués, also may be associated (Figures 4.153-4.154).¹⁶⁸ To this group, I

¹⁶⁶ Barr-Sharr 2008, 130-131, fig. 118.

¹⁶⁷ Chi and Gaunt 2005, 22.

¹⁶⁸ Chi and Gaunt 2005, 22 n. 6. *Paris Br 1707*: c. 370, from Palestrina; *LIMC* 2 (1984), 99, cat. 948, s.v. “Aphrodite,” (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Züchner 1942, 7-8, cat. KS 4, pl. 6. *Copenhagen 103 (Chr VIII 938)*: Züchner 1942, 19, cat. KS 22, fig. 114; Schwarzmeier 1997, 86f., 92, 115, 122, 193f., 197, cat. 114, pl. 20.2.

might add **London 306** (cat. 20.13), on the basis of its close stylistic comparison to **New York 07.286.89** (cat. 20.12), evident especially in the treatment of the slim, youthful body of the figure and his swaying contrapposto position.

Two appliqués, **Nessebar** (cat. 20.54) and **Paris 4997** (cat. 20.55), are extremely similar in both iconographic type as well as style, leaving little doubt that they were made in the same workshop. Both were found in Nessebar (ancient Mesembria) near the Black Sea coast of central Bulgaria. The character of the subsidiary decorations leads to the same conclusion.

The profile, style, and iconography also suggest that **Chantilly** (cat. 20.32) and **Bucharest 48899** (cat. 20.33) may share a common provenance. Details of the appliqué, including the relationship between the two figures, their poses, and costumes are too close for coincidence. **Chantilly** (cat. 20.35) and **Berlin 30071** (cat. 20.36) must also be related but not quite as closely as the previous vessels. It is possible to suggest that they were made by different craftsmen working in the same center of manufacture.

The case of the five appliqués with an affectionate Eros and ‘Psyche’ (**Istanbul 5310** [cat. 20.38], **Berlin 7806** [cat. 20.39], **London 311** [cat. 20.40], **Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)** [cat. 20.41], and **London 313** [cat. 20.42]) present an interesting problem, in that they are closely aligned in iconographic type but each is very distinctive in style. We must suppose these were made in awareness of one another but perhaps in different centers of manufacture or at least by a number of artisans trained in diverse traditions. The heavy use of chasing on **London 313** (cat. 20.42) and the unusual fleshiness of the figures of **Fortuna 2008** (cat. 20.41) may be indications of a provincial production based on a mainstream Greek prototype. The appliqués with Boreas and

Oreithyia (**Athens 18775** [cat. 20.17], **New York 53.11.3** [cat. 20.18], **United States Private Collection (New York)** [cat. 20.19], **Once Art Market** [cat. 20.21], **London 310** [cat. 20.22], **Nessebar** [cat. 20.23], **Nessebar** [cat. 20.24], **Sofia 5039** [cat. 20.25], and **Munich SL 34** [cat. 20.26]) also present a picture of simultaneous similarity and difference that must be attributed to a common model translated and adapted according to the personal preferences of a number of different bronze workers.

A more productive approach to the question of manufacture may be to associate groups of related vases together. It is clear, for instance, that **Nessebar** (cat. 20.54) and **Paris 4997** (cat. 20.55) are closely related by way of their appliqués, despite minor differences in shape and the other details, such as the unusual ‘twisted’ handle on the vase in the Louvre. The remarkably similar iconography and style of the appliqués, showing Dionysos and a reveling satyr, which betray a common model, would be enough to associate the two vases even if they did not have a shared provenance in ancient Mesembria. They must have been made in the same workshop, wherever it might have been located. In other cases, appliqués of diverse subjects can be associated with one another by the way they interact with the vertical handle. **Atlanta 2001.12.1** (cat. 20.37), **United States, Private Collection (New York, White-Levy)** (cat. 20.44), and **New York 07.286.89** (cat. 20.12) are related by way of the distinctive abstract floral motif at the top of the repoussé panel in addition to the stylistic affinities of the compositions themselves.¹⁶⁹

Similarly, there must be a relationship between **Thessalonike MΘ 7552** (cat. 20.2) and **New York 37.11.6** (cat. 20.1). Although clear stylistic differences between these two appliqués demonstrate they were made by different hands, they are our earliest evidence

¹⁶⁹ Chi and Gaunt 2005, 22.

for the transition from the High Classical siren kalpides into the Late Classical group with mythological appliqués. The bodies to which these two panels are applied are unmistakably similar, as is the overall shape of the appliqué and the strategies used for framing the figural composition with a series of palmettes and scrolls held over from the earlier tradition.

Parallels with other decorative bronze objects outside the series of bronze hydriai can also be drawn. B. Barr-Sharrar proposes that **Athens 18775** (cat. 20.17) may have come from the workshop that produced the magnificent Derveni krater.¹⁷⁰ Stylistic details, particularly the close relationship between the faces of Oreithyeia on the kalpis and the statuette of Dionysos seated on the shoulder of the Derveni krater and the foliate patterns at the top of the vertical handle, in addition to the Orphic associations of a golden tablet found inside the vessel (see below, *Chapter 5*) give strength to her argument.

As another strategy, we might compare the diverse shapes and ornaments on the transitional panels between the lower end of the vertical handle and the appliqué. In general, these plaques (along with their counterparts at the top of the grip) have a quick, almost sketchy quality that seems less practiced than the other decorative elements found elsewhere on the kalpides. It is difficult to determine whether the differences in these intermediary panels are due to chronology, craftsman, or regional/workshop traditions. There are a few distinctive tactics that can be observed. By far, the most common way of dealing with the juxtaposition between the vertical grip and the shoulder comes out of the tradition of the siren kalpides, in which a rounded panel wraps around the shoulder and anchors the handle to the vase. As early as the middle of the fifth century, several of the

¹⁷⁰ Barr-Sharrar 2008, 184.

siren kalpides show some interest in experimenting with floral motifs chased or rendered in low relief on the flattened panels hidden (mostly) by the sirens' wings. In the fourth century, at least 15 of the surviving kalpides have a rounded panel that secures the grip to the shoulder and is articulated with a flattened rosette on the front side, accompanied by varying patterns of chased or relief lines, dots, or schematic floral motifs across the remaining surface area above the mythological appliqué.¹⁷¹ At least six others pare down the panel to the shape of two diverging or hanging leaves with scalloped edges.¹⁷² These leaf-panels vary but demonstrate a shared solution for this transitional element that uses a much smaller surface area for soldering the pieces together. Three panels borrow the elongated petals outlined in low relief that appeared at the ends of the side handles and around the foot of some of the Classical vessels.¹⁷³ At least two plaques wrap fairly tightly around the bottom of the grip and have tightly spiraled coils on both sides.¹⁷⁴ These small details may suggest trends in the practices of specific workshops or indicate regional preferences. Because no two of the transitional plaques is exactly the same, their relationship to one another is not transparent. They are useful as another point of

¹⁷¹ Including **United States, Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 20.19), **New York 53.11.3** (cat. 20.18), **Chantilly** (cat. 20.32), **Nessebar** (cat. 20.23), **United States, Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 20.28), **Nessebar** (cat. 20.54), **Paris 4997** (cat. 20.55), **United States, Private Collection** (cat. 20.6), **Once Art Market, London 312** (cat. 20.34), **London 313** (cat. 20.42), **Chantilly** (cat. 20.35), **Istanbul 5310** (cat. 20.38), **Thasos** (cat. 20.60), **Greece, Private Collection (Athens, Iolas no. 16)** (cat. 20.62), and **Once Art Market** (cat. 20.63). **Once New York Market (Symes 1999)** (cat. 20.59) has a related motif with angular rosettes in relief on a round base in place of the more typical rounded ones. **Once London Market (Bonhams 1998)** (cat. 20.64) has circles with raised centers that have a similar visual effect.

¹⁷² **Berlin 8068** (cat. 20.4), **Amphipolis 7344** (cat. 20.47), **Athens 7913** (cat. 20.53), **New York 44.11.9** (cat. 20.50), **United States, Private Collection** (cat. 20.45), and **Corfu 3475** (cat. 20.57). **New York 51.11.8** (cat. 20.30) is also tangentially related to this type.

¹⁷³ **Athens 18787** (cat. 20.46), **Once New York Market (Symes 1999)** (cat. 20.48), and **Boston 1984.750** (cat. 20.49).

¹⁷⁴ **Volos** (cat. 20.11) and **Malibu 79.AC.119** (cat. 20.16). **New York 37.11.6** (cat. 20.1) shares this motif, although the ornamental panel is constructed differently.

comparison, however, and show an additional dimension of the awareness and interaction between the diverse craftsmen who made these exquisite Late Classical bronze kalpides.

Group 21: Late Classical and Hellenistic Varia

Following the fourth century, there are a handful of bronze hydriai and fragments that do not form a cohesive group but testify to the continued production of the shape in bronze throughout the Hellenistic period. These later vessels signal a return to the simpler animal and floral motifs of the Archaic and Classical periods. In some cases, the shape shifts back to a canonical shoulder hydria but with longer necks, narrower shoulders, and more elongated bodies than the before. The handles also tend to be slimmer and have smaller surface areas at the ends for soldering. The drastically reduced quantity and less substantial form of these Hellenistic vessels may reveal that the function of the hydria shifted after the end of the fourth century and that its importance declined.

Two complete kalpides show signs of having been re-worked well after their original manufacture. Like **Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)** (cat. 20.3), the profiles of both **Chalkis** (cat. 21.1) and **Thessalonike Py 208** (cat. 21.2) are incongruent with the relief decorations applied beneath the vertical handles. The thick vertical handle of **Chalkis** (cat. 21.1) has a long, pointed leaf- or teardrop-shaped relief on the front side of the broad grip, associating it with a handful of Early Classical hydriai, including **Athens Karapanos 697** (cat. 17.2), **Athens Karapanos 1189** (cat. 17.3), **New York 06.1078** (cat. 17.5), and a related fragmentary vertical handle, **Königsberg F 19** (cat. 17.4). The lateral handles, as on its counterparts from the early fifth century, are small in proportion to the rest of the vase, round in cross-section, curved in the center, and made vessels has a broad vertical handle that is rectangular in cross-section, ending

abruptly in a smooth, rounded disk at the shoulder. On **Chalkis** (cat. 21.1), however, the lower end of the vertical handle was cut away to accommodate a separately worked female head applied below.

Although this type of head is unique, or nearly so, on bronze hydriai, it is known from metal vessels of various other shapes as early as the fifth century, including a lidded amphora with a bail handle and a small oinochoe, both from Derveni Tomb B (Figures 4.156-4.157).¹⁷⁵ The female mask is most familiar to us from Hellenistic bronze mirrors (cf. Paris Br 1698, Figure 4.158), as well as from kalyx kraters made of both bronze and terracotta, beginning in the fourth century and continuing through the Hellenistic period (cf. United States, Private Collection (New York, White-Levy), Figure 4.159-4.160).¹⁷⁶ Heads placed on the roundels of some particularly elaborate volute kraters also are related typologically (cf. Athens Karapanos 80, Figure 4.161).¹⁷⁷

Thessalonike Py 208 (cat. 21.2) is related to the previous vessel by the character of its appliqué beneath the vertical handle, which also takes the form of a female head. This vessel also seems to have been modified post-production. Its shape is later than the hydria from Chalkis, with a more elongated, tapered body and lighter vertical handle. The profile of the hammered body must be contemporary with **Berlin 30636** (cat. 17.11). There are three unusual features of the Pydna hydria. First, it has a thin bronze ring around the upper part of its shoulder. The ring serves no obvious utilitarian purpose and must have been placed around the neck at some time when the vertical handle was

¹⁷⁵ *Lidded Amphora*: early fifth century; Barr-Sharrar 2008, 23-24, fig. 19. *Oinochoe*: Barr-Sharrar 2008, 23-25, fig. 20.

¹⁷⁶ Karusu 1979, 85-86. *Paris Br 1698*: c. 230-220; Ridder 1913, 45, cats. 1697, 1698; Züchner 1942, 72, cat. KS 102; Schwarzmeier 1997, 23, 48, 144f, 150f., 160f., cat. 202, pl. 76.1. *United States, Private Collection (New York, White-Levy)*: Second quarter of the fourth century; Chi and Gaunt 2005, 24-25.

¹⁷⁷ Athens Karapanos 80: Karusu 1979, 85, pl. 23.

removed from the vase, because although it can be easily detached from the shoulder, it cannot be lifted away from the vase because it is blocked by the vertical grip. One may suppose that the disk was either paired with the vase in antiquity, at the point at which the vertical handle underwent a reconstruction or that it is a modern (perhaps mistaken?) addition that was found or stored near to the kalpis. Second, the upper surface of the mouth bears an inscription that attests to its function as a prize in the games of the *Dioskouroi*, although the location is not specified. The inscription, “EXS ANAKIO AEΘΛA,” allows us to at least tentatively associate it with another vase, **New York 1999.460** (cat. 17.48), which reads “ΕΓ ANAKIO AEΘΛA.” (on the inscriptions, see below, *Chapter 6, Appendix II*). Other than the inscription, the New York hydria is undecorated, which may also have been true of the first phase of the vase from Pydna, given its overall plainness besides the seemingly late appliqué. Third, the vertical handle has been cut back at the bottom and left in a roughly finished state. Finally, the size of the appliqué is disproportionately large.

In its rather unusual position between frontal and three-quarters, the head may be at least loosely associated with several mirror covers and fragments, including Paris Br 1696, Munich 3776, and one formerly in a Private Collection (ex-Stroganoff) (Figures 4.162-4.164).¹⁷⁸ None of these mirror appliqués have secure provenances but two, Munich 3776 and Private Collection (ex-Stroganoff), have been dated by A. Schwarzmeier to the early part of the third quarter of the third century. Paris 1696 seems

¹⁷⁸ *Paris Br 1696*: Schwarzmeier 1997, 49, 96, 138f., 157f., 210, 316, cat. 201, pl. 75.1; *LIMC* 3 (1986), 919, near cat. 823, s.v. “Eros,” (A. Hermary); Züchner 1942, 72f., KS 104, 70f., fig. 35f.; Ridder 1913, 45, no. 1696, pls. 78, 81; *Munich 3776*: Schwarzmeier 1997, 144, 150, 304, cat. 172, pl. 75.2; Züchner 1942, 104, cat. BR 9. *Present Location Uncertain (ex-Stroganoff)*: Schwarzmeier 1997, 143f., 338, pl. 74.2; Züchner 1942, 74, cat. KS 109; Pollak and Muñoz 1912, I 21, pl. 22.1.

to be earlier, c. 290-80, which may give a general idea of when the kalpis from Pydna was given its new appliqué.

Some of the Hellenistic bronze hydriai return to the Archaic notion of a floral motif below the vertical handle. In some cases, such as **Ankara 10612** (cat. 21.3), from Lerduge, the motif takes the form of a generic, stylized palmette. Comparable floral motifs (albeit more elaborate) appear on Late Classical and Early Hellenistic mirrors, including Switzerland, Private Collection (Geneva, Ortiz) and New York 07.257 (Figures 4.165-4.166).¹⁷⁹ Other examples, however, such as two stray vertical handles, **Berlin FR 1657** (cat. 21.4) and **New York 74.51.5463** (cat. 21.5), from the second half of the second century are more specific. These handles clearly come from hydriai rather than kalpides because of the shape of the upper end of the grip, which curves widely to accommodate the outer edge of the lip. In each case, a grape leaf with jagged edges and chased veins across the surface appears at the lower end. Oak leaves are found also at the ends of a loose lateral handle, **New York 66.119.1** (cat. 21.6), which has been dated to the first century, may well have belonged to a Hellenistic bronze hydria. These handles belong to a tradition begun centuries earlier and appropriated for other shapes, judging from their relationship to two bronze handles from an amphora that have been dated to c. 500 (Figure 4.167).¹⁸⁰ The leaves on this pair may be identified as representations of grape leaves.

¹⁷⁹ *Switzerland, Private Collection (Geneva, Ortiz)*: c. 340; Schwarzmeier 1997, 163f., 335, cat. 250, pl. 88.1. *New York 07.257*: from Vonitza (Akarnania), c. 300; Schwarzmeier 1997, 163, 165, 169f., 309, cat. 184, pl. 88.2 (with bib.); Mertens 1985/86, 45, cat. 30; Züchner 1942, 92f., cat. KS 157; Richter 1915, 263f., cat. 761.

¹⁸⁰ *Boston 1971.264-265*: Vermeule 1988, no. 101.

A rare example of a complete Hellenistic bronze hydria, **New York 66.11.12 a,b** (cat. 21.7), dated by D. von Bothmer to the third century, is reminiscent to the Ankara vase in terms of its slender profile, light, curved handles, and undecorated foot, as well as the palmettes at the ends of all three handles. These florals, however, are far more two-dimensional and schematic than in the previous examples.

Finally, an unusual kalpis comes from the tomb of an athlete in Northern Italy, **Milan A 0.9.9285** (cat. 21.8), found together with small oil containers and two bronze strigils. The tomb itself has been dated to the Augustan period but the hydria itself may be significantly earlier. Given its profile and decoration, it may belong to the later fourth century, which means that it was an antique when it was deposited into the athlete's tomb.¹⁸¹ The lower end of the vertical handle, cast together with the grip, takes the form of two rams' heads inclined towards one another, flanking a diminutive central palmette with slender leaves short, quickly rendered volutes. This ornamental panel finds a good parallel in a fourth-century bronze olpe with a similar motif below the vertical handle (Figure 4.168) and on a handle with a siren at the bottom that was once on the New York Art Market, now on loan to the Michael C. Carlos Museum in Atlanta (Figure 4.169).¹⁸²

Conclusions

The Greek world was expanding in the late fifth and fourth centuries, politically, geographically, and culturally. These bronze vessels demonstrate, on a small scale, some of the ways in which the artistic world was widened as contemporary events opened doors for an expanded clientele, new or revitalized trading routes leading north and

¹⁸¹ Frova 1961, 71-78.

¹⁸² *Christie's New York* 12.12.2002, 87, cat. 136.

eastwards, rather than in western directions, and a broadened awareness of styles and techniques in other media and scales. The appliqués offer the chance to assess numerous examples of original Greek metalwork dating to a period when bronze was a favored material and from whence so few examples of larger statuary survives. We clearly see the effects of the stylistic trends begun with Skopas, Praxiteles, Lysippos, and their contemporaries in these repoussé plaques, which may be of help in considering later adaptations of works on a larger scale. Changes in shape, technique, and decoration emerge slowly but steadily at the end of the fifth century, leading to an entirely new concept of the vessels and their ornaments by c. 400. We may suppose that significant changes occurred in workshop practices during this period, as well, which allowed for the development of the repoussé appliqué that was adapted and appropriated for hydriai as well as boxes, mirrors, and armor. It is to these objects that we turn for comparison in the fourth century, rather than the oinochoai and amphorai of previous centuries. It is curious that other vessel-shapes seem not to have been given the appliqués that are so prominent on Late Classical kalpides and their counterparts on mirrors, helmets, and breastplates. We will explore in the following chapter the ways in which the rich iconography of the appliqués may reveal some of the diverse roles these vessels served in antiquity.

Following the fourth century, there is a sharp decline in the quantity and quality of bronze hydriai. As metals were needed increasingly for arms and armor and large-scale architecture and sculpture was produced to express messages of power and authority, perhaps small, decorative bronzes were needed less as status symbols. Some important finds, such as the silver kalpis containing the cremated remains of the occupant of the 'Prince's Tomb' in the Royal Tumulus at Vergina, however, demonstrate that there was

still an important market for luxurious burial containers in the late fourth century, even as the shape in general seems to have been in the process of becoming marginalized for this purpose. In the wake of political turmoil and fragmented Hellenistic kingdoms following the death of Alexander the Great, burial practices also may have shifted, no longer requiring these stately jars for the safekeeping of the remains of the deceased. The shape continued to be produced on a smaller scale, however, demonstrating some continuity of use. New discoveries, particularly in Macedonia, Thrace, and Bulgaria, may continue to change our understanding of the legacy of the Greek bronze hydria following the close of the fourth century.

Chapter 5: Significance of the Iconography

The assessments of shape, style, and decoration of Greek bronze hydriai from the Early Archaic through the Hellenistic period in the previous chapters demonstrated that although added images largely were unnecessary to the utility of the vessels, decorative reliefs nonetheless were added to at least 500 of them. Overall, the ornamental appliqués were fairly conservative, incorporating fewer than 30 different motifs over a span of production lasting at least half a millennium. Each element selected for inclusion, therefore, must have been chosen purposefully to convey meaning. The decorative motifs often are abbreviated and limited, particularly when compared to the broad range of subjects and narrative strategies used on black- and red-figure panels of ceramic versions of the shape. Nonetheless, the chosen images were charged with significance in the Greek iconographic repertoire.

Exploring the meanings of the decorative elements selected for the appliqués is key to understanding the diverse function(s) of the vessels and appraising their cultural value. The applied ornaments are especially important because they were part of the original design, thereby reflecting the needs and interests of the ancient craftsman and original owner. Today, the images allow us to consider the ways in which the chosen subjects imbued the vessels with layers of meaning and how they may have enriched the experience of using the hydriai for diverse purposes. The images are multivalent and may be interpreted in various ways that are not mutually exclusive. The Greeks themselves may have understood the images differently at various stages of their own lives. Therefore, we may consider the ways in which the decorative reliefs operate simultaneously, revealing ways that the vessels were used, reflecting the values and

concerns of the people who would have been able to afford them, and enhancing the significance of the vessels as water jars that might be reused for various purposes, often ending with burial.

The Archaic period was a prolific and adventurous time in the production of bronze hydriai. Craftsmen seem to have been actively interested in developing a visual vocabulary that suited their technical requirements and added significance to the vessels. In the late seventh and sixth centuries, the decorative elements consisted primarily of motifs germane to contemporary Greek arts in other media, repeated and rearranged in various configurations at the ends of all three handles. Half-spools, rotelles, and palmettes were favored for geometric and floral patterns. Animals appeared in the forms of snakes, swans, horses, hares, eagles, rams, and lions. Fantastic creatures also emerged, in the forms of monstrous gorgons and winged horses. Human figures were incorporated as well, ranging from women wearing divine headdresses to nude youths to reclining banqueters. By the end of the sixth century, the iconographic range narrowed dramatically to a select few of the preexisting motifs, primarily lions and female protomes. In the first half of the fifth century, however, the image of a winged siren, a composite creature visualized with a woman's head and a bird's body, was introduced and quickly superseded all competing elements. In contrast to the multiplicity of decorative choices available in the previous century, the siren remained the dominant choice for bronze hydriai and kalpides for the remainder of the Classical period. The fifth century also saw the high point of the hydriai with no added decorations whatsoever. By the early fourth century, the newly introduced independent appliqués show an expanded range of potential subjects, for the first time incorporating identifiable mythological

figures. Even in the Late Classical period, however, the compositions tended to include a fairly select cast of characters, most of which can be assigned to a few representative types, such as romantic couples, Erotes with ritual equipment, Dionysiac revelry, and victorious Nikai. In the Hellenistic period, the imagery again was reduced to minimal elements, especially florals.

The Late Classical kalpides with mythological appliqués represent the bronze craftsmen's most explicit attempts to express meaning through iconography. Compared with the overt mythological references of the fourth century appliqués that lend themselves readily to interpretation on multiple levels, the more abbreviated Archaic and Classical imagery is less obvious but perhaps no less meaningful. Even among the Late Classical bronze kalpides for which there is general agreement that the specific mythological episodes chosen for the independent appliqués relate to the ways that the vessels were used. *How* the ornamental panels should be interpreted remains debatable. C. Picard has proposed that these kalpides were intended first and foremost to serve as part of a funerary assemblage and must be analyzed with regard to that final function.¹ G.M.A. Richter has refuted this argument, suggesting that many of the repoussé compositions instead respond to functions that the vases likely served in *life* rather than in death.² I propose that there is no reason to separate these two possibilities; both Greek metalworkers and the owners of these vessels may have anticipated multiple phases of use and selected images that could be interpreted in appropriate ways by different audiences at various stages of life. Although Picard and Richter directed their comments

¹ Picard 1940, 75-103, especially 91.

² Richter 1946, 366-367.

specifically to the vessels from the fourth century, the same questions may be asked of the Archaic and Classical bronzes.

It may be helpful to examine each motif separately in order to assess its significance in the Greek visual vocabulary, considering the connotations the images might have had in various situations in life and also in funerary contexts. The compositions also can be assessed in terms of how the generic significances of the compositions might have been enhanced when added to a jar specifically intended to hold water. Finally, we may comment on the socioeconomic status and priorities of the audience to which these images would have been most relevant.

Swans

One of the earliest images to emerge on bronze hydriai of the Early Archaic period was a swan's head, rendered in relief simply with a rounded head and long, flattened beak and placed at the ends of any or all of the three handles.³ The motif had the advantages of being relatively easy to create from an added piece of wax, certainly no more difficult than a half-spool or rotelle, and bringing the handle to a graceful end. Therefore, it is not particularly surprising that it was a consistently favored motif among Greek metalworkers, appearing on numerous Archaic bronze hydriai and oinochoai, volute kraters made of terracotta and bronze from the sixth through the fourth century, and on particularly sophisticated Late Classical bronze and silver strainers and ladles. Among bronze hydriai, the motif ranges from abstracted to schematic, to more naturalistic, appearing at the ends of all three handles and often up the spine of the vertical handle in the form of a beaded column that sometimes receives a pointed snake's

³ Cat. nos. 2.1-2.14, 3.1, 4.2, 4.43, 5.1, 5.2, 5.4, 5.6, 5.11, 5.14, 6.1-6.8, 7.2-7.4, 8.18, 9.5, 9.6, 9.9, 12.5, 16.1, 16.25, 16.50, 16.56.

head but more often is suggested by abstracted round or rectangular beads alone. The sheer frequency with which the birds were appropriated for these vessels alone would speak to the importance (or at least the appropriateness) of the image but its significance is enhanced when we note that the handles that incorporated the motif of the swan's head virtually eclipsed those with strictly geometric elements from the time of its introduction through the duration of the sixth century. Clearly, the motif resonated with its audience.

The fairly generic character of the abbreviated avian forms leaves some ambiguity in the interpretation of the bird. They might be called swans, geese, or ducks. Although C. Stibbe identifies the birds as ducks, this bird did not have the illustrious reputation of the other two in the Greek tradition.⁴ The swan and the goose, however, had well-known mythological associations in antiquity. The goose, *χηνα*, was associated closely with the goddess Aphrodite, who sometimes was represented riding on the back of a large, long-necked bird with an elongated beak, emphasizing her aspect as Ourania, reigning over the heavens.⁵ The relationship with the goddess might have had special meaning for a female audience, in particular. Both swans and geese are associated closely with Artemis' menagerie in her role as the *potnia theron*; she is depicted frequently as the mistress of the animals holding a pair of them in her outstretched hands.⁶ The swan, *kyknos*, was sacred to Apollo, said to sing its praises to him through melodious songs and clapping wings.⁷ Zeus chose to assume the form of a swan with brilliant white feathers for his

⁴ Stibbe 1992, 2, Group A.

⁵ Simon 1959, 30-36; *LIMC* 2 (1984), 96-98 cat. nos. 903-946, pls. 89-93, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

⁶ *LIMC* 2 (1984), 624-628, cat. 11-59, pls. 442-449, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

seduction of Leda.⁸ Furthermore, the swan was a long-lived creature that was said to increase its singing in the face of death.⁹ Tied to mythology and fabled to praise the gods fervently with their songs before they died, the swan was not only a relatively simple solution to a handle-end, but either would be a poetic addition to a jar intended to hold water and perhaps to have a secondary life as a cinerary urn or gift to the dead.

Snakes

Snakes, too, offered a relatively effortless solution to the problem of bringing the handle to an end in an aesthetically pleasing way.¹⁰ Their long, slithering bodies also provided, when necessary, a zoomorphic ground-line for other animals and figures in more elaborate compositions, such as on **Bern 11620** (cat. 12.1) or **Pesaro 3314/3316** (cat. 12.2).¹¹ Craftsmen were very creative with the flexible form of the snake, sometimes adding it as a distinct element of the ornamental scheme and other times incorporating it as a cleverly disguised extension of the coiled volute emerging from a palmette. The snake held currency in Greek religion and in the visual vocabulary, occupying key positions in representations of gods, myths, and legends, ranging from the large reptile by the side of Pheidias' chryselephantine Athena Parthenos and Asklepios' ever-present companion to the guardians of the apple tree in the Garden of the

⁷ Pollard 1977, 65, 144-146, 159-60. *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, XXI. Aristophanes *Birds* l. 769. Plato *Phaedo* 84 E.

⁸ Pollard 1977, 159. For story of Zeus' seduction of Leda in the form of a swan, Apollodoros III, 126.

⁹ Aristotle *HA* IX, 615, A 32.

¹⁰ Cat. nos. 2.1, 2.2, 2.4, 3.1, 3.3, 4.4, 4.9, 4.10, 4.12, 4.13, 4.33-4.37, 5.1-5.4, 5.6-5.10, 7.15, 10.2, 10.3, 11.1, 12.1, 12.2, 12.4, 12.5, 14.22, 15.7, 15.10, 15.11, 15.15, 15.17, 15.22, 15.23, 15.25-15.31, 19.38, 20.14.

¹¹ On snakes in Greek art: Lopez Melero 11-31; Sancassano 1997; Salapata 1997, 241-260; Mitropoulou 1977; Moret 1988.

Hesperides.¹² Fearsome monsters were imagined as having snake-like qualities, as well, such as the hydra that Herakles faced at Lerna or Medusa's snaky locks.¹³ The association between the gorgoneion and the snake was reinforced visually in the many representations of Athena wearing her aegis, which almost always was bordered with writhing snakes.¹⁴ Athena herself was said to have given the hero Herakles one of the gorgon's locks as an apotropaic device, which was kept in a bronze hydria in Tegea.¹⁵

The snake was a particularly appropriate addition to a hydria because of its associations with water, health, protection, and death. For the living, the snake conveyed notions of health and a close relationship with the god of health, Asklepios. At least two ancient authors, Ovid and Pseudo-Hyginus, explain that the snake was thought to have regenerative powers that could be used for healing.¹⁶ Like water itself, the snake rises from the ground. Snakes are liminal beings with chthonic associations, living both above and below the ground and blurring the distinction between the world of the living and that of the dead.

¹² *Asklepios*: B. Holtzmann in *LIMC* 2 (1984), 869-897, cat. nos. 1-396, pls. 631-667 s.v. "Asklepios," (B. Holtzmann); *Athena Parthenos*: Pausanias 1.24.5-7, 5.11.10, 10.34.8; Pliny NH 36.4.18 and later adaptations of the Parthenos type, especially Athens 129, *LIMC* 2 (1984), 977, cat. 220, s.v. "Athena," (P. Demargne); *Medusa's snaky locks*: *Theogony* 287, Apollodoros 2.4.3, Ovid *Metamorphoses* 792. *Hesperides*: Hesiod *Theogony* 215-216, 333-335; Panyssis of Halikarnassos *Herakleia*; *LIMC* V (1990), 394-406, cat. 1-86, pls. 287-291, s.v. "Hesperides," (I. McPhee).

¹³ *Herakles and the Hydra*: *Theogony* 313-318 and others. Pausanias 2.37.4, Apollodoros *Library* 2.77-80.5.2, *LIMC* V (1990), 35-53, cat. 1990-2092, pls. 52-60, s.v. "Herakles (C. with the Lernean Hydra)," (G. Kokkorou-Alewrás).

¹⁴ In representations, Athena almost always wears an aegis with a gorgoneion in the center and a snaky border around the edges of the garment. In a few images, she participates in Perseus' beheading of Medusa by handing him the tools he will need or watching over him. See especially *LIMC* 2 (1984), 1003-1004, cat. nos. 504-510, s.v. "Athena," (P. Demargne).

¹⁵ Pausanias 8.47.5. Trans. Jones 1965, 134-135.

¹⁶ Ovid *Fasti* 6.735f. Trans. Boyle; Pseudo-Hyginus *Astronomica* 2.14.

Its presence on a water jar was not an innovation of the Archaic period.

Geometric ceramic vessels of this shape with plastically rendered snakes slithering around the shoulder (above, *Prologue*, Figure P.9) existed as early as the eighth century and were used as burial containers. The association between snakes and hydriai was long-lived. In the *Life of Antony*, Plutarch describes how Cleopatra kept an asp inside a water jar (*hydria*).¹⁷

Lions

The lion, without question, was the dominant motif chosen for ornamenting bronze hydriai of the Archaic and Early Classical periods.¹⁸ It was introduced in the early sixth century and persisted at least through the middle of the fifth, until it was replaced by the image of a winged siren. Bronze craftsmen of the sixth century incorporated it in every possible configuration – abbreviated as disembodied heads, lifeless skins, and roaring protomes and shown in their fully extended forms as recumbent and active felines – and in all possible positions on the vessel, at both ends of all three handles, both facing away from the vase and inwards, over its open mouth. Occasionally, it even substituted for the handle itself, as on **Thessalonike Py 601** (cat. 10.1), **Paestum 49801** (cat. 10.2), **and Delphi 309** (cat. 10.3). In the fifth century, lions appear in a more aggressive context, devouring the body of their prey on the openwork handles that make up *Group 18*.

The lion was a symbol of strength, bravery, and power borrowed from earlier cultures in the Near East and in Egypt. In both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Homer

¹⁷ Plutarch *Life of Antony* 86.1-2. Trans. Perrin 1920, 329.

¹⁸ Cat. nos. 3.1-3.4, 5.11-5.14, 6.1- 6.15, 7.1, 7.4, 7.6-7.11, 7.13, 7.15, 8.26, 9.2-9.9, 9.16, 9.17, 9.19, 9.20, 9.22-9.25, 10.1-10.3, 14.11-14.22, 14.27-14.28, 14.31-14.36, 14.42 15.1-15.33, 18.1-18.3.

repeatedly likens warriors to lions.¹⁹ Its close association with heroes and aristocratic warriors is evident in the many representations of lions on bronze shield bands of the Orientalizing and Archaic periods.²⁰ It was key to the identity of heroes, particularly Herakles, whose first labor was to kill the lion menacing Nemea, and who may be identified by the lion's skin he wears knotted around his shoulders.²¹

The static positions of the lions on the handles of bronze hydriai may imply notions of guardianship, apotropaism, and authority, protecting the water and those using the vessels against contaminants and enemies and securing its power for that which was under its protection.²² We might compare the function of these images to the Mycenaean Lion Gate or the lions sculpted in relief on the Archaic temples of Apollo at Didyma and Artemis at Corfu.²³ The derivation of the watchful-lion type from the Near East may not be coincidental. G. Markoe has suggested that contact with between Greece and the East in the sixth century may have led to an intentional borrowing of this type of imagery to connote ideas of power and authority.²⁴ If so, then the lions not only act as protection for the water and by extension, the owners of the water jar themselves, but also speak to the socioeconomic status (or at least aspirations) of the intended clientele.

One bronze handle, **Mariemont 201** (cat 4.31), might be interpreted differently.

At the top of this handle, a pair of lions attacks a fallen ram. G. Markoe suggests that

¹⁹*E.g. Iliad* 8.247, 12.201. For many others, see Lonsdale 1990, Markoe 1989, 88-89, 109-115.

²⁰Bol 1989, especially 40, 54, and Kunze 1961.

²¹*LIMC* V (1990), 16-34, cat. nos. 1762-1989, pls. 33-52 s.v. "Herakles," (Felten). For textual references, see Hesiod *Theogony* 331; Pindar *Isthmian Ode* 6.47-48; Apollodoros 2[74]5.1.

²²Markoe 1989, 87; Ridgway 1977, 199, 206, 209, 273; Harrison 1965, 31.

²³Markoe 1989, 88.

²⁴Markoe 1989, 103-105.

Archaic images of attacking lions should be considered in light of the Homeric similes that liken warriors and heroes to brave, powerful lions. Seen in this light, the Mariemont handle might be understood as an image of “divinely conceived heroic triumph.”²⁵ Although the specific animal chosen as the lions’ prey varies, we can compare the significance of the composition on the hydria handle to Archaic pedimental sculptures from the Athenian Akropolis and the Temple of Apollo at Delphi and to scenes on painted vases by Exekias and his contemporaries.²⁶ In addition to the aristocratic associations of the more typical static lions at the top of the handles discussed above, the animal group in Mariemont reflects an audience who was intimately familiar with the significance of attacking lions in the Homeric poems. The three handles with attacking lions in an intricate open-work style may be the Classical successors of this more active interpretation of the motif.

Gorgoneia

The gorgoneion at the bottom of at least 25 vertical handles of bronze hydriai from the Archaic and Early Classical periods reflects a general preoccupation with Medusa and her head that pervaded Greek art for the duration of the sixth century.²⁷ The motif appeared appearing in large-scale on the early Archaic Temple of Artemis at Corfu and in myriad small arts in bronze and other materials, including shields, oinochoai, amphorai, and kraters, as well as on numerous ceramic vessels of many shapes but particularly frequently in the tondos of cups.²⁸

²⁵ Markoe 1989, 89.

²⁶ Markoe 1989, 94, 97-102.

²⁷ Cat. nos. 17.1-17.16, 14.22-14.23, 15.12-15.21.

²⁸ Tsiafakis in Padgett 2003, 85 n. 108, with bibliography.

The image of the gorgon may have worked on multiple levels. Basically, it may have served as an apotropaic device to protect the water inside the vessel.²⁹ In a more complex way, it may have operated, as R. Mack proposes, to harness the power of the gorgon for the person holding the vase, or to effectively transfer the powerful potential for danger and aggression of Medusa to the owner of the hydria.³⁰ Pausanias' description of a lock of Medusa's hair that was kept in a bronze hydria at Tegea to protect the city demonstrates a clear association between the gorgon and notions of safety and protection for those who were under its guard.³¹ A gilded gorgoneion on the south wall of the Athenian Akropolis served a similar purpose.³²

In the context of burial, another suggestion put forward for understanding the gorgoneion may be relevant. J. Dörig sees in the abbreviated figure of the gorgoneion the possibility of life after death, which certainly would be appropriate for a secondary use of a bronze hydria with a gorgoneion on the handle.³³ The desire to protect and guard the contents of the hydriai both in life and after death would have been entirely appropriate for a jar once used for water and later for holding the remains of the deceased. Hesiod describes the Gorgon sisters as living "in the utmost place toward night, by the singing Hesperides."³⁴ Inhabiting the far ends of the earth and straddling the boundaries between

²⁹ Rodenwalt (1939, 135) was the first to propose this interpretation, which has continued to prevail among scholars. Also Benson 1967, 48.

³⁰ Mack 2002, 588.

³¹ Pausanias 8.47.5.

³² Pausanias 1.21.3.

³³ Dörig and Gigon 1961, 31f. Cf. Benson 1967, 51.

³⁴ *Theogony* 270f. (trans. Evelyn-White).

the living and the dead, the gorgoneion was an ideal motif for ornamenting a bronze water jar that would be used in daily life and eventually help to ease the transition between this life and the next.

Female Figures

Another important motif that appears in relatively large numbers among Archaic bronze hydriai, as well as on numerous other types of objects and media, in both large- and small-scale form, is the abbreviated image of a woman.³⁵ Altogether, a female head, protome, or bust appears on at least 50 hydriai from the sixth and early fifth centuries. It arguably was the first figural image to be included in the bronze craftsmen's decorative repertoire for this type of vessel. Its early appearance and persistence over the course of the entire sixth century and well into the fifth signals its widely recognized importance and demands that we consider how it may have spoken to its audience.

These female figures appear in at least three distinguishable forms, which may or may not all have had the same connotations. The first type, represented by many of the vessels and handles in *Group 5* (cat. nos. 5.1-5.13) is a female protome showing just the head and sometimes part of the neck. In this case, the woman usually wears a polos, which strongly suggests that this figure is meant to be understood as a goddess. As noted in *Chapter 1*, these disembodied heads with Daedalic hairstyles germane to the early Archaic period across various artistic materials are comparable to similar motifs found elsewhere in both small- and large-scale. These female figures may have been intended to refer to a sacred context, in some cases, especially those wearing poloi, or to a domestic function, for those without a headdress.

³⁵ Cat. nos. 5.1-5.14, 6.1-6.16, 14.1-14.23.

The women in the second category (*Group 6*, cat. nos. 6.1-6.16) usually have a slightly more elongated female form, showing the head, neck, and sometimes the shoulders. At the lower end, the figure either merges into a palmette or is set paratactically above one. Without the distinctive headdress, it is difficult to be certain whether the figure is to be understood as a divinity, heroine, generic woman whose identity is to be supplied on an individual basis, or a combination of the three possibilities.

These women, for the most part, diverge from the earlier Daedalic conventions and are less schematic than their counterparts in *Group 5*, although they lack the softer, more artful profiles of the later female busts in *Group 14*. As noted above in *Chapter 1*, this version of the female protome begins in the early sixth century, roughly contemporary with the introduction of the vessels in *Group 5* but this type continues for a longer period of time, until the at least c. 550. The fascination with the female protome in other arts continued throughout the first half of the century, as well, as artists moved away from the stylized faces and protomes of the previous century and experimented with new hairstyles and views.

Finally, the latest and most sculpturally sophisticated women on bronze hydriai date to the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods (*Group 14*, cat. nos. 14.1-14.23), positioned at the top of the vertical handle and oriented in the opposite direction from those in *Groups 5* and *6*, facing over the mouth of the vessel rather than away from the shoulder. These figures, with the exception of **Nemea BR 379**, on which only a head emerges from the surface of the high handle, are elongated to show the head, neck, shoulders, chest, and continue, in at least in one instance (**Copenhagen I.N. 3293**) to just

below the belted waist of her peplos. These figures have refined, rolled coiffures and soft peploi with graceful folds across the chest and arms. Some of them wear headdresses, but most do not, which makes it difficult to determine their identity as a unified group.

In at least four cases (**New York 26.50** [cat. 14.13], **Pompeii 21803** [cat. 14.17], **Ankara** [cat. 14.8], and **Copenhagen I.N. 3293** [cat. 14.12]), an inscription recording the use of the hydria as a prize in the contests in honor of Hera at Argos aids our efforts to assign a name to the figure. It seems reasonable to propose that these four women are meant to represent the goddess Hera herself, as G.M.A. Richter has suggested.³⁶ However, none of these figures wears a divine headdress. Alternatively, perhaps they might be understood as priestesses of the cult. We would not immediately propose that they were meant to be divinities were it not for the inscriptions. At least three of the women from uninscribed vases of this type clearly *do* wear stephanai (**New York Private Collection** [cat. 14.11], **New York 54.11.2** [cat.14.6], and **Nemea Br 379** [cat. 14.1]), or diadems, however, which might suggest that they are to be understood as goddesses. It is tempting to propose that all of the protomes, at least from *Group 14*, represent Hera. There are problems with this interpretation, however, because of the presence of at least two unrelated objects, a dinos from Piraeus now in the British Museum, and a rod-tripod from Vergina, with similar inscriptions as these hydriai but without any representation of the deity.³⁷ Also, **Nemea Br 379** (cat. 14.1), which is of the same iconographic type,

³⁶ Richter 1928, 190; Robinson 1942, (172-197) does not explicitly accept Richter's interpretation but also does not put forward another suggestion.

³⁷ *London GR 1816.6-10.115; GR 1960.11-1.48, AN34503001*: [H[EP[AΣ] A[P]ΓE[I]AΣ EMI TON AEΘΛON, c. 430-420. Smith 1926, 256-57; SEG XI (1954), 330; Jeffery 1961, 170, no. 43; Amandry 1971, 615; Burn 1991, 86. *Athens, Benaki Museum 2626*: ΠΑΡ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΕΜΙ ΤΟΝ ΗΑΓΕΘΛΟΝ, c. 430-420. Amandry 1980, 216; Andronikos 1984, 164-165; Amandry 2002, 30; Kaltsas 2004, 359-360.

bears an inscription as a votive offering to Zeus in his sanctuary at Nemea. Zeus' close relationship with Hera does not entirely rule out the possibility that the figure might still be understood as the goddess, but it certainly does not secure the identification, at least to my mind.

Although the distinctive significances of each of these female figures may have been lost in the intervening period between antiquity and today, it is also possible that this feminine imagery was meant to appeal on a personal level to women who might have used these vases in their homes, allowing them the freedom to assign the identity of the woman on their particular vase to whichever goddess, heroine, locally important mythological figure, nymph, or historical person they chose.³⁸ In this way, the images may have functioned simultaneously on multiple levels. Just because a female protome is understood as Hera does not preclude a female user from seeing herself in the image or from attributing the image on one day to a local water nymph and to a goddess on another day. In Argos, for instance, the Argive princess Amymone may have been particularly important in the context of the water jar, since she was credited in ancient literature with restoring water to the region by discovering the springs at Lerna.³⁹ The mythological figure of Amymone enjoyed a special relationship with Hera, as well. According to both Pausanias and Apollodoros, Poseidon caused a severe drought in the Peloponnese after he was slighted by the Argive kings who had preceded Danaos, Amymone's father, by offering gratitude to Hera for the plentiful water supply in the area. It was only when the youthful Amymone attracted Poseidon's attentions that he shared with her the location of the springs and in doing so, again turned his favor to the Argive plains. It is possible that

³⁸ My thanks to Anthony F. Mangieri for sharing with me his thoughts on this topic.

³⁹ Apollodoros, *Bibliotheca* 2.13; Pausanias 2.22.4.

Argive women might have been reminded of such stories and locally important female heroines such as Amymone when they looked at the women on these vessels.

Because of its frequent depiction, it is possible that we should not look for a single interpretation that encompasses all of the representations of female heads, protomes, and busts. Although today these images seem particularly obscure, lacking attributes that would positively identify the identity of the figure, I propose that there may have been some intentional generality in the iconography that was meant to allow for alternate interpretations by individual users of these vases. The presence of female heads on so many Archaic and Early Classical bronze hydriai seems particularly striking when we consider the comparative lack of male figures chosen to adorn vessels of the same shape and material. Only the approximately 25 vessels with anthropomorphic handles in the form of kouroi (*Group 9*) take the male form as their primary decorative subject.

Horses

Horses were shown less frequently on bronze hydriai than other animals and were less closely associated with water, specifically.⁴⁰ The equines, however, were very relevant to the minds of the wealthy aristocrats who would have been able to afford these luxury objects. They appear in profile on side handles, such as **Lecce 2707** (cata. 4.3), **Olympia B 7490** (cat. 4.4), **Brussels R1183** (cat. 4.5), **Once New York Market (Ward)**, **Vienna 2907** (cat. 4.22), **Sofia** (cat. 7.15), **Thessalonike Py 601** (cat. 10.1), **Paestum 49801** (cat. 10.2) and occasionally on vertical handles, as on **Pesaro 3314, 3316** (cat. 12.2) and its related Italian handles. On **Jerusalem 91.71.315** (cat. 6.15), the horses have wings, which mark them as pegasoi and associate them with Medusa, who appears elsewhere on at least eighteen hydriai as a gorgoneion. As Pegasus sprang forth from the

⁴⁰ Cat. nos. 4.3-4.7, 4.18, 4.22, 6.15, 7.15, 10.1, 10.2, 12.2-12.22, 15.12, 15.14.

head of the gorgon as she was decapitated, perhaps the winged horse here suggests some notion of life after death, which would be appropriate for a vessel that eventually would be used in burial.

Apart from his maternal connections, Pegasos had his own associations with water, which makes the winged horse an exceptionally appropriate addition to a hydria. Perhaps the earliest reference to the mythological horse comes from Hesiod's *Theogony*, in which he was said to be the horse of Zeus, responsible for carrying the god's thunder and lightning.⁴¹ Furthermore, Strabo places Pegasos at the freshwater spring of Peirene in Corinth when Bellerophon captured with him with the golden bridle given to him by Athena.⁴² Multiple ancient authors credit Pegasos with the foundation of the Hippokrene spring, sacred to the Muses on Mt. Helikon.⁴³

The inclusion of these fantastic equines raises the issue of the intended clientele for these vessels and indicates that an elite class of aristocrats and warriors may have been the target audience. The horse was an important symbol of power for the Greeks, attested as early as the epic poems and Geometric pottery. Small bronze figurines in the shape of horses appeared as early as the eighth century.⁴⁴ Keeping, training, and entering horses and chariots for competition was expensive; Panhellenic contests, therefore, were key opportunities for conspicuous consumption. In this, one might think of the victorious bronze charioteer from Delphi, of Herodotos' testimony that Kimon had his prize-

⁴¹ Hesiod *Theogony* 28ff. (trans. Evelyn-White).

⁴² Strabo *Geography* 8.6.20 (trans. Jones).

⁴³ Aratus *Phanomena* 206f.; Strabo *Geography* 8.6.20, Pausanias 9.31.3; Pausanias 2.31.9; Kallistratos *Descriptions* 7; Pseudo-Hyginus *Astronomica* 2.18. Ovid *Fasti* 3.449f.; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.254-4. References collected online at www.theoi.com.

⁴⁴ For example, Berlin 31317, Rolley 1986, 64. See Zimmerman 1989 for many others.

winning horses buried near his own grave, of Alcibiades' multiple winning teams from the Olympic games of 416, or of funerary monuments erected for racing horses.⁴⁵ Horses played important roles in myths and legends, as well, in the creation of the centaurs and the Amazons. It is surprising that horses do not appear more frequently on these vessels. We might expect them as an alternate choice for the ubiquitous lions and rams that rest on the rims of so many Archaic hydriai, given their presence on numerous early cauldrons and tripods (e.g. Berlin Fr 183, Figure 1.57).

Horses occur most prominently on the magnificent bronze hydria from Treia, **Pesaro 3314, 3316** (cat. 12.2), and the closely related pairs of imitative handles from Italy that borrow the 'Master of Horses' motif, including **Ancona 11379, Berlin 7101a,b, Israel, Private Collection (Jerusalem, Borowski GR 171x), Tolentino, Munich 3837a,b, Bologna, Rome 17387, 17388, and Naples 86525a,b** (cat. nos. 12.5-12.12). We can speculate briefly, then, about issues of viewership and the iconography of the Pesaro hydria and why it might have been attractive and significant to a Western clientele. The 'Master of Horses' theme may either be taken as a generic symbol of prestige and strength that would have appealed to most ambitious men in the ancient Mediterranean world. A more specific identification that would help to explain the significance of the motif in this particular geographic region might also be possible. A viewer who knew the Homeric stories might have been put in mind of Diomedes, son of Tyndeus.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Herodotos 6.103; Thucydides. 6.16.2; Plutarch, *Alcibiades*; Diodoros Siculus 13.82.6; Pliny 8.155.

⁴⁶ There are many stories in which Diomedes plays a part. For the episodes most relevant to the story told here, see Hard 2004, 349-350, 487.

There are several reasons to put forward a tentative identification of this figure as Diomedes. In the *Iliad*, brave Diomedes was more than once referred to as the Tamer of the Horses.⁴⁷ Diomedes also had a specific connection to bronze. In Book 6 of the *Iliad*, Diomedes met a Lycian warrior named Glaukos.⁴⁸ Although they fought on opposite sides of the war, they pledged not to engage in battle with one another because of an old guest-friendship. As a sign of their continued friendship, they exchanged armor. This story is relevant to a discussion of bronze hydriai because we know from archaeological, literary, and epigraphical sources that bronze vases, including hydriai, could be given as valuable gifts or tokens of diplomatic exchange. Perhaps we could see this vase as being commissioned as a gift-vase and the figure of Diomedes, wearing his armor, as a signal of *xenia*.

Strabo writes that following the Trojan War, Diomedes wandered through Italy and founded cities.⁴⁹ When he died, according to the story, he was buried on an island off the Apulian coast of Southern Italy, where the sea-birds honored his tomb with water every day and a local deity was identified with the figure of the Greek hero.⁵⁰ In the context of the image of the warrior-hero placed on a jar meant to hold water, the centrality of water to his funerary cult seems particularly significant. If Diomedes was identified with an local Italian deity and there were stories of how the birds attended to his cult, then we have a good reason for seeing this hero on a bronze hydria that seems to have been made not for functional use but perhaps for ritual activity in the service of a

⁴⁷ *Iliad* 5.363, 5.835 and also 7.398, 9.50, 23.429.

⁴⁸ *Iliad* 5.232, 6.116f.

⁴⁹ See Strabo 6.3.9, Ovid *Metamorphoses* 14.457-8, 510-511, Pliny 3.103.

⁵⁰ Thompson 1936, 88-91; Rose 1964, 237.

burial or as a showpiece to advertise the status or authority of its owner. We cannot know how strongly the Diomedes connection would have resonated with the Italian audience, but it seems clear that the subject matter did appeal widely in the West since it was chosen repeatedly by multiple artists in different workshops to decorate a local shape distinct from either the dominant Greek or Etruscan traditions and that local styles were appropriated to adapt the theme of the Master of the Horses to their own unique vision of a brave and powerful warrior.

The case of the **Pesaro** hydria and its associated handles offers an exceptionally effective window into the function of bronze hydriai (or similar, contemporary object) as a vehicle for spreading elements of the Greek visual vocabulary even into non-Hellenized parts of the Mediterranean. We cannot know whether the motifs held the same significance to a non-Greek audience or even if they were viewed similarly throughout the Hellenic world, but it does seem that at least in this case, the indigenous Italian population recognized, desired, and appropriated elements of the Greek visual vocabulary to assert ideas of authority and power within their own society. The inclusion of other motifs charged with meaning in the Greek tradition, such as the eagle and the snake (*below*), which are included on some of the imitative handles and not on others, either points to the presence of other contemporary Greek objects with such images in circulation in this area at the same time or, alternatively, that the central Italian audience was familiar with the Homeric reference. It also is possible that the Italians had their own version of the story that was meaningful to them, and so these extraneous details were included as enterprising additions to an otherwise borrowed composition.

Eagles

An eagle appears in two contexts on bronze hydriai, first perched on the head of the *potnia theron* on **Bern 11620** (cat. 12.1), and then on **Ancona** (cat. 12.5) and **Villa Giulia 17387, 17388** (cat. 12.11), three handles made in Italy that draw on the tradition of the Master of Horses, following **Pesaro 3314, 3316** (cat. 12.2) or some similar object.⁵¹ The motif of the eagle and the snake had a strong Homeric resonance as a symbol of impending danger. In the *Iliad*, Homer uses strong visual language to evoke the inauspicious scene and its implications, saying

For a bird had come upon them, as they were eager to cross over, an eagle of lofty flight, skirting the host on the left, and in its talons it bore a blood-red, monstrous snake, still alive as if struggling, nor was it yet forgetful of combat, it writhed backward, and smote him that held it on the breast beside the neck, till the eagle, stung with pain, cast it from him to the ground, and let it fall in the midst of the throng, and himself with a loud cry sped away down the blasts of the wind. And the Trojans shuddered when they saw the writhing snake lying in the midst of them, a portent of Zeus that beareth the aegis.⁵²

The eagle was an important religious symbol in the Greek tradition. Zeus himself was said to transform himself into this regal bird or to send it as his messenger.⁵³ Delphi, which was considered to be the center of the ancient world, was distinguished thus because of a legend recording that Zeus had let loose two eagles in opposite directions, which later met one another at this site. Furthermore, the bird itself was considered to be divine, prophetic, and a symbol of victory.⁵⁴ The presence of the eagle on **Bern 11620** (cat. 12.1) may indicate a divine presence, already suggested by the polos worn by the

⁵¹ Cat. nos. 12.1, 12.5, 12.11.

⁵² *Iliad* 12.200-209.

⁵³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 6.108; Lucian *Dialogi* 4. *Iliad* 6.1.392

⁵⁴ Aristotle 619b 6; *Palatine Anthology* 9.222.2; Hesiod in Aristotle 601b 2.

goddess acting as the mistress of the animals. On the Italian handles, it is the visual expression of a literary motif signifying an omen of imminent danger.⁵⁵ The presence of the birds on these water vessels perhaps alludes to a religious function for the vessels or at the least, indicates the audiences' familiarity with the significance of such a rich motif.

Sirens

The domination of the siren as the most important motif of the High Classical period is particularly striking after the range of geometric, animal, and figural elements used in the Archaic period.⁵⁶ Its rapid adoption must indicate that the fantastic creature resonated strongly with the Classical audience. Both the name and the iconographic type seem to have derived from Eastern models.⁵⁷ In the Greek tradition, sirens were mentioned in literature as early as the Homeric poems and in art, at least by the Orientalizing period of the seventh century. Their first and most descriptive literary attestation comes from the *Odyssey*, where Circe advises Odysseus

...First you will come to the Sirens, who beguile all men who come to them. Whoever in ignorance draws near to them and hears the Sirens' voice, his wife and little children never stand beside him and rejoice at his homecoming; instead, the sirens beguile him with their clear-toned song, as they sit in a meadow, and about them is a great heap of bones of moldering men, and round the bones the skin is shriveling. But row past them, and anoint the ears of your comrades with sweet wax, which you have kneaded, for fear any of the rest may hear. But if you yourself have a will to listen, let them bind you in the swift ship hand and foot upright in the step of the mast, and let the ropes be made fast at the ends to the mast itself, that with delight you may listen to the voice of the two Sirens. And

⁵⁵ Lonsdale 1990, 39; Clarke 1995, 137-60; *Iliad* 12.200-209.

⁵⁶ Cat. nos. 15.25-15.33, 16.1-16.107, 20.5, 20.6.

⁵⁷ West (1997, 428) "the name "siren" cannot be plausibly explained from Greek. It may be worth recalling that Lewy, 205, derived it from sir hen, which – though not actually attested – would be the perfect Hebrew equivalent to the Greek phrase xariessa aoidi, 'attractive song'; its literal meaning is song of charm."

if you shall implore and command your comrades to free you, let them bind you with yet more bonds.⁵⁸

Odysseus continues, reporting his account of what happened after they set sail,

...Meanwhile the well-built ship speedily came to the island of the two Sirens, for a fair and gentle wind bore her on. Then quickly the wind ceased and there was a windless calm, and a god lulled the waves to sleep. My comrades stood up and furled the sail and stowed it on the hollow ship, whereupon, sitting at the oars, they made the water white with their polished oars of pine. But with my sharp sword cut into small bits a great round cake of wax and kneaded it with my strong hands, and soon the wax grew warm at the bidding of the strong pressure and the rays of the lord Helios Hyperion. Then I anointed with this the ears of all my comrades in turn; and they bound me in the ship hand and foot, upright in the step of the mast and made the ropes fast at the ends to the mast itself, and themselves sitting down struck the gray sea with their oars. But when we were as far distant as a man can make himself heard when he shouts, driving swiftly on our way, the Sirens failed not to note the swift ship as it drew near, and they raised their clear-toned song: "Come hither on your way, renowned Odysseus, great glory of the Achaeans; stop your ship that you may listen to the voice of us two. For never yet has any man rowed past the island in his black ship until he has heard the sweet voice from our lips; instead, he has joy of it, and goes his way a wiser man. For we know all the toils that in wide Troy the Argives and Trojans endured through the will of the gods and we know all things that come to pass upon the fruitful earth." So they spoke, sending forth their beautiful voice, and my heart desired to listen, and I commanded my comrades to free me, nodding to them with my brows; but they fell to their oars and rowed on. At once Perimedes and Euylochus arose and bound me with yet more bonds and drew them tighter. But when they had rowed past the Sirens, and we could no longer hear their voice or their song, then quickly my trusty comrades took away the wax with which I had anointed their ears and freed me from my bonds....⁵⁹

Odysseus and his companions were not the only legendary figures to have encounters with the sirens. The Argonauts were saved from a tragic fate when Orpheus came to their rescue by playing his lyre to drown out the enchanting voices beckoning

⁵⁸ *Odyssey* 12.37-54. Trans. A.T. Murray, Rev. by G.E. Dimock 1995, 450-453. Commentary follows Buitron and Cohen 1992, 108-109.

⁵⁹ *Odyssey* 12.166-200. Trans. A.T. Murray, Rev. by G.E. Dimock 1995, 450-453. Commentary follows Buitron and Cohen 1992, 108-109.

them to come ashore.⁶⁰ Because they tempted sailors to plunge to their deaths in the depths of the sea and because it was fabled that they themselves would die if anyone resisted their songs, they often were associated with both water and the hereafter.⁶¹

Pausanias refers to a singing competition held between the Muses and the sirens, prompting E. Buschor to propose that the songs of the sirens were meant to comfort the dead, easing the transition between this world and the next.⁶²

Sirens emerged in Greek art as early as the Orientalizing period and retained popularity for centuries despite the decreasing use of other, related mythical beings such as griffins or sphinxes.⁶³ B. Cohen, among others, has observed that the composite form of the Greek siren has much in common with the Egyptian *ba*-bird, which the Egyptians imagined to be mobile part of a person's soul that was no longer bound to the body after death.⁶⁴ The literary accounts do not reveal what the sirens looked like or even whether they were thought to be male or female. From their earliest depictions in Greek art, however, they were imagined as composite creatures with the face and head of a human and the body of a bird. A few seventh-century sirens were given the form of bearded males but by the sixth century. Female sirens ultimately were favored, appearing in three-dimensional form in bronze, adorning the rims of lebetai and the handles of mirrors, and in ceramic, as plastic aryballoi from East Greece and on painted Corinthian and Attic

⁶⁰ Apollonios of Rhodes *Argonautika* 4. 891-919. Buitron and Cohen 1992 108-109.

⁶¹ Lycophron, *Alex.* 712f.; Hyg. *Fab.* 141 Apollonius of Rhodes 4.896-898; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.552-563. Buitron and Cohen 1992, 110.

⁶² Pausanias 9.34.3; Buschor 1944, 184; Pollard 1965, 142.

⁶³ Sirens in Greek Art: *LIMC* VIII Seirenes 1093-1104, pls. 734-44; Buitron and Cohen 1992, 109-111; Tsiafakis in Padgett 2003, 73-78.

⁶⁴ Buitron and Cohen 1992, 109.

pottery.⁶⁵ Large-scale marble versions of the fantastic creatures also served as grave markers, particularly in the fourth century.⁶⁶ Their association with the transition between life and death is particularly poignantly emphasized on the frieze of the so-called “Harpy Tomb” from Xanthos, made c. 470-460, where sirens are sculpted in relief in profile at the corners of the tomb, carrying off small human figures that have been interpreted as souls of deceased persons.⁶⁷ Only a very few scenes show sirens in a narrative composition illustrating the Homeric episode with Odysseus’ ship.⁶⁸ Most often, however, sirens were represented as a single figure without attributes or overt narrative function. It is in this form that the siren appears in large numbers on bronze hydriai, as well as on other vessels and implements of the same material in the fifth century.

The role of the siren in service of the living audience is difficult to discern, but as D. Tsiafakis aptly notes, “[although] sirens were frequently interpreted as omens of death[,] their popularity... cannot be adequately explained if they were considered only as unpleasant beings associated with death.”⁶⁹ Nothing in ancient literature or art suggests that the sirens were feared or considered unpleasant reminders of death. Instead, “their melodic song may have conveyed a hopeful message of life after death, one promising to

⁶⁵ Herrmann 1966, 27-113, pls. 1-38; Padgett 2003, 284-303, cat. nos. 73-80.

⁶⁶ For example, Athens 774 and Boston 03.757. Boardman 1995, 115, figs. 115, 116.

⁶⁷ Burn 1991, 115.

⁶⁸ *Black-figure*: Basel, Corinthian aryballos, c. 600 (Buitron and Cohen 1992, 109, Fig. 30); Boston 01.8100, Late Corinthian aryballos, c. 575-550. *Red Figure*: London E440, stamnos by the Siren Painter, c. 475; Berlin, Staatliche Museum 4352, bell-krater attributed to Python, c. 350-325. Also note a late Etruscan cinerary urn now in the Museo Guarnacci, Volterra (second century BC, see Buitron and Cohen, 110, Fig. 31). From the Roman period, there is also a lamp with a depiction of Odysseus tied to the mast of his ship while sirens serenade him from above. See Buitron and Cohen 1992, 124, 134-135, cat. no. 46.

⁶⁹ Tsiafakis in Padgett 2003, 78.

tell people how they would be remembered.”⁷⁰ The sirens were particularly appropriate in the context of a water jar, given the contexts of the literary references that warn sailors at sea of their irresistible call and the dangers of abandoning the ship to seek them.

Picard’s theory of viewing the decorative reliefs in light of their significance in the tomb might be applied more tenably to these Classical vessels because the funerary associations of the sirens are clear. The most straightforward explanation for these images might be that bronze hydriai were used in the Classical period primarily for burial. However, evidence of wear on some of the bronzes, such as B. Barr-Sharrar noted on **Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 16.17), and inscriptions on at least five kalpides that clearly attest to other functions, as gifts and prizes, argue against this suggestion.⁷¹ E. Buschor proposed that the context of the mid-fifth century is appropriate for this interest in the underworld, as there was a growing concern in this period in the afterlife and in the notion of Paradise.⁷²

It is unclear whether the large quantities of vessels of this type compromised the efficacy of the motif, rendering it monotonous and less meaningful. The rise of plain bronze water jars during this period may be relevant here; perhaps the Classical bronze craftsmen were interested primarily in the form of the vessels, more so than the decorative elements. Reducing the iconography to a single, emblematic image that served the purpose of easing the transition between cast handle and hammered shoulder by masking with a graceful, winged figure familiar from art and legend may have been a

⁷⁰ Tsiafakis in Padgett 2003, 78.

⁷¹ Barr-Sharrar in Padgett 2003, 302-303, cat. no. 80.

⁷² Buschor 1944, 185; Pollard 1965, 142.

compromise between the elaborate, busy compositions of the previous century and the undecorated vessels being produced simultaneously. Ultimately, the image did not persist, perhaps partly because its significance was limited almost entirely to only a single phase in the life of the vessel.

Mythological Couples

Mythological couples that have been interpreted variously as Boreas and Oreithyia, Dionysos and Ariadne, Eros and Aphrodite, and Eros and 'Psyche' adorn nearly half of the vessels of *Group 20*.⁷³ Whereas Picard preferred to explain these pairs transcendently, referring to a notion of life and love in the hereafter, Richter raised the issue of these bronze kalpides being given as gifts for women, perhaps to celebrate their marriages.⁷⁴ The practice of giving an expensive metal vessel as a wedding gift has a mythological precedent in the golden amphora made by Hephaistos and given by Dionysos to Peleus and Thetis, as represented in the scene of the wedding procession on the François vase (Figures 6.3-6.5).⁷⁵ As will be discussed further in the following chapter, several bronze hydriai and kalpides bear inscriptions that suggest that they were given to women or exchanged between women; we can only speculate on the occasions for such exchanges. Limiting the iconography to either one of these roles would be to deny the ingenuity and sophistication of both Greek artists and viewers, when it so clearly has the potential to operate on both levels.

⁷³ Cat. nos. 20.17-20.43.

⁷⁴ Richter 1946, 367.

⁷⁵ *Odyssey* 24.15-94.

Dionysiac Revelry

At least seven contemporary kalpides bear appliqués with Dionysiac subjects, which also are appropriate for the living or for the dead.⁷⁶ In life, the vessels may have been intended primarily to serve a male audience, holding the water intended to be mixed with wine in a grand krater in the service of an aristocratic symposium. In this case, the ornamental motif may have reflected the social status of its clientele. Although hydriai were not necessarily included among the standard accoutrements for a drinking-party, a fine bronze vessel ornamented with scenes of revelry might have been a welcome addition to the table. Likewise, associations with drinking and Dionysos would have been ideal for funerary rituals or for supplying the deceased with the proper supplies for eternal banqueting. For example, a set of symposium vessels was discovered in Tomb II, the so-called “Tomb of Philip,” at Vergina, suggesting that those who prepared the tomb were concerned with celebrating the last burial rituals with proper equipment and/or ensuring that the occupant of the tomb had provisions for continued celebrations following the sealing of the chamber.⁷⁷

Eros with Religious Implements

At least three bronze kalpides of this period have reliefs showing Eros holding various religious implements, including phialai, pitchers, and incense burners.⁷⁸ These images may suggest that the vessels were used in sacred rituals that required water, such as sacrifices or burnt offerings. A kalpis once used in service of the gods and later

⁷⁶ Cat. nos. 20.53-20.59. Richter 1946, 367.

⁷⁷ Andronikos 1992, 146-160.

⁷⁸ Cat. nos. 20.4, 20.11-20.12.

appropriated for burial might reflect the piety of the owner and his hope for the continued favor of the gods, either in the afterlife or through the continued reverence of the living members of his family.

Maenads

Likewise, the dancing maenad on **United States Private Collection (New York)** (cat. 20.10) may well have had a religious or eschatological purpose.⁷⁹ This proposal is especially suggestive, given its Dionysiac theme and close iconographic relationship with the extensive frieze of ecstatic figures on the Derveni krater. A golden tablet inscribed with Orphic texts found inside one of the fourth-century kalpides from Pharsalos, **Athens 18775** (cat. 20.17), provides a more explicit testimony for a vessel of this shape and material used in service of a specific Orphic rite aimed at ensuring a successful transition from life into death.⁸⁰

Nikai

Furthermore, perhaps the five vessels with Nike beneath the vertical handle were given as prizes in contests.⁸¹ This practice is corroborated by ancient literature, inscriptions, and artistic representations. Perhaps these might be taken literally as prize vessels themselves, or more poetically, as the hope for victory over death following burial.

⁷⁹ Cat. no. 20.10.

⁸⁰ Barr-Sharrar 2008, 184; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 210.

⁸¹ Cat. no. 20.2, 20.45-20.48.

Conclusions

In each of these cases, the significance of the ornamental motif alone was heightened by its association with the life-giving connotations of water, and by extension, the water jar. In life, the connection between the motif and its function may have been partly a product of familiarity, for vessels used on a daily basis for water, or may have stemmed from the importance of the less frequent occasions on which it was taken off the shelf for sacred or sympotic purposes. Meaning also may have accrued over time for personal reasons. If a woman was given a special vase as a wedding gift and used it daily in her married life for storing water, interring her cremated body in the same vessel after her death would have been a poignant gesture, bidding her farewell with the comfort of a treasured possession. For a man awarded a prize in an athletic contest, his burial inside the urn may have attested to the memory of his physical prowess and his pride for a significant achievement in his life. Similarly, a fine water-jar used on important occasions to celebrate the symposium may have been thought to ensure continued banqueting or to advertise the high social standing of its owner. The practice of using these vessels in rituals of life and of death compounded their significance, acting as a device to aid the memory, reminding people of other vessels of the same shape that might have been important to them in other stages of life. The flexibility of the motifs chosen for inclusion on these vessels may well have been intentional and chosen specifically for their potential for multiple interpretations.

The considerations presented here offer some points of departure to begin thinking about bronze hydriai in their ancient contexts. Examining the significance of the iconographic elements raises questions of who might have used these vessels and for

what purposes. These questions will be considered more fully in the following chapter. The evidence of the iconography, along with that yielded by the inscribed vessels and references to the shape in literature, inscriptions, and art further demonstrate the centrality and importance of the water jar, specifically made in bronze, in both mundane and significant rituals of ancient Greek life and death.

Chapter 6: Functions, Value, and Meaning: Greek Bronze Hydriai in Life and Death, as Attested in Literature, Inscriptions, and Art

In addition to the iconography of the added decorative reliefs, a broad range of other sources help to recover the central position of bronze hydriai in ancient Greek culture. These include inscriptions engraved onto nearly 50 of the vessels, references to the shape in literature and epigraphy, visual representations in art, and the nature of the archaeological contexts in which the hydriai have been found. Collectively, these sources offer rich opportunities for considering who might have used a bronze hydria and for what purposes. In doing so, the vessels give points of connection between material culture and multiple aspects of ancient life, including politics, gender roles, domestic tasks, athletics, routes of commerce and exchange, and religious rituals for both the living and the dead.

The function of the hydria appears at first to be straightforward: it was made to collect, store, and transport water. However, this simplistic view is complicated by successive phases of use and the potential for appropriating the vessels for purposes for which they were not originally created. The shape of the hydria, with a full belly and slender neck, was convenient for protecting not only water but also any other contents it held. The handles made it functional and lent symmetry to the form. An added foot allowed it to stand on its own. Although exceptionally large and small versions of the shape were made for special purposes, a single person could carry a hydria of normal size, usually ranging between 35 and 50 centimeters in height. These qualities of adaptability, stability, and manageability made hydriai appropriate and desirable for diverse secondary functions.

The traditional association of hydriai with female, domestic activities stems primarily from numerous scenes on black- and red-figure vases of women gathered at the fountain-house with their water jars.¹ Today, well over 100 scenes of this type are known, mostly dating from the late sixth and early fifth centuries.² This domestic-oriented perspective immediately is challenged by even the most cursory scan of the evidence that serves today as a record of the diverse functions of the shape in antiquity. Multiple versions of Praxiteles' Aphrodite from Knidos, for instance, include a hydria beside the bathing goddess, which must pertain to cultic ritual rather than mundane washing (Figure 6.1).³ An exclusive focus on the feminine does not hold up to closer inspection either. On the north side of the Parthenon frieze, four male hydriaphoroi carry their (presumably metal) vessels in an obviously public, religious procession (Figure 6.2).⁴ A more nuanced view demonstrates that the shape served the community in many ways, functioning not only as water jars but also as ballot boxes, repositories for money and tribute, prizes for contests, votive offerings and religious implements, impromptu weapons, fire extinguishers, pet containers, reliquaries, expensive gifts, ossuaries, and valuable grave goods.

¹ See especially Ferrari 2003; Shapiro 2003; Tölle-Kastenbein 1994; Williams 1993; Manakidou 1992/93; Manfrini-Aragno 1992.

¹ Keuls 1985, 233.

² Most recently, see Tölle-Kastenbein 1994, *Appendix 2*.

³ *Vatican 812: LIMC 2* (1984), 399, cat. 391, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann). *Munich 258: LIMC 2* (1984), cat. 399, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann); *Copenhagen 14395: LIMC 2* (1984), 399, cat. 404, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

⁴ Neils 2002, 146-150, back cover; Jenkins 1994, 70; Jenkins 1995, 456; Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 195; Wesenberg 1995, 168-72, 177.

The axiomatic nature of the hydria, a shape that performed so many vital tasks for both the living and the dead, contributed to its high cultural value in the ancient Mediterranean. The significance of the shape is expressed in the large quantities and diverse materials in which it was made, ranging from stone, glass, and terracotta to bronze, silver, and gold. Although vessels of different materials may have had specific, individual connotations, the significance of the shape as a type draws on its aggregate importance, a combination of familiarity, luxury, utility, and ubiquity. I argue that bronze hydriai, specifically, were meaningful because they were made in relatively large numbers and were far more affordable than gold or silver but, simultaneously, were associated with the luxuriousness and expense of the precious metals. High tin contents and polishing would have enhanced these connections further. In this case, the cultural value of the bronze hydria seems to have outstripped the economic worth of its material. It is imperative to assess the significance of the shape in both cultural and economic terms.

Indeed, one of the major questions surrounding the shape in bronze is whether or not they actually were used for collecting and transporting water in and out of the house. While a bronze hydria may not have been the first choice of vessel to take to the fountain, not least because of its significant weight, there is no reason to think it was not meant first and foremost to hold water in a prominent place inside the house or in public, in important religious ceremonies, where its conspicuous luxury would be both safe and appreciated.

Sources: Advantages and Limitations

A number of different sources reveal various aspects of the ways in which bronze hydriai were used in life and in death. Each has unique advantages and limitations but together they contribute invaluablely to the study of ancient Greece. Literature and art present a wide range of functions that the vessels of this type *may* have served, many of which are unattested elsewhere, but in some cases it is difficult to determine precisely which material is intended or whether another might be interchangeable. Some offer new evidence for names and games not mentioned in other sources and others supplement references to people and events known previously. The inscribed hydriai and kalpides attest to ways that these *specific* vessels were used in life. Inscriptions added to nearly 50 of the bronze hydriai, ranging from the sixth at least through the fourth century, are key to this study.

Inscriptions

Although nearly all of the extant inscribed bronze hydriai with secure provenances have come from funerary contexts, only one gives an explicit association with death, **Richmond 57-18** (cat. 20.65), bidding the deceased farewell, “ΧΑΡΩΝΙΔΑΣ ΧΑΙΠΕ.” Otherwise, the inscriptions can be divided into three categories: prizes, votives, and gifts.⁵ A fourth type may give the value of the object itself but this commercially relevant information is recorded far more frequently and clearly on precious metal vessels because of their greater intrinsic worth, such as on the silver kalpis

⁵ Many thanks to Dr. A.W. Johnston, Emeritus Reader in Classical Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology of University College London, for discussing many of these inscriptions with me. I am greatly indebted to his expertise on the subject of inscriptions on Greek vases.

from the “Prince’s Tomb” at Vergina or the many silver and gold vases listed in inventories of ancient temples and treasuries.⁶

Representations

Representations of hydriai in art are numerous; they corroborate the functions suggested by the inscribed vessels and offer a wide range of other possibilities. By far, our most prolific visual sources are the two-dimensional scenes on painted ceramic vases. As noted above, the intended materials for these imagined vessels often are ambiguous. I argue, however, that painters may have used several strategies to distinguish between terracotta and metal, although they are not entirely consistent in their efforts. In black-figure, from possibly the earliest depiction of the shape on the François vase (Figure 6.3-6.5) and continuing through the end of the sixth century, some painters tended to engrave one or more horizontal lines at strategic points of the neck, belly, handles, and foot of the represented vessels, emphasizing the distinctions between each part.⁷ Although real metallic vessels are not disjointed in this way, this could be an artistic convention to indicate an object assembled from parts, rather than spun on a wheel. Greek craftsmen were not absolutely consistent in this detail but many examples of the same subject share this feature.

At least one specific mythological episode, Achilles’ ambush of Troilos, is ripe with opportunity for considering the problem of materials. The hydria is not mentioned in the literary account of this skirmish but became an integral iconographic component of

⁶ See Oliver 1997 for several inscribed silver vessels (of other shapes) denoting the weight or value of the object.

⁷ *Florence 4209 (“François vase”)*: Beazley *ABV* 76.1, 682; Beazley *Paralipomena* 29-30.

the scene.⁸ Turning again to the François vase as an example, Troilos approaches the fountain to set his jar beneath the lion's head waterspout. In the next episode, he drops the hydria as he speeds away from Achilles on his horse. As it strikes the hard surface of the ground, the hydria remains intact, suggesting that it should be understood as metallic.⁹ In other cases, most of which lack the detail of the chased lines across the body of the vase, the vase breaks as it falls and surely is meant to be ceramic (Figures 6.6-6.8).¹⁰ The ingenuity of these small variations are to the credit of the creativity of the artists; no ancient author tells us what happened to Polyxena's water jar or of what material it was thought to be made.

Later, the more painterly red-figure technique allowed craftsmen to indicate materials in other ways. On a red-figure kalpis from the early fourth century by the Erbach Painter, for example, Amymone reclines against a kalpis with a small palmette

⁸ A number of ancient authors, whose works are mostly lost to us today, seem to have mentioned Troilos' death. Sommerstein (2007, xxviii-xx) has compiled the remaining fragments and references, including the epic poems *Iliad* 24.206, 257 and *Cypria* (as summarized by Eutychius Proclus, Fragment 1), tragic plays titled *Troilos* by Phrynichus and Sophocles, as well as a comedic parody by Strattis. Steisichoros may also have referred the story in the *Iliupersis*. More specific references to the circumstances of his death and the ambush by Achilles occur in Fragment 621 of the lost play *Troilos* by Sophokles, where he mentions that Troilos was on his way to the fountain with a jar to collect water or to water his horses. An earlier play by the same author, *Polyxena*, may have had further explanation of the Trojan princess's involvement in the story. A scholion to the *Iliad* tells us that he was ambushed while exercising his horses, see Scholia S-124257a, Sommerstein 2007, 203. Because the representations of this episode contain very similar components, most including Troilos and Polyxena with her hydria at the fountain, where Achilles lays in wait, I think it is likely that we have lost an important literary reference that explained the story in greater detail than the fragments known currently.

⁹ Cf. New York 45.11.2, Berlin F 1694, Boston 1970.8, Munich 1716, Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 1435 WAF and 1722, Toledo 47.62, Vienna 3614, Berlin F 1685, Berkley 8.60, New York 01.8.6, Berlin F 1685, London 1928.1-17.41, Boston 89.561, Copenhagen Chr. VIII 809, Paris Cp 10651, and Santa Barbara 55.3.4.

¹⁰ Cf. London E 519, Athens 21047, Hannover 1965.30, Heidelberg 72/1, London B 307, New York 06.1021.50, and Berlin F 1895.

painted beneath the vertical handle (Figure 6.9).¹¹ This elaborate floral ornament finds a good three-dimensional parallel in a contemporary bronze hydria, **New York 56.11.3** (cat. 8.27), and on a marble version of Praxiteles' Aphrodite from Knidos in the Vatican Museum (Figure 6.1).¹² Likewise, on a red-figure kalpis attributed to the Oreithyia Painter, showing Nike, goddess of victory, flying to right holding a kalpis aloft, a small winged figure is placed on the shoulder of the represented vessel that she carries (Figure 6.11).¹³ This charming detail might be compared to the few Late Classical bronze kalpides with appliqués of Nike herself (cat. nos. 20.2, 20.45-20.48) or to one of the more than 100 Classical bronzes ornamented with a winged siren in this position (cat. nos. 16.1-16.107). Even without added decorations, the crisp delineation of the shoulder of the kalpis shown perspectively on a bell-krater in Vienna leaves little doubt that we should consider it to have been made of metal (Figure 6.12).¹⁴ The ribbed body of the kalpis shown on Hannover 775 is reminiscent of a technique favored for fine black-glazed ceramic hydriai of the fourth century (Figure 6.15).¹⁵ In the fourth century, particularly on South Italian pottery, added colors afford a clear manner of signaling a golden or brazen sheen, such as on the gleaming kalpides that a pair of Nikai hold on a volute-

¹¹ *New York 56.171.55*: Erbach Painter, c. 400-390; Beazley *ARV² 1419.12*; *LIMC* 1 (1981), cat. 78, s.v. "Amymone," (E. Simon); Folsom 176, pl. 61

¹² *Vatican 812*: *LIMC* 2 (1984), 399, cat. 391, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

¹³ *Warsaw 142288*: Beazley *ARV² 496,8*; Beazley *Paralipomena*, 380; Beazley *Addenda*, 2; *CVA* Poland, Goluchow, pl. 20, fig. 2 a,b; Gericke 1970, 121.

¹⁴ *Vienna IV 1011*: Beazley *ARV* 1155.6; Beazley *Addenda² 337*; *CVA* Vienna 3, pl. 117.3-6.

¹⁵ *Hannover 775*: Painter of London Pelike F 181/182, early 4th century; Cambitoglou and Trendall *RVAp* 1170.35, Kahil 182-183, no. 151, pl. 29.a. *LIMC* 1 (1981), cat. 48, s.v. "Alexandros," (H. Cassimatis); *LIMC* 2 (1984), 91, cat. 831, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann); *LIMC* 4 (1988), 524, cat. 132, s.v. "Helene," (L. Kahil).

krater by the Baltimore Painter in Atlanta or on a large Apulian red-figure patera attributed to the White Sakkos Painter (Figures 6.13-6.14).¹⁶

In relief sculpture, painted details might once have helped to distinguish between materials but this distinction has been lost today. In some cases, details of profile, technique, and decoration make it possible to suggest that the represented vessels were made of metal. For example, the kalpides on the Parthenon frieze compare favorably to their contemporary bronze counterparts (e.g. **Providence 25.112**, cat. 17.17) in the thin, overhanging lip, sloped shoulder, and full, rounded body. The shape and manner of constructing the side handles, with grips that curve upwards in the center and end in flattened round disks, further accentuate their metallic qualities.

Even when it may be possible to discern between ceramic and metal, it is more difficult, possibly even futile, to determine *which* metal might be intended. Only in very rare cases, such as the polychromatic wall painting from a fourth-century tomb in Agios Athanassios, where the added colors make it possible to suggest that this hydria was silver, can we be at all certain of the painter's intent (Figure 6.16).¹⁷ It might be tempting to assume that many of the represented hydriai are meant to be taken as gold because of its far greater commercial value. However, in defense of bronze, we might consider the esteemed cultural value of the material. Bronze sculpture and vases were beloved in the Greek artistic tradition; craftsmen were familiar with working with it, consumers appreciated and admired the aesthetic. As we have already seen, Pausanias describes a

¹⁶ *Atlanta 1999.11.6*: Baltimore Painter, c. 340-330, Trendall and Cambitoglou, 1983, 147, 151 no. 21a, pl. 29; *LIMC* 4 (1988), 551, cat. 361, s.v. "Helene," (L. Kahil), pl. 356. Once *Art Market, New York: LIMC* 5 (1990), 400, cat. 41, s.v. "Hesperides," (I. McPhee); *LIMC* 6 (1992), 177, cat. 6, s.v. "Ladon I," (I. McPhee).

¹⁷ Tsibidou-Avloniti 2005, pl. 33.

bronze hydria that he was shown on the floor of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, supposedly marking the spot where Zeus' thunderbolt struck to signal his approval of Pheidias' chryselephantine cult statue.¹⁸ It seems reasonable to suggest that the administrators in the sanctuary of Zeus had access to enough wealth to afford any material they wanted. Judging from the number of bronze hydriai found within the Altis, perhaps this jar was offered to the god as a votive and then re-used to mark this special place in the Temple. Pausanias also relates that the rites of the mysteries of Andania, sacred to Demeter and her daughter Persephone, were said to have been discovered on a golden tablet buried in a bronze hydria.¹⁹ If the legendary tablet was imagined to be made of gold, the urn also could have been made of the same material. Instead, it was thought to be bronze. Finally, it is revealing that tombs such as that of the fourth-century Thracian king Seuthes III, discovered in Kazanlak, Bulgaria, included bronze hydriai of Greek manufacture among their assemblages even when they demonstrably had gold and silver in abundance.²⁰ I suggest that it is likely that many of these represented metallic vessels were intended to be bronze rather than gold or silver.

Water Containers

The name of the vessel defines its primary purpose. It is somewhat ironic, then, that the fundamental use of the hydria in antiquity – collecting water – is the most elusive today because of the ephemeral aspect of the performance of carrying the vessel to and from the fountain. Numerous visual representations that range from so-called 'genre

¹⁸ Pausanias 5.11.9. Trans. Jones 1935, 443.

¹⁹ Pausanias 4.27.8. Trans Jones and Ormerod 1977, 314-315.

²⁰ The finds from the tomb of Seuthes III are not all published but <http://www.kroraina.com/thracia/gk/> gives a preliminary account of the discovery. Another Thracian tomb near the Svetiska tumulus also includes a bronze hydria among other metal and ceramic finds, cf. Kitov 2005, 57, fig. 84.

scenes' or vignettes of daily life to mythological episodes and brief remarks by ancient authors are our best evidence for securing the hydria with its fundamental use as a water jar. Perhaps the earliest representations of the shape occur on the François vase, where three hydriai are depicted (Figures 6.3-6.5). Two of the vessels appear by the fountain; one collects water pouring from the lion's head spout on the right and Troilos is in the process of setting the other beneath the spout on the left. The third vessel, presumably the same one carried by the Trojan prince in the previous episode, strikes the ground beneath the legs of the fleeing horses. The fallen vase is labeled "hydria" in retrograde, thereby firmly associating the term with this particular shape and function. Although in this early version of Achilles' ambush of Troilos it is the Trojan prince himself who fetches the water at the fountain-house, most scenes of the same episode tend to show him as he accompanies his sister, Polyxena, to attend to this domestic task.²¹

Fountain-house scenes on ceramic vessels, mostly hydriai, further confirm that hydriai were used first and foremost as water jars.²² The painted panels normally show a single female figure or group of elaborately dressed women gathered together in a queue leading up to the fountain (Figures 6.17-6.18).²³ The settings tend to be lush, laden with vines and sometimes include animals, particularly deer (Figures 6.19-6.20).²⁴ The women

²¹ E.g. New York 45.11.2 (Painter of London B 76); Paris E 876 (Painter of Louvre E 876); Munich 1435 (Timiades Painter); Basel, Antikenmuseum (Edinburgh Painter); Berlin F 1694 (Edinburgh Painter); Boston 1970.8 (Painter of the Vatican Mourner); London B 325 (Leagros Group), London B 324 (Leagros Group), among others.

²² Amphorae and lekythoi are favored as well, but are definitely secondary.

²³ *New York 06.1021.77*; Attributed by Beazley to the Painter of Hamburg 1917.477, *Paralipomena*, 148. *Boston 61.195*: www.mfa.org: *CVA Boston*, Museum of Fine Arts 2, pl. 81.

²⁴ *London 329*: *CVA Britain 8*, London, British Museum III He, pl. 88.1. *Once Art Market, London: Christie's London 5.12.1973*, no. 285.

normally are convivial, gesturing exuberantly as they converse with one another and stepping lightly as if in a dance. These finely dressed women themselves reveal much to us about the practicalities of collecting water; they approach the fountain with their empty water jars balanced on the top of their head with the aid of a ‘donut’-shaped cushion (ἡ τύλη) and exit the queue with their heavy, full jars by holding them close to the chest, grasping the two lateral handles.²⁵

Male figures join the women in these depictions only on rare occasions.²⁶ The few scenes that do include men suggest that men held the hydria differently, balancing it on one shoulder rather than on their heads, as the four male hydriaphoroi on the north side of the Parthenon frieze.²⁷ In vase painting, H.A. Shapiro identifies three different types of fountain scenes that include men. The first category consists of women with small boys who bathe in the stream of the water or stand among the women waiting at the fountain, which he interprets as children who are too young to be left alone at the house.²⁸ The remaining two types of images incorporate mature men into the composition and can be divided into scenes in which their presence is benign and those in which their attentions are unwanted. Among the former images, the men usually are represented on a slightly diminutive scale and are clothed only in a garment around their waists. Their size and

²⁵ Many thanks to Mary Moore for discussing the term ‘ἡ τύλη’ and its use with me. Liddell and Scott 1996, 1833. A “pad for carrying burdens on, porter’s knot,” invented by Protagoras, acc. to Aristophanes, *Frogs* 63; “cushion or mattress,” in Sappho 50 Eup. 170, Antiph. 214, *Palatine Anthology* 11.14 (Ammian).

²⁶ Shapiro 2003, 96-98; Manakidou 1992/93, 68-72; Manfrini-Aragno 1992, 138-141.

²⁷ Keuls 1985, 233.

²⁸ As Bari 3083 or Madrid 109 24. Shapiro 2003, 96, n. 7-8. Also see “Rape at the Well,” Keuls 1985, 235-240.

dress identify them as members of a lower social class, likely servants of a wealthy family.²⁹ Examples of this type of scene, in which the male presence is harmless, include a black-figure hydria by the Acheloos painter in the Vatican, on which a man simply stands among the women, waiting for his jar to fill under the spout, or another hydria by the Eucharides painter in the Vatican, where a man stands with his amphora alongside the women with their hydriai (Figure 6.21).³⁰

Elsewhere, the tone of the scene is less than respectable. On a black-figure kalpis by the Acheloos Painter, a woman steps up to the lion's head waterspout to lift her hydria as a partially draped man seizes her by the arm (Figure 6.22). A neck-amphora by the Red Line Painter shows a similar picture.³¹ Shapiro argues that the latter type of scene in which men appear at the fountain is characterized not by slaves but by finely dressed aristocratic citizens.³² Again, these men may be innocent, as on another black-figure hydria by the Eucharides Painter, Munich 1728. Alternatively, they may be more aggressive, as on a red-figure kalpis by the Pig Painter (Figures 6.23-6.24).³³

Rather than revisiting the many opinions that have been written on the subject of women at the fountains, it may be more useful to emphasize a few important points about how we might interpret the scenes of women at the fountain-house, in order to arrive at a better understanding of the place of hydriai made of luxurious materials that may seem

²⁹ Shapiro 2003, 96.

³⁰ *Vatican 427*: Shapiro 2003, 96, n. 10.

³¹ Berlin F 1910. Shapiro 2003, 96, n. 10; Manakidou 1992/93, 68.

³² Shapiro 2003, 97.

³³ Shapiro 2003, 97.

out of place with the banality of everyday water-carrying. The traditional interpretation of scenes of women collecting water on Greek vases is that of a ‘genre’ scene, a window into the lives of ancient Greek women.³⁴

At least 75 of the fountain-house scenes appear on Attic black-figure vases dating between the last quarter of the sixth century and the first half of the fifth century. The political backdrop of the Late Archaic period is important in the context of Athens and these images. It is well known that the Peisistratid tyrants enacted public works projects and patronized the arts to encourage the support of the Athenian people. One of Peisistratos’ most famous architectural projects was the remodeling of the primary spring in the Athenian Agora, which in its previously unadorned form was known as the Kallirhoe spring.³⁵ The enhanced structure, replete with nine waterspouts, came to be called, appropriately, the Enneakrounos. The communal focus on improving the city, and specifically, its most important fountain, may have sparked an interest in the pictorial representation of scenes such as these, which emphasize the importance of the Athenian citizens (or wives of the Athenian citizens, as the case may be) in the life of the city.³⁶ Inscriptions on at least two of these vessels that label the fountain with its ancient name, *Kallirhoe*, serve to remind the viewer of the city’s venerable past.³⁷ The women themselves sometimes are given names as well, suggesting flowers, sweetness, and

³⁴ Ferrari (2003, 37, n. 1) credits T. Panofka’s publication *Bilder Antiken Lebens* (1843, iii-vi) as the first to distinguish ‘real life’ in Greek vase painting, an interpretation that has found great favor.

³⁵ Thucydides 2.15.5; Tölle-Kastenbein 1994, 88.

³⁶ Tölle-Kastenbein 1994, 88-100.

³⁷ Ferrari 2003, 45 n. 52. Athens, Acropolis Collection 732 and London B 331. Another, Rome, Museo Torlonia 73, shows a fountain dedicated to Dionysos, inscribed *Dionusia krene*. See Ferrari 2003, 45, n. 53.

desire.³⁸ The names of both the fountains and the women may serve to glorify the activities of the women at the fountain-house by emphasizing the illustrious nature of the women's responsibilities in service of the polis.

These scenes have received much attention because of the valuable information they reveal about women's lives in ancient Greece. On the one hand, they pose an obvious contradiction between the elaborate costumes of these finely dressed women, their lush, vine-laden environments, and the realities of Greek life that suggest that women of this high socioeconomic status may not have participated in such public, routine activities. In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, even in the imagined reality of the comedic drama in which the women have seized control of the city, when the women of the chorus rush from the fountain with their hydriai full of water, they recount the din of what must have been a crowded and uncomfortable experience "in the dim light of dawn, in the throng and crash and clatter of pots, fighting the elbows of housemaids and branded slaves."³⁹

Whether or not an aristocratic wife would actually have carried her water jar in and out of the house on a daily basis, the association between women and water-related duties was entrenched firmly in the Greek worldview. Fetching water was such a central task that it was the subject of at least two comedic plays. Quintillian mentions a now-missing play by Menander called *The Hydria*.⁴⁰ Athenaeus quotes a line from the same play in a discussion of women waiting for water for the purposes of making libations.⁴¹

³⁸ Ferrari 2003, 45; Manfrini-Aragno 1992, 134-135.

³⁹ Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 328-330. Trans. Henderson 2000, 311.

⁴⁰ Quintillian 11.3.91. Trans. Butler 1922, 293.

Elsewhere in the *Deipnosophistae*, he also refers to a similarly named comedy by Antiphanes.⁴²

The opulence of these images, suggested by the fine garments, verdant environments, and carefree attitudes of the figures, has led to a number of different arguments that are unified in their desire to interpret the scenes as something more profound than simple scenes of everyday tasks. C. Sourvinou-Inwood has proposed that the images be interpreted neither as myth nor as genre but as “emblems” of important concepts.⁴³ Likewise, E. Keuls suggests that these scenes are, in part, an idealization of feminine duties. She cites water-carrying as one of the two respectable women’s tasks, along with spinning wool. To support her suggestion, she cites a passage from Herodotos in which two men from Paionia offer their sister to King Darius; to emphasize her ideal femininity, they describe her as “tall and beautiful” and able to “simultaneously carry a full water jug on her head, lead a horse by the reins, and spin flax.”⁴⁴ Noting the light-hearted nature of the women’s attitudes and their verdant surroundings, D. Williams has noted that the scenes might be interpreted in the context of a festival, perhaps the Hydriaphoria, associated with the Anthesteria, which would have been an acceptable occasion for women of means to be in public and celebrating water-rituals.⁴⁵ This presumably is the purpose of the many ceramic and bronze statuettes of male and female

⁴¹ Athenaeus 9.408e. Trans. Gulick 1930, 351.

⁴² Antiphanes fr. 211; Athenaeus 3.104a. Trans. Olson 2006, 562. Also Athenaeus 13.572a. Trans. Gulick 1937, 89.

⁴³ Ferrari 2003, 38, n. 6; Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 397-98, 435-36; Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 141-147.

⁴⁴ Keuls 1985, 229; Herodotos 5.12.

⁴⁵ Williams 1993, 102-105.

hydria-bearers found in significant quantities throughout the Greek world. Alternatively, H.A. Shapiro elaborates, notes that the women may be hetairai, “women who lived independently in their own households but could not afford to send someone else to fetch their water, women who needn’t risk ruining their reputation by going out unaccompanied in public, since by definition it was already ruined.”⁴⁶

Most recently, G. Ferrari suggests that the genius of the fountain scenes lies in their ability to be “at once specific and endlessly variable.”⁴⁷ Given this range of interpretations and the clear distinctions evident in the representations themselves, I propose that limiting this group of ‘domestic’ images at the fountainhouse to a single interpretation is to deny the sophistication of both the artists and the audience. The ancient audience was capable, I believe, of receiving these images on multiple levels, understanding them simultaneously as idealized statements of their harmonious past, as an elevation of women’s roles to a lofty status, as genre, as metaphors for youth and vitality, as preparations for ceremonial events, and, when men were involved, as potentially erotic situations. Furthermore, the idealized settings, convivial atmospheres, and finely dressed women that comprise these scenes at the fountain house would not be incongruent with vessels made of expensive materials, such as bronze, silver, or gold, which would have contributed to the luxurious character of the scenes.

Besides Achilles’ ambush of Troilos at the Trojan fountain, representations of other mythological vignettes associate hydriai, possibly made of bronze, with water-related tasks. Nearly 50 images from the mid- to late-fifth century take the Argive

⁴⁶ Shapiro 2003, 96.

⁴⁷ Ferrari 2003, 39.

princess Amymone as their subject. The hydriai in these scenes do not serve any real purpose other than to identify the scene, serving as attributes of Amymone and mnemonic devices to remind the viewer of the tale. The figure of Amymone is closely tied with water because it was she who persuaded Poseidon to show her the location of the Lernean springs, thereby rescuing the Argives from a drought.⁴⁸ Occasionally, Amymone appears in a fuller drama surrounded by satyrs, as on a red-figure bell krater attributed to the Dinos Painter (Figure 6.12).⁴⁹ More often, however, as on a red-figure bell-krater by the Ragusa Painter, she is shown engaged in conversation with Poseidon (Figure 6.25).⁵⁰ On a Hellenistic mosaic from Cyprus, the princess cowers as Poseidon strikes the ground with his trident just a moment before the water gushes forth from the spring.⁵¹

Amymone's sisters, the Danaids, appear occasionally with their hydriai, often filling a large pithos with the collective efforts of their inadequately small hydriai, as on Taranto 76.010, a red-figure amphora close to the Patera Painter (Figure 6.26).⁵² According to later legends, this endless task was their punishment for killing their husbands on the night of their simultaneous weddings, a fate not unlike a woman Pausanias describes from the painting in the Knidian Lesche.⁵³ The punishment of the

⁴⁸ Apollodoros, *Bibliotheca* 2.13; Pausanias 2.22.4. Trans. Jones 1964, 364-365.

⁴⁹ *Vienna IV 1011*: Beazley *ARV* 1155.6; Beazley *Addenda* 2, 337; *CVA* Vienna 3 pl. 117.3-6.

⁵⁰ Sydney, Nicholson Museum 65. *LIMC* 1 (1981), 746, cat. 50, s.v. "Amymone," (E. Simon).

⁵¹ *LIMC* 1 (1981), 743, cat. 2, s.v. "Amymone," (E. Simon).

⁵² *LIMC* 3 (1986), 339, cat. 11. s.v. "Danaides," (E. Keuls).

⁵³ *Punishment of the Danaids*: Ov. *Met.* iv. 462, *Heroid.* xiv.; Horat. *Carm.* iii. 11. 25; Tibull. i. 3. 79; Hygin. *Fab.* 168; Serv. *ad Aen.* x. 497; *Knidian Lesche*: Pausanias 10.31.11 in Jones 1935, 553.

daughters of Danaos captured the imagination of later artists, as well, as on an early twentieth century painting by the British artist John William Waterhouse (Figure 6.27).⁵⁴

The hydria shown in Kadmos' hand on at least eight vases may serve a similar purpose of aiding the memory of the audience to make connections with stories they already knew; in this case, Kadmos' slaying of the dragon (Figure 6.28).⁵⁵ It is not the hydria but the rock in Kadmos' opposite hand that allows us to identify the scene.⁵⁶ Unlike Amymone's hydria, however, which clearly has a place in her story, it is unclear how or why this vessel-type became an iconographic signifier of the myth of Kadmos on his way to defeat the dragon.

The connotations of abundant, limitless water as a necessary component for thriving vegetation and paradisaical environments are evident in the presence of women lounging with their hydriai in numerous depictions of the Garden of the Hesperides (Figure 6.14).⁵⁷ Here again, the hydriai and the women serve to advertise a harmonious existence by performing the duties expected of their gender, even in paradise.

At least one ancient literary reference allows us to associate bronze hydriai, specifically, with water. In the first century AD, the geographer Strabo mentions the

⁵⁴ <http://www.jwwaterhouse.com>.

⁵⁵ *Kadmos*: Paris MN 714, St. Petersburg T 1859.2 (St 2189), New York 07.286.66, New York 22.139.11, London 67.5-8.1066, Rome, Villa Giulia, Amsterdam 1611, Paris Berlin F 2634.

⁵⁶ Cf. M. Tiverios in *LIMC* 5 (1990), 863-882, cat nos. 7-8, s.v. "Kadmos I," (M. Tiverios). Athena hands Kadmos the rock that he will use to slay the dragon. Cat. nos. 23, 25, 26, he has an amphora and a rock as he faces the serpent. On at least seven Attic red-figure vessels, however, he holds a kalpis: New York 07.286.66 (Spreckles Painter, kalyx krater), St. Petersburg T 1859.2 (Manner of the Kadmos Painter, hydria), New York 22.139.11 (Kassel Painter, bell krater), London 67.5-8.1066 (Phiale Painter, cup), Rome, Villa Giulia (Unattributed, column krater), Amsterdam 1611 (Painter of Munich 2335, Nolan Amphora), Paris M 12 (Unattributed, hydria), Berlin F 2634 (Kadmos Painter, hydria)

⁵⁷ E.g. a South Italian patera by the White Sakkos Painter from the end of the fourth century, once on the New York Market. *LIMC* 5 (1990), 400, cat. 41, s.v. "Hesperides," (I. McPhee) and *LIMC* 6 (1992), 177, cat. 1.6, s.v. "Ladon I," (I. McPhee).

shape in this material twice in his account of the different regions of the world. In the second book, he refers to an inscription from a broken bronze hydria from the Temple of Asklepios at Pantikapaion in Crimea that had been damaged when the water inside the jar froze during the cold northern winter.⁵⁸ The votive epigram read, “if any man is incredulous in regard to what happens in our country, let him look at this water-jar and know the truth; which, not as a fair offering unto god but as an illustration of our severe winters, has been dedicated by Stratios the priest.”⁵⁹ In Book Seven, he discusses the climate of the northern territories in Scythia reachable by the Borysthenes River, which flows into the Black Sea.⁶⁰ He repeats the visually descriptive comparison in his description of the frigid weather near the isthmus of the Great Chersonnesos, explaining that it became so cold that “bronze water-jars burst and their contents freeze solid.”⁶¹ Archaeological evidence also attests to bronze jars of this shape in this northern region, particularly in the cache of Greek bronzes found in a peat bog in the village of Pischane in the Ukraine.⁶² The find included at least fifteen bronze vessels, among them five hydriai, three amphorae, two louteria, and two situlai.

These various literary, epigraphic, and archaeological testaments to the close association between the hydria and its fundamental use as a water jar make clear that the shape in any material carried an intrinsic reference to this primary function. Even if it is

⁵⁸ Strabo *Geography* 2.1.16. Trans. Jones 1917, 277.

⁵⁹ Strabo *Geography* 2.1.16. Trans. Jones 1917, 277.

⁶⁰ Strabo *Geography* 7.3.16-18. Trans. Jones 1929, 221-227.

⁶¹ Strabo *Geography* 7.3.18. Trans. Jones 1929, 225.

⁶² Reeder 1999, 94, 193-20, cat. nos. 83-89.

not possible to be certain that bronze (or silver or gold) hydriai were used in everyday water-collecting routines, I think we can be sure that the shape was meant first and foremost to hold water, in the house or outside of it. Strabo's discussion of the water inside the bronze jars in the north demonstrates that water was kept specifically inside bronze versions of the shape.

Extinguishing Fires

Sometimes, the water jar was needed for more immediately critical water-related tasks, such as extinguishing fires. The second century historian Polybius notes the use of a hydria for putting out fires, this time in the context of a military offense led by Philip II.⁶³ At least five images of Herakles' immolation show the Hyades extinguishing the pyre with the aid of their hydriai (Figure 6.29).⁶⁴ Similarly, Aristophanes' chorus of women in the *Lysistrata* uses their hydriai for the practical purpose of collecting water in order to extinguish a fire.⁶⁵ They effectively evoke a busy fountain scene, crying

I've just come from the well with my pitcher; I could hardly fill it in the dim light of dawn, in the throng and crash and clatter of pots, fighting the elbows of housemaids and branded slaves; zealously I hoisted it onto my head and to aid the women, my fellow citizens faced with fire, here I am with water!⁶⁶

The socioeconomic profile of the women described in this passage offer a strong contrast to the high social status of the fine ladies depicted in scenes of women at the

⁶³ Polybius *Histories* 9.41.5. Trans. Paton 1968, 95.

⁶⁴ For instance, a large South Italian volute krater from the mid-fourth century attributed to the Lycurgus Painter, Milan 260 *LIMC* 5 (1990), 129, cat. 2919, s.v. "Herakles," (J. Boardman) and *LIMC* 5 (1990), 545, cat. 8, s.v. "Hyades," (V. Machaira). See also cat. nos. 4-10 in the same volume for other, similar depictions of the subject.

⁶⁵ Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 320-335. Trans. Henderson 2000, 311.

⁶⁶ Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 326-335. Trans. Henderson 2000, 311.

fountain-house on painted vases. It is difficult to reconcile the two extreme viewpoints. Although in reality the daily collection of water may have been left to women of the lower classes, the task seems to have been regarded highly in the abstract as an aspect of the female contribution to the oikos and the polis.⁶⁷

Voting

Several authors and painters refer to hydriai in the context of voting, drawing on the advantageous shape of the hydria with a full belly and narrow neck that prevented water from spilling out. Likewise, voting ballots would have been safe inside the jars, discouraging tampering with the lots, which clearly was a concern. The first reference to a hydria used in this capacity is in Isocrates' *Trapeziticus* from the late fifth or early fourth century, in which the rhetorician recalls that Pythodoros, a shop-keeper had in the previous year "opened the voting urns [hydriai] and removed the ballots naming the judges, which had been cast by the Council."⁶⁸ Aristotle also uses the term *hydria* for a voting box in the *Constitution of Athens*, where he explains the process of choosing the jurors for the lawcourts by the archons of nine tribes of Athens and the "clerk of the lawgivers from the tenth tribe."⁶⁹ Special attention seems to have been paid to the supervision of the voting process to prevent any improper tampering with the votes. The shape of the hydria, with its narrow neck and full belly, would have been advantageous for security purposes. In the *Hellenika*, Xenophon recalls a charge brought against the generals in the assembly, which was put to a vote in which each tribe was to cast their lot

⁶⁷ Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 326-335. Trans. Henderson 2000, 311.

⁶⁸ Isocrates *Trapeziticus* 33. Trans. van Hook 1954, 233.

⁶⁹ Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 62.2, 65.3-4. Trans. Rackham 1981, 171-175.

inside one of two hydriai, one for ‘guilty’ votes and the other for ‘not guilty.’⁷⁰ Pausanias also brings up a hydria as a ballot box in his account of the division of land in Messenia following the Trojan War and the Dorian invasion.⁷¹ Again, cheating was a problem, as the clay lots for one side were fired and therefore were able to withstand the water inside the jar, and the lots for the other contingent were only hardened in the sun and so dissolved inside the jar, resulting in a manipulated outcome.⁷²

At least two vases show scenes of casting lots into a hydria, including a black-figure cup in Dijon by the Stieglitz Painter and a red-figure bell krater in a private collection in New York, attributed to the Nikias Painter (Figures 6.30-6.31).⁷³ A red-figure hydria from the first half of the fifth century, London E 251, shows a slightly different scene, with Nike hovering between two hydriai, suggesting that the image might be a scene of victory in a voting contest, rather than an athletic competition (Figure 6.32).⁷⁴

Like the male hydriaphoroi on the Parthenon frieze, these scenes and references to men interacting with hydriai in the process of voting seriously challenge the traditional association of the shape of the hydria exclusively with the feminine, domestic spheres. The krater by the Nikias Painter poses an interesting problem of interpretation. Beazley

⁷⁰ Xenophon *Hellenika* 7.9. Trans. Brownson 1918, 71.

⁷¹ Pausanias 4.11.5-6. Trans. Jones and Ormerod 1977, 185.

⁷² Pausanias 4.11.5-6. Trans. Jones and Ormerod 1977, 185.

⁷³ *Dijon 1301*: Beazley *ARV*² 829.37; *Paralipomena*, 422; Beazley *Addenda*, 144; Beazley *Addenda*², 294; Bothmer 1974, 17; Agora 28, pl. 5. *Once Paris Art Market*: Beazley *ARV*² 1334.18; Nikias Painter.

⁷⁴ *LIMC* 6 (1992), 860, cat. 113, s.v. “Nike,” (A. Moustaka, A. Goulaki-Voutira, and U. Grote).

understood the scene as “hoplitodromoi casting lots at a statue of Athena.”⁷⁵ E. Tillyard saw two warriors casting their ballots before their one-on-one combat, with the bearded man serving as judge between them.⁷⁶ Sir William Hamilton, however, preferred a more narrative reading of the image, drawing on Apollodoros’ account of the Herakleides’ casting lots to parcel out the various Peloponnesian territories among the three brothers.

Apollodoros writes

When they had made themselves masters of the Peloponnesos they set up three altars to Father Zeus and sacrificed to him on them. They also cast lots for the various cities. The first drawing was for Argos, the second for Lakedaimoni, and the third for Messene... They therefore decided to cast their lots into a hydria. Temenos and the two sons of Arristodemus Prokles and ruystenes threw in marked stones, one for Temenos and one for the two brothers. Kresiphontes, who wanted Messene allotted to him and which was the last city to be chosen, threw in the hydria full of water a clod of earth. The piece of earth, hitting the water, dissolved, leaving the two stones belonging to Temenos and the two brothers...⁷⁷

Another literary reference to voting that may be relevant to this discussion occurs in Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides*. In the *Agamemnon*, the Argive king returns from Troy and attributes the Greek victory to the gods, saying “for the gods, when they had heard by no spoken word the parties’ claims, cast with no wavering verdict into the urn of blood their votes for the death of men, the destruction of Ilion, while to the opposite urn (mere) expectation of the hand came near, and the urn was not filled.”⁷⁸ For the ‘urn,’ Aeschylus uses the term τὸ τεῦχος, rather than hydria or kalpis. It is possible, however, to argue that a similarly shaped vessel was meant. The same term (τεῦχος) was

⁷⁵ Beazley *ARV* 1334.199.

⁷⁶ Tillyard 1923, 89-90; Love 1989, 40.

⁷⁷ Apollodoros *The Library* 2.8.365. Trans. Frazer 1961. Love 1989, 39-40. Tischvein 1971, no. 78.

⁷⁸ *Agamemnon* 813-817. Trans. Fraenkel 1950, 139.

used elsewhere in Greek literature to indicate a water jar.⁷⁹ Although we cannot be certain of the shape of the ‘urn’ that Aeschylus imagined, the kalpis seems to have been commonly associated with the process of voting and so the teuchos might have had a similar profile. Perhaps the term teuchos was preferred in this case for literary reasons.

Aeschylus uses the same word in the *Eumenides* in the context of the vote to determine Orestes’ guilt or acquittal for the murder of Agamemnon. After the ballots had been cast, Athena gives the order to “throw out in all speed the urns (τεῦχέων) from the lots.”⁸⁰ The vote, of course, results in Orestes’ acquittal.⁸¹ The significance of absolving Orestes from the stain of the murder of his father with the outcome of a vote determined by casting lots into a water jar is poignant because of the cleansing power of water. The masterful subtlety of this reference surely would not have been lost on the the audience who likely would have seen a water-jar on the stage as the drama was enacted.

Weapons

Because water was so essential, the jars used to contain and store it must have been omnipresent in daily life. At least one ancient literary reference tells us that the vessels could be appropriated for improptu weapons, when necessary. Clay hydriai were put to use presumably for pragmatic reasons – because they were available readily and in large numbers- as a defensive tactic, as weapons of sorts, by the Phokian army in a battle against the Thessalians, according to Pausanias’ account of the battle. He writes,

Expecting that the Thessalians would invade their land at Hyampolis, they buried there earthen water-pots [hydriai], covered these with earth, and so

⁷⁹ ID. *Hec. 609*, Andr. 167, Diocl. *Fr. 129*.

⁸⁰ Aeschylus *Eumenides* 742. Trans. Lloyd-Jones 1970, 58.

⁸¹ Aeschylus *Eumenides* 753. Trans. Lloyd-Jones 1970, 59.

waited for the Thessalian cavalry. Ignorant of the Phokian stratagem, the Thessalians without knowing it drove their horses onto the water-pots [hydriai], where stumbling onto them the horses were lamed and threw or killed their riders.⁸²

Likewise, two metopes from the south side of the Parthenon show centaurs using (surely metal) hydriai as weapons to subdue the Greeks after they have become intoxicated at the Lapith wedding (Figures 6.33-6.34). A red-figured squat lekythos from the early fourth century shows a similar subject (Figure 6.35).⁸³

Symposia

The centaurs' use of the hydriai after they had consumed too much wine at the Lapith wedding also raises the issue of these vessels as accoutrements for the aristocratic symposium, a function that has already been proposed in the previous chapter on the basis of suggestive iconography, including Dionysos and his reveling companions. Other ancient references and representations support this use, clearly demonstrating that the shape had currency in the male sphere. In a short fragment from a now-lost comedy by Aristophanes, *Old Age*, the term hydria appears in the context of a jug that could contain five-*choes*, or 3.2 litres, of liquid and needed to be rinsed.⁸⁴ J. Henderson, in his commentary of the fragment, suggests that a wine jar is actually intended, rather than a water pitcher.⁸⁵ Perhaps the use of the term *hydria* rather than *oinochoe* was used because of the larger capacity of the water jar and therefore was intended as a joke. The water jar in the context of wine-making and drinking is familiar from pictorial sources such as the

⁸² Pausanias 10.1.3. Trans. Jones 1935, 371.

⁸³ Lapatin 2006, 327-328, cat. 100.

⁸⁴ Aristophanes *Old Age* fragment 139, Pollux 10.74. Collected and translated in Henderson 2007, 179.

⁸⁵ Henderson 2007, 179 n. 34.

grape-pressing scene on a black-figure neck-amphora, Würzburg HA 115 (Figure 6.36), or a similar picture on a black-figure amphora by the Amasis Painter, Würzburg 265 (Figure 6.37).

Repositories for Money, Tribute, and Valuables

Just as the hydria was well suited to hold voting ballots, it could be used to protect other valuables. Aristophanes suggests that buried treasures were to be found inside hydriai, as Peisetaeros remarks to Euelpides in the *Birds*, “they’ll show them the hoards of silver that the old-timers buried; these birds know where they are. You do hear everyone say, ‘none but some bird knows where *my* treasure lies.’”⁸⁶ Euelpides replies “I’m selling that merchantman, getting a shovel, and digging up pots [hydriai]!”⁸⁷ B. Wesenberg has suggested that the four hydriai carried by men on the Parthenon frieze may have held the tribute money offered by the members of the Delian League, displayed at the celebrations of the City Dionysia.⁸⁸ Although J. Neils likely is correct in proposing, “money sacks would convey this idea better than water jars, which form a traditional part of Greek sacrifice,” it is true that a vessel of this shape appears on a relief adorning a tribute list from 426-25 found on the Athenian Akropolis (Figure 6.38).⁸⁹ Treasure is not limited to money; other kinds of valuable possessions could be kept inside a vessel of this

⁸⁶ Aristophanes *Birds* 599-601. Collected and translated in Henderson 2000, 103.

⁸⁷ Aristophanes *Birds* 602. Collected and translated in Henderson 2000, 103.

⁸⁸ Wesenberg, 1995, 168-72; Neils 2001, 149.

⁸⁹ Neils 2001, 149 n. 51. *IG I³ 68*, Lawton 1996, 81, no. 1.

shape. The Tegeans kept a lock of Medusa's hair inside a bronze jar of this shape.⁹⁰ As mentioned earlier, Plutarch tells us that Cleopatra kept an asp inside a water jar.⁹¹

Prizes

More than half of the surviving inscriptions on bronze hydriai document prizes awarded in athletic contests. Both legendary and historical paradigms exist for the practice of handing out valuable bronze objects as prizes. In the *Iliad*, Achilles offers nineteen prizes to the warriors whom he has selected to compete in the funeral games for Patroklos.⁹² Bronze tripods and cauldrons feature prominently among the objects that he showcases to the participants before awarding them to the victors, along with bronze armor and weapons, silver vessels, gold coins, women, livestock, and other assorted materials. Painted scenes of the games for Patroklos, such as on the François vase (Figure 6.3) or on another black-figure volute-krater fragment, Athens, Acropolis collection 654b, show painters' visions of such an assemblage of vases and tripods ready for dispersal.⁹³

Epigraphically, a hydria is recorded as a prize, along with a sum of 30 drachmai, for the winner of the *lampadedromia*, or torch race, in the Panathenaic games of c. 370.⁹⁴ Representations of torch-racers with a hydria placed on the ground next to them,

⁹⁰ Pausanias 8.47.5. Trans. Jones 1965, 134-135.

⁹¹ Plutarch *Life of Antony* 86.1-2. Trans. Perrin 1920, 329.

⁹² *Iliad* 23.249-897. Also see Papakonstantinou 2002, 51-67.

⁹³ McGowan 1995, 627.

⁹⁴ It is presumed, but not stated, that the prize vase would have been made of metal. Athens, Epigraphical Museum, IG II² 2311. Neils 1992, 16, fig. 1. An inscribed victory dedication from the Athenian Akropolis (Epigraphical Museum 8024; IG², 1743) is crowned with a relief that includes a hydria, as well. See Lawton 1995, pl. 51.

presumably intended as their prize, appear on a red-figure bell krater from Gela, attributed to the Manner of the Peleus Painter (Harvard 1960.344, c. 430, Figure 6.39) and on a late fifth-century red-figure oinochoe (Athens, Agora Museum P 10675, Figure 6.40).⁹⁵ Other two-dimensional representations associate the shape with athletic training rather than winning. One red-figure lekythos once on the New York Art Market shows a large kalpis on the ground with more common athletic equipment, such as a strigil and a sponge, hanging above (Figure 6.41).⁹⁶ A nude athlete moves to right, towards the vase and implements, presumably to clean up after his exercise in the palaestra.

At least 10 red-figure vases show Nike holding a hydria or flying in with one, in advance of awarding the prize to the victorious athlete (e.g. Figures 6.10-6.11, 6.43-6.44).⁹⁷ A particularly fine example of the type appears on a red-figure lekythos attributed to the Brygos Painter, which shows a weightless Nike in flight to left, with a hydria over her shoulder and a tripod behind her back (Figure 6.44).⁹⁸ Another lekythos, attributed to the Icarus Painter, shows Nike filling a hydria at a simply articulated fountain, creating a visual association between Nike, goddess of victory, prize hydriai, and the primary function of the shape as a water jar.⁹⁹ The pair of Nikai with gleaming

⁹⁵ *Harvard 1960.344*: Beazley *ARV*², 1041, 10; Beazley *Addenda*², 319. *Agora P10675*: Corbett 1949, 315-316; van Hoorn 1951, 85, cat. no. 197.

⁹⁶ *Once New York and London Art Markets*: Sotheby's London 3.29.1971, pl. opp. 26, no. 97; Sotheby's New York 1-2.3.1984, no. 260.

⁹⁷ *Warsaw 142288*: Beazley *ARV*² 496.8; *Paralipomena*, 380; Beazley *Addenda*²; *CVA* Poland, Goluchow, pl. 20, fig. 2 a,b; Gericke 1970, 121. *Oxford 1930.36*: Beazley *ARV* 202.89; *Paralipomena*, 342; Beazley *Addenda*, 96; Beazley *Addenda*², 192; Cohen and Rutter 1975), pl. 47.252; Kephaliidou 1996, pl. 40.

⁹⁸ *Christie's* London 28.4.1993, cat. 15.

⁹⁹ *Amsterdam 2838*. Beazley *ARV* 697.20; Beazley *Addenda*, 137; Beazley *Addenda*², 281. See also three red-figure lekythoi, New York 07.286.67, Paris G 381, and Palermo V 692. *New York 07.286.67*: Metropolitan Museum, pl. 30,31; *ARV*² 641,90; Gericke 1970, 121; *Palermo V 692*: Beazley *ARV*² 651.29,

golden hydriai on the handle flanges on a volute krater by the Baltimore Painter in Atlanta, must be prizes (Figure 6.13).¹⁰⁰

E. Simon has suggested that the four male hydriaphoroi on the north frieze of the Parthenon should be understood as winners of the torch races held the night before the Panathenaic festival.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, she proposes that a late black-figure kalpis now in a private collection in Florence, which is decorated in the manner of a Panathenaic prize amphora with a striding Athena between two columns, might have functioned as a “Panathenaic hydria.”¹⁰²

Today, we are most familiar with the concept of a vase given as a prize from the Panathenaic amphorae, which are easily recognizable from their distinctive shape and decorative scheme. The Panathenaic series began as early as the 560s and after a short period of experimentation, thereafter followed a standard iconographic formula: a striding Athena between columns on the front side, which is inscribed vertically “TON AΘENEΘEN AΘΛON,” and a depiction of the event for which the prize was won on the reverse.¹⁰³ As an example, a Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Eucharides Painter, from c. 490 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 56.171.3, was

1610; *CVA* Italy 14, Palermo Mus. Naz. III Ic, pl. 21, fig. 3; Gericke 1970, 121; *Paris G 381: ARV*², 384.222; Beazley *Addenda*, 113; Beazley *Addenda*², 228; Beck 1975, pl. 47.251.

¹⁰⁰ *Atlanta 1999.11.6*, Baltimore Painter, c. 340-330; Trendall and Cambitoglou, 1983, 147, 151 no. 21a, pl. 29; *LIMC* 4 (1988), 551, cat. 361 pl. 356, s.v. “Helene,” (L. Kahil).

¹⁰¹ Simon 1983, 63-64.

¹⁰² Simon 1983, 64.

¹⁰³ Some early Panathenaic amphorae have variant inscriptions, including “TON AΘENEΘEN AΘΛON EMI.” See Bentz 1998 and also Tiverios 2007, 2, with bibliography. Also Moore 1999, 37-56, on early Panathenaics.

awarded to the winner of a horseracing contest.¹⁰⁴ (Figures 6.45-6.46). The major difference between the Panathenaic vases and the prize hydriai is what exactly constituted the award; in the former case, the sacred olive oil was most valuable, in the later, the bronze vase itself seems to have conferred prestige. Although the Greek poleis certainly participated in a monetary economy in the Classical period, bronze remained a potential reserve of currency and was a reminder of an earlier period when bronze objects were valuable as repositories of both material and cultural wealth.

One fragmentary plain bronze kalpis in a **German private collection** (cat. 17.70) borrows from the Panathenaic convention for its inscription but distinguishes itself by specifying that it came not from the games of Athena, but of Artemis in Athens, “ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ ΠΑΡ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ.” One other inscribed kalpis, **Princeton y1985-9** (cat. 18.2), has a partially preserved inscription that may function similarly to the images on the back of the Panathenaic amphorae, naming a specific event. In this case, “ΠΑΛΑ,” which could be related to παλάω, the ancient Greek verb used to denote wrestling.¹⁰⁵

Although the inscriptions on prize hydriai generally do not follow the Panathenaic convention, they are fairly consistent in form.¹⁰⁶ The location of the games is given in the nominative or genitive case, often preceded by an εγ, εκ, or εν. If the god or hero to

¹⁰⁴ Beazley *ABV* 395.3; Beazley *Paralipomena* 173; *CVA* New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 3, 35-36, pl. (576) 44.1-2.

¹⁰⁵ The last part of this inscription is fragmentary and unclear, but has been read by Michael Padgett, Curator of Greek and Roman Art at the Princeton University Art Museum as “ΕΥΜΠΙ,” which he interprets as the beginning of a person’s name, possibly the winner of the contest. Unpublished, personal communication. Alternatively, the prefix -Παλα may be the beginning of a place-name. Many thanks to him for discussing his interpretation of this inscription with me.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Amandry 1971, 619.

whom the games were dedicated is mentioned, it almost always appears in the genitive unless it comes after *ἐπι* or *παρὰ*, in which case a nominative noun may follow. The inscriptions are placed on the upper side of the mouth and usually consist of letters created with a series of small, punched dots. Occasionally, the letters were chased directly into the surface, as on **New York 26.50** (cat. 14.13) or **Nemea Br 379** (cat. 14.1).

In Homer's description of Achilles' selection of prizes for the games he has organized for the fallen Patroklos, he does not limit himself to one type of object that will serve as a symbolic awards for his contests. Instead, he selects an assortment of suitable things, including metal vessels, livestock, and women. He does not commission new works but he re-appropriates booty allotted to him from the war and distributes them as prizes. Archaeological evidence supports similar practices in the Iron Age. At least one hydria, **Once New York Market (Phoenix Ancient Art 2006)** (cat. 4.18), claims to have been a war-prize, rather than from a contest, "ΜΑΧΕΙΑ ΕΜΜΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΑΜΙΠΠΟΙ... Ι° Σ 'Χ°."¹⁰⁷ Taking a bronze hydria as a spoil of war may have been shown on a painting in the Knidian Lesche at Delphi.¹⁰⁸ Pausanias describes a scene of the Greeks departing from Troy after they had sacked the city in which "Echoax [goes] down the gangway carrying a bronze urn [hydria]."¹⁰⁹ Echoax's vase also must have been taken during the sack of the city.

The four hydriai marked as prizes from the games of Hera at Argos, **New York 26.50** (cat. 14.13), **Ankara** (cat. 14.8), **Pompeii 21803** (cat. 14.17), and **Copenhagen**

¹⁰⁷ According to M. Campagnolo and M. Chamay, cf. *Phoenix Ancient Art 2006*, 107-108.

¹⁰⁸ Pausanias 10.15-31 in Jones 1935, 513-555.

¹⁰⁹ Pausanias 10.15.3 in Jones 1935, 513.

I.N. 3293 (cat. 14.12), all of which were decorated with a graceful image of a female protome at the top of the vertical handle, might lead us to propose that the suggestive iconography is enough to identify the nearly 20 additional vessels with similar decorations as prizes. However, this question, discussed by P. Amandry, is complicated by the presence of at least one vase with comparable iconography, **Nemea Br 379** (cat. 14.1), that bears an alternative inscription, “ΤΟ ΔΙΟΣ ΕΙΜΙ ΤΟ ΝΕΜΕΑΙ,” demonstrating that it belonged to Zeus at Nemea rather than Hera at Argos.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, like Achilles’ prizes, we can be sure that these vessels were selected as such after their manufacture rather than made with this function in mind because of the presence of at least two other objects with similar inscriptions, a lebes from Piraeus and a rod-tripod from Tomb II at Vergina (Figures 6.47-6.58).¹¹¹ These bronze prize vessels call to mind Pindar’s description of the “countless works of bronze” given at the Argive games.¹¹² The multiplicity of bronzes handed out as prizes at Argos stands in marked contrast to the standardized awards offered at other games; in the same poem, Pindar points to the sacred olive oil contained in painted ceramic jars given in Athens, the silver

¹¹⁰ The use of the first-person, “speaking” inscriptions is paralleled on a few other bronze hydriai (**Ankara** (cat. 14.8), **Copenhagen I.N. 3293** (cat. 14.12), **Pompeii 21803** (cat. 14.17), **Leyden LKA 1159** (cat. 20.69), **Private Collection (New York, Steinhardt A1996.2)** (cat. 17.28), **Once New York Market (Phoenix Ancient Art 2006)** (cat. 4.18) and occurs far more regularly on ceramic vessels, beginning with the famous eighth-century “cup of Nestor” from a tomb in Ischia (Pithekoussai). See Meiggs and Lewis 1969, 1-3, cat. 1. The tendency to anthropomorphize the vessels is evident also through other conceits, such as fashioning a pair of hands at the end of the handles so that they literally ‘grip’ the sides of the vessel, e.g. on **Thessalonike ThE 1556** (cat. 4.34). See Mertens 1990, 85-102.

¹¹¹ *London GR 1816.6-10.115; GR 1960.11-1.48, AN34503001*: “[H]E[PAΣ] A[P]ΓE[I]AΣ EMI TON AEΘΛON,” c. 430-420. Smith 1926, 256-57; SEG XI (1954), 330; Jeffery 1961, 170, no. 43; Amandry 1971, 615; Burn 1991, 86. *Athens, Benaki Museum 2626*: “ΠΑΡ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ EMI TON ΗΑΓΕΘΛON,” c. 430-420. Amandry 1980, 216; Andronikos 1984, 164-165; Amandry 2002, 30; Kaltsas 2004, 359-360.

¹¹² Pindar *Nemea*, 10.45-48, and further references to Argive prize bronzes, particularly shields, in *Olympia* 7.83 and *Nemea* 10.22; Richter 1928, 187; Robinson 1942, 172.

cups from Sikyon, and the wool cloaks from games at Pellana.¹¹³ It seems, then, that the inscription, rather than the iconography, is the critical feature that marks the vessel as a prize.

Further demonstrating the diversity of the objects selected for distribution as Achilles' prizes in the *Iliad*, there are numerous vessels and objects of diverse materials that also were chosen and inscribed for this purpose. Besides the Argive prize lebetai mentioned above, an Early Classical lebes in the British Museum, from Cumae, has a rim that is inscribed "ΕΠΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΟΝΟΜΑΣΤΟ ΤΟ ΦΕΙΔΙΛΕΟ ΑΘΛΟΙΣ ΕΘΕΘΕΝ."¹¹⁴ Another lebes records its function as a prize in the games of Herakles at Eretria "ΕΡΕΤΡΙΑΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ ΠΑΡ ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΟΣ."¹¹⁵ A bronze diskos in the British Museum carries a votive inscription to the Diokouroi, in honor of a victory. Three marble diskoi (Boston 1987.621, New York 1985.11.4, Münster) are inscribed as prizes from games held at the *Eria*.¹¹⁶ The term indicates funeral games at a burial mound (*erion*) but no location is specified. A sixth-century silver coin from Metaponto is

¹¹³ Pindar *Nemea* 10.35, 43-44.

¹¹⁴ Neugebauer 1923-24, 405-408; Jeffery 1961, 238, cat. no. 8; Amandry 1980, 618.

¹¹⁵ *Athens 1318*: Amandry 1980, 618.

¹¹⁶ *London* "Exoidas dedicated me to the sons of mighty Zeus, [the] bronze with which he overcame the great-hearted Kephallenians": Cook 1987, 60. *Boston 1987.621* ("ΕΚ ΤΟ ΝΕ(Ρ)ΙΟΝ," from the (funeral) games at the Eria): <http://www.mfa.org/collections>; *New York 1985.11.4* ("ΤΕΛΕΣΑΡΧΟ ΕΚ ΤΟ ΕΠΙ[Ο]," Belonging to Telesarchos from the (funeral) games at the Erion): IG I (3) Attica no. 1394; *Archaeology Museum of the University of Münster* ("ΕΚ ΤΟΝ ΕΡΙΟΝ ΕΙΜΙ," I am from the (funeral) games at the Erion): IG I (3) Attica, no. 1397.

inscribed “ΑΧΕΛΟΙΟ ΑΕΘΛΟΝ.”¹¹⁷ Based on evidence available today, hydriai were favored among vessels of other shapes and media for prizes in athletic contests.

Other inscribed hydriai attest to games throughout Greece and along the western coast of Asia Minor. Like the Argive inscriptions, which clearly state both the location and purpose of the games, **Atlanta 2004.25.1** (cat. 16.11) is inscribed “ΕΚ ΦΩΚΕΩΝ ΑΕΘΛΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΔΙΟΣΚΩΡΩΙΝ,” stating that it is a prize from the games of the Dioskouroi at Phokaia, an ancient Greek city on the western coast of Turkey known today as Foça.¹¹⁸ Neither the sanctuary nor the contests are attested historically, which makes this vessel a particularly important primary source. The city had an exciting history that bears on the production of this vessel. Pausanias and Herodotos outline the history of the Phokaians, who settled the Aeolian area under the direction of the Athenians in the early ninth century and joined the Ionian League by the end of the same century.¹¹⁹ The citizens of Phokaia seem to have been particularly keen on international trade and sea-travel, founding colonies in France (ancient Massalia, modern Marseilles), Spain (ancient Emporion, modern Empúries, in Catalonia), and Italy (ancient Elea, today Velia, in Campania).¹²⁰ Phokaia fell to the control of the famed Lydian king Kroisos in the middle of the sixth century and subsequently to the Persians in 546.¹²¹ Following this

¹¹⁷ Head 1911, 75f.; Noe 1931, 4-43, cat. no. 311; Babelon 1931, vol. 2, ed. 1, 1395f.; Lehmann 1946, 33f.; Jeffery 1961, 254, cat. no. 13; Kraay and Hirmer 1966, cat. no. 230; Amandry 1980, 618.

¹¹⁸J. Gaunt discusses the translation, interpretation, and implications of this inscription in a forthcoming article. I am grateful to him for discussing his ideas with me in advance of his publication of the **Atlanta 2004.25.1** and its relationship to Ankara.

¹¹⁹ Herodotos 1.146.1; Pausanias 7.3.10; Strabo 14.633.

¹²⁰ Herodotos 1.163. *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, 708.

¹²¹ Herodotos 1.6.

conquest, many of the citizens seem to have left Ionia and re-settled elsewhere.¹²² Near the turn of the century, some of the former Phokaians returned to the mother-city and participated in the Ionian Revolt, contributing three ships.¹²³ The city later joined the Delian League and paid tribute to Athens, participating in both the Peloponnesian and Corinthian Wars before falling under Persian control in 367 and later to the Seleucids and Attalids in the Hellenistic period.

The inscribed bronze hydria in Atlanta, then, which can be dated to the period between c. 450 and 400 on the basis of its profile and decoration, must have been won as a prize during the approximately seventy-five year period between its manufacture in the middle of the fifth century and the loss of independent control of Phokaia by the second quarter of the fourth century.¹²⁴ This inscribed vessel attests to the vivacity of the community in Phokaia during this tumultuous period, reminding us that the spirits of the citizens were bolstered by contests, games, and the crowning of victors, and that it was not merely a period of beleaguered wars and military actions.

The inscription from Phokaia also is particularly valuable because of its implications for the fragmentary second inscription on **Ankara** (cat. 14.8), which was found in Sinope, the port town on the Turkish coast of the Black Sea where the vessel was found. The second inscription is fragmentary, reading “EK Φ[.]ΩN A[....] Π[.] Δ[.]Ο[.]ΚΩ[.]ΩIN.” Most of the phrase is easily restored as “A[EΘΛA] Π[AP]

¹²² Herodotos 1.164-168. Strabo 6.1.1.

¹²³ Herodotos 6.11-12, 6.8.

¹²⁴ Gaunt, forthcoming.

Δ[Ι]Ο[Σ]ΚΩ[Ρ]ΩΙΝ,” meaning “a prize from the games of the Dioskouroi.” The beginning, however, which names the location of the contests, is open to interpretation. In 2002, P. Amandry supplied the missing letters as “Φ[ΕΝΕ]ΩΝ,” proposing that the inscription came from games at Pheneos, in the northern Peloponnese. He offers two plausible explanations for this pair of inscriptions: either the hydria was awarded at Argos to a contestant from Sinope, who won a prize in the nearby sanctuary of the Dioskouroi at Pheneos, had his vase re-inscribed with the second victory en route home, or, perhaps more probably, the prize was given at Argos to an athlete from Pheneos, who dedicated in his local sanctuary of the Dioskouroi.¹²⁵ Then, when a *xenos* from Sinope won a contest in Pheneos, the hydria was pulled from the treasury or storeroom, re-inscribed, and sent on its way with the winner. The evidence from the kalpis in Atlanta recommends an alternative interpretation for the vessel in Ankara, suggesting that it may come from games at Phokaia, rather than Pheneos. J. Gaunt proposes to read the **Ankara** (cat. 14.8) inscription as “ΕΚ Φ[ΩΚΕ]ΩΝ Α[ΕΘΛΑ] Π[ΑΡ] Δ[Ι]Ο[Σ]ΚΩ[Ρ]ΩΙΝ,” “from the games of the Dioskouroi at Phokaia.”¹²⁶ This new interpretation of the inscription suggests a rather different, and more plausible, path from Argos to Sinope than previously was imagined.

In some cases, the formula is reversed, such as on a now-lost kalpis from **Rhodes** (cat. 17.38) that bears an inscription that reads “ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΓ ΡΟΔΟ ΠΑΡ ΑΛΙΟ.” In 1975, J. Frel proposed that the inscription should be read as “ἄθλον ἐγ Ῥόδου παραλί(ο)” and understood as the “[a prize from the] games from the coast of

¹²⁵ Amandry 2002, 31.

¹²⁶ Gaunt, forthcoming.

Rhodes.”¹²⁷ Almost immediately thereafter, A.W. Johnston suggested that we should instead take the inscription as ““ἄθλον ἐγ’ Ῥόδῳ παρ’ Ἀλίο,” “[a prize from the] games of Helios on Rhodes.”¹²⁸ According to Pindar’s 7th Olympian ode, the sun god Helios discovered Rhodes, a “rich, productive land for men and a kindly one for flocks” beneath the water and ordered it to be raised from the depths of the sea to be “his own prize of honor.”¹²⁹ His cult was served with a festival with burnt offerings and games; we might speculate that this bronze hydria may have been one of the prizes from these contests.¹³⁰

A fourth century kalpis in a **Private Collection in Boston** (cat. 20.8) is inscribed “ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΓ ΜΥΛΑΣΩΝ ΖΗΝΟΠΟΣΕΙ(ΔΕΩ)ΝΟΣ,” indicating that it was given as a prize at the games of Zenoposeidon at Mylasa (modern Milâs). As in the case of the hydriai of the two inscriptions from hitherto unknown games in Phokaia, no other evidence survives for contests dedicated to Zenoposeidon from Mylasa. The city of ancient Mylasa existed as early as the seventh century, according to Herodotus, who records the names of two tyrants who ruled over the area in the Early Archaic period.¹³¹ It also and was one of three noteworthy Carian cities that Strabo mentions. Mylasa was the capital of Caria until Mausollos relocated the center of the region to Halikarnassos in

¹²⁷ Frel 1975, 77-78.

¹²⁸ Johnston 1977, 157-8.

¹²⁹ According to Johnston (1977, 158) this poem is our earliest secure reference to the cult of Helios on Rhodes. See RE 8, 66-67 and Jacoby FGH IIIb 334 (Istros) 49. “In RE it is suggested that his cult was centered on the site of the ater city before 408, while Ialysos is preferred by Morelli, *I culti in Rodi*, 96.

¹³⁰ Pindar Ol. VII, ll. 54-88; Johnston 1977, 157-158.

¹³¹ Herodotus 5.37.121; Strabo 658.

the fourth century.¹³² Afterwards, the territory was controlled successively by a number of different Hellenistic kings.¹³³ Archaeologically, there seem to have been temples dedicated to Zeus Karios and Zeus Osogos, as well as a Roman stoa whose columns were inscribed to Zeus Osogos and Zeus Zenoposeidonos, which provides a frame of reference for the inscription on the Late Classical bronze kalpis.¹³⁴ Since the wealth and prestige of the city must have declined after the second quarter of the fourth century when Mausolos stripped it of its capital status, it is not unreasonable to propose that the vase was inscribed and given as a prize not long after its manufacture in the first quarter of the century.

More often, the inscriptions are more concise than those discussed up to this point, requiring us to speculate on the place or occasion for the prize offered. A hydria recently on the New York market and now in a **Private Collection in California** (cat. 16.56) also comes from the games at Sounion, presumably dedicated to Poseidon. Its inscription reads, simply “ΑΘΛΑ ΑΠΟ ΣΟΥΝΙΟ.” The use of ‘απο’ instead of εκ or εν is unique amongst the surviving inscribed hydriai. A second vase is inscribed “ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΙ ΑΘΛΑ ΕΚ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΙΟ,” “the Athenian games for Poseidon,” which N. Kaltsas interprets as coming from the “Poseidonia rowing contests held at Sounion.”¹³⁵ D.G. Kyle suggests that the Athenians sponsored a boating contest at

¹³² Herodotos 1.171; Strabo 659; *Princeton Encyclopedia of Sites*, 601-602.

¹³³ Strabo 659-660; *Princeton Encyclopedia of Sites*, 601.

¹³⁴ *Princeton Encyclopedia of Sites*, 602. The columns of the Stoa no longer survive. Cf. Bean 1971, 31-44.

¹³⁵ Although the inscription is mentioned by Kaltsas (2004, 78) in a discussion of prize inscriptions in the catalogue accompanying the ‘ΑΓΟΝ’ exhibition at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, there

Sounion for Poseidon, in addition to the penteric festival that Herodotos mentions.¹³⁶ The vessel itself can be dated to the middle of the fifth century, which accords with the chronology suggested by the epigraphic evidence. Either of these games would have been appropriate occasions for winning this bronze kalpis.

Two later fifth-century plain kalpides, **Providence, Rhode Island School of Design** (cat. 17.17) and **Once Art Market, New York, Sotheby's 2004** (cat. 17.72), both read “TON ΘΕΒΑΙΣ ΑΙΘΛΟΝ.” Since the location is given as central Greece, we have no trouble accepting the Boiotian origin of these two inscriptions, which is strongly suggested also by the addition of the *iota* in *aithlon*, rather than *athlon*.¹³⁷ Games in Thebes in honor of Herakles and Iolaos are attested historically and possibly also in literature, if we may accept Pindar praise of the victorious Diagoras of Rhodes for his feats in games at Thebes.¹³⁸

A plain vase, from **American private collection (Chicago)** (cat. 17.78), is from another Boiotian context. The inscription reads “TON ΤΑΝΑΓΡΑΙΣ ΑΕΘΛΟΝ.” Like the two inscribed vases that record their use as prizes from the games of the Dioskouroi at Phokaia, there is no other historical record of games from Tanagra. Pausanias does

is no reference to the location or publication of the hydria itself and so it is not included in the catalogue of bronze hydriai presented in this dissertation.

¹³⁶ Kyle 1993, 194. Other references, as in Lysias 21 (21.5, Davies “On Liturgies,” 36 sees this as a reference to the Panathenaic boat race, but Kyle claims this unnecessary, also cf. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 215), and a passage from Aristophanes *Eq.* 551-64; Harris, SGR, 128.

¹³⁷ D.M. Robinson articulates the suggestive features of this inscription, referring to the “Boeotian form of alpha, with broken right bar, and the peculiar Boiotian use of *iota* for *epsilon* in the unique unparalleled word *aithlon* for *aethlon*. See Robinson 1942 180 n. 34. “Cf. Roberts, introduction to Greek Epigraphy, 212, no. 200, l. 17; Θιογένειος: p. 215, no. 217m: Θιαγένια (for Θεογενεία); IG. Vii, 2418: ασεβιοντας, for ασεβέοντας, etc.: Buck, Greek Dialects, p. 20 (0.2), 139, 197-205, θίος, ανέθειαν.

¹³⁸ Schachter 1986, 64-65; Pindar, *Olympic Ode* 7, l. 83-85; *Sotheby's New York* 12.9.2004, cat. 294.

describe a sanctuary of Herakles, one of Dionysos and two for Hermes, whose birthplace was reputed to be in Tanagra, in the area, as well as a sacred grove for the local hero Eunostos. The games attested on this vase might have been dedicated to any of these important figures.¹³⁹ Archaeological evidence identifies structures and areas sacred to a wide array of gods, heroes, and locally significant figures, all of which may have been the reason for games with bronze vases awarded as prizes.¹⁴⁰

An inscribed hydria from Central Greece, **Ioannina 302** (cat. 17.58), is extremely fragmentary but likely was awarded as a prize from games in Thespiai. It reads “-] ΕΠΑ [-] Ο [-] ΕΣ ΤΗΣΙΠΙΑΣ.” Literary, epigraphical, and archaeological sources attest to a Classical temple of Apollo in Thespiai, in addition to the Temple of the Muses that Pausanias mentions and the foundations of a Temple of Hera nearby.¹⁴¹ Pausanias also refers to a Sanctuary of Herakles in this location.¹⁴² We also know that there were festivals and games in honor of the Muses and of Eros in this location.¹⁴³ Any one of these could be the source of our prize hydriai.

Sometimes, the deity or hero in whose honor the games were celebrated is mentioned in the inscription instead of the geographic location. This is the case with three inscriptions from games of the Dioskouroi, which appear on **New York 1999.460** (cat. 17.48), **Lost (ex-Chersonnesos)** (cat. 17.65), and **Thessalonike Py 208** (cat. 21.2). Like

¹³⁹ *Dionysos*: Pausanias 9.20.4. Trans. Jones 1965, 248-259; *Hermes*: Pausanias 9.22.1-2. Trans. Jones 1965, 262-265).

¹⁴⁰ *Princeton Encyclopedia of Sites*, 904-905. As far as I know, however, no athletic facilities have been discovered.

¹⁴¹ Pausanias 9.22. Trans. Jones 1965, 262-269.

¹⁴² Pausanias 9.27.6. Trans. Jones 1965, 288-289.

¹⁴³ Pausanias 9.27-30. Trans. Jones 1965, 284-307.

the two hydriai with inscriptions from Phokaia, these three vessels (at least the two that are available today for study) give no impression of having been made together but their inscriptions are contemporary, or nearly so. The inscriptions read “ΕΧΣ ΑΝΑΚΙΟ ΑΘΛΟΝ,” which can be interpreted as “[a prize from] the games of the Anakio.” ‘Anakio’ and ‘Anakes’ are epithets that refer to the twins Kastor and Polydeukes, the Dioskouroi. Several ancient authors explain the origin of this name. Plutarch, in his *Life of Theseus*, writes

[The Dioskouroi] also obtained honors [in Athens] like those paid to gods, and were addressed as *Anakes*, either on account of their ‘stopping’ hostilities or because of their ‘diligent’ care that no one should be injured, although there was such a large army within the city [,] for the phrase *anacos ekhein* is used of such as ‘care for,’ or ‘guard anything,’ and perhaps this is the reason that the kings were called Anaktes. There are also those who say that the Tyndaridai [Dioskouroi] were called ‘Anakes because of the appearance of their twin stars in the heavens, since the Athenians use *anekas* and *anakathen* for *ano* and *anohen*, signifying ‘above’ or ‘on high.’¹⁴⁴

Furthermore, we know that the temple of the Dioskouroi in Athens was called the Anakeion and a boundary stone marking one side of the area sacred to the Anakes has been recovered from the Athenian Agora.¹⁴⁵ Pausanias explains, in his description of a cult of the Dioskouroi in Lokris (Ozolian Lokris, in central Greece),

the Amphisians of Lokris also celebrate mysteries in honor of the Boy Kings (Anaktes Paides), as they are called. Their accounts as to who of the gods the Boy Kings are do not agree; some say they are the Dioskouroi, and others, who pretend to have fuller knowledge, hold them to be the Kabeiroi.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Plutarch, *Life of Theseus* 33.1.

¹⁴⁵ *Suda* s.v. Anakeion (trans. *Suda online*); Boundary stone, c. 450 BC: IG I(3) 1052; SEG 10.361, 41.126; Meritt 1939, 48, no. 14; Lalonde, Langdon, and Walbank 1991, H5.

¹⁴⁶ Pausanias 10.38.7. Trans. Jones 1965, 600-601.

Although all three of these hydriai omit the location of the games, we may be able to narrow down the possibilities by considering some of the peculiarities of the inscriptions. For instance, the single character *xi* in each case is replaced with a phonetic equivalent using two letters *chi* and *sigma* (e.g. ΕΧΣ instead of ΕΞ). According to L.H. Jeffery and A.W. Johnston, who wrote and revised, respectively, the critical survey of Archaic scripts throughout the Greek world, this particular letter substitution is attested for Attica, Boiotia, Aigina/Kydonia, Paros, Thasos, Rhodes, Gela, and Akragas.¹⁴⁷ The use of the three-bar sigma suggests either an Attic or Aeginetan origin.¹⁴⁸ Given the character of the lettering and the importance of a cult of the Dioskouroi who are referred to specifically as the Anakes by ancient authors, it is at least possible that these three hydriai may have come from games in Attica, possibly even Athens itself. The use of *athlon* rather than *aethlon* or *aithlon*, variants that seem to occur most frequently on vessels inscribed away from major mainland centers, strengthens this suggestion. Although there is no way to be certain about the Athenian attribution, these factors suggest that someone trained in the Attic tradition was responsible for inscribing this vase.

Not all Greek games were held in honor of gods. Local heroes could also be commemorated with contests, on the model of the funeral games that Achilles organized for Patroklos. One particularly fine inscription tells us that the kalpis was given in games in honor of Protesilaos in the land of Phthia, which has been identified as modern

¹⁴⁷ Jeffery 1990, *Table of Letters*.

¹⁴⁸ Jeffery 1990, *Table of Letters*.

Kolchis, in Macedonia (**Athens 13792**, cat. 17.9).¹⁴⁹ The inscription reads “[EX]Σ ΑΙΑΙΑΣ / ΤΑΣ ΦΘΙΑΣ ΕΘΛΟΝ ΠΑΡ ΠΡΟΤΕΣΙΑ[Α],” which has been taken as “from the land of Phthia [Kolchis], a prize from the games for Protesilaos.” Protesilaos was a mythical Thessalian aristocrat and hero, praised as “war-like” and “great of heart” by Homer.¹⁵⁰ Pindar writes that games were established in his honor in Phylake in Thessaly.¹⁵¹ Perhaps even more so than the games for the gods that are otherwise unknown, this vessel attests to a local practice that otherwise would be lost.

Although the term “ΜΑΧΕΙΑ” on the vessel discussed above (**Once New York Market (Phoenix Ancient Art 2006)**, cat. 4.18) is unique among the extant vessels, at least one other inscription also refers to a war or a battle. A plain kalpis from the second half of the fifth century in the course of rescue excavations in Karabournaki, near Thessalonike, in Macedonia. It reads, in small, neat letters in full Ionic script, “ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΙ ΑΘΛ(Α) ΕΠΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝΤΟΙΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ,” “[a prize from the] games [in honor of/for] the Athenians who died in the wars” or, alternatively “[a prize from the] the games in Athens for those who died in the wars.” The “wars” presumably refer to the battles against the Persians.¹⁵² It is curious that this vase made its way so far north, out of

¹⁴⁹ Kaltsas 2004, 230.

¹⁵⁰ Kaltsas 2004, 361, cat. 230; *Iliad* 11.608, 706-08, 16.286. The hero Protesilaos was most famously known for being a suitor of Helen and for being the first to die in the Trojan war, having been fated to do so in an oracle that said that the first to set foot on Trojan soil would be killed. Cf. *Iliad* 2.695; Apollodorus, *The Library* 3.10.8; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 97, 103.

¹⁵¹ Pindar *Isthmian Ode* 1, 59, 83f.; Schol. Philostratos, *Heroicus*, 2.8.285; Kaltsas 2004, 361.

¹⁵² Amandry 1971, 620 poses the question of exactly which war the inscription refers, offering the phrase “ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ” used by both Aristotle and Lysias (cf. Amandry 1971, 612, 614) and also the more specific “ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ” used by Diodorus, in honor of which he relates that a set of games (“ἐπιτάφιος ἄγων”) were instituted. The Porch of the Athenians at Delphi bears a related inscription, see Meiggs and Lewis 1969, 53, cat. 25.

Attica, when the inscription so clearly gives a geographic indicator. This same inscription is found on at least two other bronze vases, a lebes in the Kanellopoulos collection in Athens, which was found in Marathon, and another discovered in Ambelokipi.¹⁵³

P. Amandry discusses the significance of this inscription in a 1971 essay in which he catalogues the known examples of vases with prize inscriptions as part of a study of the lebes from the Kanellopoulos collection.¹⁵⁴ Plutarch, in his account of Aristeides, attests that a quadrennial celebration known as the Eleutheria was instituted in Plateia to celebrate the Greek victory in 489. A festival by the same name and honoring the same event is attested at least as late as the second century AD epigraphically and in literature, by both Pausanias and Plutarch.¹⁵⁵ Amandry proposes that all three of the bronzes with this inscription could have come from fifth century celebrations of this Plateian festival, preferring to read the inscription as “[a prize from the games] for the Athenians who died in the battle/war [of Plateia].”¹⁵⁶ He continues, however, to take into account the provenances of at least the two vases that were found in Attica, particularly the one in the Kanellopoulos collection, which was found at Marathon and rightly acknowledges that there are reasons for understanding the inscriptions in the context of local games there, as well. He points to the festival of Herakles, known as the Herakleia, which began in the first quarter of the fifth century.¹⁵⁷ The widespread significance of these games is attested

¹⁵³ Amandry 1971, 602-625.

¹⁵⁴ Amandry 1971, 602-625.

¹⁵⁵ Plutarch, *Life of Aristeides* 21.1. Amandry (1971, 621) cites A.R. Burn (Persia and the Greeks, 1962, 545, n. 91), who proposes that the later references to the festival were “not a survival but a revival.”

¹⁵⁶ Amandry 1971, 621.

¹⁵⁷ Amandry 1971, 621; Vanderpool *Hesperia* 11 (1942), 333-337.

by at least three Pindaric references to athletes who were victorious in these games as well as other local and prestigious Panhellenic contests.¹⁵⁸ The Herakleia was celebrated in Athens and at Marathon and was one of the five major festivals of Athens (along with the Delia, the Brauronia, the Eleusinia, and the Panathenaia).¹⁵⁹

Furthermore, as Amandry points out, the strength of Herakles, as an Athenian hero, was often associated with the valor of the unlikely Athenians against the Persians in this historic battle that quickly assumed legendary proportions. The association of the Battle of Marathon with the hero was so close that he and Athena were incorporated into the Polygnotan painting of the Battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile in Athens. A similar subject likely drawn from the Polygnotan model has been recognized on the Niobid krater in the Louvre.¹⁶⁰ The relationship to the hero is significant, as Herodotos reveals that the Athenians assembled in a sanctuary dedicated to Herakles prior to the Battle of Marathon.¹⁶¹ The reference specifically to the Athenians (and not the Plataians) might recommend a stronger connection with the Marathonian festival, which was tightly associated with Athens itself and may have reinforced the unity of the Athenians from

¹⁵⁸ Amandry 1971, 622 n. 92; Pindar *Olympic Ode* 11, ll. 89-90, where Epharistos of Oponos won at Olympia in 468, Delphi in 466, and at Isthmia, Nemea, and in smaller games in Arcadia, Achaia, Argos, Thebes, Athens, Eleusis and Marathon; Pindar *Olympic Ode* 13, l. 110, where Xenophon of Corinth won in the stadia race and the pentathlon at Olympia in 464, along with Argos, Marathon, Pellene, Arcadia, Sikyon, Megara, Thebes, Euboia, Eleusis, and in Sicily; Pindar *Pythian Ode* 8, l. 79, Aristomenes of Aegina won at Delphi in 446 and at Megara, Marathon, and either Argos or his home city of Aegina.

¹⁵⁹ Amandry 1971, 622.

¹⁶⁰ Amandry 1971, 622, Pausanias 1.15.3 (Jones 1965, 76-79). There also are associations between Theseus, the other major Athenian hero and the Battle of Marathon. See Plutarch, *Life of Theseus* 35.8 and Pausanias 1.32.5 (Jones 1965, 174-177). *Louvre G341* ("Niobid krater"): *LIMC* 5 (1990), 182-183, cat. 3520, s.v. "Herakles," (J. Boardman), pl. 161. Beazley *Paralipomena* 395; Beazley *Addenda* 2, 266; Denoyelle 1997, 5, 11-12, 14, 18-22, 31, 35 (with bibliography); *CVA* Paris, Louvre 2, III.Id.3, pls. 95-98; Harrison 1972, 390-402.

¹⁶¹ Herodotos 6.108.

diverse tribes, so soon after the Kleisthenic reforms in 508/7.¹⁶² Amandry further associates the battle of Marathon with celebratory games, drawing from a passage in Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, in which Aristotle decrees that two religious responsibilities of the polemarch on Athens were to sacrifice to Artemis Argrotera and to Enyalios, which was a gesture of thanks for victory in Marathon, and to organize the funerary games in honor of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, whose honorary statues were stolen from Athens by Xerxes in 480/79.¹⁶³ By the fifth century, the heroes' games were directly involved with the celebration of victory over the Persians and victory specifically at Marathon.¹⁶⁴ There is no way to be absolutely certain that the three inscribed bronzes come from the *epitaphios agones* of the Athenians in connection with the Battle of Marathon but the evidence suggests the strong possibility.¹⁶⁵

Although none of the inscribed bronze hydriai can be identified as prizes in musical or dramatic contests, bronze objects sometimes were awarded for these competitions, as well. In the *Works and Days*, Hesiod reports that he himself was awarded a tripod in the musical contest from the games of Amphidamas in Chalkis.¹⁶⁶ A small jug in the style of the Meidias Painter places Nike in the center of a musical contest showing two figures, one standing with his foot resting on the top of a hydria, the other

¹⁶² Amandry 1971, 623.

¹⁶³ Amandry 1971, 612, 623; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 58.1 (Rackham 1981, 161). Even as late as the second century AD, references in Pausanias (1.32.4; Jones 1964, 174-175) suggest that the Tyrannicides, the Battle of Marathon, and the festival of Herakles were conflated into one celebration honoring Athenian strength and prowess.

¹⁶⁴ Amandry 1971, 623.

¹⁶⁵ Amandry 1971, 625.

¹⁶⁶ *Works and Days* 654-659; Papakonstantinou 2002, 63.

seated atop his, to either side of a female figure playing a lyre (Figure 6.49).¹⁶⁷ We might wonder whether these hydriai were meant as prizes in a musical contest.¹⁶⁸

Sacred Implements and Dedications

Bronze hydriai and kalpides also could be marked as property of the gods and offered as votives in sanctuaries, where they may have been used in sacred rituals or kept as valuable reserves of currency. An Early Classical hydria (**Nemea Br 379**, cat. 14.1) found in a well in Nemea, is inscribed “ΤΟ ΔΙΟΣ ΕΙΜΙ ΤΟ ΝΕΜΕΑΙ,” I belong to Zeus at Nemea. It is likely that the four disassociated feet of bronze hydriai (**Nemea Br 377**, **Br 378**, **Br 380**, and **Br 381**, cat. nos. 19.24-19.27) that are similar in shape to **Nemea Br 379** (cat. 14.1) and were excavated from the same context also belonged to sacred vessels kept as cult paraphernalia and used in service of sacred rituals. Their presence in a well has been interpreted as the result of a clean-up effort following destruction and subsequent renovations in the sanctuary in the late fifth century.¹⁶⁹

Likewise, an Archaic hydria with ivy leaves at the ends of all three handles, **New York 57.11.12** (cat. 8.26), has two inscriptions “ΚΑΛΛΙΑΡ and ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΑ.” The first part, ΚΑΛΛΙΑΡ, which is written in tentative, lightly punched letters that D. von Bothmer identifies as an Elean dialect may suggest that the owner’s name was

¹⁶⁷ *Munich 2471*: Beazley *ARI*² 1324.39; *CVA* Germany 6, Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst, 2, 22, fig. 1, pl. 88, fig. 4; Gericke 1970, 121.

¹⁶⁸ As discussed in the previous chapter, if it is possible to use the iconography of the added decorative reliefs on bronze kalpides as evidence for their function, then we might also consider whether the **White-Levy** (cat. 20.44) fourth-century kalpis with an appliqué showing Orpheus playing for a satyr, could have been a prize vase.

¹⁶⁹ Miller (1978, 83) suggests that after this late fifth- or early fourth-century destruction, the Nemean Games were transferred to Argos for the first time. We know from later sources that the Nemean Games alternated between Nemea and Argos with some frequency during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Kalliar.¹⁷⁰ The second part of the inscription, “ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΑ,” which is clearly written in a different hand and as Bothmer notes, a different dialect. Perhaps the vase, once owned by Kalliar, eventually was dedicated in a sanctuary of Herakles.¹⁷¹

The same term, ΙΕΡΑ, “sacred to” or “sanctuary of,” appears on a plain kalpis from the late fifth century, **Berlin 30636** (cat. 17.11). It reads “ΙΕΡΑ ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙ... Ε ΟΛΚΑ ΜΜΜΜ.” The first part of the inscription, “sacred to Damatris,” must refer, as above, to a name. Since the name is not immediately familiar, we may assume that either Damatris was a local hero or revered figure, although the name has not come down to us, or more likely, that the *alphas* perhaps may substitute for *episilons*, which would indicate that the area or games were sacred to Demeter.¹⁷² The second part of the inscription is obscure but may refer to a number that indicates a weight or value.

Scenes on several ceramic vases suggest some religious activities that might have required a hydria in a sanctuary. Sacrifices required water for cleansing and extinguishing the flames. A small black-figure oinochoe from the latter half of the sixth century by the Painter of the Half-Palmettes or the Haimon Painter shows a woman running to right as she extends her back hand to pour water over a flaming altar (Figure 6.50).¹⁷³ On a red-

¹⁷⁰ Bothmer 1965, 605; *Lexicon* vol. IIIA, 228. While the name Καλλίας seems to have been extremely common, Καλλίαρ ending in a *rho* rather than a *sigma* is only attested three times, in Elean inscriptions from the early second century AD. Related forms, however, such as Καλλιάρια, which is attested only once, appear as early as the late sixth or early fifth century in Athens (*Lexicon* vol. II, 245). Καλλιάριστα and Καλλιαρχίδας are known as early as the fourth century from Rhodes and are present in sporadic inscriptions through the Hellenistic period (*Lexicon* vol. 1, 243). Καλλιάρως appears in at least two Central Greek inscriptions, one from Delphi in the first quarter of the second century BC and a later one from Thebes in the Imperial period (*Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 215).

¹⁷¹ Bothmer 1965, 605. Bothmer also claims that this part of the inscription “reveal[s] that the contest ended in a draw.”

¹⁷² I am grateful to Jasper Gaunt for suggesting this possibility to me.

figure stamnos from the mid-fifth century alternatively attributed to the Hektor Painter, the Peleus Painter or the Group of Polygnotos, Munich 2412, a figure of Nike pours water from an obviously metal hydria into a podanipter set in front of a bull that presumably is being prepared for sacrifice (Figure 6.51).¹⁷⁴

Whereas the previous vessels might be identified more precisely as the ‘property of the god,’ at least three bronze kalpides were inscribed as offerings to Zeus from private individuals. The first is a kalpis from the mid-fifth century, **Aegina** (cat. 17.53), which is missing its vertical handle and is undecorated other than the rather lengthy inscription in punched letters on the upper side of the mouth. This inscription has an additional level of richness because it names not only the deity and the location but also the dedicants. The inscription, written in a local Aeginetan script, reads “ΠΛΑΘΩΝ ΕΚΕΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΝ, ΗΥΙΟΙ ΠΡΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΕΛΛΑΝΙΩ ΔΙΙ,” which Harland has translated as “Plathon (and) Ekesthenes, sons of Prokles, dedicated (me) to Zeus Hellanios.”¹⁷⁵ The inscription is finely carved, with three dots aligned vertically, serving as punctuation between each word, except at the end, where there are only two. Harland dates the inscription to the two decades between 480 and 460 with a terminus ante quem of 457 when the Athenians defeated the Aeginetans and took control of the island.¹⁷⁶ It might be

¹⁷³ Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 267. Beazley *ABV* 573.3; *Paralipomena* 287; Haspels 1936, 248.12; CVA Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2, 46-48, pls. 62.11, 64.12; Diehl 1964, pl. 48; Oakley et. al. 1997, 130, fig. 11.

¹⁷⁴ Beazley *ARV*² 1036.5, 1679; Beazley *Addenda* 155, Beazley *Addenda*², 318; *Paralipomena* 443; Gerhard, pl. 81; FR pl. 19; Diehl 1964, pl. 46.1; Gericke 1970, 121; Berard 1987, 228, fig. 1; van Straten 1995, fig. 46; Vierneisel, and Kaeser 1990, 410, fig. 73.5; CVA Munich Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 5, 38, pls. 247.2, 249.3-4, 251.1-2, 255.1; Matheson 1995, 98, pl. 74.

¹⁷⁵ Harland 1925, 76.

¹⁷⁶ Harland 1925, 77.

significant that the earliest and most frequent references to the name occur in fifth-century Athens and Attica.¹⁷⁷ Ekesthenes seems to have been a far less common name, appearing first on our hydria and again in a fourth century inscription from the Argolid and in three inscriptions from Delos that date to the fourth and third centuries.¹⁷⁸

The archaeological context of this find is somewhat unclear, having been discovered undisturbed but among “debris made up for the most part of ‘Megarian’ pottery.”¹⁷⁹ However, the ‘debris’ was strategically located just to the east of the site which has been long suspected to be the Sanctuary of Zeus Hellanios in the southern part of the island on the north slope of the Oros hill, where the modern (as of 1925) church of Agios Asomatos stands, built partially of re-used ancient blocks.¹⁸⁰ Harland argues that the findspot of this vessel near to the proposed site of the Sanctuary supports the identification of the sacred area.¹⁸¹

Similarly, a fragmentary bronze rim from the Athenian Akropolis, **Athens X7294** (cat. 19.40), was offered to Zeus Herkeios on behalf of a woman and her children, “ZENOΣ· ΕΡ[ΚΕΙΟΥ] [ΗΑ]ΥΤΕΣ· ΚΑΙ ΠΑΙΔΟΝ· ΘΕΚΕΝ· ΑΓΑΛΜΑ· ΕΤΕΟΝ.” In his aspect as Herkeios, Zeus was thought to rule over concerns of the

¹⁷⁷ *Lexicon* vol. 2, 368-369. The name Plathon is not attested historically. Platon with a *tau* rather than a *theta* is known; unfortunately, however, it may not help us to place our dedicant securely because the name apparently enjoyed great popularity throughout the Greek world.

¹⁷⁸ *Hydria: Lexicon* vol. 3a, 138; *Delos: Lexicon* vol. 1, 148.

¹⁷⁹ Harland 1925, 78.

¹⁸⁰ Harland 1925, 77-78.

¹⁸¹ Harland (1925, 78) suggests, “perhaps it had been concealed there.”

family and domestic matters.¹⁸² The altar of Zeus Herkeios was located on the Athenian Akropolis, in the precinct of Pandrosos, west of the Erechtheion.¹⁸³

Finally, **Athens 7917** (cat. 17.1), an otherwise undistinguished vessel, bears the inscription “TIMONOAΣ ΔΩPON,” is written in large, evenly spaced, neat letters made of small points. The first word is the genitive form of the feminine (?) name TIMONOA. The second is the nominative form of the neuter noun ΔΩPON, meaning a gift. We may read the inscription, then, as a dedicatory statement “a gift of Timonoa.” The name seems to have been relatively uncommon, occurring in only one other inscription from Methymna on Lesbos in the third century.¹⁸⁴

Inscribed inventory lists are another important source for votive hydriai, attesting to the presence of these vessels in the storerooms of temples and sacred buildings. Bronze vessels tend to be underrepresented in these accounts used primarily to keep track of the accumulated wealth of the god in case the metal was needed for reserves of currency in times of financial crisis. Nonetheless, they provide invaluable information about hydriai made of silver and gold. The fourth-century inventories of the Hekatompedon compiled by D. Harris do not record any bronze hydriai, which is a telling omission that raises many questions; since numerous fragments of bronze vessels, including hydriai, have been discovered in deposits from the Akropolis, we must assume that the bronzes were kept elsewhere in the sacred center or simply were not recorded because of their lesser

¹⁸² Palaiokrassa in Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 56.

¹⁸³ Palaiokrassa in Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 56.

¹⁸⁴ *Lexicon* vol. 1, 444.

intrinsic value.¹⁸⁵ We might wonder whether they were stored in the appropriately named Chalkotheke, the foundations of which have been excavated between the rock-cut steps west of the Parthenon and the shrine of Artemis Brauronia.¹⁸⁶ An inscription from 353/2 records some of the inventory of the building at that time, listing “shields, breastplates, greaves, cauldrons, bronze plaques, bronze braziers, bronze missing bowls for wine, bronze incense burners, kadiskoi, etc.”¹⁸⁷ Although this account does not mention any hydriai, they would not be out of place among the objects that are included.

The records from the Hekatompedon do mention at least 50 hydriai of other materials, however, including gold, silver, and glass.¹⁸⁸ Small, core-formed glass hydriskai are attested archaeologically throughout the ancient Mediterranean beginning in the fourth century (e.g. Figures 6.52-6.53).¹⁸⁹ Their diminutive size precludes them from being used as water jars; instead, they likely held special oils or cosmetics.¹⁹⁰ The inventories record one glass hydria from 370/369, dated by a reference to the archon Dysniketos.¹⁹¹

By far the most numerous of the recorded vessels are silver – at least 42 are noted (*Appendix III*). Four were dedicated to Asklepios, all of which were inscribed “ὑδρία ἀργυρᾶ ἐφ’ ἧ ἐπιγέγραπται ἱερά Ἀσκληπιουῦ Νικοκράτης ἐκ Κολωνοῦ

¹⁸⁵ Harris 1995.

¹⁸⁶ Travlos 1971, 196, fig. 268.

¹⁸⁷ *IG* II² 120. *IG* II² 1438 also refers to the Chalkotheke. See Travlos 1971, 196, with further bibliography.

¹⁸⁸ Harris 1995, 153 (V.215-218), 158-162 (V.244-261).

¹⁸⁹ Stern and Shlick-Nolte 1994, 226-229, cat. nos. 54-55; Grose 1989, 165-166, cat. 157.

¹⁹⁰ Stern and Schlick-Nolte 1994, 226.

¹⁹¹ Harris 1995, 158 (V.250).

ἐποίησεν,” along with the value of the vessel given in drachmai and obols.¹⁹² Presumably the same Nikokrates of Kolonos was also responsible for another silver hydria that was recycled into seven phialai.¹⁹³ He also made a small gold hydria for Artemis.¹⁹⁴ Three additional silver hydriai made “from the phialai of the freedmen” were made by another craftsman named Diomedon during the archonship of Archippos, which was in 321/20.¹⁹⁵ Three more were dedicated to the Dioskouroi, and the same number to Athena Polias, which are described as “new.”¹⁹⁶ Athena Polias also received twenty-seven further silver vessels grouped together in a single inscription.¹⁹⁷ Athena Nike received three hydriai, which likely were silver based on the similarity of their weights to the other silver vessels.¹⁹⁸ Five silver vases are listed as the property of Demeter and Kore.¹⁹⁹ Seven were given to Artemis Brauronia and one to Aphrodite.²⁰⁰ In addition to one gold hydria also made by Nikokrates, five uninscribed gold hydriai were kept, along with one to Athena and another that recorded part of the name of its dedicator.²⁰¹ The silver hydriai seem to have been relatively consistent in size, generally ranging in value between c. 880 and c.

¹⁹² Harris 1995, 153 (V.215-218).

¹⁹³ Harris 1995, 158-159 (V.251), 160 (V.258)

¹⁹⁴ Harris 1995, 162 (V.261).

¹⁹⁵ Harris 1995, 159 (V.253).

¹⁹⁶ Harris 1995, 159 (V.254-255).

¹⁹⁷ Harris 1995, 161-162 (V.260).

¹⁹⁸ Harris 1995, 160 (V.256).

¹⁹⁹ Harris 1995, 160 (V.257).

²⁰⁰ Harris 1995, 161 (V.259), 159 (V.252).

²⁰¹ Harris 1995, 158 (V.244-249).

1050 drachmai, with a few notable exceptions that are considerably larger, including five that are over 1400.²⁰² The value of the gold vessels varies more widely, from less than 50 to nearly 1200 drachmai.

The inventories from Delos present a very different picture of the place of hydriai as sacred objects. Out of the numerous objects dedicated to the Delian sanctuaries, fewer than 50 of the reported items are hydriai, of any material. Inventories from the Temple of Apollo, compiled in the year 179 BC, list two silver hydriai among the treasures.²⁰³ Various bits of stamped bronze that were kept inside the same temple were listed as kept “in[side a] bronze hydria and stamnos.”²⁰⁴ The hydria remained in the inventory lists from 279 until at least 269 BC. A damaged bronze hydria, specified as “old” and missing its foot and one handle, is catalogued among the holdings of Apollo, c. 140 BC.²⁰⁵ Two bronze hydriai are included among the “unweighed” stores in the Treasury in the Gymnasium, near the dressing room, at Delos.²⁰⁶ In the Thesomphorion, there were “six small bronze hydriai[---] w. two handles and base [---]” present in the lists from 155 BC and kept at least until the updated list appeared in 146 BC, when they once again appear as part of the inventory.²⁰⁷ Another small hydria, whose value was 14.2 dr. also was kept in the Thesomphorion storerooms.²⁰⁸ The Hieropoion/Andrian treasure lists report

²⁰² Harris 1995, 159 (V.253), 160 (V.258).

²⁰³ ID 442 (Apollo Treasure C), Hamilton 2000, 137.

²⁰⁴ Apollo Treasure B, Hamilton 2000, 128.

²⁰⁵ Apollo Treasure D, Hamilton 2000, 174.

²⁰⁶ Gymnasium Treasure 1412a13, 1417A1118, Hamilton 2000, 218.

²⁰⁷ Thesomphorion Treasure D 1417AI49, 1442B16, Hamilton 2000, 241.

²⁰⁸ Thesomphorion Treasure D 1417, 1425, 1426, 1442, 1444, Hamilton 2000, 243.

taking a total of at least 12 bronze hydriai from the Chalkotheke, c. 207 BC.²⁰⁹ From inventories taken in the 270s BC from the Chalkotheke itself, a further 22 hydriai are counted, 15 of which seem to have been intact but the others are listed as missing various parts of handles and bases.²¹⁰ One other inventory “End Treasure A: Bronze/ Iron/ Wood,” from the middle of the fourth century, specifies the presence of 31 hydriai, 5 of which were without bases.²¹¹

Hydriai also could be used in religious processions, festivals, and ceremonies, which raises interesting questions of gender roles. On the north frieze of the Parthenon, four male hydriaphoroi lift their hydriai. The vessels must be full, to judge from the strain on the bicep muscles of the three leading men as they balance the jars on their shoulders and the need for the last figure to kneel down and place his jar on the ground briefly (Figure 6.2).²¹² These images pose a major problem for those who would see the Parthenon frieze as a literal enactment of a Panathenaic procession because they offer conflicting evidence from the literary sources. Late scholiasts and lexicographers commenting on the Panathenaic festival note that it was metic girls who were given the task of carrying the water jars on the processional route.²¹³ However, these hydria-bearers clearly are male and are key members of this festival.

²⁰⁹ Hieropoion/ Andrians Treasure C 372 (28d, 28e, 28f), Hamilton 2000, 395.

²¹⁰ Chalkotheke Treasure B 161B120 (279 BC), 164B8 (276 BC), 199B74 (274 BC), some of which are still recorded in 219B67, presumably after 274BC, Hamilton 2000, 399.

²¹¹ End Treasure A: Bronze/Iron/Wood ID 104 (365 BC), 103 (at most, 4 without bases), 104/11 (no mention of the ones without feet), 104/12 (355 BC), Hamilton 2000, 403.

²¹² Neils 2002, 147-50.

²¹³ Neils 147 n. 266; Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 195.

E. Simon has proposed that we might see these figures as winners from the torch-races with their prize hydriai, a practice for which there is pictorial and epigraphic evidence.²¹⁴ B. Wesenberg has suggested instead that the vessels might hold tribute payments.²¹⁵ Although J. Neils thoroughly rejects this theory, an inscribed tribute list in the Epigraphic Museum in Athens (IG I³ 68) with a fragmentary image of vessels containing the money above the text of the inscription does include at least one hydria and would support such a hypothesis (Figure 6.38).²¹⁶ Neils offers two arguments in favor of accepting the figures on the Parthenon frieze as acceptable hydriaphoroi for the religious procession. First, she suggests that the late date of the literary sources may discount the veracity of their testimony in the fifth century.²¹⁷ Second, other images of men carrying hydriai in processional contexts exist in vase painting (Figures 6.54).²¹⁸ To these two-dimensional images we may add Athens 7614, an Archaic or Classical statuette from the Athenian Akropolis in the form of a male water-carrier holding his hydria in front of him by the lateral handles and bending forward, ostensibly to set it down in front of a waterspout (Figure 6.55).²¹⁹

Small-scale statuettes of hydria bearers, usually female, have been discovered in relatively large numbers throughout the Greek world and must be related to religious

²¹⁴ *Epigraphic*: IG II² 2311 (Athens, Epigraphical Museum); Neils 1992, 16, fig. 1. *Pictorial*: Harvard 60.344, Athens, Agora Museum P 10675.

²¹⁵ Wesenberg 1995, 168-72, 177; Neils 2002, 149 n. 51.

²¹⁶ IG I³ 68: Lawton 1995, 81, cat. 1, pl. 1 (with full bibliography).

²¹⁷ Neils 2002, 146.

²¹⁸ For instance, a red-figure pelike attributed to the Pan Painter, Paris Cp 10793 and a small fragment assigned to the hand of the Dinos Painter, Basel, Cahn Collection 23. Neils 2002, 149, figs. 111-112.

²¹⁹ Rolley 1986, fig. 78.

processions. These numerous representations range from simple terracotta figurines, such as London 1849.12-20.49a (Figure 6.56), from Halikarnassos, which dates to the last quarter of the fifth century, to finely worked bronzes, such as one recently on the London Art Market (Figure 6.57).²²⁰ Presumably, these figurines represent roles performed in life in public processions and in sacred spaces and would have been dedicated as votive offerings or given as grave goods.

Other images speak to different aspects of religion. Bathing may be seen taken as a domestic or religious activity, but when nude women are represented in Greek art one tends to think of a more ceremonial purpose than simply routine washing. As noted above, multiple copies of Praxiteles' well-known statue of Aphrodite from Knidos show a hydria beside the bathing goddess (Figure 6.1).²²¹ Although not all images of Knidia include a hydria at least one other large-scale example of this type is preserved, Munich 258 (Figure 6.58) and one on a small scale, Copenhagen 14395.²²² One side of a Roman mirror shows two unclothed women bathing from a perirhanterrion set between them, while their hydria rests on the floor (Figure 6.59).

The religious function of the hydria is explicit in at least one image, a red-figure lekythos in the Manner of the Meidias Painter (Once Lausanne, coll. Embiricos), on which Eros pours water from a hydria down to a woman crouching in the pose familiar in

²²⁰ Cf. Diehl 1964, 191 n. 143. *London 1849.12-20.49a*: on view in the British Museum, photo by Author; *London Art Market*: Bonhams 2008, lot 205; Also see *Munich 4348: Münchener Jahrbuch* 30 (1979), 211. Diehl (1964, 171-209) discusses additional many deposits of hydriaphoroi in her discussion of hydriai in sacred contexts.

²²¹ Since the original fourth century sculpture would have been made of bronze, there would be no reason to add the hydria as a support and so it likely is an invention of a later date.

²²² *Munich 258: LIMC* 2 (1984), 51, cat. 399, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann); *Copenhagen 14395: LIMC* 2 (1984), 51-52, cat. 404, s.v. "Aphrodite," (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

three-dimensions from sculptures of Aphrodite Anadyomene.²²³ In a similar manner, a figure of Eros watering plants on a red-figure hydria of the Kertsch style, Athens 1424, transforms a mundane chore into a transcendental process of metaphorical growth and flowering (Figure 6.60).²²⁴

Bathing before a wedding normally was done with water from a loutrophoros, which is similar to a hydria in the inclusion of three handles but is more attenuated in profile. Sometimes, however, a hydria seems also to have been involved, as on a red-figure kalpis by the Leningrad Painter, Warsaw 142290 (Figure 6.61).²²⁵ This may also be the purpose of the hydria that a servant girl rests her foot on behind a seated bride who faces a standing figure of Eros on a red-figure kalpis by the Washing Painter, New York 29.139.25 (Figure 6.62).²²⁶

A woman carries her hydria on her head as she approaches an Ionic naiskos on a South Italian red-figure volute krater associated with the Ilioupersis Painter (Figure 6.63).²²⁷ There the connotation must be votive.²²⁸ On a gem from the Imperial period in a private collection in Jerusalem (G. Kleoetzli), a small figure of Eros holds an offering

²²³ *Christie's* London 1993, cat. 30

²²⁴ *Athens 1424*: Bieber 1949, 36-37, pl. 5.2.

²²⁵ Beazley *ARV* 571.76; *Paralipomena*, 390; *CVA* Goluchow, Musee Czartoryski, 23-24, pl. 32.3; Diehl 1964, cat. T 302, pl. 41; Reinsberg 1989, 54, figs. 9a-b; AK 30 (1987), pl. 15.1-2; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 56-58, figs. 10-13.

²²⁶ Beazley *ARV*², 1130.151; *Paralipomena*, 454; Diehl 1964, cat. T 324, pl. 42; *Archaeological News* 15 (1990), 8, fig. 10; Miller 1997, pl. 122.

²²⁷ *Bari 3658: LIMC* 6 (1992), 342-343, cat. 3, s.v. "Makaria I," (M. Schmidt).

²²⁸ *Bari 3658: LIMC* 3 (1986), 390, cat. 9, s.v. "Dike," (H.A. Shapiro).

dish above a flaming thymateriaion (Figure 6.64).²²⁹ In front of Eros, there is a statuette on top of a pillar and a disproportionately large hydria that seems to be dedicatory or to serve a ritual function.

In other cases, the contents suggest sacred uses. The most remarkable find comes from the subterranean shrine near the Temple of Athena at Paestum, where six bronze hydriai and two bronze amphorai were found to have residues from honey inside, which must have had a cultic or devotional significance.²³⁰ While the context does simulate a tomb environment, it seems to have been a site of religious devotion rather than an actual burial.

Bronze hydriai seem to have been particularly important as sacred vessels, serving a number of important functions within sanctuaries. Their religious significance may have influenced the widespread adoption of vessels in this particular shape and material for burial containers, hoping for the continued favor of the gods in the afterlife.

Gifts

Bronze hydriai and kalpides also were exchanged as gifts between friends, family members, and even dignitaries. At least four inscribed vessels attest to this practice. Although the gender of some of the names is difficult to determine, they seem to suggest that the vases were sometimes given between women, rather than as gifts to women from men or between men. The first of the gift-vases, **Once Basel Market, Münzen und Medaillen 1967** (cat. 16.1) reads “ΑΘΑΝΟΔΟΡΑ ΑΜΦΟΤΙΔΙ” and in a second hand

²²⁹ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 948-949, cat. 96, s.v. “Eros (in peripheria orientali),” (C. Augé and P. Linant de Bellefonds).

²³⁰ Sestieri 1956, 22-23. (See above, *Group 6*)

“NIKO.”²³¹ The second inscription may refer to a prior or later male owner, but the first inscription, written in the dative “Athandora [gave this to the daughter of] Amphotis,” presumably refers to a female owner. The first name, Athandora, is found most frequently in the epigraphical record outside of central Greece, which helps to locate the region in which it was at least inscribed, if not made.²³²

A second gift-vase, **Once New York Market (Sotheby’s 2005)** (cat. 19.7) is particularly interesting for its record of not one but two exchanges, both between women. It reads: “ΣΚΑΦΣΙΣ ΗΕΡΜΑΙΑ ΕΔΟΚΕ ΚΥΤΙΣ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΗ ΕΔΟΚΕ,” meaning “Skafsis gave this to Hermaia, Kytis gave this to Philoxene.” Skafsis is attested elsewhere, but Hermaia is somewhat more helpful, appearing most frequently in Central Greece from the sixth century through the Hellenistic period.²³³ Kytis, likewise, does not appear in the epigraphical record. We have the opposite problem with Philoxene, which is omnipresent. The exact form of Philoxene given here, with an *eta* instead of an *alpha*, is recorded somewhat less often but regularly enough to prevent us from using it as a reliable indicator of place, even if spelling were consistent enough to serve as a

²³¹ *Lexicon* vol IIIB, 32.

²³² *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 15. Other AYAN- names, both masculine and feminine, are attested for this region, as well, such as Athanogeita, Athanogeneis, Athanaogetis, Athanogita, Athanogitis, Athandota, Athandotos, andthandodoros, Athandokrateis, and Athandokritos. Since the male form of the name Athandodoros is attested with some frequency elsewhere, it is entirely possible that the name may have occurred in its feminine form in regions where it has not come down to us.²³² This inscription is the only reference to date of the male name Amphotis, though other names beginning with the prefix αμφ- are extremely common throughout the Greek world. However, the letterforms, which remain distinctly Central Greek, specifically Thessalian, even as late as just after the middle of the fifth century, preserving a cross-bar theta and a rounded delta, seem to confirm its placement in Thessaly.

²³³ *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 142.

criterion.²³⁴ The vessel and its inscription remains a valuable document of the exchange of objects between multiple hands, suggesting that the vase was handed down between generations or perhaps between friends, on the model of Achilles' golden amphora, made by Hephaistos and given by Dionysos to Achilles' parents, Peleus and Thetis, as a wedding gift.²³⁵ Later, it was given to the hero as a family heirloom to hold the ashes of his fallen compatriot, Patroklos.²³⁶ After Achilles' death, his own remains were added to the urn.²³⁷

Finally, a siren kalpis recently on the **New York Art Market, Fortuna 2008** (cat. 16.71), bears another gift inscription, “ΠΛΟΥΤΙΣ ΣΙΜΟΝΔΑΟ ΠΟΥΘΙΔΙ,” which can be read as “Ploutis [daughter of] Simondas [gave this] to [the daughter of] Pouthis.”²³⁸ The names all are somewhat unusual but are all attested from Tanagra in the third century, suggesting a familial connection.²³⁹ These vessels find a ceramic parallel in a white-ground Pyxis in Boston, inscribed “Lysandra gave it to Lysimachis (Figure 6.65).”²⁴⁰

²³⁴ Philoxena ending in an *alpha*: *Lexicon* vol 1, 468; *Lexicon* vol. 2, 457; *Lexicon* vol. IIIA, 459; *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 430; *Lexicon* vol. IV, 348. Φιλόξενη with an *eta*: *Lexicon* vol. 1, 468; *Lexicon* vol. IV, 348.

²³⁵ *Odyssey* 24.15-94.

²³⁶ *Iliad* 23.240-255.

²³⁷ *Odyssey* 24.74-79.

²³⁸ Thanks to Jasper Gaunt for his help with this interpretation and for Sarah Cox at Fortuna Fine Arts Gallery for alerting me to its existence.

²³⁹ *Lexicon* vol.1, 374; *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 348 (Several *Plout-* names are attested from Central Greece, mostly clustered in the third century, which is earlier than the kalpis in question here but family names do repeat, making it possible that earlier generations with similar names were living in the area in the fifth century.); *Lexicon* vol. IV, 281. *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 379. *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 358-359

²⁴⁰ *Boston 65.1166*: Painter of London D12, c. 440, www.mfa.org. Truitt 1969.

In a more official capacity, Polybius recounts hydriai offered as gifts to the Rhodians, along with “seventy-five silver talents...oil in the gymnasium...silver cauldrons with their bases, a certain number of water-pitchers [hydriai], and in addition to this ... ten talents for sacrifices and ten more to qualify new men for citizenship, to bring the whole gift up to a hundred talents.”²⁴¹ This exchange reminds us of the famed vessels sent by the Lydian king Kroisos to the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi as a dedication to the oracle.²⁴²

Sometimes the vessels were given somewhat less freely. In Book 24 of the *Iliad*, King Priam offers Achilles, “a ransom past counting” in exchange for the body of Hektor.²⁴³ Although Homer does not specify the nature of his offerings, vase-painters imagine the scene with all manner of luxurious vessels and fineries. On a red-figure skyphos now in Vienna, the Brygos Painter visualized the ransom with phialai, large kalpides, armor, and boxes (Figure 6.66).²⁴⁴ A similar scene appears on a red-figure cup in the Levy-White collection (Figure 6.67).²⁴⁵

In other cases, they were stolen. In a fourth-century passage from Demosthenes’ speech *Against Evergus and Mnesibolis*, the author explains that in lieu of collecting payment for a legal settlement, Theophemus had stolen “fifty soft-woolen sheep...that were grazing and with them the shepherd boy and all that belonged to the flock, and also

²⁴¹ Polybius *Histories* 5.88.5-7 in Paton 1966, 215-217.

²⁴² Herodotos 1.14.

²⁴³ *Iliad* 24.503, trans. Murray 1924.

²⁴⁴ *Vienna 3710: LIMC* 1 (1981), 150, cat. 659, s.v. “Achilleus,” (A. Kossatz-Deissmann), pl. 124.

²⁴⁵ Beazley *ARV*², 399, 1650; *Paralipomena* 369; Bothmer 1990, 158-161.

a serving boy who was carrying back a bronze pitcher [hydria] of great beauty (“περικαλλην”) which was not ours, but had been borrowed.²⁴⁶ From this passage, we learn that a bronze hydria was of sufficient value to warrant taking in place of a cash reimbursement.

Inscriptions with Personal Names

A few of the inscriptions record simply a name, without further elaboration. They may have been gifts or offerings. These have been discussed briefly above in *Chapters 1-3* in isolation but can be considered together as a group here in order to assess the ways they enrich our understanding of how the vessels were used and how the inscriptions functioned collectively. The earliest is on a fragmentary hydria, **Mainz 201** (cat. 5.3), and reads “ΤΕΛΕΣΣΤΑΣ.”²⁴⁷ As noted in *Chapter 1*, Pausanias credits a man by the same name with an Archaic bronze statue that stood in Olympia.²⁴⁸ It is striking that the name is widely attested in nearly 30 inscriptions from the Peloponnese beginning in the sixth century and continuing through the Hellenistic period. Whether or not Pausanias’ Telestas and our Telesstas are the one and the same largely is a matter of speculation and whether the person named on the bronze hydria is a bronze-worker (as opposed to an

²⁴⁶ Demosthenes *Against Evergus and Mnesibulus* 52 in Murray 1964, 309.

²⁴⁷ Neugebauer 1938, 329-38, figs. 1-3; Kunze 1938, 121-123; *Antiken aus rheinischem Privatbesitz* 1983, 21, no. 53, pl. 25; Charbonneaux 1948, 44; Matz 1950, 440, pl. 258a; Hafner 1957, 119-26, 145, pls. 16, 17.3; Homann-Wedeking, 1958, 64; Hampe and Simon 1959, 4f., figs. 4-5; Schefold 1960, 18, 144, no. 111; Jeffery 1961, 183, 189, 199, no. 7, pl. 35; Charbonneaux 1962, 61, pl. 1.2; *EAA* 676, fig. 793; Rolley 1963 33, no. 7, fig. 131; Diehl 1964, 5,10-12, cat. B 21; Jucker 1966, 56f., pl.14.3; Dontas 1969, 53; Marangou 1969, 156, 270, cat. 883; Rolley 1977, 131, 135; Pasquier 1982, 286f.; Rolley 1982, 32-34, fig. 131.3; Herfort-Koch 1986, 81, no. K 1, pl. 1.1-2; Gauer 1991, 95, n. 240; Stibbe 1992, 12-13, 54, cat. C 5, figs. 17-18; Hammond 1995-96, 52-53, 64, figs. 3-4; Shefton 2000, 32; Stibbe 2004a, 2-3, 32, cat. 1.1, figs. 1-4.

²⁴⁸ Pausanias 5.23.7 (Jones and Ormerod 1964, 522-523).

owner) remains unclear but it is a reasonable suggestion given the propensity for Greek names to be repeated among members of the same family.²⁴⁹

The next inscription with a personal name occurs on an early fifth-century hydria with a solid ivy leaf at the bottom of the vertical handle, **New York 26.255.2a** (cat. 8.20), which reads “ΣΟΠΟΛΙΔΟΣ.” This may suggest that a man named Sopolis was the owner of the vase. Sopolis, whose name means “savior of the city,” however, is not geographically specific and is attested throughout the Greek world as a personal name from the fifth century onwards.²⁵⁰ Multiple illustrious individuals with this name are known, including one who was a member of Alexander’s cavalry from Amphipolis and another who was a fifth-century Siphnian aristocrat whose family is involved in a lawsuit with Isocrates.²⁵¹ Fraser and Matthews, *et. al.* have tentatively assigned this inscription to Argos because of the character of the letterforms.²⁵²

A plain kalpis once on the **Art Market** with a single name inscribed reads “ΦΙ(N/Λ)ΕΙΔΑΣ” (cat. 15.15). It is unclear whether the third letter is a *nu* or a *lambda*, and the name is unattested either way, but there are myriad names that begin with φιλ- that may be related and only a very few with the prefix φιν-. The name Φιλέας, which is particularly close, seems to have common throughout the Greek world in all periods.

Another inscription referring to a personal name reads “ΘΕΡΣΩΝΕΙΑ ΕΙΜΙ,”

²⁴⁹ *Lexicon* vol. IIIA, 424. *Lexicon* vol. 1, 432.

²⁵⁰ *Lexicon*, vol. 1, 420 ; *Lexicon* vol. 2, 414; *Lexicon* vol. 3A, 411; *Lexicon* vol. 4, 323.

²⁵¹ Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander* 3.11.8, in *Warfare in Ancient Greece*, ed. M. Sage, 1996; Isocrates *Aegineticus* XIX (Att. Or. II, 217).

²⁵² *Lexicon* vol. IIIA, 411.

(**Steinhardt A1996.2**) (cat. 17.28) meaning, “I belong to Thersoneia.” The stem, ΘΕΡΣΩΝ is known from the fourth century through the Hellenistic period in Boiotia and Thessaly, in at least seven inscriptions from Athens and Attica beginning in the third century, and on Crete at least once, from the second century.²⁵³ Like many of the other inscribed vessels, there is strong evidence for the inscription to have come from Athens or Attica.

A fourth century kalpis with a narrative appliqué showing Dionysos and Ariadne beneath the vertical handle was inscribed at least twice (**New York 51.11.8**, cat. 20.30). In one hand, which seems contemporary or nearly so with the production of the vase itself, reads “ΤΕΙΣΙ,” in neat, dotted letters centered on the rim. The second inscription(s), which may or may not have been added at the same time but appear(s) to have been scratched lightly into the surface with the same hand, has a series of seemingly unrelated words placed haphazardly around the mouth, “ΧΑΡΤΑ , ΚΑΡΡΑΛΕ, ΣΩΙΣΤΡ.”

The first inscription, Teisi, likely is the dative form of the name Teisis, meaning “belonging to Teisis.” The inscription does not provide any suggestive geographical indications because it is written in a full Ionic script and must date after the early fourth century, when the Ionic script had surpassed most local variations in letterforms. Teisis seems to have been a beloved name in the Greek world, known from epigraphical sources from as early as the eighth century in the Peloponnese (Messenia), several times in

²⁵³ *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 194; *Lexicon* vol. II, 224; *Lexicon* vol. I, 219

Athens and Attica, beginning in the fifth century, at least twice in Hellenistic Thrace.²⁵⁴

Again, Athens or Attica is a strong possibility, building a case for a significant bronze workshop in the vicinity of Athens in the fifth century that favored inscriptions on vessels of this shape.

There are several possibilities for interpreting the second inscription. Χάρτας is attested, along with a constellation of other names beginning with the same prefix (χαρτ-), in the Peloponnese as early as the sixth century but mostly clustered in a number of inscriptions from the third century BC, and also in an isolated inscription from Beroia, in Macedonia, from the third century.²⁵⁵ Alternatively, the plural noun τὰ χάρτα meaning “the delights,” which might be understood as a term of affection or perhaps a commemorative sentiment. Κάρραλε and reasonable variations is completely absent from the epigraphical record as a personal name, and the use of a double *rho* in a name beginning with *kappa* or *chi* is attested only once.²⁵⁶ Of course, it is possible that Karrale was a name that went unrecorded or, alternatively, that the term does not refer to a name at all. Likewise, neither Soistros, Soistra, nor Soistre, which theoretically would all be possible from the abbreviated Soistr- on the inscription, is attested as a personal

²⁵⁴ Peloponnese: *Lexicon* vol. IIIA, 423. Athens and Attika: *Lexicon* vol. II, 425; Thrace: *Lexicon* vol. IV, 329. (*Teisias*, a slight variant that may also be a possibility for the New York inscription, is also attested numerous times and from an early date: *Lexicon* vol. 1, 430; *Lexicon* vol. 2, 424; *Lexicon* vol. IIIA, 423; *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 401 (but late); *Lexicon* vol. IV, 328).

²⁵⁵ Peloponnese: *Lexicon* vol. IIIA, 475; *Lexicon* vol. IV, 355. Also, two related names, Χαρτάδης and Χάρτης are represented in inscriptions from Sounion and Athens, respectively, in the fifth century, which is too early for this kalpis, cf. *Lexicon* vol. II, 478. Χαρτάδας and Χαρτάδης are also mentioned in multiple times in inscriptions from various Aegean islands (including Crete, Rhodes, Tenos, and Thasos) from the fourth century through the Hellenistic period, cf. *Lexicon* vol. I, 485. Χαρτάδας also is attested in one inscription from Thebes in the fourth century but is the only recorded name with this prefix in Central Greece, cf. *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 442.

²⁵⁶ Χάρρης, *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 443.

name, although if we omit the *iota*, many names attested from all periods and regions begin with the prefix Σωσ-, which connotes ideas of safety.

Finally, a fourth century kalpis whose appliqué has not survived, **Leiden LKA 1159** (cat. 20.69), is inscribed “ΟΛΥΜΠΙΧΟΥ ΕΙΜΙ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΦΡΟΝΟΣ,” “I belong to Philophon, son of Olympikos.”²⁵⁷ References to the term ‘philophonos,’ which means ‘kindly-minded’ are known as early as the *Ajax*, in which Sophocles uses it as an epithet to describe Chalkas as he speaks to Teucer and advises him to keep Ajax in his tent in order to avoid his fated death.²⁵⁸ As a personal name, Φιλόφρων is fairly common, appearing in Athens and Attika from the fifth century through the Hellenistic period, with some frequency but less often across the Aegean islands from the fourth century onwards, and sporadically in Boiotia (in Koroneia, Tanagra, and Thespiiai) in the Hellenistic period, and in Macedonia (Sirrha) once in the Imperial period.²⁵⁹ Here again, there is a strong possibility that the vase, or at least the inscription, came from Athens or from a craftsman trained in the Attic tradition.

These inscriptions also raise the question of who actually inscribed the vase: the craftsman or the owner? Or perhaps, in some cases, was it an official of a sanctuary or contest? Hydriai with multiple inscriptions, such as **Ankara** (cat. 14.8) or **New York 57.11.12** (cat. 8.26) show that the inscriptions did not have to be placed on the rim by the original bronze-worker and could be added later. Most of the inscriptions that appear to

²⁵⁷ In a short report from 1889, S. Reinach suggests that the *chi* is of an eastern type and suggests that the inscription dates to the sixth century AD, although I find it highly unlikely that the vessel was inscribed so long after its manufacture.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁸ Flower 2008, 210.

²⁵⁹ Athens and Attika: *Lexicon* vol. 2, 460; Aegean Islands: *Lexicon* vol. I, 470-71; Boiotia: *Lexicon* vol. IIIB, 432; Macedonia: *Lexicon* vol. 4, 349.

be contemporary or near contemporary with the manufacture of the vessel are inscribed with a series of small, regular dots of similar shape and size. Those that seem to have been added later tend to be chased and on the whole, are less careful and regular.

Weight/ Value

The final category of inscriptions, revealing aspects of weight or value, is more ambiguous than the previous types. To date, two inscriptions have been thought to relate to the weight and/or value of the vessels. As noted above, it is far more common for silver vessels to advertise this commercially relevant information because of its far greater economic value. The second inscription on **Once New York Market (Phoenix Ancient Art 2006)** (cat. 4.18), written by a different hand than the rest, $\text{I}^{\circ} \Sigma \text{ 'X}^{\circ}$, may specify the weight and/or value of the vessel. The weight of the vase (4.39 kg) has been interpreted in light of this inscription to equal approximately 10 minae of bronze and valued at 1000 drachmas on the commercial market.²⁶⁰ A price of 1000 drachmai for a bronze hydria seems to be particularly high; the system used to calculate this value seems to be based on a silver standard rather than bronze. It is altogether more common for weights and values to be recorded on silver vessels than bronze because of their much greater intrinsic worth.

There is also an extremely fragmentary fourth-century bronze kalpis, **London 306** (cat. 20.13), which preserves only an appliqué and a partially preserved rim that is said to be associated. Heydemann transcribed the inscription in an 1869 excavation report as

²⁶⁰ *Phoenix Ancient Art* 2005, 107-108, cat. no. 18.

ΛΕΙΤΡΑΣ, which may have indicated a unit of volume. Today, the fragile metal is in such a deteriorated condition that the inscription cannot be read today.²⁶¹

Even if both of these inscriptions are less than certain, it is possible to estimate the worth of these bronze vessels in other ways that may be useful for considering their relative values and discussing the kind of person who might be able to afford a bronze hydria. An inscription that gives the bullion value of materials used for coinage is useful here.²⁶² One talent is equivalent to 26,860 grams (25.86 kg), a single talent of tin costs 230 drachmae and the same of copper costs 35 drachmae, a silver drachma would have bought approximately 112 grams of tin or 739 grams of copper. Because we are sure of the metallurgical composition of the foot of **Atlanta 2001.12.1** (cat. 20.37), we may take it as an example; its total weight is 645 grams, 83% of which is copper and 14% tin, which is equal to 535 grams copper and 90 grams tin. The materials alone would cost, then 0.72 drachmae for the copper and 0.80 drachmae for the tin, for a total of just over 1.5 drachmae, for the raw materials of the foot alone.

We cannot be certain of the percentage of each component for many other vessels, nor does the current weight necessarily equal the original weight because of corrosion products and even minimal conservation but we may at least estimate the cost of its materials. The metallurgical composition of the vessel in Atlanta has been analyzed with non-dispersive X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF).²⁶³ Its hammered body was found to have an average of 83.1% copper, 15.8% tin, and 0.3% lead. The cast handles have a

²⁶¹ In a conversation with J. Swaddling at the British Museum, I was told that today, only a *lambda* can be discerned on the extremely disintegrated surface of the rim.

²⁶² IG 1:3 457, no. 472; Price in Kraay and Jenkins 1968, 103.

²⁶³ Gaunt 2006, 364-365, fig. 2.

substantially higher lead content, ranging between 13.6% and 18.4%, which lowers the amount of copper to between 66.2% and 74.5% (average 70.85%) and the tin to between 10.0% and 16.2% (average 13.1%). If we take the average of the metal used for the hammered body and cast handles, we arrive at an estimated ratio of 76.98% copper (which we may round to 77%) to 14.45% tin (which we will round to 14.5%). With its foot, **Atlanta 2001.12.1** (cat. 20.37) weighs 11.0 pounds, or 5.0 kg. Less the known weight of the foot (645 gr.), total weight of the hammered body, cast mouth, and three handles is 4.355 kg., containing approximately 3353.35 grams copper and 631 grams tin. From there, we can calculate the value of the copper at c. 4.54 dr. and the tin at c. 5.6 dr. for a total of c. 10.14 dr. Adding in the value of the foot, then the entire value of the materials used for the vessel should be c. 11.64 dr.

To give an idea of a potential range of prices based on weight, we may give a few additional examples, using the same averages as above. A second kalpis in the Michael C. Carlos Museum, **Atlanta 2004.25.1** (cat. 16.11) has a total weight of 9.0 pounds or 4.10 kg (4100 gr.). Taking the average estimated composition of the alloy as 77% copper and 14.5% tin to account for the hammered and cast parts, which can be broken down to 3157 gr. copper and 594.5 gr. tin. We can calculate the price of the raw materials, then, to be in the order of 4.25 dr. for the copper 5.3 dr. for the tin, which equals c. 9.5 dr. altogether.

The two vessels in Atlanta seem to be of more or less average size and weight. To arrive at an estimate of the upper and lower limits of the scale, we may take **New York 26.50** (cat. 14.13), one of the heaviest examples sampled so far, with a large, decorated body and elaborately cast handles, and **New York 06.1078** (cat. 17.5), one of the lightest

and least heavily ornamented.²⁶⁴ **New York 26.50** (cat. 14.13) is more substantial than most, weighing c. 9.46 kg (9460 grams), which can be broken down to c. 8514 grams of copper and c. 946 grams of tin. Using the same ratio of metallurgical components as above, we can estimate the value of the copper to be c. 11.5 dr. and the tin at c. 8.43 dr., for a total of just less than 20 drachmae for the entire vase. For **New York 06.1078** (cat. 17.5), c. 2.28 kg (2280 g) consists of c. 2052 grams copper and c. 228 grams tin. The copper, then, would have cost c. 2.77 dr. and the tin would have been worth c. 2.03 dr., bringing the total metallic value of the vessel to just less than 5 drachmai. If most of the other vessels are between these two extremes, we may propose that the raw materials for a bronze hydria of average weight and size might have cost only between five and twenty drachmae, which really is not as expensive as might be expected initially.

Elaborate decoration and particularly fine craftsmanship surely would have raised the price from this estimate but we cannot know how significantly. A.W. Johnston suggests that in the fifth century, the price of a ceramic hydria was raised considerably (one full drachma) with modest increases in height (and therefore materials) and the addition of additional painted figures.²⁶⁵ We may assume that both the extra materials used to create the sculpted reliefs appended to the hydriai (particularly so if added inlays of silver, copper, or niello were incorporated) and the skill of the craftsmanship required to work them would have contributed to the cost of the finished product in the

²⁶⁴ My thanks to the Department of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and to the National Archaeological Museum in Athens for permission to weigh the hydriai in their collections. I am grateful especially to John Morariou, Senior Technician in the Department of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum for helping me with this part of the project. Thanks to Jasper Gaunt for helping with the calculations.

²⁶⁵ Johnston 1979, 35.

marketplace. Pliny supports this claim in his assessment of ancient metals, writing, “copper used to be blended with a mixture of gold and silver [but] nevertheless, the artistry was valued more highly than the metal.”²⁶⁶

Ancient building accounts, such as those from the fifth-century Erechtheion on the Athenian Akropolis or from the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros in the fourth century, suggest that a skilled day laborer would have received a wage of approximately one drachma per day.²⁶⁷ This figure allows us to conclude that although not every socioeconomic class could have afforded to spend five drachmai or more on a household vessel, it was not nearly as out of reach as silver or gold for the majority of the population.²⁶⁸ Since bronze seems to have been the material of choice for important functions, such as prizes and burial containers, we may propose that these hydriai were desired, purchased, and exchanged as a valuable commodity in their own right and not simply as a lesser substitute for the precious metal versions of the shape. Given the large numbers of bronze hydriai produced over a period of at least half a millennium, the many critical tasks they performed, it seems that they had a clear cultural significance that outweighed a relatively modest commercial value.

Burial Containers and Funerary Offerings

In addition to the many functions that bronze hydriai served in life, they often were chosen to serve the dead. It is fortunate that this shape was favored for burial

²⁶⁶ Pliny *HN* 34.3.

²⁶⁷ *Erechtheion*: Paton and Stevens 1927; *Temple of Asklepios*: Burford 1966, 256-63; Burford 1969, 54-59. Camp 2004, 98.

²⁶⁸ On the subject of the relative values of metals in ancient Greece, see especially Vickers and Gill 1989, 297-303; Vickers 1990, 181-189; Vickers and Gill 1990, 1-30, and Vickers and Gill 1994.

because the tombs provided a sealed, protected environment that has preserved many of them for us today. The wide geographic distribution of hydriai in graves that largely follows the settlement and trading patterns of the Greeks themselves suggests that there was a strong cultural identification with the shape.²⁶⁹ The preference for this shape, particularly in bronze, draws on the aggregate significance accorded it, a combination of familiarity, luxury, and utility. Water jars were necessary in life and so were available in large numbers for re-use and/or for purchase for a specific occasion. It was sturdy and symmetrical, ideal for holding ashes without fear of contamination or spilling. Bronze may have been favored because it was a luxury material that simultaneously was more affordable, available, and dispensable than precious metals.

The hydria occupied an important place in the lives and minds of the Greeks. The shape had strong associations with the life-giving nature of water, which was essential not only for drinking, but also for cooking, sacrificing, and bathing, including both routine washing and ceremonial cleansing on important occasions, such as at birth, prior to a wedding, or following death.²⁷⁰ Placing the remains of a deceased family member inside a water jar may also have been a provision for ensuring the dead would have water in the hereafter. The axiomatic nature of the hydria, a shape that had a time-honored tradition spanning countless generations, was a reassuring and familiar shape that promised the continuation of life and the renewal of spirit.

²⁶⁹ Diehl (1964, 67-68) observes that for the most part, the findspots of hydriai follow the settlement patterns of the Greeks.

²⁷⁰ Diehl (1964, 67-68) notes that hydria could be used for all sorts of water-related activities as well as a number of other functions and also that, conversely, other shapes could be substituted for water duties, if necessary.

The archaeological contexts in which the vessels have been found and the contents discovered within and around the hydriai offer rich opportunities for considering the final phase of the vessels' lives. Since tombs are the most frequent context in which they are found, it is to be expected that they tend to contain bone fragments, sometimes mixed with ashes.²⁷¹ The practice of burial inside a bronze hydriai was not limited to one part of the ancient world but seems to have been widespread throughout Greece and Hellenized regions of Italy and Asia Minor, as well as to the North, especially in Thrace and around the Black Sea, to the West, from northern Italy up into Central Europe, and to the East, in the Aegean islands and parts of Turkey. In other cases, the fine preservation of the vase, including the hammered body as well as the cast parts, such as **New York 37.11.6** (cat. 20.1), is enough evidence, even without the bones or a secure provenance, that the vessel came from a sealed, protected environment, likely a tomb.²⁷²

Scientific evaluations occasionally have been performed on the bones. For instance, the remains of a two-year-old child were found inside a fifth-century prize vase now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, **Malibu 73.AC.12** (cat. 14.16).²⁷³ This obviously attests to a secondary use of the vase after the athlete who won it and perhaps was used as a family heirloom, on the model of the Homeric golden amphora. In addition to bones

²⁷¹ For instance, in **New York 06.1098** (cat. 17.5), from Galaxidi, **Syracuse** (cat. 5.1), from a necropolis in Gela, **Volos 591-596**, from a grave near Palaigardikion (near Trikkala), **Ankara** (cat. 14.8), from Sinope, **Rhodes**, from Ialysos, **Thasos P 6764** (cat. 16.16), from Thasos, **Athens, Kerameikos 2073** (cat. 17.10), from the Kerameikos, **Hermitage P 1836.4** (cat. 16.6), from Kol Oba (Kertsch), **Varna VI 197** (cat. 16.7), **Athens 13789** (cat. 16.9), from the Kerameikos, **Arta** (cat. 16.52), from Ambracia, **Hermitage P 1851.1** (cat. 17.7), **Atlanta 2001.12.1** (cat. 20.37), **Sofia** (cat. 20.25), from Mesembria, and **Delphi** (cat. 20.27), from Makrokomi, among others.

²⁷² Richter 1941, 537.

²⁷³ Berger 1974, 23-24. (See also *Chapter 2: Group 14*). On the golden amphora, see *Odyssey* 24.15-94, *Iliad* 23.226. Hektor's remains also were buried in a golden urn, *Iliad* 24.776.

and ash, traces of other funerary accoutrements, such as burial shrouds, sometimes are evident, as well, particularly from the fourth century, e.g. **Atlanta 2002.12.1** (cat. 20.37), **Sofia** (from Mesembria) (cat. 20.25), or the silver hydria from the ‘Prince’s Tomb’ in Vergina, which held a purple cloth (*Appendix III*).²⁷⁴

Occasionally, peculiarities in the form of the vessel itself suggest its use as a funerary urn. For instance, we may note the hinged opening on the shoulder of the silver hydria from Vergina or the intentional cutting and reassembly of some bronze hydriai, including **Amsterdam** (cat. 8.23), **Athens 7917** (cat. 17.1), and **Veroia 1004-1018-1021** (cat. 17.45). These features may be original but more likely indicate later refurbishments. Another way that the vessel itself might betray at least one phase of its use is by the permanently affixed lid held tight with strong rivets or bent nails. **Athens 15137** (cat. 6.5) is covered with a heavy lid made of lead that was secured using three rivets with broad, flat heads that are not easily removed, likely put in place upon its deposition in a tomb rather than when it was in use in daily life.²⁷⁵

Alternatively, objects inside the vessels may reveal the religious beliefs of the owner, such a gold foil tablet inscribed with an Orphic text was found inside of a bronze hydria from Pharsalos, **Athens 18775** (cat. 20.17).²⁷⁶ The inscription associates it with a papyrus of similar nature found in Tomb A at Derveni, further north in Macedonia.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ **Atlanta 2002.12.1** (cat. 20.37): Gaunt 2006, 365-366; **Sofia** (cat. 20.25): Diehl 1964, 153; Vergina (*Appendix III*): Andronikos 1992, 202.

²⁷⁵ Diehl 1964, 149.

²⁷⁶ Barr-Sharrar 2008, 184; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 210; Diehl 1964, 153, 163.

²⁷⁷ Barr-Sharrar 2008, 16 nn. 39-41, 184; Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997, 9-10

Otherwise, objects found in and on the vessels may suggest rituals to honor the deceased during the funeral, before the tomb was sealed. The most illustrious surviving metal hydria, the hinged silver vessel from Tomb IV (the so-called “Prince’s Tomb”) from Vergina, which contained the cremated remains of a member of the Macedonian royal family, had a finely preserved gilded oak wreath around its neck.²⁷⁸ Others, such as **Thasos P 6474** (cat. 16.16), **Taranto 113502** (cat. 17.43), or **St. Petersburg 1834.1** (cat. 17.33), also were appointed with wreaths.²⁷⁹ This practice also was imitated on many fine black-glazed examples of the shape.²⁸⁰ In at least one instance, the wreath may have crowned the deceased on the pyre, rather than the vessel itself. **Ankara 10612** (cat. 21.3), a rare Hellenistic find, contained the remnants of a gilded wreath.²⁸¹

The objects found alongside the hydriai also are helpful for assessing the ways the vessels functioned in the tomb. For instance, a silver mesomphalic phiale was placed over the mouth of **Plovdiv 1540** (cat. 17.16), from Moschovitza Mogila near Duvanlij, in southern Bulgaria, which may suggest that the hydria was included in a libation or drinking ritual performed before the tomb was sealed.²⁸² Another tomb in the same vicinity, **Plovdiv 1637** (cat. 17.32), from Golemata Mogila, was covered with a silver

²⁷⁸ Andronikos 1992, 202.

²⁷⁹ **Thasos P6474** is unpublished, to my knowledge, but the wreath is restored and replaced around the neck of the vessel in the display in the Thasos Archaeological Museum; **Taranto 113502**: Lippolis 1994, 153; *St. Petersburg 1834.1*: Diehl 1964, 153.

²⁸⁰ Cf. Kopcke 1964, 22-84.

²⁸¹ Diehl 1964, 162.

²⁸² Diehl 1964, 80.

kantharos and may suggest a similar rite to celebrate the deceased's transition from life to death.²⁸³

Given the strong association between women and hydriai, it is not surprising that many burials that include bronze vessels of this shape can be identified as belonging to a female. Three bronze kalpides from **Vathia**, placed equidistant from each other in a U-formation inside a stone box, were found along with a mirror, three white-ground lekythoi, a small kantharos, an amphora, two red-figure phialai, three small jugs, and a fragmentary red-figure lekythos.²⁸⁴ A Late Classical grave in **Chersonnes** (cat. 17.65) included golden earrings and rings just outside of a tomb with both bronze and clay hydriai inside.²⁸⁵ One of the bronze hydriai from this tomb (now lost), with a prize inscription from the games of the Dioskouroi in an unspecified location contained bits of gold leaf, a gold ring, a gold chain presumably from a necklace, a golden headband with lions' heads at the ends and a Herakles knot in the center, fragments of silver bracelets or arm bands with golden rams' protomes at the ends, and a silver ring with a round medallion on the top decorated with a bust of Aphrodite and winged Erotes, suggesting a female burial.²⁸⁶ A broken mirror mixed with ashes inside a vase from Samos may also have belonged to a woman.²⁸⁷ A feminine grave might also be suggested by the delicately

²⁸³ Diehl 1964, 80.

²⁸⁴ Diehl 1964, 152.

²⁸⁵ Diehl 1964, 155.

²⁸⁶ Diehl 1964, 155.

²⁸⁷ Diehl 1964, 156.

wrought golden earrings with images of Medusa found along with the Early Classical bronze hydria now in the University of Mississippi Art Museum.²⁸⁸

As with the other contexts discussed in this chapter, more evidence exists for positing relationships between men and hydriai than is traditionally recognized. The use of hydriai in men's tombs was not a temporary fashion or hasty substitution for a more masculine object. **Corfu 3475** (cat. 20.57) comes a fourth-century tomb in Paramythia, found along with a delicate gilded laurel or olive leaf wreath, a bronze cuirass, two helmets (one bronze, one silver), and two bronze spears, all of which certainly suggest a male presence. Furthermore, the kalpis itself has an appliqué with one of the more masculine subjects found on the Late Classical kalpides, showing Dionysos and a drunken satyr. Although C. Picard prefers to interpret the Dionysiac imagery in light of the funerary contexts in which the vases with appliqués of this type have been found, G.M.A. Richter has proposed that perhaps these vessels could also have been used in service of a symposium, which may well be correct and would help to explain the connection between the male burial and the hydria.²⁸⁹ **Bern 11620** (cat. 12.1), which was found in Grächwil, Switzerland, contained the bones of a Celtic warrior.²⁹⁰ The imagery on the vase, a winged Potnia Theron surrounded by her animals, does not correspond to the masculine nature of its contents, although Artemis as both huntress and one who masters and subdues the natural world certainly has a powerful male aspect.

²⁸⁸ Robinson 1942, 191-193.

²⁸⁹ Richter 1946, 367.

²⁹⁰ Shefton 2003, 318.

A third example from a male burial comes from an Augustan tomb in Milan, **Milan A 09.9285** (cat. 21.8). Along with the hydria, which seems to have been an heirloom from the end of the fourth century, there were three small glass unguentaria, two ceramic olpai, a terracotta lamp, and two bronze strigils that surely identify the tomb as belonging to an athlete. **Athens, Kerameikos 2073** (cat. 17.10), a plain vessel from the fifth century, was found inside a cylindrical marble box along with an alabastron and a bronze strigil.²⁹¹ Similarly, **Varna VI 197** (cat. 16.7), from Sez Sevmes, was placed in a prominent position in the center of the grave alongside an alabaster alabastron and bronze strigils, among other small finds. Inside the hydria itself, there were cremated human remains mixed with small animal bones, perhaps suggesting a ritual feast at the time of internment, along with fragments of a second alabastron, a “knob” with a gorgoneion, and some iron scraps.²⁹²

Other finds also suggest male burials. Another bronze hydria, **Plovdiv 1519** (cat. 18.1), from Baschova Mogila (near Duvanlij), was found in the same vicinity as a silver omphalos cup, a golden breastplate, silver cups with representations of races on them, a silver kylix, a silver gilt rhyton, at least three other bronze vessels, elements of bronze armor, ceramic hydriai, bronze and iron nails and traces of wood that probably represent the remains of a funeral pyre.²⁹³ Together, these extensive grave goods suggest a grave of a man with wealth, power, and prestige, at least on a local level. A similar conclusion is suggested by **Oxford 1948.101** (cat. 17.62), a bronze hydria from Dalboki, near Stara

²⁹¹ Frova 1961, 71-78; Diehl 1964, 162.

²⁹² Diehl 1964, 151.

²⁹³ Diehl 1964, 79.

Zagora in Bulgaria, which was found in a stone-lined grave with a vaulted ‘ceiling’ along with a golden breastplate and other pieces of Greek bronze armor, silver and bronze vessels, an iron lampstand and spearpoints, and bits of ceramic pottery.²⁹⁴ Another from a grave mound in **Rachmanlij** (cat. 19.37) was found with a bronze helmet and other pieces of armor, a bronze patera, a situla, and a plate, in addition to an alabaster vessel and several ceramic vases.²⁹⁵ Further afield, a grave from Nymphaea, now **St. Petersburg TKH** (cat. 16.29), was found inside a stone-lined grave with a wooden sarcophagus, part of an assemblage that included a bronze helmet, armor and weapons, along with a bronze oinochoe and cups.²⁹⁶ The sympotic iconography of the wall paintings in tomb at Aghios Athanassios near Thessalonike suggests a male context, as well.²⁹⁷

Judging from literary references, hydriai made of precious metals seem to have been especially desirable for burying the ashes of kings, queens, and other important figures. The many bronzes that have been excavated from the tombs of wealthy private citizens may have been the layperson’s equivalent to these expensive ossuaries. Polybius tells of silver hydriai “one said to contain the bones of the king and the other those of Arsinoë, [but] as a fact, the one did contain the king’s bones and the other was full of spices.”²⁹⁸ Later, the two vessels were placed inside the royal treasuries.²⁹⁹ According to

²⁹⁴ Diehl 1964, 80.

²⁹⁵ Diehl 1964, 81.

²⁹⁶ Diehl 1964, 82.

²⁹⁷ Tsibidou-Avloniti 2005.

²⁹⁸ Polybius *Histories* 15.25.6 in Paton 1968, 521.

²⁹⁹ Polybius *Histories* 15.25.11 in Paton 1968, 523.

Plutarch, writing in the second century AD, a silver hydria covered with a gold wreath also contained the bones of the general Marcellus.³⁰⁰ He reports that there was some confusion over whether the ossuary actually was received by Marcellus' son and received the proper funerary ceremonies or whether it was lost in transport. Likewise, Antigonos, although he was responsible for Eumenes' death, allowed Eumenes' remains to be taken to his family and placed inside a silver urn [hydria].³⁰¹ The practice of burying royal figures in a silver vase of this shape is attested archaeologically in the vessel found in the 'Prince's Tomb' in Vergina, which also was covered with a golden wreath.³⁰² We might wonder whether either of the other two surviving silver kalpides, **Thessalonike 5243** or **Toledo 1979.1** (*Appendix III*), once held the remains of a person of importance. A golden hydria is said to have held the ashes of Antigonid king Demetrios Poliorketes and to have been displayed on the deck of the Macedonian ship that carried it to Corinth, where it was "adorned with royal purple and a king's diadem and young men stood about it in arms as a bodyguard."³⁰³

Hydriai made of stone seem to have been preferred for mythological and legendary burials. Orpheus' remains allegedly were kept in a stone hydria set on top of a column near Dion, in the foothills of Mt. Pieria in Macedonia.³⁰⁴ Pausanias continues Orpheus' story by explaining how, in a scuffle to hear the songs of a shepherd singing

³⁰⁰ Plutarch *Life of Marcellus* 30.3-4. Trans. Perrin 1917, 521.

³⁰¹ Plutarch *Life of Eumenes* 19.1. Trans. Perrin 1919, 137.

³⁰² Andronikos 1992, 198-217.

³⁰³ Plutarch, *Life of Demetrius* 53.1-3. Trans. Perrin 1920, 133-135.

³⁰⁴ Pausanias 9.30.7. Trans. Jones 1935, 303.

next to the mythical musician's grave, a group of shepherds jostled the pillar supporting the urn, causing it to fall and break and the bones to spill out.³⁰⁵ When this happened, the area was almost immediately besieged with floods as punishment for this transgression, and the citizens of Dion took the bones back with them to their city, where they could be protected.³⁰⁶ A stone hydria also contained the bones of one of the most ancient Sibyls who revealed the oracles at Delphi, a woman supposedly named Demo who was born in Cumae, where the ossuary was kept in a sanctuary of Apollo.³⁰⁷ Another hydria made of stone was said to hold the remains of Laïs, an illustrious heitaira associated at various times with Aristippos, Demosthenes, and Diogenes the Cynic.³⁰⁸ Her ash urn was inscribed "time was when proud Hellas, invincible in might, was enslaved by the divine beauty of Laïs here, whom Eros begot and Corinthus nourished; now she lies in the glorious plains of Thessaly."³⁰⁹ Similarly, archaeological evidence such as the marble kalpides from the fourth century Macedonian cemetery at Aigai (Figures 1.29), attests to the correlation between hydriai of this sturdy material and burial.³¹⁰

In the mythological realm, at least 25 vases show a hydria among the funerary accoutrements that accompany Elektra and Orestes at the tomb of Agamemnon (e.g. Figures 6.68-6.70).³¹¹ This must reveal a practice that hydriai served in the context of

³⁰⁵ Pausanias 9.30.10. Trans. Jones 1935, 305.

³⁰⁶ Pausanias 9.30.11. Trans. Jones 1935, 307.

³⁰⁷ Pausanias 10.12.8. Trans. Jones 1935, 435-437.

³⁰⁸ Athenaeus 13.588.c. Trans. Gulick 1927, 173.

³⁰⁹ Athenaeus 13.589b. Trans. Gulick 1927, 177.

³¹⁰ Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadali, 2004, 306,307.

³¹¹ *LIMC* 3 (1986), 711-714, cat. nos. 7-46, s.v. "Elektra I," (I. McPhee).

grave cults, offering water libations to the deceased and keeping the tomb clean. It is this final function that was poignantly remembered in later periods, as on a nineteenth century British painting by Lord Leighton Frederic, in a scene with a woman mourning over a funerary column topped with a ceramic hydria ornamented with a painted fountain-house scene; another hydria is partially hidden by the column (Figures 6.71-6.72). The ubiquitous presence of the shape in diverse shapes, materials, and functions ensured that the lines between the living, the dead, the mundane, the victorious, and the sacred were blurred, perpetually aiding the memory to consider the life-giving nature of water and the fate of the deceased who hoped not to be forgotten. The hydria simultaneously signified *all* of these ideas.

Conclusions

Together, the inscribed bronze hydriai and kalpides suggest a wide range of uses for these vessels beyond their traditional associations with water collecting and burial containers. The prize-vases attest to a strong tradition of awarding hydriai to the winners of contests throughout Greece and Asia Minor. This suggests that they were viewed as objects of prestige, valued beyond their economic worth. The votive dedications reveal aspects of religious devotion not attested in other sources. The personal names given on the gift-vases and those with a single name are invaluable additions to the study of ancient prosopography.

As a group, one of the most striking aspects of our examinations of these sources is the persistent reference to a female audience. On the one hand, this association with women corroborates the traditional view of the hydria as a feminine shape related to women's duties in the home. On the other hand, the vessels inscribed for women add an

extra dimension of significance to the relationship between hydriai and the female sphere, even extending, at times, outside of a domestic context.

Even the vessels given as gifts to women offer rich opportunities for understanding social dynamics. **Once New York Art Market, Sotheby's 2005** (cat. 19.7) and **Once New York Art Market, Fortuna 2008** (cat. 16.71) seem to refer not only to gifts given *to* women but exchanged *between* women. Whether we recognize the names today or not, the women identified by name on these vessels must have been members of prominent families. These women were of similarly high social positions as the finely dressed ladies on the numerous fountain-house scenes that appear on painted vases from the late sixth and early fifth centuries. They are unlikely to have routinely collected water for their families, just as the bronze jars themselves may have played a larger role in the house than out of it, but the symbolism of the hydria as a gift or valuable possession worth inscribing with the name of the lady of the house is an important aspect that is worthy of our consideration.

It is possible that at least a few of the inscribed prizes may have been awarded to women, as well. At Olympia, Pausanias writes of contests for young women celebrated in honor of Hera that complimented the male-dominated festivities for Zeus.³¹² In other cult centers as well, the dual cults of both Hera and Zeus seem to have been celebrated with games. At Argos, for instance, Pausanias writes "As you go up the citadel [of Larissa in the city of Argos] you come to the sanctuary of Hera Akraia (of the Height) . . . Adjoining it is the race-course, in which they hold the games in honor of Nemean Zeus

³¹² Pausanias 5.16.2-7. Trans. Jones and Ormerod 1965, 474-475.

and the festival of Hera."³¹³ It was to this festival that the most famously immortalized Argive brothers, Kleobis and Biton, transported their mother, prompting her to pray for the gods' favor upon them and their subsequent death and immortalization in stone at Delphi.³¹⁴ Evidence for women's participation in games also survives in Sparta and at Dodona.³¹⁵ We might propose that the kalpis awarded as a prize in the games of Artemis at Athens may have been given to a girl, based on the model of the Arkteia at other sanctuaries of Artemis in Attica, such as Brauron and Mounychia.³¹⁶

The inscriptions are also important for what they reveal about the relationships between men and hydriai, as well. Even if we were to go so far as to accept every hydria that might possibly have been given to a woman as such, we are still left with at least two-thirds of the inscribed vessels that must have operated in the male sphere. Telesstas, Sopolis, Phi(n/l)eidas, and Philophron clearly are masculine names, the reference to the Athenians who died in the war certainly refers to men, there is no reason to assume a female dedicant in the case of the two votives from Nemea and Aegina, and it is more than likely that the winners of the many of the games were male, which is probably also true for the games for the hero Protesilaos or those in the time of Deophantos son of Lampros in Lampsakos, in Mysia, on the Hellespont. Likewise, a woman most likely did not win the wrestling contest mentioned on the fragmentary kalpis in Princeton. Literary, epigraphical, and visual references to hydriai also suggest that the shape, and particularly

³¹³ Pausanias 2.24.2. Trans. Jones 1964, 374-375.

³¹⁴ Herodotos 1.31.1.

³¹⁵ Miller 2004, 155.

³¹⁶ Pausanias 5.16.2-7. Trans. Jones and Ormerod 1965, 474-475.

vessels of this kind made of metal, had a strong presence in men's lives. The discussion of archaeological contexts and contents indicates a similar situation in death.

It is difficult to determine today whether the functions of bronze hydriai accrued or changed over time or remained consistent. Instead, it is preferable to take the evidence synchronically to arrive at a reasonably full understanding of the diverse functions that a bronze hydria might have fulfilled. We are left with an extremely rich picture of ancient life, death, sport, politics, religion, and myth, in which a single shape of vase that has been defined narrowly in the past can now be restored to its full spectrum of uses. This closer examination of contexts, contents, literary references to and artistic representations of hydriai challenges the common misconception that hydriai were domestic vessels used primarily by women and reveals that, in fact, water jars, and bronze examples in particular, were important for both men's and women's activities, in religious, civic, athletic, and ritual contexts as well as the more mundane.

Conclusions

The quantity of surviving hydriai alone would suggest the importance of the shape in ancient Greek culture. Its continued production over a period of at least half a millennium, from the late seventh through the first century BC, and the diverse materials used for its manufacture, ranging from humble to luxurious, further testifies to its currency. The strong presence of the shape specifically in bronze in the archaeological record, as well as in ancient literature, inscriptions, and visual representations seems to demonstrate a special significance accorded to these vessels in particular. The substantial increase in the number of surviving bronze hydriai presented here has allowed for new considerations of chronology, typology, style, production, iconographic significance, use, and value.

Many of the new additions are complete, which has made it possible to propose a tighter chronological sequence for the series. More examples have allowed for a better understanding of how and when the profiles of bronze hydriai change over the course of the Archaic through the Hellenistic period. Besides affording more fruitful examinations among the bronzes themselves, it also enables closer comparisons between hydriai made of various materials. Comparison with ceramic versions of the shape is particularly important because so many survive – more than 5000 in total- and because they have been closely studied. Given the prevailing lack of good archaeological contexts for the bronze hydriai, finding parallels for the shapes within the well-established sequence of ceramic vessels is extremely helpful for ordering the bronzes. The examinations presented in *Chapters 1-4* demonstrated that the inter-media comparisons were most successful after the Archaic period. The few surviving silver hydriai (*Appendix III*) show

that the shape developed along similar lines in that material, as well, at least in the later fifth and fourth centuries. Two extant marble kalpides from the Late Classical period have profiles that strongly resemble their ceramic, bronze, and silver counterparts and further suggest that contemporary examples of the shape in all materials were made with some degree of intentional awareness of one another.

The more robust corpus also affords a more nuanced typology for the surviving bronzes, arranged according to the character of the decorative elements added at the ends of the three handles. The scheme presented in *Chapters 1-4* follows the general outlines of the categories established by previous scholars, including E. Diehl, D. von Bothmer, C. Rolley, W. Gauer, and C.M. Stibbe, but diverges in significant ways. First, at least two new groups have been added, those with simple geometric ornaments from the Early Archaic period (*Group 1*) and those with attacking lions in an openwork style from the mid- to late-fifth century (*Group 18*). Perhaps more importantly, the greater number of vessels available for study presents numerous opportunities for considering issues of style and iconography. By paying close attention to the ornamental additions, it becomes possible to group objects that may have been made alongside one another. In some cases, common subjects or combinations of motifs betray their shared origins. In others, stylistic details help to identify objects from the same region, workshop, or even craftsman. A fuller sample offers the chance to consider the full range of iconographic possibilities and to determine more accurately which decorative motifs were preferred at different times. Given the relatively limited range of motifs chosen for inclusion on these vessels, especially compared to the diversity of subjects shown on ceramic vessels of the same shape, it is possible to suggest that each ornamental element was selected specifically for

its potential to enhance the experience of using the vessel. *Chapter 5* provides an overview of the subjects chosen for ornamenting these vessels and offers suggestions for interpreting the significance of each element from the perspective of a contemporary Greek viewer, in general, and more specifically, in the context of a jar used for water with the potential for several secondary functions.

Many of the new additions have been discovered in the course of archaeological excavations over the last half-century. Therefore, the number of known findspots also has increased dramatically. Although identifying the specific locations of production centers has been largely unsuccessful due to the ephemeral nature of the equipment needed to produce the vessels and the portability of the objects themselves, tracing the recorded provenances across the Mediterranean helps to identify patterns of trade and circulation between the Greeks and their neighbors to the east, west, north, and south. Because these hydriai were made over such a long period of time, they offer unique opportunities to assess the ways in which patterns of circulation change over time. A direction for future study in this topic certainly would be to consider the implications of these shifts in geographic areas where significant concentrations of bronze hydriai have been found. For instance, numerous Archaic and early Classical vessels have been discovered in Italy but almost none from the late fifth or fourth centuries have come to light. Does this relatively sudden drop-off indicate that trading ceased with this area? Alternatively, was there a local production system in place in this region that died out because of lack of demand or because of a more pressing need for the materials for other objects? Similarly, many hydriai from the Late Classical period have been discovered in the north, near to the Black Sea. Does their presence indicate a Greek population in this area in the fourth

century that insisted on the production of familiar vessel-types or does it simply attest to an international audience for these luxury goods in the north, along established trading routes? The maps presented in *Appendix I* chart the known provenances for each individual group as well as for broader chronological periods. The examinations of the patterns that emerge from considering the material in this way signal the great potential for this line of inquiry, though much remains to be done.

The implications of this investigation of bronze hydriai are far-reaching, extending well beyond the study of the development of a single vase-shape. In many cases, evidence from the vessels themselves suggests ways that they might have been used. The meaningful decorative elements added to the ends of the handles testify to the appropriateness of hydriai as gifts, sacred offerings, religious equipment, and prizes, as well as to the status and concerns of an aristocratic audience, especially in the representations of sympotic and equine imagery. The inscriptions added to at least 40 of them corroborate the functions to which the imagery alludes. The significance of this source as a body of evidence for understanding the functions of vessels has been increased significantly by the many inscribed vessels that have come to light since Diehl's 1964 publication.¹ In his review of Diehl, Bothmer remarked upon the importance of the inscriptions and the need for a study of them.² The inscriptions offer opportunities not only to explore the functions of these specific vessels but also allow for considerations of the relationships between text and image and offer important evidence

¹ Diehl's catalogue (1964, 212-223) lists 17 inscribed hydriai and fragments: **Mainz 201** (cat. 5.3), **Baltimore 1954.1269-71** (cat. 7.1), **Ankara** (cat. 14.8), **New York 26.50** (cat. 14.13), **New York 26.255.2a** (cat. 8.20), **Athens 7917** (cat. 17.1), **Providence** (cat. 17.17), **Aegina** (cat. 17.53), **Athens 13792** (cat. 17.9), **Thasos** (cat. 17.78), **Berlin 30636** (cat. 17.11), **Now Lost (Chersonnesos)** (cat. 17.65), **Ioannina** (cat. 17.58), **Paris 2674-75** (cat. 16.26), **New York 51.11.8** (cat. 20.30), **Richmond 57-18** (cat. 20.65), and **Berlin 10.822a** (cat. 8.7).

² Bothmer 1964, 604-605.

for ancient names, games, and events that often are not mentioned by any other sources. Furthermore, the contexts in which the vessels have been discovered allow for fuller considerations of how bronze hydriai were used, at least in the final phase of their lives as burial containers. Diehl devoted a substantial part of her study to the funerary and sacred functions of these vessels, which provides a valuable starting-point for continued considerations of the subject.³ *Chapter 6* includes an assessment of the evidence offered by bronze hydriai in tombs, which is aided immeasurably by the many vessels that have been unearthed in the course of excavations in the last half-century, since Diehl's publication.

This study also differs from previous studies in considering a fuller range of functions that are attested for hydriai in this specific material by references to it in ancient literature, inscriptions, and art. A sophisticated picture of multivalent, multifunctional vessels emerges, allowing us to restore the bronze hydria to its central position in ancient society, important not only for religious and sacred activities but also for a wide range of more mundane functions. These sources also are important for the light they shed on different ways that both men and women might have used these essential vessels. These diverse sources attest to a high cultural value for bronze hydriai that exceeds the economic value of the materials used to make them.

Ultimately, the bronze hydria seems to have been such a valued part of life that it accompanied the Greeks wherever they traveled, both literally, across the Mediterranean and into central Europe and the Balkan Peninsula, and figuratively, as they made the transition from the world of the living to the world of the dead.

³ Hydriai in the grave: Diehl 1964, 65-168; Hydriai in sacred contexts: Diehl 1964, 169-207.

Abbreviations

- Beazley *ABV* Beazley, J.D. (1956). *Attic Black Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Beazley *ARV* Beazley, J.D. (1942). *Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters*. 2nd Edition. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Beazley *ARV*² Beazley, J.D. (1963). *Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters*. 2nd Edition. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Beazley *Addenda* Burn, L. and R. Glynn. (1983). *Beazley Addenda*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Beazley *Addenda*² Carpenter, T.H. (1989). *Beazley Addenda*. 2nd edition. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
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- Lexikon vol. 3B. Fraser, P. M. and E. Matthews, eds. (2000). *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, volume 3B: Central Greece from the Megarid to Thessaly*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Lexikon vol. 4. Fraser, P. M. and E. Matthews, eds (2005). *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, volume 4: Macedonia, Thrace, northern regions of the Black Sea*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- LIMC* *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*. Volumes 1-8. Zurich, Artemis.
- Paralipomena* Beazley, J.D. (1971). *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-Painters and Attic Black-figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

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CATALOGUE¹

¹ All dimensions are given in centimeters.

Group 1: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Non-Figural Decoration

- 1.1 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 3700
- 1.2 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 8934
- 1.3 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5243
- 1.4 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 1827
- 1.5 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6897
- 1.6 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 13879
- 1.7 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 7848
- 1.8 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 3568
- 1.9 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6241

Group 2: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Swan's Heads*Vertical handles*

- 2.1 Budapest, Musée des Beaux Arts 60.3.11
- 2.2 Capua (Santa Maria Capua Vetere), Museo 264138
- 2.3 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 5220
- 2.4 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6406/ Olympia Br 12996
- 2.5 Ancona, Archaeological Museum 11379, 11377 a,b

Horizontal handles

- 2.6 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 4948
- 2.7 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 4290
- 2.8 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5269
- 2.9 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5270
- 2.10 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 2744
- 2.11 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7140
- 2.12 Sibari, Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Sibaritide
- 2.13 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1899.465
- 2.14 Patras, Archaeological Museum 71

Group 3: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with the Forepart of a Lion at the Lower End of the Vertical Handle

- 3.1 Budapest, Musée des Beaux Arts
- 3.2 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5421/ 5473
- 3.3 Heraklion, Archaeological Museum 153
- 3.4 Patras, Archaeological Museum 70

Group 4: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Palmettes and Animals

- 4.1 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6969
- 4.2 Sibari, Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Sibaritide
- 4.3 Lecce, Museo 2707
- 4.4 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 7490
- 4.5 Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire R 1183 a,b
- 4.6 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 1996.AC.107
- 4.7 Once New York Market (Ward)
- 4.8 Sibari, Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Sibaritide
- 4.9 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1890.550
- 4.10 Delphi, Archaeological Museum 6
- 4.11 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen Br 183
- 4.12 Naples, Museo Nazionale 86527
- 4.13 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6407 (Olympia Br 7226)

- 4.14 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 4340, 4250
- 4.15 Once New York Market (Christie's 2002)
- 4.16 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7454
- 4.17 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7915
- 4.18 Once New York Market (Phoenix Ancient Art 2006)
- 4.19 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.461
- 4.20 Israel, Private Collection (Jerusalem, Borowski, GR 174)
- 4.21 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3447
- 4.22 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 2907
- 4.23 Sparta, Archaeological Museum 1703
- 4.24 Griefswald
- 4.25 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 819
- 4.26 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 11764, Br 13875
- 4.27 Syracuse, Museo Regionale Paolo Orsi 26838
- 4.28 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3860
- 4.29 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 3402
- 4.30 Germany, Private Collection (Strasbourg)
- 4.31 Mariemont, Musée B 201
- 4.32 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 16372
- 4.33 Paestum, Archaeological Museum 49805
- 4.34 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum ΘE 1556
- 4.35 Belgrade, National Museum 199/1
- 4.36 Belgrade, National Museum 200/1
- 4.37 Belgrade, National Museum 183/1
- 4.38 Belgrade, National Museum 187
- 4.39 Delphi, Archaeological Museum A
- 4.40 Delphi, Archaeological Museum B
- 4.41 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7158
- 4.42 Once Paris Market (2009)
- 4.43 Once Paris Market (2009)

Group 5: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with a Female Protome at the Lower End of the Vertical Handle

- 5.1 Syracuse, Museo Regionale Paolo Orsi
- 5.2 Atena Lucana, Antiquarium Comunale
- 5.3 Mainz, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 201
- 5.4 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6021, B 175
- 5.5 University of Missouri, Columbia 87.1
- 5.6 Capua (Santa Maria Capua Vetere), Museo 264130
- 5.7 Germany, Private Collection
- 5.8 Berlin, Pergamon Museum 10389
- 5.9 Paris, Louvre Br 2645
- 5.10 Netherlands, Private Collection
- 5.11 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1995.92
- 5.12 Nîmes, Musée Archéologique
- 5.13 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 16450
- 5.14 Once Paris Market (2009)

Group 6: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with a Female Protome and a Palmette at the Lower End of the Vertical Handle

- 6.1 Paestum, Archaeological Museum 49800
- 6.2 Paestum, Archaeological Museum 49803
- 6.3 Paestum, Archaeological Museum 49804
- 6.4 Paris, Petit Palais
- 6.5 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15137
- 6.6 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 67.11.7
- 6.7 Heidelberg, Universitätsammlung F 162 a-c
- 6.8 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1965.288
- 6.9 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5262
- 6.10 Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe
- 6.11 Paris, Louvre Br 2646
- 6.12 Berlin, Pergamon Museum 30880
- 6.13 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1890.411
- 6.14 United States, Private Collection
- 6.15 Jerusalem, Israel Museum 91.71.315
- 6.16 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5290

Group 7: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Gorgoneia

- 7.1 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 1954.1269-71
- 7.2 Elis, Archaeological Museum
- 7.3 Paris, Louvre Br 4466-4469
- 7.4 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3022
- 7.5 Arta, Archaeological Museum
- 7.6 Berlin, Pergamon Museum 10821 a-c
- 7.7 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1899.462
- 7.8 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1901.7474
- 7.9 Lyons, Palais des Beaux Arts E 413
- 7.10 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3430
- 7.11 United States, Private Collection (Ternbach)
- 7.12 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3762
- 7.13 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number?)
- 7.14 Switzerland Private Collection (Geneva, Ortiz)
- 7.15 Sofia, National Archaeological Museum
- 7.16 Cambridge, Harvard University Art Museums 1962.178

Group 8: Archaic (and Early Classical) Bronze Hydriai with Ivy Leaves

- 8.1 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7916
- 8.2 Patras, Archaeological Museum 190
- 8.3 Copenhagen, National Museum 5375
- 8.4 Greece, Private Collection (Athens, Vlangalis)
- 8.5 Once Geneva Market (1965)
- 8.6 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1899.463 a-c
- 8.7 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Inv. 10.822 a-c
- 8.8 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3446 a-d
- 8.9 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen SL 61 a-c
- 8.10 Once Art Market
- 8.11 Athens, Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art 730
- 8.12 Olympia, Archaeological Museum M 868
- 8.13 Olympia, Archaeological Museum M 1326
- 8.14 Olympia, Archaeological Museum BE 691

- 8.15 Elis, Archaeological Museum M 2790
- 8.16 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 65.165
- 8.17 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 5154
- 8.18 Olympia, Archaeological Museum, (no inv. number)
- 8.19 Königsberg, Art Museum F 18
- 8.20 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.255.2a
- 8.21 Copenhagen, National Museum 5376
- 8.22 Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)
- 8.23 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
- 8.24 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2005)
- 8.25 Once Munich Market (Galerie Ulla Lindner 1971)
- 8.26 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 57.11.12
- 8.27 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.11.3
- 8.28 Odessa, Society of History and Antiquities 1591

Group 9: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Anthropomorphic Handles (Kouroi)

- 9.1 Sparta, Archaeological Museum 5243
- 9.2 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 85.595
- 9.3 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6588, 6650
- 9.4 Paris, Louvre Br 2785
- 9.5 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Misc. 8467
- 9.6 United States, Private Collection (New York, Steinhardt)
- 9.7 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1890.221
- 9.8 Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig
- 9.9 Belgrade, National Museum 648/1
- 9.10 Athens, Agora Museum 21
- 9.11 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 4118
- 9.12 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18232
- 9.13 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1961.380
- 9.14 Pesaro, Museo Oliveriano 3387
- 9.15 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6584
- 9.16 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 7487
- 9.17 Once New York Market (2000)
- 9.18 Belgrade, National Museum 4013
- 9.19 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 3494
- 9.20 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1899.460
- 9.21 London, British Museum 1934.1-16.1
- 9.22 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)
- 9.23 Paris, Louvre 2784
- 9.24 Volos, Archaeological Museum
- 9.25 Once Private Collection (Ex-Erlenmeyer)

Group 10: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Zoomorphic Handles in the Form of Lions

- 10.1 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum Py 601
- 10.2 Paestum, Archaeological Museum 49801
- 10.3 Delphi, Archaeological Museum 309

Group 11: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Elaborately Decorated Handles (Non-Anthropomorphic)

- 11.1 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1989.11.1
- 11.2 Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire R 1179
- 11.3 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1093

**Group 12: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Elaborately Decorated Handles
(Anthropomorphic)**

- 12.1 Bern, Historisches Museum 11620
- 12.2 Pesaro, Museo Oliveriano 3314, 3316
- 12.3 Naples, Museo Nazionale 110880
- 12.4 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6781
- 12.5 Ancona, Museo Nazionale delle Marche 11379, 11377 a,b
- 12.6 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Misc. 7101 a, b
- 12.7 Israel, Private Collection (Jerusalem, Borowski GR 171x)
- 12.8 Tolentino, Museo Archaeologico A,B
- 12.9 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3837 a,b
- 12.10 Bologna, Museo Civico A, B
- 12.11 Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia 17387, 17388
- 12.12 Naples, Museo Nazionale 86526 a,b

Group 13: Archaic varia

- 13.1 Athens, National Archaeological Museum Karapanos 64
- 13.2 Delphi, Archaeological Museum
- 13.3 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 818
- 13.4 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5260
- 13.5 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 14058 / Berlin, Pergamon Museum 14058
- 13.6 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 52.188
- 13.7 Sparta, Archaeological Museum 5411
- 13.8 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5483
- 13.9 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 3669
- 13.10 Lecce, Archaeological Museum 3942
- 13.11 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 10.210.32/ 1910.210.34
- 13.12 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 3906
- 13.13 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6297
- 13.14 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6573
- 13.15 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 7329
- 13.16 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 7951
- 13.17 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 13698
- 13.18 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 13875
- 13.19 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 3321
- 13.20 Isthmia IM 229
- 13.21 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)
- 13.22 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)
- 13.23 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)
- 13.24 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)
- 13.25 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)
- 13.26 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)
- 13.27 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 817
- 13.28 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 1809
- 13.29 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 3478
- 13.30 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 4409
- 13.31 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 4701
- 13.32 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 4702
- 13.33 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 4703
- 13.34 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5077
- 13.35 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5487
- 13.36 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5488
- 13.37 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6097

- 13.38 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6225
- 13.39 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 7704
- 13.40 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 10398
- 13.41 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 1583
- 13.42 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 3577
- 13.43 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 5168
- 13.44 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 8530
- 13.45 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 12066
- 13.46 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 12067
- 13.47 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 14029
- 13.48 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Kur. 178
- 13.49 Sparta, Archaeological Museum
- 13.50 Warsaw, National Museum 199085
- 13.51 Isthmia, Archaeological Museum IM 229
- 13.52 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)
- 13.53 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)
- 13.54 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)
- 13.55 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)
- 13.56 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)
- 13.57 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)
- 13.58 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)

Group 14: Early Classical Bronze Hydriai with a Female Protome at the Top of the Vertical Handle (Argive Prize Type)

- 14.1 Nemea, Archaeological Museum BR 379
- 14.2 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 1954.776
- 14.3 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 57.11.13
- 14.4 Paris, Louvre 2632
- 14.5 London, British Museum 1918.1-1.7
- 14.6 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 54.11.2
- 14.7 Once New York Market (Ariadne 2005)
- 14.8 Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilization
- 14.9 Paris, Musée des Arts Decoratifs 27178
- 14.10 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.11.2
- 14.11 United States, Private Collection (New York)
- 14.12 Copenhagen, National Museum I.N. 3293
- 14.13 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.50
- 14.14 Perachora, Archaeological Museum (?)
- 14.15 Argos, Archaeological Museum
- 14.16 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AC.12
- 14.17 Pompeii, Archaeological Museum (?) or Naples, Archaeological Museum (?) 21803
- 14.18 Oxford (MS), University of Mississippi Art Museum
- 14.19 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 8064.18
- 14.20 Lyons, Archaeological Museum
- 14.21 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1899.469
- 14.22 Once Paris Market
- 14.23 Israel, Private Collection (Jerusalem, Borowski GR 150 H)

Group 15: Early Classical Bronze Hydriai with a Lion's Head at the Top of the Vertical Handle

- 15.1 Paestum, Archaeological Museum 49802
- 15.2 Taranto, Museo Nazionale 134906
- 15.3 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7135
- 15.4 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6405
- 15.5 Olympia, Archaeological Museum 13199
- 15.6 Delphi, Archaeological Museum
- 15.7 Delphi, Archaeological Museum
- 15.8 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 1190
- 15.9 Turkey, Private Collection (Izmir, Yavuz Tatish 1650)
- 15.10 United States, Private Collection (New York)
- 15.11 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)
- 15.12 Naples, Museo Nazionale 73144
- 15.13 Chicago, The Field Museum 1973.3217.195785
- 15.14 Once London Market (Bonham's 2007)
- 15.15 Once Art Market
- 15.16 Once New York Market (Arte Primitivo 2006)
- 15.17 Ancona, Archaeological Museum 25020
- 15.18 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 2434
- 15.19 Once Basel Market (1965)
- 15.20 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum B 2146, B 764
- 15.21 Switzerland, Private Collection (Geneva, Ortiz)
- 15.22 Paris, Louvre 4643
- 15.23 Toledo (OH), Museum of Art 64.125
- 15.24 Athens, National Archaeological Museum Karapanos 378
- 15.25 Tirana, Archaeological Museum 9221
- 15.26 Ancona, Archaeological Museum 4846
- 15.27 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Misc. Inv. 8006 a-c
- 15.28 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 38.11.11 a-c
- 15.29 Sofia, National Archaeological Museum 1443
- 15.30 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Misc. Inv. 10519
- 15.31 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1993.133
- 15.32 Once London Market (Charles Ede 2001)
- 15.33 London, British Museum 1956.7-25.1

Group 16: Classical Bronze Hydriai and Kalpides with Sirens

WINGS UP

- 16.1 Once Munich Market (Münzen und Medaillen 1967)
- 16.2 Once Munich Market (Münzen und Medaillen 1967)
- 16.3 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1994)
- 16.4 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1997)
- 16.5 Athens, Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art 729
- 16.6 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum P 1836.4
- 16.7 Varna, Museum VI 197
- 16.8 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7914
- 16.9 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 13789
- 16.10 Greece, Private Collection (Athens, Goulandris 750)
- 16.11 Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum 2004.25.1
- 16.12 Cleveland, Museum of Art 1986.23
- 16.13 Kiev, Historical Museum 41-33 (Pischane 1)
- 16.14 London, British Museum 1927.7.13-1
- 16.15 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum

- 16.16** Thasos, Archaeological Museum P 6764
16.17 United States, Private Collection
16.18 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum 5223
16.19 Woronesh, Gebietmuseum für Heimatkunde
16.20 Göteborg, Rohsska Konstslojdmuseet RKM 59-61
16.21 Cambridge, Harvard University Art Museum 1949.89
16.22 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 2007)
16.23 Greece, Private Collection (Athens)
16.24 Once New York Market (Ward)
16.25 United States, Private Collection (New York, White-Levy)
16.26 Paris, Louvre 2674-75
16.27 Hartford, The Wadsworth Athenaeum 1917.825
16.28 Once London Market (Sotheby's 1981)
16.29 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum TKH
16.30 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum GK/N 69
16.31 Ioannina, Archaeological Museum
16.32 Once Private Collection (ex-Trau)
16.33 Once London Market (Bonhams 2004)
16.34 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3858b
16.35 United States, Private Collection (New York)
16.36 United States Private Collection (Smith)
16.37 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1899.467
16.38 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3858a
16.39 Once Private Collection (ex-Krupp)
16.40 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 4020
16.41 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 09.221.12
16.42 Once London Market (Sotheby's 1988)
16.43 Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire A 3593
16.44 Cluj, Historical Museum
16.45 Once Private Collection (Ex-Fejerwary)
16.46 Once New York Market, Christie's 1965
16.47 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3857
16.48 Paris, Louvre 2673
16.49 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3642
16.50 Once London Market (Bonhams 1995)
16.51 United States, Private Collection (New York)
16.52 Arta, Archaeological Museum
16.53 Once Art Market
16.54 Once Jerusalem Market (Sasson Ancient Art)
16.55 Once Philadelphia Market (1963)
16.56 United States, Private Collection (California)
16.57 United States, Private Collection (Fleischmann)
16.58 Once New York Market (Christie's 12.2008)
16.59 Bryn Mawr, Ella Riegel Memorial Museum M 28
16.59a Heidelberg, Universitätssammlung 66/7

WINGS HORIZONTAL

- 16.60** Once London Market (Bonhams 1998)
16.61 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 111
16.62 Once New York Market (Ariadne 2008)
16.63 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)
16.64 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)
16.65 Varna, Archaeological Museum VI 329-331
16.66 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 4625
16.67 Ioannina, Archaeological Museum
16.68 France, Private Collection (Paris, Schneider)

- 16.69 Greece, Private Collection (Athens, Vlangalis, Inv. No. 27)
 16.70 Once New York Market (Anderson Galleries, ex-Simkhovitch)
 16.71 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)

WINGS DOWN

- 16.72 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 7
 16.73 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1999)
 16.74 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2008)
 16.75 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2008)
 16.76 Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 6
 16.77 Bonn, Akademie Kunstmuseum C 107
 16.78 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 112.64
 16.79 Israel, Private Collection (Jerusalem, Borowski, Gr. 173)
 16.80 Maine, Bowdoin College 1915.26
 16.81 Once London Market (Bonhams 1997)
 16.82 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1986)
 16.83 Once London Market (Bonhams 1997)

KALPIDES WITH ELONGATED SIRENS

- 16.83 Jerusalem, Israel Museum 83.30.19
 16.84 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2007)

POSITION OF WINGS UNCERTAIN

- 16.85 Arta, Archaeological Museum
 16.86 Once Art Market (Ascher, 1965)
 16.87 Once Athens Market (1965)
 16.88 Once Athens Market (1965)
 16.89 Once Athens Market (1965)
 16.90 Once Geneva Market (1965)
 16.91 Lost (ex-Hermitage Museum),
 16.92 Once New York Market (Christie's 1912)
 16.93 Private Collection (Athens, Kanellopoulos)
 16.94 Private Collection (Athens, Kanellopoulos)
 16.95 Private Collection (Kifissia, Apergis)
 16.96 Cape Town, South African Art Museum H 4830
 16.97 Hague, Gemeente Museum Okant 1733
 16.98 Kiev, Historical Museum
 16.99 Kiev, Historical Museum
 16.100 Leiden, National Museum of Antiquities 1898.12.1
 16.101 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1952.234
 16.102 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 2930

SIREN MISSING

- 16.103 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 3531
 16.104 Moscow, Archaeological Museum 38227
 16.105 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1874.474
 16.106 Warsaw, National Museum 199031
 16.107 Warsaw, National Museum 199086 (ex-Königsberg 188/ F 31)

Group 17: Plain Classical Bronze Hydriai and Kalpides

- 17.1 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7917
- 17.2 Athens, National Archaeological Museum Karapanos 697
- 17.3 Athens, National Archaeological Museum Karapanos 1189
- 17.4 Königsberg, Art Museum F 19
- 17.5 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1078
- 17.6 Arta, Archaeological Museum
- 17.7 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum P 1851.1
- 17.8 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum Ju-O-2
- 17.9 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 13792
- 17.10 Athens, Kerameikos Museum 2073
- 17.11 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 30636
- 17.12 Bursa, Archaeological Museum Inv. 1426-7
- 17.13 Kiev, Historical Museum
- 17.14 Kiev, Historical Museum
- 17.15 London, British Museum 67.6-8.719
- 17.16 Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum Inv. 1540
- 17.17 Providence, Rhode Island School of Design 25.112
- 17.18 Rhodes, Archaeological Museum
- 17.19 Sozopol, Archaeological Museum
- 17.20 St. Louis, City Art Museum 169.24
- 17.21 Syracuse, Museo Regionale Paolo Orsi
- 17.22 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 3056
- 17.23 Once London Market (Rupert Wace 2007)
- 17.24 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2006)
- 17.25 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2004)
- 17.26 Once New York Market (Apolonia Ancient Art 2008)
- 17.27 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1995)
- 17.28 Private Collection (New York)
- 17.29 Izmir, Müze Çalışmaları
- 17.30 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number, formerly Inv. C)
- 17.31 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number, formerly Inv. D)
- 17.32 Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum Inv. 1637
- 17.33 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum P 1834.1
- 17.34 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum 5243
- 17.35 Once London Market (Bonhams 2004)
- 17.36 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2005)
- 17.37 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum
- 17.38 Once Art Market
- 17.39 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2007)
- 17.40 Kiev, Historical Museum (Pischane 5)
- 17.41 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum P 736
- 17.42 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number?)
- 17.43 Taranto, Museo Nazionale 113502
- 17.44 Once New York Market (Arte Primitivo/ Howard S. Rose Gallery)
- 17.45 Veroia, Archaeological Museum 1004-1018-1021
- 17.46 Athens, Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art 731
- 17.47 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number?)
- 17.48 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1999.460
- 17.49 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2008)
- 17.50 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number?)
- 17.51 Delphi, Archaeological Museum 8592
- 17.52 Isthmia, Archaeological Museum IM 3318
- 17.53 Aegina, Archaeological Museum
- 17.54 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum

- 17.55 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7918
- 17.56 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR 10.1943
- 17.57 Chalkis, Archaeological Museum
- 17.58 Ioannina, Archaeological Museum 302
- 17.59 Ioannina, Archaeological Museum 307, 309
- 17.60 Nessebar, Archaeological Museum
- 17.61 Olympia, Archaeological Museum BE 533
- 17.62 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1948.101
- 17.63 Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum 1200-1204
- 17.64 Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum 1200-1204
- 17.65 Once Art Market
- 17.66 Once Art Market
- 17.67 Once Art Market
- 17.68 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2007)
- 17.69 Once Zurich Market (Rhéa Galerie 1997)
- 17.70 Once Art Market (ex-German Private Collection)
- 17.71 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1997)
- 17.72 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1994)
- 17.73 Samos, Vathy Archaeological Museum
- 17.74 Sofia, National Archaeological Museum
- 17.75 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum x.1899.22
- 17.76 Syracuse, Museo Regionale Paolo Orsi
- 17.77 Thasos, Archaeological Museum
- 17.78 United States, Private Collection (Chicago)
- 17.79 Epidauros, Archaeological Museum

Group 18: Classical Bronze Kalpides with Attacking Lions at the Lower End of the Vertical Handle

- 18.1 Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum Inv. 1519
- 18.2 Princeton, University Art Museum y1985-9
- 18.3 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1400, Gids. No. 765

Group 19: Classical Varia

- 19.1 Athens, Akropolis Museum 7039
- 19.2 Athens, Akropolis Museum (no inv. number)
- 19.3 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Misc. Inv. 7907
- 19.4 Once New York Market (Ariadne 2008)
- 19.5 Sofia, National Archaeological Museum
- 19.6 Arta, Archaeological Museum
- 19.7 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 2005)
- 19.8 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.462 a-f
- 19.9 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art C.B. 182, 186
- 19.10 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 3507
- 19.11 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 10367
- 19.12 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 7625
- 19.13 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5735
- 19.14 Olympia, Archaeological Museum BE 535, 535a
- 19.15 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 68.11.2
- 19.16 Once London Market (Bonhams 2008)
- 19.17 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1980.11.7a,b
- 19.18 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1899.772 a-f
- 19.19 Lecce, Archaeological Museum 3942
- 19.20 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3626 a-c

- 19.21 Athens, Akropolis Museum (no inv. number)
- 19.22 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7111
- 19.23 Königsberg, Archäologischen Museum der Albertus-Universität F31
- 19.24 Nemea, Archaeological Museum BR 377
- 19.25 Nemea, Archaeological Museum BR 378
- 19.26 Nemea, Archaeological Museum BR 380
- 19.27 Nemea, Archaeological Museum BR 381
- 19.28 Isthmia, Archaeological Museum IM 110, IM 748
- 19.29 Isthmia, Archaeological Museum IM 109, IM 386
- 19.30 Rhodes, Archaeological Museum
- 19.31 Worms, Städtisches Museum RB 432
- 19.32 Bulgaria (Location Uncertain)
- 19.33 Bulgaria (Location Uncertain)
- 19.34 Bulgaria (Location Uncertain)
- 19.35 Bulgaria (Location Uncertain)
- 19.36 Olympia, Archaeological Museum BE 536
- 19.37 Once Art Market
- 19.38 Kiev, Historical Museum (Pischane 2)
- 19.39 Athens, National Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)
- 19.40 Athens, National Archaeological Museum X7294

Group 20: Late Classical Kalpides with Figural Appliqués

- 20.1 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.11.6
- 20.2 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum M0 7552
- 20.3 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)
- 20.4 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 8068
- 20.5 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 2271
- 20.6 Once New York Market (Fortuna)
- 20.7 Paris, Louvre 4308
- 20.8 United States, Private Collection (Boston)
- 20.9 Istanbul, Tire Museum 93/93
- 20.10 United States, Private Collection (New York)
- 20.11 Volos, Archaeological Museum
- 20.12 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.89
- 20.13 London, British Museum 306
- 20.14 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AC.15
- 20.15 Villa Giulia
- 20.16 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.119
- 20.17 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18775
- 20.18 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 53.11.3
- 20.19 United States, Private Collection (New York)
- 20.21 Once Art Market
- 20.22 London, British Museum 310
- 20.23 Nessebar, Archaeological Museum
- 20.24 Nessebar, Archaeological Museum
- 20.25 Sofia, National Archaeological Museum 5039
- 20.26 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen SL 34
- 20.27 Delphi, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)
- 20.28 United States, Private Collection (New York)
- 20.29 Princeton, University Art Museum y1989-56
- 20.30 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 51.11.8
- 20.31 United States, Private Collection (Once Segredakis)
- 20.32 Chantilly, Musée Condé
- 20.33 Bucharest, Muzeul National de Istorie al Romaniei 48899
- 20.34 London, British Museum 312

- 20.35 Chantilly, Musée Condé
- 20.36 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 30071
- 20.37 Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum 2001.12.1
- 20.38 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 5310
- 20.39 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 7806
- 20.40 London, British Museum 311
- 20.41 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)
- 20.42 London, British Museum 313
- 20.43 London, British Museum 309
- 20.44 United States, Private Collection (New York, White-Levy)
- 20.45 United States, Private Collection
- 20.46 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18787
- 20.47 Amphipolis, Archaeological Museum 7344
- 20.48 Once New York Market (Symes, 1999)
- 20.49 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1894.750
- 20.50 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 44.11.9
- 20.51 Greece, Private Collection (Thessalonike)
- 20.52 Tirana, Tirana Archaeological Museum 8915
- 20.53 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7913
- 20.54 Nessebar, Archaeological Museum
- 20.55 Paris, Louvre MNE 1191, Br 4997
- 20.56 Elis, Archaeological Museum M 2791
- 20.57 Corfu, Archaeological Museum 3475
- 20.58 Chantilly, Musée Condé
- 20.59 Once New York Market (Symes 1999)
- 20.60 Thasos, Archaeological Museum (no. inv. number)
- 20.61 Private Collection (Once Athens, Iolas, no. 119)
- 20.62 Private Collection (Once Athens, Iolas, no. 16)
- 20.63 Once Art Market
- 20.64 Once London Market (Bonhams 1998)
- 20.65 Richmond (VA), Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 57-18
- 20.66 Israel, Private Collection (Jerusalem, Borowski)
- 20.67 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 1954.193b
- 20.68 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Misc. Inv. 7430
- 20.69 Leyden, National Museum of Antiquities LKA 1159
- 20.70 Olympia, Archaeological Museum BE 533
- 20.71 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 4047

Group 21: Late Classical and Hellenistic Varia

- 21.1 Chalkis, Archaeological Museum
- 21.2 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum Py 208
- 21.3 Ankara, Archaeological Museum Inv. 10612
- 21.4 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Fr. 1657
- 21.5 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.5463
- 21.6 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 66.119.1
- 21.7 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 66.11.12 a,b
- 21.8 Milan, Archaeological Museum A 0.9.9285
- 21.9 Tunis, Bardo Museum Hydria 1 (MB 1 and MB 2)
- 21.10 Tunis, Bardo Museum Hydria 2 (MB 3 and MB 4)
- 21.11 Tunis, Bardo Museum Hydria 3 (MB 5 and MB 6)

Group 1: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Non-Figural Decoration

1.1 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 3700

Provenance: Olympia (bothros in Mosaic Hall)

Parts Preserved: Mouth, Body fragments, Horizontal handle, Foot

Description: Surfaces are worn and damaged but the basic profile and decoration are recognizable. The body has an overhanging lip, a tall, straight neck; and a strongly rounded shoulder that is fairly flat on upper side. The side handles are round in cross-section with a pair of transverse half-spools at each end. Plain flared foot.

Dimensions: H: 41.9; D (mouth): 27.5; D (shoulder): 40.0; D (foot): 14.5, 15.2

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 9-11, 13, cat. B 12; Gauer 1991, 94-97, 109-110, 257, Hy 1, pl. 84, figs. 3.35, 26.3.

1.2 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 8934

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Mouth and neck fragments

Description: Broken at neck. The overhanging lip decorated with chased concentric circles.

Dimensions: D (mouth): 25.5-28.0

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 97, 257, Hy 4, pl. 84.1, figs. 3.36, 26.2.

1.3 Olympia B, Archaeological Museum 5243

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Mouth and neck fragments

Description: Broken at neck. Overhanging lip decorated with a tongue pattern in relief.

Dimensions: H: 8.5

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 97, 257, Hy 5, fig. 26.1.

1.4 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 1827

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at top and right side. The grip is round in cross-section. Below, half-spools extend horizontally on each side.

Dimensions: H: 8.9; m.p.W: 6.7

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 9, cat. B 13; Gauer 1991, 94, 96-98, 257, Hy 2, pl. 85.4a.

1.5 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6897

Provenance: Olympia (southwest of the Metröon)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at top and lower sides. The grip is rectangular in cross-section and undecorated. Below, half-spools (both damaged) extend horizontally on each side.

Dimensions: H: 9.0

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 97-98, 257, Hy 3, pl. 85.4b .

1.6 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 13879

Provenance: Olympia (south of Byzantine church)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: The upper part of a thick grip is preserved, which is trapezoidal in cross-section. At the top, half-spools extend horizontally on each side.

Bibliography: Furtwängler 1890, no. 896, pl. 54; Diehl 1964, 9, cat. B 15; Gauer 1991, 98, 257, Hy 7.

1.7 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 7848

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Dimensions: H: 5.1; W: 1.9

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 98, 258, Hy 8.

1.8 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 3568

Provenance: Olympia (Megarian Treasury)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Cracked vertically. The thick grip is trapezoidal in cross-section. At the top, half-spools extend horizontally. Below, double half-spools extend horizontally on each side.

Dimensions: H: 15.0; W: 9.6

Bibliography: Furtwängler 1890, nr. 896, pl. 54; Neugebauer 1925, 175, fig. 1; Diehl 1964, 9, cat. B 14; Johannowsky 1980, 449; Herfort-Koch 1986, 14, 83, K 14; Gauer 1991, 94, 97-98, 105, 109, 257, Hy 6, pl. 85.5; Stibbe 2004a, 24, 34, cat. 6.42.

1.9 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6241

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at top and bottom, leaving only a thin grip that is rectangular in cross-section. The upper part has a raised rectangular panel made up of three narrow bands in relief. Thin lines are chased vertically at regular intervals across the surface.

Dimensions: H: 8.7; W: 4.6

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 97-99, 258, Hy 11, pl. 85.1.

Group 2: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Swan's Heads**2.1 Budapest, Musée des Beaux Arts 60.3.11**

Provenance: Artand (Scythian tomb)

Parts Preserved: Complete except foot

Description: The body consists of an overhanging lip, a wide, straight neck, and a strongly curved shoulder. At the top of the vertical handle, curled snake protomes face outwards around the rim. The grip is rectangular in cross-section and articulated with double chased lines at center and along either edge. At the upper end, three horizontal chased lines mark the lower edge of an undecorated, rectangular zone. Below, a round, ridged swan's head with long, rectangular beak faces up onto the grip. A pair of ribbed half-spools extends horizontally on both sides. The lateral handles are rectangular in cross-section, ending in swan's heads with rectangular beaks and transverse half-spools at either end.

Dimensions: H: 43.0; H (vh): 14.8; D (body): 37.5

Bibliography: Szilágyi 1965, 387f., pl. 91.2; Alexandrescu 1966, 207f., fig. 1; Szilágyi 1976, 9f., fig. 3; Joannowsky 1980, 449f.; Rolley, 1982, 34f, 99; Herfort-Koch 1986, 17, 82-83, K 10, pl. 2.3; Gauer 1991, 96, 99; Stibbe 1992, 6, 53, cat. A2; Stibbe 2000, 9-10, fig. 4; Shefton 2000, 21-24, fig. 9a-d; Shefton 2003, 320-321; Stibbe 2004a, 24-25, 34, cat. 6.46; Stibbe 2004b, 31-55, figs. 1-33.

2.2 Capua (Santa Maria Capua Vetere), Museo 264138

Provenance: Capua (tomb 1505)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handle, Body fragments

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, coiled snake protomes face outwards around the rim, flanking a frieze of rectangular tongues. The grip is rectangular in cross-section and is articulated with double chased lines at center and along either edge. At the upper end, three horizontal chased lines mark the lower edge of a smooth, undecorated rectangular zone.

Below, a round, ridged swan's head with a long, rectangular beak faces upwards onto the grip. A pair of ribbed half-spools extends horizontally. The lateral handles also are rectangular in cross-section, ending in swan's heads with rectangular beaks and transverse half-spools.

Dimensions: H (vh): 15.0; L (hh): 12.0

Bibliography: Johannowsky 1980, 447, 449; Gauer 1991, 99; Stibbe 1992, 2, 6, 53, cat. A1; Stibbe 2000, 4ff, no. 1, figs. 1.3.1-3, pl. 1.1-4; Stibbe 2004a, 24-25, 34, cat. 6.45, Stibbe 2004b, 38f., figs. 34-35; figs 49-50; Rolley 2004, 132-133, fig. 90.

2.3 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 5220 (Formerly in Berlin, Staatliche Museum)

Provenance: Olympia (south of the Prytaneion)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Rudimentary half-spools flank the upper end of a flattened, rectangular grip that is articulated with chased lines along the edges. At the bottom, a rectangular swan's head with beak faces upwards onto the grip. A pair of half-spools with chased lines at regular intervals extends horizontally on both sides.

Bibliography: Furtwängler 1890, 144, nr. 896; Neugebauer 1925, 177f., fig. 2; Diehl 1964, 8, cat. B 7; Johannowsky 1980, 449; Herfort-Koch 14, 83, K13; Gauer 1991, 97-99, 106, 109, 258, Hy 10; Stibbe 1992, 6, fig. 7; Stibbe 2004a, 24, 34, cat. 6.41.

2.4 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6406/ Olympia Br 12996

Provenance: Olympia (Bouleterion)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top, a pair of coiled snakes face inwards (right side broken). The grip is rectangular in cross-section and is articulated with three chased lines at either edge. At the top, a trapezoidal zone is marked off by a band of oblique hatching and horizontal incision lines. Four chased triangles with chased dots fill the interior space of the demarcated space. Just below this decorated zone, the upper limit of the vertical strap is defined with a band of chased lines in a zigzag pattern. Below, a rectangular swan's head with beak faces upwards onto the grip.

Dimensions: H: 12.0

Bibliography: Furtwängler 1890, 144, no. 894, pl. 54; Neugebauer 1925, 174, 175, 178, fig. 1 (right); Diehl 1964, 8, 10, cat. B 6; Jucker 1966, 28, fig. 6; Johannowsky 1980, 449; Herfort-Koch 1986, 83, K12; Gauer 1991, 94, 97-99, 103, 105-106, 109, 258, Hy 9, pl 85, 2.3; Shefton 2000, 20, n. 29, fig. 8.; Stibbe 2004a, 24, 34, cat. 6.43.

2.5 Ancona, Archaeological Museum 11379, 11377a,b

Provenance: Ancona

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles

Description: The vertical handle has a pair of coiled snakes at the top, separated by a frieze of chased tongues. The grip is rectangular in cross-section and articulated with a pair of chased lines up the central spine and a single vertically incised line along either redge. At the bottom, there is an abstracted, rectilinear swan's head with long, rectangular beak. A pair of half-spools extends horizontally to each side. The lateral handles are round in cross-section with a simple, rounded swan's head and pair of transverse half-spools at each end.

Dimensions: H (vh): 13.6; W (vh): 10.2; L (hh): 14.1

Bibliography: *Cat. Eroi e Regne: Piceni Popolo d'Europa* 2001, 344-45, nos. 117-119; Shefton 2002, 19f., fig. 7a,b; Stibbe 2004a, 24, 34, cat. 6.44.

2.6 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 4948

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle fragment

Description: A smooth, rounded grip ends in swan's heads with rounded beaks and transverse half-spools with ribbed edges. The swan's features are clearly articulated in relief.

Dimensions: m.p.L.: 12.5

Bibliography: Kunze 1961, 171; Gauer 1991, 94, 106, 262, Hy 39, pl. 92.2b.

2.7 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 4290

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: A smooth, rounded grip ends swan's heads with rounded beaks and transverse half-spools with ribbed edges. The swan's features are clearly articulated in relief.

Dimensions: H: 7.4; L: 14.7

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 106, 262, Hy 38, pl. 92.1b.

2.8 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5269

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle fragment

Description: Broken on one side. A smooth, rounded handle ends in swan's heads with rounded beaks and transverse half-spools. The swan's features are clearly articulated in relief.

Dimensions: H: 7.5; L: 14.1

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 106, 261-262, Hy 35, pl. 92.1a.

2.9 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5270

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: The grip is semi-circular in cross-section with a single chased line at either edge and double lines at the center. At both ends, there are rounded swans' heads with rectangular beaks and transverse half-spools that are narrower than many of the others.

Dimensions: H: 7.0; L: 15.0

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 106, 262, Hy 41, pl. 92.3a.

2.10 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 2744

Provenance: Olympia (Stadium)

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: The smooth, rounded grip ends swan's heads with rectangular beaks and transverse half-spools that are narrower than many of the others, with beaded edges. The swan's features are articulated prominently in relief.

Dimensions: H: 6.6; L: 16.5

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 11, cat. B 23; Gauer 1991, 94, 106, 262, Hy 40, 92.3b.

2.11 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7140

Provenance: Athens (Akropolis)

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle fragment

Description: Broken near the center of the grip, which is rectangular in cross-section and decorated with pairs of chased lines along the upper and lower edges and across the center. One end is preserved, with a round, ridged swan's head with rectangular beak, which is flanked by transverse half-spools.

Dimensions: L: 9.8

Bibliography: Ridder 1896, 56, no. 166, fig. 30; Diehl 1964, 10-11, cat. B 22; Herfort-Koch 1986, K0; Stibbe and Vasic 2003, 93, no. 4, fig. 59; Stibbe 2004a, 25-26, 34, cat. 6.47, fig. 51.

2.12 Sibari, Museo Nazionale Archaeologico della Sibaritide

Provenance: Francavilla Marittima

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle fragments

Description: Broken on both sides. The grip is semi-circular in cross-section with a single line incised along the upper and lower edges and across the center. At the end, there is part of a swan's head with a rounded beak.

Dimensions: L: 13.0

Bibliography: Stoop 1980, 168, no. 5, fig. 14a; Rolley 1982, 54-55, figs. 39-40; Stibbe 2004a, 28, 35, cat. 63; Rolley 2004, 140, figs. 103, 104.

2.13 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1899.465

Provenance: Corinth

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: A smooth, rounded grip with swan's heads at both ends. A palmette separates a pair of transverse rotelles with relief beading on the narrow edges.

Dimensions: L: 17.5

Bibliography: Robinson 1899, 44; AA 1900, 218 col.1; Diehl 1964, 13-15, cat. B 35; Comstock and Vermeule 1971, 292, cat. 418

2.14 Patras, Archaeological Museum 71

Provenance: Tripotama, Kalvrita (Psophis)

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: A smooth, rounded grip with swan's heads at both ends. A palmette separates a pair of transverse rotelles with beads in relief on the narrow edges.

Dimensions: L: 16.0

Bibliography: Rolley 1963, 472-73, fig. 20; Diehl 1964, 13-15, cat. B 34; Bothmer 1965, 599; Rolley 1982, 33, n. 17; Herfort-Koch 1986, 18, 58, K23; Stibbe 1992, 47, 60, M 3; Stibbe 1996, 376, with no. 113.

Group 3: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with the Forepart of a Lion at the Lower End of the Vertical Handle

3.1 Budapest, Musée des Beaux Arts

Provenance: Uncertain, but allegedly from the region of the Black Sea

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The body consists of a thin, overhanging lip, a wide neck with a shallow, concave curve, a rounded shoulder, and a squat, tapering body. The foot is flared and undecorated. At the upper end of the vertical handle, a pair of daedalic human heads faces outwards, connected to the grip with thin bronze extensions that are nearly invisible behind the lip. The grip is rectangular in cross-section and articulated with triple chased lines at either edge. Towards the top, the grip widens to a trapezoidal zone bordered by obliquely hatched lines and filled with a chased zigzag line at the top. At the bottom, the forepart of a lion faces downwards, flanked by snakes that curl upwards. The lateral handles are semi-circular in cross-section with smooth, rounded swan's heads with rectangular beaks and transverse half-spools at the ends.

Dimensions: H: 40.0; H (vh): 13.0; D (max): 37.8

Bibliography: Stibbe 2005, 21-31, figs. 1-8.

3.2 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5421, B 5473

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Only the lower part of the handle is preserved. At the bottom, the forepart of a lion faces downwards. It is flanked by a pair of half-spools with a pattern of incised semicircles and alternating smooth and hatched bands on the outer faces.

Dimensions: H: 6.6; W: 8.6

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 97-98, 107, 109, 260, Hy 21, pl. 89.3, fig. 27.3; Stibbe 1992, 47, 60, cat. M 2; Stibbe 1996, 356 n. 2, 376; Stibbe 2005, 26-27, fig. 11.

3.3 Heraklion, Archaeological Museum 153

Provenance: Mt. Ida (Cave of Zeus)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Broken on the top right side. At the top, a pair of elongated ram's heads (only the left of which is preserved) face outwards from the lip. The rectangular grip is articulated with a single chased line along both edges and double lines up the central spine. At the lower end, the forepart of a lion faces downwards, flanked by snakes that curl upwards. The eyes and mouth of the lion are deeply chased, more so than the others of the same type.

Dimensions: H: 17.5

Bibliography: Halbherr 1886, 740-41, no. 2; Neugebauer 1923, 390 n. 3; Neugebauer 1925, 181; Diehl 1964, 8, cat. B 4, pl. 1.1; Stibbe 1992, 47, 60, cat. M 1; Stibbe 1996, 376; Stibbe 2004b, 52-55, fig. 41; Stibbe 2005, 27-28, fig. 12.

3.4 Patras, Archaeological Museum 70

Provenance: Tripotama, Kalvrita (Psophis)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top, a pair of elongated ram's heads face outwards from the lip, separated by a band of chased tongues. The grip itself is narrow and rectangular in cross-section. At the bottom, the forepart of a lion faces downwards, flanked by pairs of half-spools with ribbed edges.

Dimensions: W: 16.0

Bibliography: Rolley 1963, 472-73, figs. 18-19; Diehl 1964, 8, cat. B 5; Bothmer 1965, 599; Rolley 1982, 33, n. 17; Herfort-Koch 1986, 18, 58, K23; Stibbe 1992, 47, 60, cat. M 3; Stibbe 1996, 376, with no. 113; Stibbe 2004b, 54-55.

Group 4: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Palmettes and Animals

4.1 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6969

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: The upper terminal is decorated with a pair of rotelles with chased rosettes on the outer faces. The grip is articulated with relief lines at center and along both edges that diverge at the lower end into two coiling volutes. Two small, pendant palmettes are incised into the space between the large volutes at the lower end. Off-center rivet holes (now-empty) are visible in the volutes.

Dimensions: H: 15.5; W: 10.6

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 97-98, 105-106, 110, 260, Hy 23, pl. 88.2; Stibbe 1992, cat. 11, 53, B 10, fig. 15; Stibbe 1996, 364, n. 29; Stibbe 1997, cat. 4, fig. 1; Stibbe 2004a, 26, 34, cat. 7.52.

4.2 Sibari, Museo Nazionale Archaeologico della Sibaritide

Provenance: Francavilla Marittima (Timpone della Motta, Sanctuary of Athena)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles

Description: The upper terminal is decorated with a pair of ribbed half-spoons. The grip is articulated with a pair of relief lines running vertically up the central spine. Below, a pendant palmette is chased onto a flattened, elongated plaque. The lateral handles are rectangular in cross-section and end in a swan's head and transverse half-spoons.

Dimensions: L (hh 1): 7.1; L (hh 2): 9.6

Bibliography: Stoop 1980, 168, no. 7, fig. 14b, 169, no. 8, 168, no. 6, fig. 15; Rolley 1982, 55, fig. 166.

4.3 Lecce, Museum 2707

Provenance: Rudiae

Parts Preserved: Body fragments, Vertical handle, Horizontal handles

Description: At the top, a frieze of ten rectangular tongues separates two coiled snake protomes facing around the rim. Grip is articulated with a row of beads bordered by chased lines on either side and a single incision line at the edges. At the lower end, a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves and volutes (rivets visible in centers). Above the palmette, a thick horizontal row of beads separates the terminal from the vertical strap. A pair of half-spoons extends horizontally on either side of the palmette. S

Side handles are rectangular with rounded edges in cross-section with a row of beads running horizontally across the center. At each end is a pair of horse protomes that project perpendicularly to one another with forelegs bent at right angles such that they meet at the center.

Dimensions: H (with modern foot): 41.7; D (max): 32.0; D (rim): 26.0

Bibliography: Delli Ponti 1973, no. 22, pl. 15; Rolley 1982, 50-51, no. 3; Gauer 1991, 105; Stibbe 1992, 8-9, 53, cat. B 5; *Italia ominium terrarium alumna* 1988, fig. 645; Tarditi 1996, 146-148, cat. 109; Stibbe 1997, cat. 73, fig. 3; Stibbe 2004a, 35, cat. 7.58.

4.4 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 7490

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle fragment.

Description: Broken just past the midpoint of the grip, such that only one side is preserved. The grip is rectangular in cross-section and ends in a pair of flattened horse protomes shown in profile.

Dimensions: L: 13.25; H: 6.9

Bibliography: Rolley 1982, 50, no. 1; Herfort-Koch 1986, 65, 124, K 168, pl. 22.1; Gauer 1991, 94, 107-108, 261, Hy 33, pl. 91.3.

4.5 Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire R 1183 a,b

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handles

Description: The grip is round in cross-section, ending on each side in a palmette with eight rounded leaves palmette between two horse protomes rendered in high relief, each with one leg extended and bent at the knee.

Dimensions: H: 18.0; W: 21.0

Bibliography: Hoffmann 1964, 187, n. 28, pl. 63.6; Jucker 1966, 64, 88, 92, pl. 28; Stibbe 1992, 28, 56, cat. G 8, fig. 38; Bieg 2002, 57; Stibbe 2004a, 22, 33, cat. 5.35b.

4.6 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 1996.AC.107

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Uncertain (ex-Fleischmann collection), said to be from South Italy

Description: The grip is round in cross-section, ending on each side in a palmette with eight rounded leaves between two horse protomes carved in high relief, each with one leg extended and bent at the knee.

Dimensions: L: 22.0

Bibliography: *A Passion for Antiquities* 1994, 116, cat. 51; Bieg 2002, 57, fig. 49b; Stibbe 2004a, 22, 33, cat. 5.36.

4.7 Once New York Market (Ward)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: Grip round in cross-section, ending at each side in a palmette with eight rounded leaves between two horse protomes carved in high relief with one leg extended and bent at the knee.

Dimensions: L: 20.3

Bibliography: Ward 1989, cat. 3.

4.8 Sibari, Museo Nazionale Archaeologico della Sibaritide

Provenance: Francavilla Marittima (Timpone della Motta, Sanctuary of Athena)

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle fragment

Description: Grip broken and badly corroded, ending on each side in a palmette with four rounded leaves between two ram protomes carved in high relief, each with one leg extended and bent at the knee.

Dimensions: m.p.L: 7.5; H: 4.6

Bibliography: Stoop 1980, 167, no. 4, fig. 13; Rolley 1982, 54, fig. 75; Stibbe 1992, 10, 53, cat. B 7; Stibbe 2004a, 28, 35, cat. 62; Rolley 2004, 143, fig. 106.

4.9 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1890.550

Provenance: Campania (Capua)

Parts Preserved: Complete with some restoration in body except missing foot

Description: The surviving part of the body consists of a wide, overhanging lip and a broad, straight neck. The upper end of the vertical handle has two coiled snake protomes facing around the rim. The grip is articulated with two pairs of incised lines up the center and a single line along either edge. At the lower end, there is a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves and two large, chased volutes. Rivets are visible in the centers of the volutes.

Dimensions: H: 39.0

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 9, 12-13, 21, cat. B 10, pls. 2.2, 2.4; Herfort-Koch 1986, 17, 83, K 11; Gauer 1991, 96, 101; Stibbe 1992, 6-7, 53, cat. B 1, fig. 8; Stibbe 1996, 363, n. 36; Stibbe 1997, cat. 27; Stibbe 2000, 5, no. 8; Stibbe 2004a, 26, 34, cat. 7.48.

4.10 Delphi, Archaeological Museum 6*Provenance:* Delphi*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle*Description:* The handle is broken at the top but fragments of two snakes coiling around the rim are preserved. The grip is articulated with relief lines to either side of center. At the lower end, there is a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves and large volutes and short, pointed upper leaves.*Dimensions:* H: 16.5; W (below): 7.4*Bibliography:* Perdrizet 1908, 88, no. 396, fig. 294; Stibbe 1994, 99, no. 3, fig. 20; Stibbe 1997, cat. 19, fig. 1; Stibbe 2004a, 26, 34, cat. 7.50.**4.11 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen Br 183***Provenance:* Uncertain (ex-Dodwell collection)*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle*Description:* At the top, two lions' heads face outwards, separated by a frieze of six rectangular tongues. The grip is articulated with vertically chased lines dispersed evenly across surface of grip and horizontal lines that mark the upper and lower limits. At the bottom, a flattened, pointed plaque bears an incised palmette and schematic volutes. Rivet-holes (now-empty) are visible in the centers of the volutes. A pair of half-spools extends horizontally to each side.*Dimensions:* H: 19.0; W: 12.5*Bibliography:* Diehl 1964, 9, 19, cat. B 8, pl. 2.1-3; Herfort-Koch 1986, 18, 84, K 20; Gauer 1991, 98, n. 225, 102; Stibbe 1992, 11, 53, cat. B 9, fig. 14; Stibbe 1996, 361, 374, pl. 29.3-4; Stibbe 1997, cat. 1; Gauer 2002, 195; Stibbe 2004a, 26, 34, cat. 7.49.**4.12 Naples, Museo Nazionale 86527***Provenance:* Cumae*Parts Preserved:* Body fragments (upper half), Vertical handle, Horizontal handles*Description:* The surviving part of the body consists of an overhanging lip and a wide, straight neck. At the top of the vertical handle, two lions' heads face outwards. The grip is articulated with a horizontal relief band at the upper and lower limits, each of which is flanked by bands decorated with short, vertical hatching. At the lower end, there is a pendant palmette with eleven pointed leaves and large volutes and two pointed leaves (snakes?) extending outwards. Rivet-holes (now-empty) are visible in the centers of the volutes.*Dimensions:* m.p.H.: 34.5; D (max): 35.0; D (rim): 26.3*Bibliography:* Gabrici 1913, 557, pl. 78; Diehl 1964, 18-20, cat. B 55; Rolley 1982, 50, no. 2, figs. 7, 17, 71, 157, 158; Gauer 1991, 103; Stibbe 1992, 7-8, 53, cat. B 2, fig. 9; Stibbe 1997, cat. 51; Stibbe 2004a, 26-27, 34, cat. 7.54.**4.13 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6407 (Olympia Br 7226)***Provenance:* Olympia (Pelopeion)*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle fragment*Description:* At the top, a pair of lion's heads are separated by a frieze of twelve rectangular tongues and flanked by snake protomes reaching upwards. Grip is articulated with a pair of double incision lines at either edge and at center. A trapezoidal zone with horizontal chased lines marks the upper boundary of the grip. At the lower end of the handle, a horizontal relief band and two chased lines. Broken at bottom.*Dimensions:* H: 14.5*Bibliography:* Furtwängler 1890, no. 895k, pl. 54; Neugebauer 1925, 175, fig. 1 (left); Jucker 1966, 29; Rolley 1963, 484; Diehl 1964, 9, 19, cat. B 9; Rolley 1982, 33; Weber 1983, 48; Herfort-Koch 18, 84, K 19; Gauer 1991, 94, 97-98, 103, 105-106, 110, 260, Hy 22, pls. 10.3, 89.1, 90.3; Stibbe 2004a, 26, 34, cat. 7.53.

4.14 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 4340, 4250*Provenance:* Olympia*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle*Description:* At the top, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The grip is articulated with a pair of vertically chased lines up the central spine and a single line at either edge. Two horizontal bands mark the lower end of the grip, the lower of which is wide and decorated with three pairs of chased lines. At the lower end, there is a pendant palmette with twelve rounded leaves and large volutes with short, pointed leaves that extend horizontally at the top.*Dimensions:* H: 20.3; W: 11.4*Bibliography:* Kunze 1961/62, 113, pl. 126c; Herfort-Koch 1986, K 24, pl. 2.6; Gauer 1991, 94, 96-98, 101-103, 106, 110, 250, Hy 17, pls. 11.1, 88.1; Stibbe 1992, 8, 53, cat. B 3; Stibbe 1997, cat. 16, fig. 1; Stibbe 2004a, 26, 34, cat. 7.51.**4.15 Once New York Market (Christie's 2002 / Phoenix Ancient Art 2008)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle*Description:* At the top, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The thick grip is wider at the top than the bottom and is articulated with a series of chased vertical lines at regular intervals across the surface. The outermost bands are hatched with a series of short, oblique lines. Below, a second pair of recumbent lions faces outwards. At the bottom, there is a broad, thick palmette with five long, rounded leaves between two large volutes with rivets in the centers. The heart of the palmette is decorated with hatching.*Dimensions:* H: 19.4*Bibliography:* Christie's New York 12.12.2002, 77. http://www.phoenixancientart.ch/works_of_art/214.**4.16 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7454***Provenance:* Eretria*Parts Preserved:* Rim, neck, body fragments, Vertical handle, Horizontal handle*Description:* The surviving part of the body consists of a wide, overhanging lip, a broad, straight neck with a horizontal relief band around the center. At the upper end of the vertical handle, a pair of recumbent lions faces around the rim, separated by a frieze of tongues. Near the top of the grip, a pendant palmette is rendered in low relief above a horizontal relief band with an incised zigzag pattern at the upper end. Below, there is a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves and large volutes that extend horizontally into a second set of volutes. Rivets are visible in the centers of both sets of volutes. The lateral handles are broad and semi-circular in cross-section. A horizontal row of beads runs across the center and a vertical column of beads at either end mark the edges of the grip. At either end, there is a palmette with seven rounded leaves and volutes that extend transversally into a second set of volutes. Rivets are visible in the centers of each volute.*Dimensions:* D (rim): 27.3; H (vh): 17.2; L (hh): 17.9*Bibliography:* Politis 1936, 163, figs. 15, 17; Diehl 1964, 18-19, 44, cat. B 49; Gauer 1991, 108; Stibbe 1992, 43, 59, cat. K 1; Stibbe 1997, cat. 36, fig. 2.

4.17 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7915*Provenance:* Aigion*Parts Preserved:* Complete with some restoration in body*Description:* The surviving parts of the body include an overhanging lip decorated with beads and tongues in relief and a wide, short neck. At the top of the vertical handle, a pair of recumbent lions faces around the rim, separated by a frieze of eight tongues. The grip is articulated with column of square beads running up the central spine and horizontal rows of beads at the upper and lower edges. Below, there is a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves and large volutes that extend horizontally into a second set of volutes. Rivets are visible in the centers of the volutes.*Dimensions:* H: 43.4; D (max): 34.5; D (rim): 28.3*Bibliography:* Neugebauer 1923, 412, n. 3, no. 2; Politis 1936, 163, pl. 2, figs. 16, 18; Rolley 1963, 472, no. 2; Rolley 1982, 51, n. 113; Diehl 1964, 14, 18-20, cat. B 53; Gauer 1991, 108; Stibbe 1992, 43-44, 59, K 2; Stibbe 1997, cat. 45.**4.18 Once New York Market (Phoenix Ancient Art 2006)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* On the upper surface of the wide mouth, there is an inscription, "MAXEIA EMMI TOI ΔΑΜΙΠΠΟΙ...Ι° Σ Χ." The overhanging lip is decorated with square beads above a plain fillet, and a row of angular tongues. The neck is wide and has a horizontal relief band around the center. The shoulder is fairly flat on the upper surface and angles fairly sharply down to a full body. The foot is ogive with a shallow cyma reversa curve. The central zone is decorated with impressed tongues, each of which is outlined with three narrow relief lines, and a ring of beads around the lower edge. At the top of the vertical handle, two lions recline around the curve of the lip. The grip is articulated with a column of beads up the central spine and relief lines along both edges. There is a horizontal band in relief decorated with oblique hatchmarks at the top of the grip; the bottom is delineated with two horizontal bands; the lower is in higher relief and is divided with short, vertically chased lines at regular intervals and the upper is more narrow and given chased triangles across the surface. Below, there is a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves divided by chased lines and double volutes. Rivets are visible in the centers of the volutes. The lateral handles are given a row of beads across the center and vertical columns of square beads at both ends, dividing the grip from the seven-leaved palmettes with double volutes at the sides.*Dimensions:* H: 40.8*Bibliography:* *Phoenix Ancient Art* 2005 no. 1, cat. 47; *Phoenix Ancient Art* 2006 no. 2, cat. 18, 13, 108-109.**4.19 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.461***Provenance:* Palaiopolis (Elis)*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle*Description:* At the top, a pair of lions faces outwards, separated by a frieze of eight tongues. The grip is articulated with horizontal bands in relief at the top and bottom. At the lower end, a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves and large volutes that extend horizontally into a second set of volutes. Rivets are visible in the centers of the volutes.*Dimensions:* H: 19.7*Bibliography:* Diehl 1964, 18-19, cat. B 51; Comstock and Vermeule 1971, 291, cat. 416; Stibbe 1992, 44, 69, cat.K 3, fig. 56.

4.20 Israel, Private Collection (Jerusalem, Borowski, GR 174)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The body consists of an overhanging lip, a wide, short neck with a horizontal relief band across the center, a rounded shoulder and a tapered body. The foot is flared and decorated with a tongue pattern in relief. At the top of the vertical handle, two reclining lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of five rounded tongues outlined with incision. The grip is articulated with a column of beads up the central spine and with horizontal rows of beads and incised triangles at the top and bottom. At the bottom, a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves and large volutes that extend horizontally into a second set of volutes. The lateral handles are articulated with a vertical row of beads at both ends and palmettes with double volutes at the sides.

Dimensions: H: 38.2; D (mouth): 20.5; D (foot): 14.4

Bibliography: Kunze 1997, 109-110, cat. A 40.

4.21 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3447

Provenance: Said to be from Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, a pair of lions faces outwards, separated by a frieze of eight tongues. The grip is articulated with horizontal bands in relief at the top and bottom. Below, there is a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves and large volutes that extend horizontally into a second set of volutes. Rivets are visible in the centers of the volutes. Broken on lower left side.

Dimensions: H (vh): 19.5; L (hh): 17.5, 18.5

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 18-19, cat. B 54, pl. 4.1; Gauer 1991, 94, 265-266, Hy 80; Stibbe 1992, 44, 59, cat. K 5; Stibbe 1997, cat. 46, fig. 2.

4.22 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 2907

Provenance: Said to be from the Peloponnesos

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles.

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, a pair of recumbent lions faces around the rim, separated by a frieze of eight tongues. The grip is articulated with column of square beads running up the center and a horizontal row of beads at top and bottom. At the bottom, there is a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves and large volutes that extend horizontally into a second set of volutes. Rivets are visible in the centers of all of the volutes. The lateral handles are rectangular in cross-section and decorated with a pair of horizontally chased lines running across the center. They end in pairs of horse protomes shown in profile with forelegs bent at right angles such that they meet at the center.

Bibliography: Neugebauer 1925, 189-90, figs. 6, 7; Filow 1927, 57, fig. 27; Diehl 1964, 18-19, cat. B 50; Rolley 1982, 51, no. 4; Stibbe 1992, 8, 53, cat. B 4, figs. 10-11; Stibbe 1997, cat. 33; Stibbe 2004a, 26, 35, cat. 7.61.

4.23 Sparta, Archaeological Museum 1703

Provenance: Sparta (Menelaion)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Only the lower end survives, with a pendant palmette with seven rounded leaves and large volutes that extend horizontally into a second set of volutes. Rivets are visible in the centers.

Bibliography: Wace 1908/09, 149, fig. 14.3; Diehl 1964, 18-20, cat. B 52; Rolley 1982, 37, no. 5; Stibbe 1992, 44, 59, cat. K 4; Stibbe 1997, cat. 43.

4.24 Griefswald

Provenance: Hermione

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: The grip is rectangular with rounded edges in cross-section. At the ends, there are palmettes with nine rounded leaves and volutes that extend into a second set of volutes. Rivets are visible in the centers of all of the volutes.

Bibliography: Boehringer 1961, 104, no. 458, pl. 57; Bothmer 1965, 601.

4.25 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 819

Provenance: Olympia (South Hall)

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: The grip is rectangular with rounded edges in cross-section and is decorated with a horizontal relief line running across the center. At the ends, there are palmettes with nine rounded leaves and volutes that extend into a second set of volutes. Rivets are visible in the centers of all of the volutes.

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 18-19, cat. B 56; Gauer 1991, 94, 104, 108, 262, Hy 43, pl. 91.4; Stibbe 1997, cat. 38.

4.26 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 11764, Br 13875

Provenance: Olympia (north of the Palaistra)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragments

Description: Both the upper and lower ends are preserved but the grip itself is broken. At the top, half-spools are separated by a frieze of rounded tongues. A small segment of the grip is preserved with the upper fragment, showing a vertical column of square beads up the central spine, a horizontal row of beads along the upper edge, and a row of large beads above a band of tongues and horizontal incision lines at the bottom. The lower fragment consists of a pendant palmette with eight rounded leaves and large volutes that extend horizontally into a second set of volutes.

Dimensions: H: 10.2; W: 8.9

Bibliography: Furtwängler 1890, 144, no. 899; Diehl 1964, 18-19, cat. B 47; Gauer 1991, 97-98, 104-106, 110, 260, Hy 24, pl. 89.4b; Stibbe 1994, 99, fig. 21; Stibbe 1997, cat. 32; Stibbe 2004a, 28, 35, cat. 7.60.

4.27 Syracuse, Museo Regionale Paolo Orsi 26838

Provenance: Gela

Parts Preserved: Body fragments, Vertical handle, Horizontal handle

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, a pair of lions faces around the rim with their heads turned outwards. The grip is rectangular in cross-section with pairs of vertical chased lines at either side and up the center. Below, there is a pendant palmette with eleven rounded leaves and large volutes that extend horizontally into short platforms that support a pair of reclining rams.

Dimensions: H: 46.0

Bibliography: Orsi 1909, 126f., pl. 5; Politis 1936, 159-65; Diehl 1964, 17-18, 149, cat. B 45, pl. 4; Rolley 1982, 43, figs. 151-53; Stibbe 1992, 15-16, 54, cat. E 1; Stibbe 1997, cat. 49, fig. 2; Stibbe 2004a, 27, 34, cat. 7.55, fig. 52.

4.28 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3860

Provenance: Said to be from Sparta

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top, a pair of reclining lions faces outwards, separated by a frieze of four tongues. A row of five large beads and a horizontal relief line divide the terminal from the smooth, trapezoidal vertical grip. Below, there is a pendant palmette with eight pointed leaves and large volutes that extend horizontally into short platforms that support a pair of reclining rams.

Dimensions: H: 18.0

Bibliography: Neugebauer 1925, 194-95, fig. 10; Politis 1936, 159, no. 2, pl. 2; Diehl 1964, 17-18, cat. B 43; Rolley 1982, 43, figs. 148-50; Stibbe 1992, 16, 55, cat. E 2, fig. 23; Stibbe 1997, cat. 82, fig. 3; Stibbe 2004a, 28, 35, cat. 7.59.

4.29 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 3402

Provenance: Olympia

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 600; Gauer 1991, 94, 259, Hy 16, pl. 87.1.

4.30 Germany, Private Collection (Strasbourg)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle (?)

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 600.

4.31 Mariemont, Musée B 201

Provenance: Said to be from the Athenian Akropolis (ex-Warrocqué collection)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top, two lions attack a fallen ram. The grip is articulated with two vertical incision lines running up the central spine. At the bottom, four large beads mark the lower end of the grip. Below, there is a pendant palmette with ten pointed leaves and large volutes that extend horizontally into short platforms that support a pair of reclining rams.

Dimensions: H: 22.0; W: 13.0

Bibliography: Politis 1936, 159, type III, no. 3; Lévêque 1952, G.88; Diehl 1964, 17, cat. B 46; Lévêque 1967, 49, no. 14; Stibbe 1992, 16, 55, cat. E 3; Stibbe 1994, 98-99, fig. 19; Stibbe 1997, cat. 50, fig. 2; Stibbe 2004a, 28, 34, cat. 7.56.

4.32 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 16372

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at lower end. At the top, a pair of reclining lions faces around the rim. The grip has a palmette rendered in relief on the upper surface, towards the top.

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 602

4.33 Paestum, Archaeological Museum 49805

Provenance: Paestum (subterranean shrine, "sacello-heroön")

Parts Preserved: Body fragments; Vertical handle, Horizontal handles

Description: The rim is beaded and the neck is straight and tall. The shoulder is narrow and the body tapers gradually to a flared foot. The top of the vertical handle is ornamented with two lion's heads facing outwards. The grip is articulated a horizontal band with chased lines and a pair of chased palmettes with three rounded leaves at the top. The main part of the grip has a row of beads framed by double chased lines up the center and a single vertical incision line along either edge. Another horizontal band decorated with four sets of short double incision line

marks the lower boundary of the grip. Below, there is a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves and large volutes that extend upwards into snakes. Rivets are visible in the centers of the volutes. The lateral handles are rectangular in cross-section and divided into three sections by a pair of double incision lines running horizontally at top, center, and bottom. The central band is beaded. Two pairs of vertical incision lines divide the handle from the terminals, which take the form of outstretched hands.

Dimensions: H: 48.2; D (max): 35.0; D (rim): 10.8-10.9; D (neck, above): 11.0; D (neck, below): 12.0

Bibliography: Sestieri 1954, 166, fig. 54, no. 2177; Sestieri 1955, 62, fig. 22; Sestieri 1956, 28-30, fig. 14; Picard 1960, 423f., pl. 21; van Buren 1955, pl. 86, fig. 5; Hill 1967, 40, cat. I.C.1; Rolley 1982, 21, no. 7, figs. 9, 18, 76, 79, 103, 108; Stibbe 1992, 48, 61, cat. N 5; Rolley 2004, 274-276, table 6.

4.34 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum ΘΕ 1556

Provenance: Thermi (Grave 8, plot 158 a1)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The rim is beaded and the neck is straight and tall. The shoulder is narrow and the body tapers gradually to a heavy flared foot. At the top of the vertical handle, two lions' heads face outwards. The grip is articulated with two relief bands at the bottom, a vertical column of square beads up the center, chased lines along the edges, and a horizontal row of beads at the top. At the lower end, there is a pendant palmette with eleven pointed leaves and large volutes that extend upwards into snakes. Rivets are visible in the centers of the volutes. The lateral handles are rectangular in cross-section and divided into three sections by a pair of double incision lines running horizontally at top, center, and bottom. The central bands are beaded. A vertical column of beads on either side separates the handle from the terminals, which take the form of hands gripping the vase,

Dimensions: H: 46.2; H (vh): 17.0; L (hh): c. 21.5; D (rim): 13.2; H: (foot): 2.5

Bibliography: Skarlatidou 2002, 285-86, figs. 7-8; Skarlatidou, forthcoming.

4.35 Belgrade, National Museum 199/1

Provenance: Rim, neck, body fragments, Vertical handle, Horizontal handle

Parts Preserved: Trebenishte (Grave IX)

Description: The rim is beaded and the neck is straight and tall. The shoulder is narrow and the body tapers gradually to a flared foot. At the top of the vertical handle, a pair of severely worn lions' heads faces outwards. The grip is articulated with a single incised line at either edge. Below, there is a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves and volutes that extend upwards into snakes. The lateral handles are rectangular in cross-section and are divided into three sections by a pair of double incision lines running horizontally at center. Two pairs of vertically incised lines distinguish the handle from the terminals, which take the form of hands gripping the vase.

Dimensions: H: c. 46.5; H (neck): 8.0; D (max): 34.0; D (rim): 12.9

Bibliography: Vulič 1933, 175, cat. 22, 176, fig. 85; Popovič 1956, 119, pls. 31, 31a; Grbič 1958, pl. 9; Lathov 1965, pl. 40.1; Picard 1960, 423f., pl. 19; Hill 1967, 40, cat. I.C.2. Rolley 1982, 83-84, figs. 21, 77, 89, 100, 104, 109; Stibbe 1992, 48, 60-61, cat. N 3; Stibbe 1997, cat. 83, fig. 3.

4.36 Belgrade, National Museum 200/1

Provenance: Trebenishte

Parts Preserved: Rim, Vertical handle

Description: The rim is beaded and the neck is straight and tall. The shoulder is narrow and the body tapers gradually to a flared foot. At the top of the vertical handle, a pair of lions' heads faces outwards. Below, there is a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves and volutes that extend upwards into snakes.

Dimensions: D (rim): 12.5

Bibliography: Rolley 1982, 83-84, figs. 22, 78, 96, 98, 106; Stibbe 1992, 48, 60, cat. N 2; Stibbe 1997, cat. 34, fig. 2.

4.37 Belgrade, National Museum 183/1

Provenance: Acquired on art market. Said to be from Donja Belica (10 km north of Trebeniste)

Parts Preserved: Mouth and neck fragments, Vertical handle

Description: The rim is beaded and the neck is straight and tall. The shoulder is narrow and the body tapers gradually to a flared foot. At the top of the vertical handle, the handle attaches to the vase with two simple volutes with rivets in the centers. The grip is given a twisted form. Below, there is a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves and volutes that extend upwards into snakes.

Dimensions: D (rim): 12.8; D (neck, above): 10.8; D (neck, below): 11.4

Bibliography: Vulić 1933, 175, cat. 23, 176f., figs. 86, 89; Popovič 1956, 116, no. 26, pl. 27; Hill 1967, 40, cat. I.C.3; Rolley 1982, 84, n. 218, figs. 23, 84, 101, 105; Stibbe 1992, 49, 61, cat. N 4; Stibbe 1995b, 101, n. 53; Stibbe 1997, cat. 84.

4.38 Belgrade, National Museum 187

Provenance: Trebenishte

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: The grip is rectangular in cross-section with a row of beading across the center and by chased lines along the upper and lower edges. The terminals take the form of outstretched hands.

Dimensions: L: 19.0

Bibliography: Rolley 1982, 83, fig. 110; Stibbe 1992, 52, 61, cat. N 2a.

4.39 Delphi, Archaeological Museum A

Provenance: Delphi

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle fragment

Description: Broken near the mid-point such that only one side is preserved. The grip is rectangular in cross-section. The terminals take the form of outstretched hands.

Bibliography: Perdrizet 1908 no. 300; Rolley 1982, 85, fig. 111; Stibbe 1992, 49, 61, cat. N 7.

4.40 Delphi, Archaeological Museum B

Provenance: Delphi

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle fragment

Description: Broken near the mid-point such that only one side is preserved. The grip is rectangular in cross-section and decorated with a row of beading across the center. The terminals take the form of outstretched hands.

Bibliography: Perdrizet 1908, no. 299; Rolley 1982, 85, fig. 111; Stibbe 1992, 49, 61, cat. N 6.

4.41 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7158

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle fragment

Description: The grip is rectangular in cross-section and decorated with a row of beading across the center and vertical columns of beads at each edge. At the end, outstretched hands (one side preserved).

Dimensions: L: 20.2; H: 3.8

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

4.42 Once Paris Market (2009)*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle*Description:* Lion's heads and coiled snakes face outwards from the top of the vertical handle, separated by a pattern of outlined tongues. The thick grip is rectangular in cross-section with a column of square beads up the central column and narrow vertical bands in relief along either edge. At the bottom, there is a pattern of long tongues above a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves and prominent volutes. Pairs of half-spools extend horizontally on both sides.*Bibliography:* http://gallery.me.com/kunickiexpertise#100741/IMG_9833&bgcolor=black, lot 255**4.43 Once Paris Market (2009)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Horizontal handle*Description:* The grip is semi-circular in cross-section with a horizontal relief band across the center. The terminals take the form of swan's heads in relief with long, rounded beaks.*Bibliography:* http://gallery.me.com/kunickiexpertise#100741/IMG_9907&bgcolor=black, lot 270.**Group 5: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with a Female Protome at the Lower End of the Vertical Handle****5.1 Syracuse, Museo Regionale Paolo Orsi***Provenance:* Gela*Parts Preserved:* Complete (with restorations)*Description:* The surviving part of the body consists of an overhanging lip and a wide, tall neck. The high foot takes a flared profile and is decorated with a pattern of impressed tongues. At the top of the vertical handle, two coiled snakes face around the rim, separated by a frieze of rectangular tongues. The upper part of the grip widens into a trapezoidal zone bound by narrow relief bands. Below, it is articulated with three incised lines up the central column and a single one along both edges. At the bottom, there is a female protome wearing a tall polos decorated with chased tongues. The hairline across the forehead takes a scalloped outline and long, obliquely hatched braids frame the face. Half-spools extend horizontally to either side. The lateral handles are round in cross-section and end with swan's heads with rounded beaks and transverse half-spools.*Dimensions:* H: 42.0*Bibliography:* Orsi 1932, 141-145, figs. 5-7; Hafner 1957, 122, no. 3; Rolley 1963, 32, no. 3, 34f., figs. 127-30, 102; Diehl 1964, 10-13, 149, cat. B 19; Jucker 1964, 29; Bothmer 1965, 600; Jucker 1966, pl. 39; Rolley 1977, 141, pl. 1.3; Johannowsky 1980, 451; Pasquier 1982, 286f., figs. 6-10; Rolley 1982, 34-34, figs. 127-130; Rolley 1984, fig. 265; Herfort-Koch 1986, 81, no. K 3, pl. 1.3; Gauer 1991, 96, 100; Stibbe 1992, 13, 54, cat. C 7; Pelegatti/ Stibbe 1992, 194, pl. 19b; Hammond 1995-96, 54, 64; Shefton 2000, 32; Stibbe 2004a, 6, 32, cat. 1.5, fig. 12.**5.2 Atena Lucana, Antiquarium Comunale***Provenance:* Atena Lucana*Parts Preserved:* Rim fragment, Vertical handle, Horizontal handle, Foot*Description:* The overhanging lip is decorated with an alternating 'triglyph and metope' frieze bordered by horizontal rows of obliquely hatched lines above and below. At the top of the vertical handle, two coiled snakes face around the rim, separated by a frieze of beads above square tongues. The upper end of the grip widens at the upper end into a trapezoidal zone bound at the lower edge by double hatched bands and triple bands of similar type along the top. Below, it is articulated with four evenly spaced pairs of vertically chased lines. At the bottom, there is a female protome wearing a tall polos with vertically chased decorations. Four obliquely

hatched tresses frame her face. Double half-spools extend horizontally. The lateral handles are round in cross-section, ending in swan's heads with rounded beaks and transverse half-spools.

Dimensions: H (vh): 17.5; D (rim): 27.0; D (foot): 14.8; H (foot): 2.6

Bibliography: Johannowsky 1980, 445f, figs. 1-5.; Rolley 1982, 102; Herfort-Koch 1986, 81, no. K 4; Gauer 1991, 100; Stibbe 1992, 12, 54, cat. C 1, fig. 16; Shefton 2000, 32; Stibbe 2004a, 3-4, 32, cat. 1.2.

5.3 Mainz, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 201

Provenance: Lebadeia (Boiotia)

Parts Preserved: Rim, Vertical handle, Horizontal handles

Description: The overhanging lip has double relief lines along the top and bottom edges. The upper surface of the mouth is inscribed, "TEΛΕΣΣΤΑΣ." At the top of the vertical handle, two coiled snakes face around the rim, separated by a frieze of rectangular tongues. The grip widens at the top into a trapezoidal zone bound at the lower edge by two hatched bands and triple bands of similar type at the upper limit. Below, it is articulated with four sets of regularly spaced double chased lines. At the bottom, a female protome wears a disc-shaped polos decorated with a pattern of chased tongues. The hairline across the forehead takes a scalloped outline and long, obliquely hatched braids frame the face. Double half-spools extend horizontally on each side.

Dimensions: H (vh): 17.5; D (rim): 26.5; L (hh): 14.0

Bibliography: Neugebauer 1938, 329-38, figs. 1-3; Kunze 1938, 121-123; *Antiken aus rheinischem Privatbesitz* 1983, 21, no. 53, pl. 25; Charbonneaux 1948, 44; Matz 1950, 440, pl. 258a; Hafner 1957, 119-26, 145, pls. 16, 17.3; Homann-Wedeking, 1958, 64; Hampe and Simon 1959, 4f., figs. 4-5; Schefold 1960, 18, 144, no. 111; Jeffery 1961, 183, 189, 199, no. 7, pl. 35; Charbonneaux 1962, 61, pl. 1.2; *EAA* 676, fig. 793; Rolley 1963 33, no. 7, fig. 131; Diehl 1964, 5, 10-12, cat. B 21; Jucker 1966, 56f., pl. 14.3; Dontas 1969, 53; Marangou 1969, 156, 270, cat. 883; Rolley 1977, 131, 135; Pasquier 1982, 286f.; Rolley 1982, 32-34, fig. 131.3; Herfort-Koch 1986, 81, no. K 1, pl. 1.1-2; Gauer 1991, 95, n. 240; Stibbe 1992, 12-13, 54, cat. C 5, figs. 17-18; Hammond 1995-96, 52-53, 64, figs. 3-4; Shefton 2000, 32; Stibbe 2004a, 2-3, 32, cat. 1.1, figs. 1-4.

5.4 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6021, B 175

Provenance: Olympia (Stadium, South wall IV)

Parts Preserved: Rim, Vertical handle, Horizontal handles

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, two coiled snake protomes face around the rim, separated by a frieze of rectangular tongues. The grip is articulated with vertically chased lines at either edge and double lines at the center. It widens at the upper end to a trapezoidal zone bound by relief lines at the top and bottom and decorated with with four striated triangles pointing downwards in the center. At the lower end, a female protome wears a polos decorated with chased tongues. Four long, obliquely hatched braids frame her face on either side. Double half-spools extend horizontally to each side. The lateral handles are round in cross-section, ending in swan's heads with rounded beaks and transverse half-spools.

Dimensions: H (vh): 18.7

Bibliography: (vh) Kunze 1937/38, 121²f., pl. 54, fig. 76; Bloesch 1943, 34; Robertson 1939, 23f., pl. 48; Kunze 1948, 23f. pl. 4 8; Richter 1959, 59, fig. 87; Hafner 1957, 121f., pl. 17.1; Diehl 1964, 10, cat. B 20; Jucker 1972, 56f., p. 14.2; Rolley 1977, 32, no. 4, 35; Fitzhardinge 1980, 110, fig. 142; Johannowsky 1980, 451; Gauer 1980, 117, pl. 78; Rolley 1982, 32, 35, pl. 28.1.1.2a; Herfort-Koch 1986, 15f., pl. 1.8-9; Gauer 1991, 97-101, 105-106, 110, 258, Hy 12, pl. 86.1; Stibbe 1992, 13, 54, cat. C 8; Hammond 1995-96, 54, 64, fig. 6; Stibbe 2004a, 4, 6, 32, cat. 1.4, fig. 11.
(hh) Furtwängler 1890, 121f., no. 897, pl. 54, fig. 897a; Neugebauer 1925, 192, A 1; Kunze-Schliel 1938, 1938, 121f, fig. 76, pl. 54; Hafner 1957, 122; Rolley 1963, 476; Diehl 1964, cat. B 20; Herfort-Koch 1986, 14, 82, K 8; Gauer 1991, 106, 262, Hy 36, pl. 86.1; Stibbe 1992, 13, 54, cat. C 8.

5.5 University of Missouri, Columbia 87.1

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at top and lower left side. The surviving part shows a fragmentary female protome wearing a tall polos. Long, obliquely hatched tresses frame the narrow face. Double half-spools extend horizontally (right side preserved).

Dimensions: H: 8.5; W: 7.8

Bibliography: Hammond 1995-96, 50-73, fig. 1 a,b; Stibbe 2004a, 6, 32, cat. 1.7, figs. 13-14.

5.6 Capua (Santa Maria Capua Vetere), Museo 264130

Provenance: Capua (tomb 1505, near the Roman theater)

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations)

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, two coiled snake protomes face around the rim. The grip widens at the top to a trapezoidal zone. Below, there is a female protome wearing a tall polos with chased decorations. The hairline across the forehead takes a scalloped outline and long, obliquely hatched braids frame the face. Double half-spools extend horizontally (broken on right side). The side handles are smooth and round in cross-section, ending in swan's heads with rounded beaks and transverse half-spools.

Dimensions: D (max): 34.5; D (rim): 27.5; H (vh): 21.6; L (hh): 13.0

Bibliography: Ktema 1977, 139; Johannowsky 1980, 447-51, fig. 6; Rolley 1982, 32-34; Herfort-Koch 1986, 16, n. 52; Gauer 1991, 99; Stibbe 1992, 12, 54, cat. C 2; Stibbe 2000, 6-10, fig. 2, pls. 1.5-6, 2.1-3; Stibbe 2004a, 4, 32, cat. 1.3, figs. 5-10; Rolley 2004, 132-133, fig. 91.

5.7 Germany, Private Collection

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, two coiled snakes face around the rim, separated by a frieze of tongues. The grip is articulated with a column of beads up the central spine and relief lines along the edges. Below, a female protome wears a disc-shaped polos. The hairline across the forehead takes a scalloped outline and long, obliquely hatched braids frame the face. Double half-spools extend horizontally

Dimensions: H: 16.0

Bibliography: *Antiken aus rheinischem Privatbesitz* 1973, no. 210, pl. 93; Rolley 1982, 32-34; Herfort-Koch 1986, 82, no. K 6; Stibbe 1992, 12, 54, cat. C 4; Hammond 1995-96, 56 n. 18; Shefton 2000, 32; Stibbe 2004a, 6, 32, cat. 1.8.

5.8 Berlin, Pergamon Museum 10389

Provenance: Purchased on Art Market in Athens, said to be from Epirus

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, two coiled snakes face around the rim, separated by a frieze of rectangular tongues divided by short, hatched vertical bands. The grip is articulated with two pairs of chased lines up the central column and a single one along the edges. The grip widens at the upper end to a trapezoidal zone bordered by two obliquely hatched bands at the lower edge and decorated with six hatched triangles in the center. Below, a female protome wears a disc-shaped polos. Obliquely hatched tresses frame her face. Double-half spools with chased bands extend horizontally. The side handles are rectangular in cross-section with double incision lines running across the center. To either side, there is a female protome similar to the one on the vertical handle.

Dimensions: H (vh): 17.7; L (hh): 20.7, 20.3

Bibliography: Neugebauer 1925, 179, fig. 3; Politis 1936, 154, no. 3, fig. 6; Hafner 1957, 122, no. 2; Diehl 1964, 10-12, cat. B 18; Rolley 1963, 32, no. 2, 35, 39, fig. 126; Johannowsky 1980, 450-51; Rolley 1982, 32-34, fig. 126; Herfort-Koch 1986, 82, no. K 5; Gauer 1991, 99; Stibbe 1992, 13, 54, cat. C 6, fig. 19; Hammond 1995-96, 54, 64, fig. 5; Shefton 2000, 32; Stibbe 2004a, 6, 32, cat. 1.6.

5.9 Paris, Louvre Br 2645

Provenance: Uncertain (Greece?)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: At the top, two coiled snakes face around the rim, separated by a frieze of seven tongues outlined with chasing. The upper end of the grip widens into a trapezoidal zone decorated with two horizontal relief bands, a row of nine chased tongues, and two rows of chased triangles divided by a horizontal relief band in between. Below, it is articulated with five pairs of vertically chased lines spaced evenly across the handle. At the bottom, there is a female protome wearing a tall polos with four obliquely hatched braids framing her face and a scalloped hairline at her forehead. The facial features are chased with an exceptionally heavy hand. Double half-spools extend horizontally.

Dimensions: H: 17.5; W (max): 11.2

Bibliography: Ridder 1915, no. 2645, PL. 96; Neugebauer 1925, 181; Politis 1936, 152, no. 2; Kunze-Schliel 1938, 121; Matz 1950, 439; Hafner 1957, 121, no. 1, pl. 17.2; Diehl 1964, 10, 11, cat. B 17; Jucker 1972, 29, cat. 83; Richter 1968, no. 35, fig. 117; Pasquier 1982, 286f., fig. 8; Rolley 1963, 33, no. 5, 34f., 41, 49; Rolley 1982, 32-34; Herfort-Koch 1986, 82, no. K 7, pl. 2.2; Stibbe 1992, 12, 54, cat. C 3; Hammond 1995-96, 54-55, 64 n. 66, fig. 7; Shefton 2000, 32; Stibbe 2004a, 6-7, 32, cat. 1.9.

5.10 Netherlands, Private Collection

Provenance: Uncertain, Purchased on Art Market in Basel

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: The surviving part shows a female protome wearing very tall polos. Obliquely hatched locks frame her face. Rendered in higher relief than its counterparts.

Dimensions: H: 5.7; W: 1.6

Bibliography: Stibbe 1996, 357-60, no. 2, pl. 25.1-4; Stibbe 2004a, 32, cat. 2.14, fig. 28.

5.11 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1995.92

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete (body restored below upper shoulder)

Description: The hammered lip extends both above and below the mouth. At the top of the vertical handle, a pair of lion's heads faces outwards, separated by a frieze of lightly chased tongues. At the upper end, the grip widens to a trapezoidal zone decorated with two horizontal rows of hatched lines separated by two bands of chased triangles. Below, it is articulated with pairs of chased lines filled with oblique hatch-marks up the center and along both sides. Pairs of chased lines running horizontally are spaced evenly throughout, creating a checkerboard effect. At the bottom, there is a female protome wearing a two-part, disc-shaped polos. Six long tresses frame her face on either side and a zigzag line marks the hairline across her forehead. A pair of double half-spools with ribbed edges extends horizontally on each side. The side handles are rectangular in cross-section and decorated with a similar pattern of hatched lines as the vertical handle. At either end are swan's heads with rounded beaks extending into the center of the strap and transverse half-spools with ribbed edges. Flared foot, undecorated.

Dimensions: H: 43.8; H (vh): 15.2; H (foot): c. 2.7; D (max): 36.2; D (mouth): c. 28.0; L (hh): 13.5, 13.8

Bibliography: Stibbe 1994, 86-93, fig. 106; Sommer 1994, 103-113; Bothmer 1995, 8; Stibbe 2004, 2.16, figs. 30-31; Rolley 2004, 138-139, fig. 95; Picón, et. al. 2007, fig. 63.

5.12 Nîmes, Musée Archéologique

Provenance: Italy

Parts Preserved: Body fragments, Vertical handle, Horizontal handle

Description: The surviving part of the body preserves an overhanging lip and a short, wide neck with a concave curve. At the top of the vertical handle, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The grip is articulated with a pair of vertical relief lines along the central spine. Below, there is a

female protome wearing a disc-shaped polos decorated with chased tongues. Three obliquely hatched tresses frame her petite face on each side. To either side, double-half-spools extend horizontally. The side handles have transverse half-spools at both ends.

Bibliography: Neugebauer 1925, 194, figs. 4-5; Politis 1936, 152, fig. 5; Diehl 1964, 10-13, 18, 21, cat. B 24, pl. 3.1-3; Jucker 1954, pl. 2; Jucker 1966, 89-91, pl. 57; Rolley 1982, 32-34, figs. 124-125; Herfort-Koch 1986, 16, n. 53; Stibbe 1992, 13, 54, cat. C 10; Stibbe 1996, 362, n. 35, pl. 30.4-5; Bieg 2002, 57; Gauer 2002, 194; Stibbe 2004, 2.15, fig. 29; Rolley 2004, 138-139, fig. 94.

5.13 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 16450

Provenance: Uncertain, but said to be from Greece

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top, two large lion's heads face outwards. Grip is articulated with two vertically chased lines on either side. Below, a female protome wearing a high polos. Three long braids framing her neck and narrow face. Half-spools with ribbed edges extend horizontally to either side and have pointed extensions on the outer faces.

Dimensions: H: 16.0; W: 9.5

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 600; Stibbe 1996, 336-37, cat. 5, pl. 34.1-2; Stibbe 2004, 2.17, fig. 32.

5.14 Once Paris Market (2009)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: The grip is semi-circular in cross-section with a horizontal relief band across the center. At the ends, there are swan protomes and Daedalic female heads in relief.

Bibliography: http://gallery.me.com/kunickiexpertise#100741/IMG_9907&bgcolor=black, lot 270.

Group 6: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with a Female Protome and a Palmette at the Lower End of the Vertical Handle

6.1 Paestum, Archaeological Museum 49800

Provenance: Paestum (subterranean shrine, "sacello-heroön")

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The overhanging lip is decorated with with beads and tongues in relief. The wide neck has a shallow concave curve. The shoulder is relatively flat on the upper side and curves strongly down to an evenly tapered body. The foot takes a flared profile and is decorated with tongues outlined with narrowly chased lines. At the top of the vertical handle, two lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of tongues. The grip is articulated with a column of beads up the central spine and a relief line at either edge. The upper limit of the grip is defined with a horizontal row of beads. At the bottom, there is a female protome. A scalloped line marks the hairline across the forehead and a pair of long, diverging braids frame the face. Below, there is a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves and volutes that extend horizontally to form supports for the hind legs of a pair of reclining rams. The side handles are round in cross-section and decorated with beads across the center and at each end. At each end there is a swan's heads and transverse half-spools with beaded edges.

Dimensions: H: 41.7; D (max): 32.5; D (rim): 27.4

Bibliography: *ILN* 1954, 683, figs. 8-10; Sestieri 1955a, 58-59, figs. 15, 17, 18, 19; Sestieri 1955, 28-30, fig. 13; Charbonneaux 1962, 62; Diehl 1964, 13-15, 19, cat. B 28; Rolley 1982, 17-19, no. 1, figs. 1, 12, 25, 29, 33, 35, 41, 45, 49, 50, 51, 133; Gauer 1991, 95f.; Stibbe 1992, 18-19, 55, cat. F 2, fig. 24; Banti 1996, 696, no. 145 III; Stibbe 1997, fig. 3; Rolley 2004, 123-143, 140, fig. 102, 274-276, table 6.

6.2 Paestum, Archaeological Museum 49803

Provenance: Paestum (subterranean shrine, "sacello-heroön")

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The overhanging lip is decorated with with beads and tongues in relief. The wide neck has a shallow concave curve. The shoulder is relatively flat on the upper side and curves strongly down to an evenly tapered body. The foot takes a flared profile and is decorated with tongues outlined with narrowly chased lines. At the top of the vertical handle, two lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of tongues. The grip is articulated with a column of beads up the central spine and a relief line at either edge. The upper limit of the grip is defined with a horizontal row of beads. At the bottom, there is a female protome. A scalloped line marks the hairline across the forehead and a pair of long, diverging braids frame the face. Below, there is a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves and volutes that extend horizontally to form supports for the hind legs of a pair of reclining rams facing. The side handles are round in cross-section and decorated with beads across the center and at each end. At each end there is a swan's heads and transverse half-spoons with beaded edges.

Dimensions: H: 41.7; D (max): 32.5; D (rim): 27.1

Bibliography: *ILN* 1954, 683, figs. 8-10; Sestieri 1955a, 58-59, figs. 15, 17, 18, 19; Sestieri 1955b, 28-30, fig. 13; Charbonneaux 1962, 62; Diehl 1964, 13-15, cat. B 30; Rolley 1982, 17-19; no. 3, figs. 3, 27, 31, 38, 43, 47, 54, 56, 133; Gauer 1991, 95f.; Stibbe 1992, 18-19, 55, cat. F 3, fig. 26; Banti 1996, 696, no. 145 III; Stibbe 1997, fig. 3; Rolley 2004, 123-143, 274-276, table 6.

6.3 Paestum, Archaeological Museum 49804

Provenance: Paestum (subterranean shrine, "sacello-heroön")

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The overhanging lip is decorated with with beads and tongues in relief. The wide neck has a shallow concave curve. The shoulder is relatively flat on the upper side and curves strongly down to an evenly tapered body. The foot takes a flared profile and is decorated with tongues outlined with narrowly chased lines. At the top of the vertical handle, two lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of tongues. The grip is articulated with a column of beads up the central spine and a relief line at either edge. The upper limit of the grip is defined with a horizontal row of beads. At the bottom, there is a female protome. A scalloped line marks the hairline across the forehead and a pair of long, diverging braids frame the face. Below, there is a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves and volutes that extend horizontally to form supports for the hind legs of a pair of reclining rams. The side handles are round in cross-section and decorated with beads across the center and at each end. At each end there is a swan's heads and transverse half-spoons with beaded edges.

Dimensions: H: 42.8; D (max): 32.5; D (rim): 27.4

Bibliography: *ILN* 1954, 683, figs. 8-10; Sestieri 1955a, 58-59, figs. 15, 17, 18, 19; Sestieri 1955, 28-30, fig. 13; Charbonneaux 1962, 62; Diehl 1964, 13-15, cat. B 29; Rolley 1982, 17-19; no. 2, figs. 2, 26, 30, 42, 46, 42, 43, 48, 133; Gauer 1991, 95f.; Stibbe 1992, 18-19, 55, cat. F 4, fig. 25; Banti 1996, 696, no. 145 I; Stibbe 1997, fig. 3; Rolley 2004, 123-143, 274-276, table 6.

6.4 Paris, Petit Palais

Provenance: Sala Consilina

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The overhanging lip is decorated with with beads and tongues in relief. The wide neck has a shallow concave curve. The shoulder is relatively flat on the upper side and curves strongly down to an evenly tapered body. The foot takes a flared profile and is decorated with tongues outlined with narrowly chased lines. At the top of the vertical handle, two lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of tongues. The grip is articulated with a column of beads up the central spine and a relief line at either edge. The upper limit of the grip is defined with a horizontal row of beads. At the bottom, there is a female protome. A scalloped line marks the hairline across the forehead and a pair of long, diverging braids frame the face. Below, there is a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves and volutes that extend horizontally to form

supports for the hind legs of a pair of reclining rams. The side handles are round in cross-section and decorated with beads across the center and at each end. At each end there is a swan's heads and transverse half-spools with beaded edges.

Dimensions: H: 41.7; D (max): 32.5; D (rim): 27.1

Bibliography: Sestieri 1955a, fig. 16; Charbonneaux 1962, 62; Diehl 1964, 13-15, cat. B 26; Rolley 1982, no. 4, figs. 4, 13, 28, 32, 34, 36, 37, 44, 48, 55, 57, 90, 133; Gauer 1991, 95f., 104f.; Stibbe 1992, 18-19, 55, cat. F 5, fig. 2 7; Stibbe 1997, cat. 77. fig. 3; Stibbe 2000, 78-79; Stibbe 2004, 3.18, fig. 33; Rolley 2004, 123-143, 142, fig. 101, 274-276, table 6.

6.5 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15137

Provenance: Eretria

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations in body)

Description: The overhanging lip is decorated with with beads and tongues in relief. The wide neck has a shallow concave curve. The shoulder is relatively flat on the upper side and curves strongly down to an evenly tapered body. The foot takes a flared profile and is decorated with tongues outlined with narrowly chased lines. At the top of the vertical handle, two lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of tongues. The grip is articulated with a column of beads up the central spine and a relief line at either edge. The upper limit of the grip is defined with a horizontal row of beads. At the bottom, there is a female protome. A scalloped line marks the hairline across the forehead and a pair of long, diverging braids frame the face. Below, there is a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves and volutes that extend horizontally to form supports for the hind legs of a pair of reclining rams. The side handles are round in cross-section and decorated with beads across the center and at each end. At each end there is a swan's heads and transverse half-spools with beaded edges.

Dimensions: H: 44.0; H (vh): 18.3; W (max vh): 14.6; L (hh): 16.7; D (foot): 14.3

Bibliography: Politis 1936, 147-149, pls. 1.2, 9-11, fig. 1; Charbonneaux 1962, 62; Diehl 1964, 13-14, 149, cat. B 27; Rolley 1982, 40, fig. 145; Stibbe 1992, 19, 55, cat. F 6; Stibbe 1997, cat. 75; Stibbe 2000, 78-79; Stibbe 2004, 3.19, figs. 34-35; Rolley 2004, 126-127, fig. 83.

6.6 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 67.11.7

Provenance: Sicily

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The overhanging lip is decorated with with beads and tongues in relief. The wide neck has a shallow concave curve. The shoulder is relatively flat on the upper side and curves strongly down to an evenly tapered body. The foot takes a flared profile and is decorated with tongues outlined with narrowly chased lines. At the top of the vertical handle, two lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of tongues. The grip is articulated with a column of beads up the central spine and a relief line at either edge. The upper limit of the grip is defined with a horizontal row of beads. At the bottom, there is a female protome. A scalloped line marks the hairline across the forehead and a pair of long, diverging braids frame the face. Below, there is a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves and volutes that extend horizontally to form supports for the hind legs of a pair of reclining rams. The side handles are round in cross-section and decorated with beads across the center and at each end. At each end there is a swan's heads and transverse half-spools with beaded edges.

Dimensions: H: 41.9

Bibliography: Bothmer 1967, 73-74; Jucker 1972, 53 n. 92; BMMA 10.1967, 73-75, ill; NY, *MMA Notable Acquisitions 1965-1975*, 116; Stibbe 1992, 15, 54, cat. D 3, fig. 21; Stibbe 1997, cat. 74, fig. 3; Stibbe 2004, 4.26, fig. 37.

6.7 Heidelberg, Universitätsammlung F 162 a-c

Provenance: Said to be from Greece

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, two lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of tongues. At the bottom, there is a female protome with long, hatched tresses framing her face. Below, large volutes of the pendant palmette extend horizontally to form two short platforms supporting a pair of reclining rams. The side handles are round in cross-section, ending in swan's heads with rounded beaks extending onto the center of the strap. Half-spools with beaded edges extend transversally at either end.

Dimensions: H (VH): 19.6; W (vh): 14.2; L (hh): 19.0, 17.7

Bibliography: Politis 1936, 150f., pl. 3b, fig. 4; Diehl 1964, 13-14, cat. B 31, pl. 3.4-6; Rolley 1982, 40; Borrell 1989, 22-23, no. 21; Stibbe 1992, 19, 55, cat. F 8, figs. 28-30; Stibbe 1997, cat. 80; Stibbe 2004, 3.24, fig. 36.

6.8 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1965.288

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Broken at the bottom, particularly on the right side. The surfaces are severely worn. At the top, two recumbent lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of tongues. The grip is articulated with a relief line running up the central spine. Below, the palmette is missing but two large volutes extend horizontally to form two short platforms supporting a pair of reclining rams.

Dimensions: H: 17.5

Bibliography: *Sotheby's London* 18 June 1930, no. 167, pl. 12; Politis 1936, 150, no. 3, fig. 3; Diehl 1964, 13-14, cat. B 32; Bothmer 1965, 600; Rolley 1982, 40; Stibbe 1992, 19, 55, cat. F 9, fig. 31; Stibbe 2004, 3.25.

6.9 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5262

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: The surfaces are severely worn. At the top, two recumbent lions face around the rim, flanking a frieze of tongues. Surface of grip corroded but traces remain of a column of beads at center and a horizontal row of beads at the top. Below, a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves and large volutes (rivets visible in centers) that extend horizontally into supports for a pair of reclining rams facing away from the handle. Between the rams, a female protome with two long, diverging braids on either side of her face.

Dimensions: H: 17.5; m.p.D (rim): 30.0

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 97-98, 100, 110, 259, Hy 14, pls. 1.4, 74.3, 74.6, 87.3; Stibbe 1992, 19, 55, cat. F 7; Stibbe 1997, cat. 76; Stibbe 2000, 78-79; Stibbe 2004, 3.20.

6.10 Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe

Provenance: Uncertain (ex-Kropatscheck)

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations in body)

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, two recumbent lions face around the rim, tails curling onto the handle. The grip is articulated with a column of square beads up the central spine and a single incision line along both edges. At the bottom, there is a female protome wearing a tall polos decorated with chased tongues. Two long braids frame her face. Below, there is a pendant palmette with ten rounded leaves and volutes that extend horizontally to form supports for the hind legs of a pair of reclining rams.

Dimensions: H: 55.9; D (rim): 29.0; D (foot): 15.2

Bibliography: Vickers 1974, 221-26; Hornborstel 1977m 71-73, no. 45; Hornborstel 1980, 156-59, no. 92; Rolley 1982, 42; Herfort-Koch 1986, 19, pl. 2.5; Gauer 1991, 100; Stibbe 1992, 16-17, 55, cat. F 1; Stibbe 1997, cat. 57; Stibbe 2004, 4.28.

6.11 Paris, Louvre Br 2646*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle fragment*Description:* At the top, a pair of reclining rams face around the rim. The grip is articulated with a pair of relief lines along either edge of the handle. At the bottom, there is a female protome with three long, obliquely hatched tresses framing her face. Below, the volutes of a semicircular plate with a chased palmette with rounded leaves extend horizontally to support the hind legs of a pair of reclining lions.*Dimensions:* H: 20.0; H (protome): 2.8; W (max): 15.5*Bibliography:* Ridder 1915, 106, pl. 96; Diehl 1964 14, cat. B 33; Rolley 1982, 40-41; Weber 1983, 210f., pl. 1; Gauer 1991, 159; Stibbe 1992, 20, 55, cat. F 10; Stibbe 1996, 364, pl. 31.1-3; Stibbe 1997, cat. 3, pl. 27.1; Stibbe 2004, 2.11.**6.12 Berlin, Pergamon Museum 30880***Provenance:* Southern Italy*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle*Description:* At the top, two reclining lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of tongues. The upper limit of the grip is marked with a horizontal relief band. Below, it is articulated with a column of square beads up the central spine and an incised vertical line along either edge. At the bottom, there is a female protome wearing a disc-shaped polos. Three obliquely hatched locks frame her face on both sides. Below, there is a wide, pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves and large volutes. Half-spools extend horizontally.*Dimensions:* H: 43.0*Bibliography:* Neugebauer 1925, 188-89; Diehl 1964, 10-13, cat. B 25; Herfort-Koch 1986, 19, n. 73, Gauer 1991, 96, 100, 105; Stibbe 1992, 14, 54, cat. D 1, figs. 20, 35; Stibbe 1997, cat. 15, fig. 1; Stibbe 2004, 4.29.**6.13 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1890.411***Provenance:* Gela*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle*Description:* At the top, a pair of lion's protomes face outward, separated by a frieze of tongues in relief. The upper limit of the grip is marked with three horizontal bands decorated with obliquely hatched lines. Below, it is articulated with a band of obliquely hatched lines framed by a pair of narrow relief lines along the edges. At the bottom, there is a female protome wearing a disc-shaped polos. Three obliquely hatched locks framing her face on both sides. Beneath, there is a wide pendant palmette with thirteen rounded leaves and short volutes.*Bibliography:* Bothmer 1965, 600; Rolley 1982, 32; Herfort-Koch 1986, 17, fig. 1; Stibbe 1992, 15, 54, cat. D 4, fig. 22; Stibbe 1996, 367, pl. 33.3; Stibbe 1997, cat. 9, fig. 1; Shefton 2000, fig. 10; Stibbe 2004, 2.12.**6.14 United States, Private Collection***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete (with restorations)*Description:* The surviving part of the body consists of an overhanging rim and a tall neck with a shallow concave curve. At the top of the vertical handle, a pair of ram's heads with elongated muzzles and coiled horns face outwards from the rim. The upper limit of the grip is marked by a square area defined by horizontal relief lines on all four sides. Below, it is articulated with double relief lines along either edge. At the bottom, there is a female protome shown in a more extended form than usual, wearing a tall, disk-shaped polos decorated with chased vertical lines. Three obliquely hatched braids on either side of her face. Elongated half-spools extend horizontally. Beneath, there is a pendant palmette with an even, semi-circular outline with thirteen rounded leaves.*Dimensions:* H: 49.0; H (foot): 2.5; D (max): 37.0; D (rim): 29.0; D (foot): 15.0*Bibliography:* Stibbe 2004, 2.10, figs. 15-27.

6.15 Jerusalem, Israel Museum 91.71.315

Provenance: Capua (ex-Doria, ex-Schimmel)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top, two recumbent lions face around the rim, separated by a small pendant palmette with four leaves in low relief. The grip is square in cross-section and hollow cast. Below, female protome wears a tall polos. Three obliquely hatched tresses frame her face and two braids cross her forehead. She wears a chased necklace with a leaf-shaped pendant. At the bottom, there is a wide, flattened, pendant palmette with eleven leaves. Rising from the top of the palmette, a pair of horses is shown in profile with necks turned outwards slightly so that they project away from the body of the vase, each with one bent foreleg. Their manes are indicated with wavy incision lines.

Dimensions: H: 21.6; W: 14.4

Bibliography: Helbig 1881, 146; Hoffmann 1964, 186-88, pl. 54, figs. 2-4; Schimmel 1964, cat. 9; Fogg 1967, cat. 72; Schimmel 1974, cat. 19; Bothmer 1964, 600; Jucker 1966, 127, pl. 35; Mitten and Doeringer 1967, 76, no. 2; Jucker 1972, 125, pl. 12; Muscarella 1974, no. 19; Hill 1976, cat. 13; Rolley 1982, 41f.; Buchholz and Wangenheim 1984, 258; Herfort-Koch 1986, cat. 72c; Gauer 1991, 100, 157; Shefton 1992, 151, cat. 23; Stibbe 1992, 56, cat. G 9; Stibbe 1996, no. 2, pl. 26.1-8; Stibbe 1997, cat. 5; Stibbe 2004, 2.13, figs. 26-27.

6.16 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5290

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at top and lower right side. The surfaces are badly worn. At the bottom, there is a female protome with long braids framing her face on both sides. Half-spools extend horizontally. Below, there is a pendant palmette with eleven pointed leaves and large volutes.

Dimensions: W: 12.3

Bibliography: Rolley 1982, 40; Gauer 1991, 97-98, 100-101, 103, 106, 110, 258-259, Hy 13, pl. 87.2; Stibbe 1992, 15, 54, cat. D 2; Stibbe 1997, cat. 67; Stibbe 2004, 4.27.

Group 7: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Gorgoneia**7.1 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 1954.1269-71**

Provenance: Uncertain (purchased on Art Market, Basel)

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations) but missing horizontal handles

Description: The thin, overhanging lip is decorated with beads and tongues in relief. The mouth is inscribed on the upper surface: "IEPA ΔAMANTPI E...OAKA MMMM." The neck is wide and short with a horizontal relief band across the center. The carinated shoulder is very angular. The body is wide and full, tapering at the lower end to a tall foot with a flared profile. It is decorated with a ring of beads above a ring of rectangular tongues. The tongues alternate between plain and four vertical lines spaced closely together. At the top of the vertical handle, two recumbent lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of chased tongues. The highly decorative grip is articulated with a horizontal row of beads at the upper limit, a pendant palmette in low relief, a column of beads up the central spine, and two horizontal rows of beads (one large, one small) at the bottom. Below, there is a gorgoneion flanked by a pair of recumbent rams.

Dimensions: H: 33.0; D (max): 32.0

Bibliography: *Münzen und Medaillen* 1963, no. 13, fig. 13; Diehl 1964, 15-16, 26, 44, cat. B 39a; Bothmer 1965, 600; Rolley 1963, 471; Rolley 1981, 330; Rolley 1982, 64 n. 156; Stibbe 1992, 39, 60, cat. I 2.

7.2 Elis, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Diasella (Kaneleika or Marmaro)

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations)

Description: The surviving part of the body consists of a thin, overhanging lip decorated with a row of small beads above a ring of tongues in low relief. The wide, short neck has a horizontal relief

band across the center. The carinated shoulder is very angular. The body is wide and full, tapering at the lower end to a tall foot with an ogive profile. At the top of the vertical handle, there is a frieze of chased tongues. The highly decorative grip is articulated with a horizontal row of beads at the upper limit, a pendant palmette in low relief, a column of beads up the central spine, and two horizontal rows of beads (one large, one small) at the bottom. Below, there is a gorgoneion flanked by a pair of recumbent rams. The side handles are round in cross-section, ending in swan's heads with rectangular beaks extending into the center of the strap and half-spools extending perpendicularly at either end. Low, spreading foot left plain.

Bibliography: Arapoyanni and Vikatou 2006, 233-34; Whitley 2005-2006, 45.

7.3 Paris, Louvre Br 4466-4469

Provenance: Uncertain (ex-Clercq)

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations) except missing foot

Description: The surviving part of the body consists of a thin, overhanging lip decorated with a row of small beads above a ring of tongues in low relief. The wide, short neck has a horizontal relief band across the center. The carinated shoulder is very angular. The body is wide and full. At the top of the vertical handle, two recumbent lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of chased tongues. The highly decorative grip is articulated with a horizontal row of beads at the upper limit, a pendant palmette in low relief, a column of beads up the central spine, and two horizontal rows of beads (one large, one small) at the bottom. Below, there is a gorgoneion flanked by a pair of recumbent rams. The side handles are rectangular in cross section and decorated with a dotted relief band across the center, ending in swan's heads with rectangular beaks extending into the center of the strap and half-spools with beaded edges extending transversally.

Dimensions: H: 40.0; D (max): 36.0; D (rim): 28.0

Bibliography: Ridder 1905, no. 429, pl. 57; Diehl 1964, 15-16, 26, cat. B 40; Rolley 1981, 326-29, figs. 12-17; Rolley 1982, 64 n. 156; Stibbe 1992, 39, 58, cat. I 1, fig. 48; Rolley 2004, 135-137, fig. 92.2.

7.4 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3022

Provenance: Purchased on Art Market in Athens, Said to be from Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle (with small fragment of rim attached), Horizontal handles, Foot

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, two recumbent lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of chased tongues. The highly decorative grip is articulated with a horizontal row of beads at the upper limit, a pendant palmette in low relief, a column of beads up the central spine, and two horizontal rows of beads (one large, one small) at the bottom. Below, there is a gorgoneion flanked by a pair of recumbent rams. The side handles are semi-circular in cross section, ending in swan's heads with rectangular beaks and transverse rotelles with chased rosettes on the outer faces. The foot is ogival with a short cylindrical ring at the top, a tall central section with a cyma reversa profile that develops into a disk-shaped element with a flat resting surface.

Dimensions: H (vh): 19.5; L (hh): 16.5; D (foot): 10.2 - 15.8

Bibliography: Neugebauer 1923, 387, fig. 19; Payne 1931, pl. 46.3; Politis 1936, 151, no. 5; Vallet and Villard 1955, 64-65, fig. 14; Diehl 1964, 15-16, 26, cat. B 36; Bothmer 1965, 600; Wallenstein 1971, 187 n. 360; Gauer 1991, 94, 97, 266, Hy 81; Stibbe 1992, 39, 41, 58, cat. I 3, fig. 51.

7.5 Arta, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Arta (rescue excavation, tomb between Arta and Kato Panaghia)

Parts Preserved: Body fragments (especially upper body), Vertical handle

Description: Only a fragmentary gorgoneion from the bottom of the vertical handle survives.

Dimensions: H (m.p): 29.5

Bibliography: Marcadé 1953, 223; Bothmer 1965, 601.

7.6 Berlin, Pergamon Museum 10821 a-c

Provenance: Said to be from Corinth

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top, two recumbent lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of chased tongues. The highly decorative grip is articulated with a horizontal row of beads at the upper limit, a pendant palmette in low relief, a column of beads up the central spine, and two horizontal rows of beads (one large, one small) at the bottom. Below, there is a gorgoneion flanked by a pair of recumbent rams.

Dimensions: H: 21.0

Bibliography: Payne 1931, pl. 46.3; Politis 1936, 161, no. 1; Diehl 1964, 15-16, 26, cat. B 37; Wallenstein 1971, 157, no. VII/ B 33, pl. 25.1; Stibbe 1992, 41, 58, cat. I 7.

7.7 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1899.462

Provenance: Purchased in Paris, said to be from Athens

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top, two recumbent lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of chased tongues. The highly decorative grip is articulated with a horizontal row of beads at the upper limit, a pendant palmette in low relief, a column of beads up the central spine, and two horizontal rows of beads (one large, one small) at the bottom. Below, there is a gorgoneion flanked by a pair of recumbent rams.

Dimensions: H: 20.4

Bibliography: Neugebauer 1925, 198, fig. 11 (right); Politis 1936, 151, no. 3; Diehl 1964, 15-16, cat. B 39; Schneider-Hermann 1970, 42, fig. 10 (right); Comstock and Vermeule 1971, 289, cat. 44; Wallenstein 1971, 157 no. VII/ B 35; Stibbe 1992, 41, 58, cat. I 4, fig. 52; Stibbe 1997, cat. 37.

7.8 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1901.7474

Provenance: Uncertain (Purchased in Athens)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top, two recumbent lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of chased tongues. The highly decorative grip is articulated with a horizontal row of beads at the upper limit, a pendant palmette in low relief, a column of beads up the central spine, and two horizontal rows of beads (one large, one small) at the bottom. Below, there is a gorgoneion flanked by a pair of recumbent rams.

Bibliography: Neugebauer 1925, 18, fig. 11 (left); Politis 1936, 161, no. 2; Diehl 1964, 15-16, 26, cat. B 38; Schneider-Hermann 1970, 42, fig. 10 (left); Comstock and Vermeule 1971, 288-89, cat. 413; Wallenstein 1971, 157, no. VII/B 34; Stibbe 1992, 41, 58, cat. 16, fig. 53.

7.9 Lyons, Palais des Beaux Arts E 413

Provenance: Etruria (?)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top, two recumbent lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of chased tongues. The highly decorative grip is articulated with a horizontal row of beads at the upper limit, a pendant palmette in low relief, a column of beads up the central spine, and two horizontal rows of beads (one large, one small) at the bottom. Below, there is a gorgoneion flanked by a pair of recumbent rams.

Dimensions: H: 20.5

Bibliography: Neugebauer 1923, 386; Politis 1936, 161, no. 6; Vallet-Villard 1955, 62, fig. 12; Diehl 1964, 15, 26, cat. B 41; Boucher 1970, 36-37, pl. 37; Wallenstein 1971, 158, no. VII/ B 37; Stibbe 1992, 41, 58, cat. I 5.

7.10 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3430*Provenance:* Etruria (?)*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle fragment*Description:* At the top of the vertical handle, two recumbent lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of chased tongues. The highly decorative grip is articulated with a horizontal row of beads at the upper limit, a pendant palmette in low relief, a column of beads up the central spine, and two horizontal rows of beads (one large, one small) at the bottom. Below, there is a gorgoneion flanked by a pair of recumbent rams.*Dimensions:* H: 14.0*Bibliography:* Diehl 1964, 17-18, cat. B 44, pl. 4.2; Stibbe 1992, 41, 58, cat. I 9, fig. 54.**7.11 United States, Private Collection (Ternbach)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle*Description:* Broken at the top. A thick grip is articulated with horizontal rows of beads at the upper and lower limits. Below, there is a gorgoneion flanked by a pair of recumbent rams.*Dimensions:* H: 18.8; W: 13.2*Bibliography:* Mitten and Doeringer 1967, no. 70; Wallenstein 1971, 159, no. VII/ B 38; Stibbe 1992, 41, 58, cat. I 8.**7.12 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3762***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle fragment*Description:* Only the bottom part survives, with a gorgoneion.*Bibliography:* Neugebauer 1923, 386; Diehl 1964, 15, 26, cat. B 42; Stibbe 1992, 41, 58, cat. I 10, fig. 55.**7.13 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number?)***Provenance:* Kaloetsi*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle, Horizontal handles*Description:* At the top of the vertical handle, two recumbent lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of chased tongues. The highly decorative grip is articulated with a horizontal row of beads at the upper limit, a pendant palmette in low relief, and a column of beads up the central spine. Below, there is a gorgoneion flanked by a pair of recumbent rams.*Bibliography:* Daux 1968, 832, fig. 23; Wallenstein 1971, 158, no. VII/ B 39; Stibbe 1992, 41, 58, cat. I 11.**7.14 Switzerland, Private Collection (Geneva, Ortiz)***Provenance:* Thessaly*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle fragment*Description:* Broken at top. The grip is articulated with a column of beads up the central spine. Below, there is a gorgoneion flanked by reclining rams.*Dimensions:* H: 10.0; W: 12.0*Bibliography:* Stibbe 1994, 99-101, fig. 22.**7.15 Sofia, National Archaeological Museum***Provenance:* Trebenishte (tomb III)*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle, Horizontal handles*Description:* At the top of the vertical handle, two reclining lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of five tongues. The grip is articulated with four vertical relief lines spaced evenly across the surface. Below, there is a horned, fanged gorgoneion with two obliquely hatched braids framing her face and a row of six curls across her forehead. On either side, a short snake curls

upwards. The side handles are rectangular in cross-section and decorated with the same ribbed pattern as the vertical one. They end in pairs of horse protomes shown in profile.

Bibliography: Filow 1927, 54-57, pl. 9, figs. 55-56; Vasilev 1988, 122; Stibbe 2000, 72-74, figs. 45-46; Rolley 2004, 135-137, fig. 92.4.

7.16 Cambridge, Harvard University Art Museums 1962.178

Provenance: Greece

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at top and on both sides. Preserves the lower end of the handle with a female protome with three long, hatched braids framing her face above a gorgoneion with spiral curls across her forehead.

Dimensions: H: 9.8; W (gorgoneion): 6.4

Bibliography: Mitten 1962-1963, 11-16; Bothmer 1965, 600; Jucker 1966, 11-112, pl. 37; *Hesperia Arts Auction Ltd.* 1990, no. 7; Stibbe 1994, 93-100, fig. 14; Rolley 2004, 135-137, fig. 92.1.

Group 8: Late Archaic (and Early Classical) Bronze Hydriai with Ivy Leaves

8.1 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7916

Provenance: Aigion

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations in body)

Description: The broad mouth has an overhanging lip and a wide, short neck with a horizontal relief band just below the center. The upper side of the shoulder is flattened and curves strongly down to a full, round body. The narrow foot is ogival and decorated with alternating lotus flowers and buds inlaid with silver. The vertical handle is broken on the upper right side. At the top, there is a raised thumb-rest with a scalloped edge between a pair of rotelles with beaded edges. A short, horizontal projection emerges from the outer edge of the rotelle. The grip is articulated at the upper end with a pendant palmette with long, rounded leaves in relief and a row of large beads at the bottom. Below, there is an openwork ivy leaf. Rivets are visible along the outlined edge of each lobe of the leaf. The side handles are semi-circular in cross-section and decorated with a pair of chased lines across the center and a vertical column of large beads at each edge. At each end, there is a solid ivy leaf with demi-palmettes added at the widest point.

Dimensions: H: 39.0; D (max): 33.0; D (rim): 28.2

Bibliography: Rolley 1963, 459-601, figs. 1-4; Diehl 1964, 43-45, cat. B 206; Stibbe 1992, 45, 60, cat. L 2.

8.2 Patras, Archaeological Museum 190

Provenance: Kato Achaia

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations in lower part of body especially, foot mended in antiquity)

Description: The broad mouth has an overhanging lip and a wide, short neck with a horizontal relief band just below the center. The upper side of the shoulder is flattened and curves strongly down to a full, round body. The narrow foot flared with a pattern of impressed tongues. The vertical handle is broken on the upper right side. At the top, there is a raised thumb-rest with a scalloped edge between a pair of rotelles with beaded edges. A short, horizontal projection emerges from the outer edge of the rotelle. The grip is articulated at the upper end with a pendant palmette with long, rounded leaves in relief and a row of large beads at the bottom. Below, there is an openwork ivy leaf. Rivets are visible along the outlined edge of each lobe of the leaf. The side handles are semi-circular in cross-section and decorated with a pair of chased lines across the center and a vertical column of large beads at each edge. At each end, there is a solid ivy leaf with demi-palmettes added at the widest point.

Dimensions: H: 42.4; D (mouth): 27.5

Bibliography: Rolley 1963, 460, no. 3; Diehl 1964, 43-45, cat. B 208, pl. 24.1-3; Stibbe 1992, 46, 60, cat. L 5.

8.3 Copenhagen, National Museum 5375*Provenance:* near Corinth*Parts Preserved:* Complete (with restorations in body and neck)*Description:* The broad mouth has an overhanging lip and a wide, short neck with a horizontal relief band just below the center. The upper side of the shoulder is flattened and curves strongly down to a full, round body. The narrow foot is ogival. At the top, there is a raised thumb-rest with a scalloped edge between a pair of rotelles with beaded edges. A short, horizontal projection emerges from the outer edge of the rotelle. The grip is articulated at the upper end with a pendant palmette with long, rounded leaves in relief and a row of large beads at the bottom. Below, there is an openwork ivy leaf. Rivets are visible along the outlined edge of each lobe of the leaf. The side handles are semi-circular in cross-section and decorated with a pair of chased lines across the center and a vertical column of large beads at each edge. At each end, there is a solid ivy leaf with demi-palmettes added at the widest point.*Dimensions:* H: 46.5; D (max): 34.5*Bibliography:* Blinkenberg 1933, 108, fig. 46; Payne 1931, 221; Riis 1959, 37, fig. 25; Rolley 1963, 462, no. 4, figs. 7-8; Diehl 1964, 43-45, 156, at. B 209; Stibbe 1992, 46, 60, cat. L 6.**8.4 Greece, Private Collection (Athens, Vlangalis)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* The broad mouth has an overhanging lip and a wide, short neck with a horizontal relief band just below the center. The upper side of the shoulder is flattened and curves strongly down to a full, round body. The low, spreading foot is ogival. At the top, there is a raised thumb-rest with a scalloped edge between a pair of rotelles with beaded edges. A short, horizontal projection emerges from the outer edge of the rotelle. The grip is articulated at the upper end with a pendant palmette with long, rounded leaves in relief and a row of large beads at the bottom. Below, there is an openwork ivy leaf. Rivets are visible along the outlined edge of each lobe of the leaf. The side handles are semi-circular in cross-section and decorated with a vertical column of large beads at each edge. At each end, there is a solid ivy leaf with demi-palmettes added at the widest point.*Dimensions:* H: 46.1; D (max): 43.5; D (mouth): 30.0; D (foot): 15.2*Bibliography:* Bothmer 1965, 605; Andrioménou 1975, 540-44, figs. 8-13.**8.5 Once Geneva Market (1965)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Bibliography:* Bothmer 1965, 605.**8.6 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1899.463 a-c***Provenance:* Palaiopolis (Elis)*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle, Horizontal handles*Description:* At the top of the vertical handle, there is a raised thumb-rest with a flattened edge between a pair of rotelles with beaded edges. A short, horizontal projection emerges from the outer edge of the rotelle. The grip is articulated with volutes starting at the outer rotelles and spiraling inwards at the center of the handle, an elongated tear-shaped incision with short rounded leaves along the edges, a row of tiny beads along either edge, a herringbone pattern running up the lower half, and a row of large beads at the bottom. Below, there is an openwork ivy leaf. The side handles are semi-circular in cross-section and decorated with a pair of chased lines across the center, horizontal rows of tiny beads at the top and bottom, and a vertical column of larger beads at each edge. At each end, there is a solid ivy leaf with demi-palmettes added at the widest point.*Dimensions:* H (vh): 22.9; L (hh): 24.3*Bibliography:* Diehl 1964, 43-45, cat. B 212; Comstock and Vermeule 1971, 290-91, cat. 416.

8.7 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Inv. 10.822 a-c

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handles, Horizontal handles

Description: Inscribed: "ΦΙΑΗ." At the top of the vertical handle, there is a raised thumb-rest with a crescent-shaped edge between a pair of rotelles with beaded edges. A short, horizontal projection emerges from the outer edge of the rotelle. The grip is articulated at the upper end with a pendant palmette with long, rounded leaves in relief and a row of large beads at the bottom. Below, there is an openwork ivy leaf. Rivets are visible along the outlined edge of each lobe of the leaf. The side handles are semi-circular in cross-section and decorated with a pair of chased horizontal lines across the center and a vertical column of larger beads at each edge. At each end, there is a solid ivy leaf with demi-palmettes added at the widest point.

Dimensions: H (vh): 23.5

Bibliography: Neugebauer 1924, 101; Diehl 1964, 43-45, cat. B 214, pl. 26.2.

8.8 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3446 a-d

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, there is a raised thumb-rest with a crescent-shaped edge between a pair of rotelles with beaded edges. A short, horizontal projection emerges from the outer edge of the rotelle. The grip is articulated at the upper end with a pendant palmette with long, rounded leaves in relief, a pair of chased lines up the central column, and a row of large beads at the bottom. Below, there is an openwork ivy leaf. Rivets are visible along the outlined edge of each lobe of the leaf. The side handles are semi-circular in cross-section and decorated with a pair of chased horizontal lines across the center and a vertical column of larger beads at each edge. At each end, there is a solid ivy leaf with demi-palmettes added at the widest point.

Dimensions: H (vh): 23.2; L (hh): 23.2; D (foot): 14.5

Bibliography: *Auktion Helbing (Margaritis)* 1899, 20, no. 378; Diehl 1964, 43-44, cat. B 210, pl. 25.1-2.

8.9 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen SL 61 a-c

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, there is a raised thumb-rest with a scalloped edge between a pair of rotelles with beaded edges. A short, horizontal projection emerges from the outer edge of the rotelle. The grip is articulated at the upper end with a pendant palmette with long, rounded leaves in relief, a pair of chased lines up the central spine, and a row of large beads at the bottom. Below, there is an openwork ivy leaf. Rivets are visible along the outlined edge of each lobe of the leaf. The side handles are semi-circular in cross-section and decorated with a pair of chased horizontal lines across the center and a V-shaped relief band at each side. At each end, there is a solid ivy leaf with demi-palmettes added at the widest point.

Dimensions: H: (vh): 28.0; L (hh): 22.0

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 43-44, cat. B 211, pl. 25.1-2.

8.10 Once Art Market

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handles, Horizontal handles

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, there is a raised thumb-rest with a scalloped edge between a pair of rotelles with beaded edges. A short, horizontal projection emerges from the outer edge of the rotelle. The grip is articulated at the upper end with a pendant palmette with long, rounded leaves in relief, a column of beads up the central spine, and a row of large beads at the bottom. Below, there is an openwork ivy leaf. Rivets are visible along the outlined edge of each lobe of the leaf. The side handles are semi-circular in cross-section and decorated with a

row of beads across the center and a relief line at either edge. At each end, there is an openwork ivy leaf with demi-palmettes added at the widest point.

Bibliography: *Auktion Helbing* 1913, no. 565, pl. 23; Diehl 1964, 43, cat. B 213.

8.11 Athens, Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art 730 (ex-Evtaxias)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The broad mouth has an overhanging lip and a wide, short neck with a horizontal relief band just below the center. The upper side of the shoulder is flattened and curves strongly down to a full, round body. The low, spreading foot is ogival. At the top of the vertical handle, there is a raised thumb-rest with a flattened edge between a pair of rotelles with beaded edges. A short, horizontal projection emerges from the outer edge of the rotelle. The grip is articulated at the upper end with a pendant palmette with long, rounded leaves in relief, a column of beads up the central spine, and a row of large beads at the bottom. Below, there is solid ivy leaf.

The side handles are semi-circular in cross-section and decorated with a pair of chased horizontal lines across the center and a vertical column of larger beads at each edge. At each end, there is a solid ivy leaf oriented horizontally.

Dimensions: H: 39.7; D (rim): 27.0; D (max): 34.0; D (foot): 14.0

Bibliography: Rolley 1963, 462-66, figs. 5, 6, 11; Bothmer 1965, 605; Stibbe 1992, 46, 60, cat. L 3; Marangou 1996, 163, cat. 258.

8.12 Olympia, Archaeological Museum M 868

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The broad mouth has an overhanging lip and a wide, short neck with a horizontal relief band just above the center. The upper side of the shoulder is flattened and angles down to a full, round body. The foot is ogival. At the top, there is a raised thumb-rest with a scalloped edge between a pair of rotelles with beaded edges. A short, horizontal projection emerges from the outer edge of the rotelle. The grip is articulated at the upper end with a pendant palmette with long, rounded leaves in relief and a row of large beads at the bottom. Below, there is an openwork ivy leaf. Rivets are visible along the outlined edge of each lobe of the leaf. The side handles are semi-circular in cross-section and decorated with a vertical column of larger beads at each edge. At each end, there is a solid ivy leaf oriented horizontally.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

8.13 Olympia, Archaeological Museum M 1326

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The broad mouth has an overhanging lip and a wide, short neck with a horizontal relief band just above the center. The upper side of the shoulder is flattened and angles down to a full, round body. The foot is ogival. At the top, there is a raised thumb-rest with a scalloped edge between a pair of rotelles with beaded edges. A short, horizontal projection emerges from the outer edge of the rotelle. The grip is articulated at the upper end with a pendant palmette with long, rounded leaves in relief, a pair of chased lines up the central column, and a row of large beads at the bottom. Below, there is an openwork ivy leaf. Rivets are visible along the outlined edge of each lobe of the leaf. The side handles are semi-circular in cross-section and decorated with a vertical column of larger beads at each edge. At each end, there is a solid ivy leaf oriented horizontally.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

8.14 Olympia, Archaeological Museum 691 BE

Provenance: Babes (near Olympia)

Parts Preserved: Upper half of body, Vertical handle, Horizontal handles

Description: The broad mouth has an overhanging lip and a wide, short neck with a horizontal relief band just above the center. The upper side of the shoulder is flattened and angles down to a full, round body. Broken just below the shoulder. At the top, there is a raised thumb-rest with a scalloped edge between a pair of rotelles with beaded edges. A short, horizontal projection emerges from the outer edge of the rotelle. The grip is articulated at the upper end with a pendant palmette with long, rounded leaves in relief, a pair of chased lines up the central column, and a row of large beads at the bottom. Below, there is an openwork ivy leaf. Rivets are visible along the outlined edge of each lobe of the leaf. The side handles are semi-circular in cross-section and decorated with a vertical column of larger beads at each edge. At each end, there is a solid ivy leaf oriented horizontally.

Dimensions: m.p.H: 34.0; D (mouth): 29.2

Bibliography: Rolley 1963, 470, figs. 16-17; Diehl 1964, 43-45, cat. B 207, pl. 24.4-5; Stibbe 1992, 45, 60, cat. L 4.

8.15 Elis, Archaeological Museum (?) M 2790

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The broad mouth has an overhanging lip and a wide, short neck with a horizontal relief band just above the center. The upper side of the shoulder is flattened and angles down to a full, round body. The foot is ogival. At the top, there is a raised thumb-rest with a scalloped edge between a pair of rotelles with beaded edges. A short, horizontal projection emerges from the outer edge of the rotelle. The grip is articulated at the upper end with a pendant palmette with long, rounded leaves in relief, a pair of chased lines up the central column, and a row of large beads at the bottom. Below, there is an openwork ivy leaf. Rivets are visible along the outlined edge of each lobe of the leaf. The side handles are semi-circular in cross-section and decorated with a vertical column of larger beads at each edge. At each end, there is a solid ivy leaf oriented horizontally.

Bibliography: Αραπογιάννη 1995, 123, pl. 54B.

8.16 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 65.165

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top, there is a raised thumb-rest between a pair of rotelles with beaded edges. A short, horizontal projection emerges from the outer edge of the rotelle. The grip is articulated at the upper end with a pendant palmette with long, rounded leaves in relief, a pair of chased lines up the central column, and a row of large beads at the bottom. Below, there is a solid ivy leaf.

Dimensions: H: 19.2; W (top): 10.7; W (bottom, ivy leaf): 8.7

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 602.

8.17 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 5154

Provenance: Olympia (SE Building)

Parts Preserved: Vertical or Horizontal handle fragment

Description: A flattened, solid ivy leaf with rivets in the upper part of each lobe (left rivet now missing).

Dimensions: H: 6.7; W: 6.4

Bibliography: Choremis 1969, 212; Gauer 1991, 94, 110, 261, Hy 26.

8.18 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)*Provenance:* Krestaina*Parts Preserved:* Upper half of body (with restorations), Vertical handle, Horizontal handles*Description:* At the top of the vertical handle, a curved edge subtly embellished with a single volute at the outer corners rests flush against the rim. The wide, short grip is articulated with an elongated leaf in low relief down the center with two additional leaves or teardrops along the flanks. Below, there is a solid ivy leaf with small volutes at the upper corner of both lobes.

The side handles are round in cross-section, ending in swan's heads with long, rounded beaks and transverse half-spools.

Dimensions: H: 23.0; D (max): 33.0; D (rim): 26.3*Bibliography:* Rolley 1963, 467-70, figs. 12-15; Rolley 1981, 329, figs. 18-19; Stibbe 1992, 45, 60, cat. L1.**8.19 Königsberg, Art Museum F 18***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Body fragments, Vertical handle fragment, Foot*Description:* The broad mouth has an overhanging lip and a wide, short neck with a horizontal relief band just above the center. The upper side of the shoulder is flattened and angles down to a full, round body. Broken just below the shoulder. The upper part and grip of the vertical handle is missing. The lower takes the shape of an anthropomorphized ivy-leaf with a bearded face rendered in low relief. The side handles have a carinated ridge across the center and a column of large beads at either end. At each side, there is a solid heart-shaped ivy leaf. Rivets are visible in the widest part of each lobe of the leaf.*Dimensions:* H: 32.0*Bibliography:* Lullies 1935, 68, no. 185, pl. 27; Diehl 1964, 43-45, cat. B 216.**8.20 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.255.2a***Provenance:* Peloponnese*Parts Preserved:* Complete (with restorations)*Description:* The mouth is narrow with an overhanging lip. The upper surface is inscribed ΣΟΠΟΛΙΑΔΟΣ.

The neck is short and curves concavely to a narrow, rounded shoulder and a full, slightly sagging body. The low, spreading foot has an ogive profile. At the top of the vertical handle, a curved edge subtly embellished with small, slightly thickened half-circles or leaves at the outer edges matches the curve of the rim and has a slightly raised thumb-rest at the center. Grip is articulated with an elongated leaf outlined with raised edges running down the center and a horizontal relief band with chased vertical lines dispersed evenly at the bottom. Below, there is a solid ivy leaf with small volutes at the top corner of both lobes.

Side handles are round in cross-section and curve up at the center, bound with a vertical relief band at the center. At either edge, a solid ivy leaf with small volutes at the top corner of both lobes.

Dimensions: H: 38.6; H (vh): 15.2; H (foot): 2.6; W (vh): 14.7; L (hh): 18.0*Bibliography:* Richter 1927, 20, fig. 6; Richter 1953, 82; Diehl 1964, 28, 30, 44, 47, cat. B 97.**8.21 Copenhagen, National Museum 5376***Provenance:* Attika*Parts Preserved:* Mouth and neck fragments; Vertical handle, Horizontal handle*Description:* At the top of the vertical handle, a curved edge subtly embellished with small, slightly thickened half-circles or leaves at the outer edges matches the curve of the rim and has a slightly raised thumb-rest at the center. The grip is articulated with an elongated leaf in low relief. Below, there is a solid ivy leaf with small volutes at the top corner of both lobes. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve up at the center, bound with a vertical relief band at the center. At either edge, there is a solid ivy leaf oriented horizontally.

Dimensions: H (vh): 15.8; L (hh): 16.2, 15.2

Bibliography: Blinkenberg 1933, 109, fig. 47; *Acta Arch* 1959, fig. 24 a,b; Diehl 1964, 28, 44, cat. B 98.

8.22 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete except missing horizontal handles

Description: An overhanging lip appears at the top of a tall, narrow neck and sloped shoulder. The body is round and tapers evenly to a simple ring foot. The vertical handle is twisted and has a crudely formed solid ivy leaf at the bottom.

Dimensions: H: 40.5

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 28-30, cat. B 105, pl. 9.1.

8.23 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The profile consists of an overhanging lip, a tall, slender neck and a rounded shoulder that fairly flat on the upper side. The body is nearly cylindrical, tapering only at the lowest point. It has been cut near the center of the body and reattached. The foot is flared. The upper end of the vertical handle joins the neck with a plain, round disk. The grip is shallowly fluted. Below, an elongated disk with a pointed lower end resembles a schematic ivy leaf. The side handles have shallow flutes and curve upwards at the center. At the sides, there are plain, circular disks.

Bibliography: *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*.

8.24 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2005)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The narrow mouth is decorated with two pairs of thin concentric lines in low relief on upper surface. A delicate overhanging lip extends both above and below the level of the mouth. The tall neck curves subtly down to a rounded shoulder that is fairly flat on the upper surface. The body tapers only at the lowest point to a low, ogive foot. At the upper end of the vertical handle, demi-palmettes with seven rounded leaves run lengthwise around the rim, flush with the curve of the vase. The volutes of the palmettes spiral and then hang down to either side of an elongated leaf rendered in relief down the center of the handle. On the grip, the relief lines of the volutes and leaves continue lengthwise, giving the impression of a ribbed handle. At the bottom, a horizontal row of small beads and a larger band with vertical ribs across the surface separate the grip from the lower attachment, in the form of a solid ivy leaf with a mid-rib indicated in relief. Small volutes are placed above the leaf. The side handles are fluted on the outer surface and curve upwards at the center, bound by a plain ring at the highest point. At each end, there is a solid ivy-leaf oriented horizontally and articulated with mid-rib and small volutes, as on the vertical handle.

Dimensions: H: 47.7

Bibliography: *Gorny & Mosch* 6.21.2005, 54-55, cat. 112.

8.25 Once Munich Market (Galerie Ulla Lindner 1971)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete with lid (?) except horizontal handles

Description: The overhanging lip is decorated with a pair of narrow concentric circles at lower edge. The tall neck has a subtle curve down to a sloping shoulder. The round body tapers gradually to a flat base. At the top of the vertical handle, a pair of rotelles is positioned transversally to the curve of the rim. The grip is wide and flat with three long, rounded tongues extending

vertically all the way down to the lower terminal. Below, there is a large ivy leaf with mid-rib indicated. The lowest part of the ivy leaf extends into a scalloped tail.

Bibliography: *Burlington Magazine* October 1971, liv.

8.26 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 57.11.12

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete except missing foot

Description: The mouth is broad and ends in an overhanging lip. There is an inscription on the upper surface, "ΚΑΛΛΙΑΡ / ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΑ." The shoulder slopes with a rather sharp angle to a full, fairly straight body that sags a little at the lower end. The tall foot is ogival. At the top of the vertical handle, two lions' heads face outwards to either side of a raised thumb-rest with a crescent-shaped edge. The grip is articulated with a pair of addorsed palmettes in relief at the top and long tongues (or shallow flutes) towards the bottom, with a second tier of short, chased tongues below. At the bottom, akantos leaves and a pendant palmette hang from an obliquely hatched horizontal relief band.

Dimensions: H: 48.2; W: 46.5

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 605; Jucker 1966, 15, n. 41.

8.27 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.11.3

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: A thin, overhanging lip is decorated with an egg-and-dart pattern in relief. The tall, concave neck curves down to a rounded shoulder and tapered body. The foot takes an ogive profile and is decorated with alternating lotus flowers and buds in relief in the central section. At the top of the vertical handle, long demi-palmettes with seven rounded leaves run lengthwise, flush with the curve of the rim. The volutes of the palmettes spiral and then hang down to either side of an elongated leaf sculpted in relief down the center of the handle. On the grip, the relief lines of the volutes and leaves continue lengthwise, giving the impression of ribbing. At the bottom, there is a horizontal relief band above a semi-circular plaque with leaf patterns, from which several palmettes hang, including at least two small ones to either side of a central, pendant palmette with seven stylized leaves. The bulky side handles are fluted and curve up in the center where they are bound by a vertical ring of beads. To either side, transverse palmettes flank a larger, central palmette with seven rounded, stylized leaves.

Dimensions: H: 51.2

Bibliography: Bothmer 1956-57, 55; Bothmer 1965, 605; Pfrommer 1985, 176 n. 29.

8.28 Odessa, Society of History and Antiquities 1591

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Bibliography: Lullies 1935, 68; Bothmer 1965, 605.

Group 9: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Anthropomorphic Handles in the Form of Kouroi

9.1 Sparta, Archaeological Museum 3243

Provenance: Sparta (Sanctuary of Athena Chalkiokos)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Part of the grip survives in the form of a nude youth with arms bent at the elbow.

Dimensions: H: 9.3

Bibliography: Lamb 1929, 83, pl. 9.2; Hill 1958, 194, cat. 11; Diehl 1964, 20-22, cat. B 68; Hafner 1957, 174; Rolley 1982, 36, no. 1, figs. 134-135; Herfort-Koch 1986, K 96, pl. 14.1; Stibbe 1992, 35, 57, cat. H 3; Stibbe 2000, 34, cat. 6, fig. 21.

9.2 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 85.595

Provenance: Near Sparta

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at the lower end. At the top, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The grip takes the form of a standing, nude youth with narrow waist, sharply defined abdominal muscles, and two long, diverging braids falling to his shoulders. He reaches up to grasp the tails of the lions.

Dimensions: H: 12.8

Bibliography: *Bonner Studien* 1890, 176; Reinach 1892, 90.2; Politis 1936, 166, VI 5, pl. 4; Kunze 1938, 146; *GBA* 1938, part 1, 204, fig. 12; Hill 1958, 194, cat. 10; Diehl 1964, 20-22, cat. B 67; Hafner 1957, 134; Leon 1968, 117, cat. 13; Comstock-Vermeule 1971, no. 410; Walter-Karyadi 1981, 19, fig. 19; Rolley 1982, 36, no. 3; Herfort-Koch 1986, K 98; Stibbe 1992, 35, 57-58, H 5; Stibbe 2000, 46, cat. 17.

9.3 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6588, 6650

Provenance: Athens, Akropolis

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken on the left side (top and bottom) and at the lower end. At the top, recumbent lions face around the rim. The grip takes the form of a standing, nude youth with two long, diverging braids falling to his shoulders. He reaches up to grasp the tails of the lions. Below, there is a pair of reclining rams.

Dimensions: H: 16.0

Bibliography: Ridder 1896, no. 468, no. 705, fig. 222; Young 1937, 124, pl. 5; Hill 1958, 193, cat. 4, 198; Diehl 1964, 20-22, cat. B 61; Herfort-Koch 1986, K 99, pl. 14.2; Stibbe 1992, 36, 58, H 7; Stibbe 2000, 46, cat. 16; Kaltsas 2006, 176, cat. 79.

9.4 Paris, Louvre Br 2785

Provenance: Monemvasia or the Sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleas near Phoiniki (Lakonia)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at the top on the left side and at the lower end. At the top, recumbent lions face around the rim. The grip takes the form of a standing, nude youth with a narrow waist and defined abdominal muscles. He reaches up to grasp the tails of the lions. The figure preserved only from the knees up.

Dimensions: H: 11.0

Bibliography: Ridder 1915, 117, no. 2785, pl. 100; Politis 1936, 166, VI 4, 171, fig. 22; Hill 1958, 194, cat. 12, pl. 50.3; Diehl 1964, 20-22, cat. B 69; Rolley 1982, 36, no. 2; Herfort-Koch 1986, K 103; Stibbe 1992, 35, 57, H 4; Stibbe 2000, 45, cat. 14.

9.5 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Misc. 8467

Provenance: Randazzo (Sicily)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The overhanging lip is decorated with beads and tongues in relief. The foot has a flared profile and is decorated with a ring of small beads above wide, outlined tongues. At the top of the vertical handle, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The grip takes the form of a standing, nude youth with bent knees. He reaches up to grasp the tails of the lions. He stands on a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves and volutes that extend outwards to support the hind legs of a pair of recumbent rams. The side handles are rectangular in cross-section and decorated with a row of beads across the center. At either end, there are swan's heads and transverse half-spools with beaded edges and chased rosettes on the outer faces.

Dimensions: H: 45.7

Bibliography: Furtwängler 1890, 144; Fölzer 1906, 69, no. 85, pl. 7; Neugebauer 1924, 68; Neugebauer 1925, 197f., pl. 26; Lamb 1929, 134f., pl. XLVI; Politis 1936, 166-67; Vallet-Villard 1955, 60; Hill 1958, 194, cat. 8, pl. 51.2; Diehl 1964, 13, 20-22, cat. B 65; Herfort-Koch 1986, 49 n. 176; *Antikenmuseum Berlin* 1988, 216-218, no. 2; Stibbe 1992, 35, 57, cat. H 2, fig. 44; Stibbe 1997, cat. 71, fig. 3; Stibbe 2000, 38-40, cat. 11, fig. 25.

9.6 United States, Private Collection (New York, Steinhardt)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The overhanging lip is decorated with beads and tongues in relief. The neck is tall and wide with a shallow concave curve. The broad foot is ogival. At the top of the vertical handle, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The grip takes the form of a standing, nude youth with bent knees. His body is slim and narrow, especially in the torso and waist; two long, diverging tresses fall to either side of his face down to his chest. He reaches up to grasp the tails of the lions. He stands on a pendant palmette with seven rounded leaves with volutes that extend outwards into a second set of volutes. Rivets are visible in the centers of all four volutes. The side handles are rectangular in cross-section and decorated with a row of beads across the center. At either end, there are swan's heads and transverse half-spools with beaded edges and chased rosettes on the outer faces.

Dimensions: H: 42.7; H (vh): 21.0; W (vh): 13.4; D (rim): 27.2; D (body): 33.7; D (foot): 16.2

Bibliography: Stibbe 1997, cat. 20, fig. 20; Stibbe 2000, 1-19, 103-83, figs. 1-12.

9.7 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1890.221

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: At the top, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The grip takes the form of a standing, nude youth with two long braids falling down to his shoulders. He reaches up to grasp the tails of the lions. Broken just above the knees.

Dimensions: H: 14.5

Bibliography: Politis 1936, 166, no. 3, 169f., figs. 20-21; Hill 1958, 193, cat. 2, 198; Diehl 1964, 20-22, cat. B 59; Herfort-Koch 1986, K 102, pl. 14.5; Stibbe 1992, 36, 58, cat. H 9, fig. 45; Stibbe 2000, 36, cat. 9, fig. 23.

9.8 Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at the lower end. At the top, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The grip takes the form of a standing, nude youth with two long, diverging braids falling to his shoulders. He reaches up to grasp the tails of the lions.

Dimensions: H: 12.5

Bibliography: Schefold 1960, 34, no. IV, 174; Diehl 1964, 20-22, cat. B 72; Herfort-Koch 1986, K 101; Stibbe 1992, 36, 58, cat. H 8; Stibbe 1994, 111, pl. 26.6; Stibbe 2000, 54, cat. 25.

9.9 Belgrade, National Museum 648/1

Provenance: Novi Pazar

Parts Preserved: Complete (with heavy restoration in body, especially lower parts)

Description: The overhanging lip is decorated with beads and tongues in relief. The neck is wide, with a shallow concave curve and a horizontal relief band across the center. The foot takes a flared profile and is decorated with rectilinear tongues outlined with double incision lines. At the top of the vertical handle, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The grip takes the form of a standing, nude youth. He reaches up to grasp the tails of the lions. His feet rest on the head of a gorgoneion, which is flanked by a pair of reclining rams. The side handles are rectangular in cross-section and decorated with a row of beads across the center. At either end, there is a swan's heads and transverse half-spoons with beaded edges and chased rosettes on the outer faces.

Dimensions: L: 10.5; H: 4.9

Bibliography: Popvič and Mano-Zisi 1969, 78, cat. 3, pl. 3 a,b; *Bericht der Romisch-Germanischen Kommission* 1969, 191-207, pls. 47-50; Rolley 1982, 53, 89, figs. 184, 185, 195, 198; Herfort-Koch 1986, 49, n. 182; Stibbe 1992, 58, 36-37, cat. H 13; Stibbe 2000, 48-50, cat. 18, fig. 32; Rolley 2004, 140, fig. 100.

9.10 Athens, Agora Museum 21

Provenance: Athens, Akropolis (north slope)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at the top. The grip takes the form of a standing, nude youth (preserved only from below the knees). His feet rest on the head of a gorgoneion, which is flanked by a pair of reclining rams.

Bibliography: Hill 1958, 195, cat. 21, pl. 50.9; Diehl 1964, 20, 22, cat. B 71; Stibbe 2000, 50-51, cat. 20.

9.11 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 4118

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at top and right side. The grip takes the form of a standing, nude youth (preserved only from below the knees). Below, there is a pair of reclining rams (only left side preserved).

Bibliography: *Annual Report, BMFA* 1899, 43, no. 16; *AA* 1900, 217, 16; Politis 1936, 166, fig. 23; Vallet-Villard 1955, 660; Hill 1958, 194, cat. 9; Diehl 1964, 20, 22 cat. B 72a; Comstock and Vermeule 1971, 286, cat. 411; Stibbe 1992, 36, 58, cat. H 11, fig. 47; Stibbe 1997, cat. 72, fig. 3.

9.12 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18232

Provenance: Trikala (in a tomb)

Parts Preserved: Complete with lid (some restorations)

Description: A flat bronze lid has been affixed with small nails over the opening of the mouth. The overhanging lip is decorated with beads above a row of tongues in relief. The tall, shallowly curved neck leads to a broad, rounded shoulder. At the top of the vertical handle, two recumbent sphinxes face around the rim. The grip takes the form of a standing, nude youth leaning backwards, shown from the knees up. He reaches up to grasp the tails of the sphinxes. He emerges from a pendant palmette with ten pointed leaves and volutes that extend horizontally into short platforms to support the hind legs of a pair of reclining rams. A second palmette with seven pointed leaves is positioned between the knees of the figure.

Dimensions: H: 42.0

Bibliography: Verdélis 1953-94, 189-99, pl. 1; Vallet-Villard 1955, 60; Milojević 1955, 214f.; Hill 1958, 193, cat. 1; Charbonneaux 1962, 61; Diehl 1964, 13, 20-22, 26-27, 149, cat. B 58; Rolley 1982, 53; Herfort-Koch 1986, 48 n. 174; Stibbe 1992, 33, 35, 57, cat. H 1; Stibbe 1997, 40f., fig. 22; Stibbe 2000, 52-54, cat. 24, fig. 33.

9.13 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 61.380

Provenance: Florina (Macedonia)

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: The grip takes the form of two kneeling, nude youths, connected at the heads in the center of the handle. At either end, their knees rest on a palmette with ten rounded leaves oriented horizontally.

Dimensions: L: 18.5

Bibliography: Comstock and Vermeule 1971, 286f., no. 412; Stibbe 2000, 110 n. 46, fig. 67.

9.14 Pesaro, Museo Oliveriano 3387

Provenance: Treia

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: The grip takes the form of a nude youth bent backwards with his arms close to his sides. At either end, half-spoons extend transversally to either side of a palmette with five rounded leaves and large volutes.

Dimensions: L: 14.0

Bibliography: Jucker 1976, 88-91, pl. 23; Herfort-Koch 1986, 49; Stibbe 1992, 26, 56, cat. G 6; Shefton 2000, 12-19; Stibbe 2004, 5.32a, figs. 42-43.

9.15 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6584

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: Broken at both ends. The grip takes the form of two nude, male bodies in relief on the upper surface. The figures are outstretched with their arms down to their sides. Their heads meet in the center.

Dimensions: L: 10.5; H: 4.9

Bibliography: Ridder 1896, 56-57, cat. 168, fig. 32.

9.16 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 7487

Provenance: Delphi

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: At the top, two recumbent lions face around the rim (neither is completely preserved). The grip takes the form of a standing, nude youth with a triangular, Daedalic hairstyle. He has pronounced musculature in the torso and arms. He reaches up to grasp the tails of the lions. Broken below the figure's torso.

Bibliography: *Arch. Zeitung* 1881, 25, pl. 2.1; Perdrizet 1908, no. 428, fig. 309; Gjødesen 1944, 127f., no. 87, 150f., fig. 3; Hill 1958, 193, cat. 5; Diehl 1964, 20-22, cat. B 62; Herfort-Koch 1986, K 104; Stibbe 1992, 36, 58, cat. H 10, fig. 46.

9.17 Once New York Market (2000)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The overganging lip is decorated with beads and tongues in relief. The shoulder is covered with a pattern of long tongues and a horizontal band with four concentric lines at the juncture between the shoulder and the body. At the top of the vertical handle, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The grip takes the form of a standing, nude youth. He reaches up to grasp the tails of two lions. The figure stands on a pendant palmette of seven pointed leaves with volutes that extend into a second set of volutes that extend horizontally to support a pair of reclining rams. The side handles are rectangular in cross-section and curve upwards towards the middle, decorated with a vertical ring of beads at the center.

Dimensions: H: 32.5; D (rim): 20.2; D (max): 28.0; D (foot): 13.5

Bibliography: Stibbe 2000, 55-56, cat. 27.

9.18 Belgrade, National Museum 4013

Provenance: Novi Pazar

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 601.

9.19 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 3494

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: One reclining lion from the upper right side of a vertical handle.

Dimensions: H: 3.4; W: 6.1

Bibliography: Van Gulik 1940, 85f., no. 136, pl. 21; Hill 1958, 194, cat. 14; Diehl 1964, 20, cat. B 70.

9.20 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1899.460

Provenance: Purchased on Art Market in Patras, Said to be from Palaiopolis (Elis)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The grip takes the form of a standing, nude youth with bent knees. He reaches up to grasp the tails of the lions. He stands on a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves and volutes that extend outwards to support a pair of reclining rams.

Bibliography: *Annual Report, BMFA* 1899, 43, no. 16; *AA* 1900, 217, 16; Politis 1936, 166, fig. 23; Vallet-Villard 1955, 660; Hill 1958, 194, cat. 9; Diehl 1964, 20-22, cat. B 66; Comstock and Vermeule 1971, 286, cat. 411; Stibbe 1992, 36, 58, cat. H 11, fig. 47; Stibbe 1997, cat. 72, fig. 3.

9.21 London, British Museum 1934.1-16.1

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 601.

9.22 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at the top and bottom. The grip takes the form of a kouros holding the tails of lions.

Bibliography: Hill 1958, 193, cat. 6; Diehl 1964, 20, cat. B 63.

9.23 Paris, Louvre 2784

Provenance: Volos

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at the top and bottom. The grip takes the form of a kouros holding the tails of lions.

Dimensions: H: 14.0

Bibliography: Ridder 1915, 117, pl. 100; Diehl 1964, 20, 22, cat. B 60.

9.24 Volos, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Magula (near Larisa)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The grip takes the form of a nude, standing youth with bent knees. He reaches up to grasp the tails of the lions. He stands on pendant, triangular plaque with a chased palmette with volutes that extend into a second set of volutes that support a pair of reclining rams.

Bibliography: Milošević 1955, 215f., fig. 16; Hill 1958, 201 n. 23; Diehl 1964, 20, 22, cat. B 57.

9.25 Private Collection (Ex-Erlenmeyer)*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle fragment*Description:* Broken at the lower end. At the top, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The grip takes the form of a standing, nude youth with two long, diverging braids falling to his shoulders. He reaches up to grasp the tails of the lions.*Dimensions:* H: 7.5*Bibliography:* Erlenmeyer 1958, 58, pl. 30; Weber 1983, 271, I, D 3; Herfort-Koch 1986, K 100.**Group 10: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Zoomorphic Handles (Lions)****10.1 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum Py 601***Provenance:* Makrygialos, ancient Pydna (Grave 109)*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* The overhanging lip is decorated with three horizontal bands, the uppermost of which is given oblique hatch marks, the middle with vertical lines, and the lowest plain. The neck is short and wide and the short, thin foot takes a flared profile. The grip of the vertical handle takes the form of a lion standing on his back paws with forepaws on the rim. He stands on a gorgoneion flanked by seated lions. The side handles are round in cross-section, ending at each side in a palmette with eight rounded leaves between two horse protomes carved in high relief.*Dimensions:* H: 41.5; D (rim): 27.0; D (foot): 13.5*Bibliography:* Rolley and Croissant 1993, 635, 649; Rolley 1994, 245f.; Vokotopoulou 1996, 231; Vokotopoulou 1997, 117-119, 246-247, pls. 105-108; Stibbe 2000, 102-111, figs. 63-66; Stibbe 2004, 5.37, fig. 44; Rolley 2004, 125-127, figs. 80, 82, 135-137, fig. 93, 140, fig. 99.**10.2 Paestum, Archaeological Museum 49801***Provenance:* Paestum (subterranean shrine)*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* The overhanging lip is decorated with vertical incision marks at regular intervals. The neck is short and has a very shallow concave curve. The tall, flared foot has a pattern of tongues rendered with chasing. At the top of the vertical handle, coiled snakes face around the rim. The grip takes the form of a lion facing over the mouth of the vase with forepaws resting on the upper surface of the rim. Below, the back paws are placed on a palmette with volutes that extend horizontally into snakes' bodies. The side handles are rectangular in cross-section and decorated with a row of beads across the center, ending in a pair of horse protomes shown in profile.*Dimensions:* H: 43.5; D (max): 35.0; D (rim): 27.6*Bibliography:* Sestieri 1954, 162, fig. 40, no. 2177; *Time* 11.29.1954, 78; *ILN* 10.23.1954, 682, figs. 3-5; Sestieri 1955, 53f., figs. 1, 11, 13; van Buren 1955, pl. 85, fig. 3; Sestieri 1956, 29, figs. 11-12; Neutsch 1956, 389f., figs. 120f.; Neutsch 1957, pl. 2, figs. 1, 9, 11, 13, 14; Picard 1960, 424; Hill 1967, 40, cat. I.B.1; Diehl 1964, 22, cat. B 73; Rolley 1982, 19, no. 5, figs. 5, 14, 59-61, 65, 67, 70, 154; Gauer 1991, 108; Stibbe 1992, 30, 56, cat. G 11 fig. 39; Banti 1996, 371, pl. 696, no. 145; Stibbe 1997, cat. 25, fig. 2; Stibbe 2004, cat. 5.38; fig. 45; Rolley 2004, 123-143, figs 79, 81, 86, 143, fig. 105, 274-276, table 6.**10.3 Delphi, Archaeological Museum 309***Provenance:* Delphi*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle fragment*Description:* Preserves part of a grip in the form of a slim, nearly cylindrical lion's body. Broken at the knees. The forepaws are extended to rest on the upper surface of the (now-missing) rim.*Dimensions:* m.p.H: 10.0*Bibliography:* Perdrizet 1908, 88, cat. 395, fig. 293; Rolley 1980, 31, cat. 38.

Group 11: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Elaborately Decorated Handles (Non-Anthropomorphic)

11.1 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1989.11.1

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top, a pair of recumbent lions faces outwards, separated by a frieze of five tongues in low relief. The grip is articulated with pairs of relief lines at the edges. Below, there is a pendant palmette with twelve rounded leaves and volutes that extend horizontally to support a pair of seated lions. The lions raise one paw onto the sides of the grip and turn their heads backwards.

Dimensions: H: 24.0; W (above): 15.0

Bibliography: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: One Hundred Nineteenth Annual Report of the Trustees* 1989, 29f.; Stibbe 2000, 111, figs. 68-70; Stibbe 2004, 5.40, fig. 46.

11.2 Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire R 1179

Provenance: Said to be from Cervetri

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top, two recumbent lions face around the rim, separated by a frieze of tongues. The grip is articulated with narrow, obliquely hatched bands at the center and at the edges. Below, there is a pendant palmette with twelve rounded leaves and volutes extending laterally as snakes with heads raised at the outer edges. The snakes support a pair of winged figures in a knielauf position, facing away from the handle, each with three long tresses of hair flowing down onto the shoulders.

Dimensions: H: 18.0; W: 12.0

Bibliography: Micali 1844, pl. 19.3; Musée de Ravenstein I 1871, 494f., no. 741; Reinach 1897, 393; Hoffman 1964, 185-88, pl. 53; Bothmer 1965, 600; Jucker 1966, 91-95, 117-119, pls. 33, 34; Hill 1967, 40, cat. I.A.2; Rolley 1982, 44; Gauer 1991, 101-102; Stibbe 1992, 27, 56, cat. G 7, fig. 37; Stibbe 1997, cat. 8, fig. 1; Shefton 2000, fig. 11; Stibbe 2000, 114-115, fig. 72; Stibbe 2004, 5.35a.

11.3 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1093

Provenance: Taranto (allegedly)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top, a pair of recumbent sphinxes wearing disc-shaped poloi faces outwards, each wearing a disc-shaped polos. Grip is articulated with a central column of beads in relief between narrow, obliquely hatched bands at the edges. Below, there is a female protome between reclining symposiasts. The female head at the bottom of the handle wears a disc-shaped polos. Her hair is arranged in long tresses framing her face. The protome emerges from a pendant palmette with seven pointed leaves and volutes that continue laterally with scalloped edges. The projections support reclining male banqueters, draped from the waist and holding drinking vessels (phiale on the left, rhyton on the right).

Dimensions: H: 26.5; W: 25.0

Bibliography: Richter 1907, 20; Richter 1915, 9, cat. 15; Richter 1917, 57; Richter 1927, 66; Robinson 1942, 187; Richter 1953, 33 n. 31, pl. 22g; Bothmer 1954/55, 194; Jucker 1964, pl. XXXVI; Diehl 1964, 7-8, 12 cat. B 2; Bothmer 1965, 599; Gauer 1981, 155 n. 154; Rolley 1982, 41, 44; Herfort-Koch 1986, 19; Stibbe 1992, 56, cat. G 9, fig. 43; Stibbe 1997, cat. 65; Klinger 1997, 358, fig. 16.

Group 12: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Elaborately Decorated Handles (Anthropomorphic)

12.1 Bern, Historisches Museum 11620

Provenance: Melkirch-Graechwil (Celtic tomb, male burial)

Parts Preserved: Upper body (Mouth, Rim, Neck, Body fragments), Vertical handle, Horizontal handles

Description: Thin, overhanging rim; tall, curved neck. A pair of recumbent lions sits at the top of the vertical handle. Two bearded snakes extend outwards around the rim, forming a horizontal support for two seated lions. The grip takes the form of a winged *Potnia Theron* wearing a patterned dress with long sleeves and a polos. An eagle perches on top her head. She stands with both feet on a pendant palmette with eleven rounded leaves and with two volutes, holding a hare in each hand, one by the forelegs and one by the hind legs. She is flanked by two heraldic lions seated on horizontal extensions that extend out from the central palmette. The side handles end in a pair of lions oriented transversally on each end

Dimensions: H (restored): 56.5; D (max): 40.0; D (rim): 28.5

Bibliography: Neugebauer 1923, 402f.; Neugebauer 1925, 183; Bloesch 1943, 22f.; Blanco 1953, 238, fig. 16; Cahn 1958, 21f., pls. 1-2; Picard 1960, 413f.; Charbonneaux 1962, 63; Diehl 1964, 7, 13, cat. B 1; Herfort-Koch 1986, 20; Kenner 1989, 11-13; Gauer 1991, 96, 102; Stibbe 1992, 23-26, 56, cat. G 1, figs. 32, 35; Stibbe 1995, 74-79, pl. 18.5; Stibbe 1997, cat. 12; Stibbe 2000, 114, fig. 71; Shefton 2000, 10-19; Bieg 2002, 55-59; Gauer 2002, 194-97; Lüscher 2002, 1-63; Shefton 2003, 318-320; Stibbe 2004, 5.30, figs. 38-40.

12.2 Pesaro, Museo Oliveriano 3314, 3316

Provenance: ancient Treia (tomb)

Parts Preserved: Upper body (Rim, Neck, Body fragments), Vertical handle, Horizontal handles

Description: The surviving parts of the body preserve a thin, overhanging lip and a fairly tall, curved neck. At the top of the vertical handle, two recumbent lions face around the rim. Snakes extend horizontally from the level of the central figure's shoulders to support the lions. The grip takes the form of a warrior wearing only a cuirass and a transversally mounted double-crested Corinthian-style helmet, leading two horses by the manes. He stands on a pendant palmette with eleven rounded leaves and two volutes that extend horizontally as snakes to support the horses. The side handles are smooth and round in cross-section, ending at either side with a horizontal female protome wearing a chased pendant necklace and a tall, flaring polos with chased decoration. Horse protomes in high relief project extend transversally above and below the female protome.

Dimensions: H: 35.5; H (vh): 26.1; D (rim): 27.3

Bibliography: Petersen 1905, 73, fig. 23; Bloesch 1943, 156 n. 58; Picard 1960, 421 n. 1; Diehl 1964, 7, 13, cat. B 1a; Jucker 1964, 3-15, pls. 1,3; Jucker 1966, 12, pls. 3,4,7,8; Hill 1967, 39, cat. I.A.1., pl. 11.2; Jucker 1972, 51-53; Barnacle 1976, 230, pl. 52; Herfort-Koch 1986, 19; Gauer 1991, 96; Stibbe 1992, 24-26, 56, cat. G 2, figs. 33-35; Stibbe 1995, 68-71, no. 1, pl. 17.1,2,4,5; Stibbe 1997, cat. 11; Shefton 2000, 12-19; Bieg 2002, 57; Shefton 2003, 318-320; Stibbe 2004, 5.31, fig. 41.

12.3 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6781

Provenance: Athens (Akropolis)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at top and on both sides. The lowest part of the grip preserved, with a pendant palmette with twelve rounded leaves beneath two horizontal bands. The lower band is hatched and the upper left smooth. A pair of human feet stands at center, broken at the ankles. Horse hooves move away from center on either side, broken at the ankles.

Dimensions: H: 12.0

Bibliography: Ridder 1896, 58, fig. 33; Neugebauer 1923, 402f.; Hill 1958, 193-94, cat. 7; Diehl 1964, 20, 22, cat. B 64; Jucker 1972, 55-56, pl. 14.7; Gauer 1991, 102; Stibbe 1992, 56, cat. G 4; Stibbe 1995, 71f., pl. 17.3; Stibbe 1997, cat. 6; Stibbe 2004, 5.33.

12.4 Naples, Museo Nazionale 110880

Provenance: Uncertain (Southern Italy?)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken on all sides. The grip takes the form of a standing warrior wearing a cuirass and a single-crested Corinthian helmet. By his left leg are fragments of the tail and hind leg of a horse that is facing outwards. At his neck, the tail of another animal (a lion?) sits on a snake.

Dimensions: H: 16.5

Bibliography: Jucker 1972, 51-52, pl. 12.1-3; Stibbe 1992, 25-26, 56, cat. G 3; Stibbe 1995, 72, pl. 18.1-3; Stibbe 2004, 5.34.

Related Handles

12.5 Ancona, Museo Nazionale delle Marche 11379, 11377 a,b

Provenance: Belmonte Piceno (tomb 163)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, two recumbent lions with open mouths face around the rim. The grip takes the form of a helmeted warrior wearing a cuirass of the Corinthian type decorated with incision at the pectorals and abdomen. His hips and legs turn to left and are shown in profile, while the torso, shoulders, and head are represented frontally. Lateral projections at the level of the central figure's helmet support two recumbent lions with open mouths. Between the horses and lions is a pair of flying eagles with snakes. The side handles are round in cross-section with swan's heads and transverse rotelles with relief beading on the narrow edges.

Bibliography: Picard 1960, 409f., pl. 18.2; Jucker 1966, 8, pl. 21.2; *Popoli e Civiltà dell' Italia Antica* 5 1976, 163, pl. 131; d'Andria 1977, 550; Stibbe 1992, 32, 57, cat. G 15; *Cat. Eroi e Regine: Piceni Popolo d'Europa* 2001, 344-45, nos. 117-119; Shefton 2000, 19f., n. 29, fig. 7 a-b; Stibbe 2004, 6.44, figs. 47-48.

12.6 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Misc. 7101 a, b

Provenance: Foligno

Parts Preserved: Vertical handles, Horizontal handles

Description: At the top of this pair of vertical handles, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The grips take the form of a warrior standing on a low platform, wearing a cuirass with chased decoration and a Corinthian-style single-crested helmet. He leads two horses by the manes. The horses are heavily decorated with chased features, manes, and patterns on the neck and legs. The side handles are round in cross-section, ending in horse protomes shown in profile.

Bibliography: Jucker 1972, 58, n. 121, pls. 18, 19.2; Banti 1988, 190, B7.26/ B7.25; Akimova 1988, 190; Stibbe 1992, 57, cat. G 12, fig. 40; Shefton 2000, fig. 3.

12.7 Israel, Private Collection (Jerusalem, Borowski)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handles, Horizontal handles

Description: At the top of this pair of vertical handles, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The grips take the form of a male figure wearing chased armor, legs turned to left, leading two horses by the manes. The horses have chased ornamentation on their necks and bodies. Above the warrior's head, a lion protome faces over the mouth of the vase. The side handles are small and acutely curved, with schematically rendered recumbent lions emerging from either end.

Dimensions: H (vh 1): 18.0; W (vh 1): 25.7; H (vh 2): 17.5, W (vh 2): 26.3; H (hh): 6.9; L (hh): 4.6

Bibliography: Kunze 2007, cat. A 37, 102-105.

12.8 Tolentino, Museo Archaeologico A,B

Provenance: Tolentino

Parts Preserved: Vertical handles, Horizontal handles

Description: At the top of this pair of fragmentary handles, two recumbent lions face around the rim. Grips take the form of a central male figure leading two horses. The side handles are round in cross-section, ending in horse protomes shown in profile.

Bibliography: Marconi 1936, 66-67, figs. 9-12.

12.9 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3837 a,b

Provenance: Sirolo (near Ancona)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handles, Horizontal handles

Description: At the top of this pair of vertical handles, two recumbent lions face around the rim (one preserved). The grips take the form of a male figure wearing a perizoma, legs turned to right, leading two horses by the manes. The side handles are round in cross-section, ending in horse protomes shown in profile.

Dimensions: H (vh): 13.7; W (vh): 13.0; L (hh): 12.6

Bibliography: Jucker 1972, 58; Stibbe 1992, G 13, fig. 41; Shefton 2000, fig. 4.

12.10 Bologna, Museo Civico A, B

Provenance: Picenum (?)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handles, Horizontal handle

Description: At the top of this pair of vertical handles, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The grips take the form of a male figure, wearing a perizoma and belt around his torso, legs turned to right, flanked by two inward-facing horses. The side handles are round in cross-section, ending in horse protomes shown in profile.

Bibliography: Marconi 1936, 64, fig. 8; Jucker 1966, 8f., pl. 18.; Jucker 1972, 58; Stibbe 1992, G 14.

12.11 Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia 17387, 17388

Provenance: Uncertain (acquired on the art market in Perugia or Bozen)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handles

Description: At the top of this pair of fragmentary vertical handles, two recumbent lions face around the rim. The grips take the form of a warrior with a high single-crested helmet, leading two horses. A horizontal platform projects laterally at the level of the central figure's head to support two outward-facing recumbent lions. An eagle with outstretched wings fills the space between the lions above and the horses below. Diagonal struts extend from the warrior's shoulders to the back part of the lions for support.

Dimensions: H: 16.5; W: 23.0

Bibliography: Jucker 1966, 9, pls. 19-20; Jucker 1972, 58; Stibbe 1992, G16.

12.22 Naples, Museo Nazionale 86526 a,b

Provenance: Cumae

Parts Preserved: Body fragments (rim, neck, and shoulder), Vertical handles

Description: At the top of this pair of vertical handles, bird protomes project vertically from the rim of the vase. Grips take the form of a warrior, standing on a horizontal platform, wearing a cuirass and greaves, holding two heraldic, rampant lions by their forelegs. The lions look backwards with open mouths. Above, bird protomes project vertically at the rim of the vase.

Bibliography: Helbig 1880, 227f.; Jucker 1966, 4, pl. 15; Jucker 1972, 58-59; Gauer 1991, 99; Stibbe 1992, G17.

Group 13: Archaic varia**13.1 Athens, National Archaeological Museum Karapanos 64**

Provenance: Dodona

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: A fragment of a lion from the upper end of a vertical handle, preserving the forepart of a lion facing to right around the rim, head turned outwards. The mane is chased around the face and onto chest. Empty rivet holes visible on the lion's shoulder and in the center of the upper paw.

Dimensions: H: 3.5; W: 2.5

Bibliography: Rolley 1982, 93, fig. 200.

13.2 Delphi, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Delphi

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: A fragment of a lion from the upper end of a vertical handle, preserving the forepart of a lion facing to left around the rim, head turned outwards. Mane chased around face and with long rounded locks in low relief on the chest.

Bibliography: Rolley 1982, fig. 199.

13.3 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 818

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: A lion from the upper end of a vertical handle, facing to right. Mane chased around face.

Dimensions: H: 3.6; W: 6.0

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 98, 102, 259-260, Hy 18, pls. 11.3, 90.1.

13.4 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5260

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: A lion from the upper end of a vertical handle, facing to right, head turned outwards. The mane is indicated with ruff in relief around face.

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 98, 102-103, 260, Hy 19, pls. 11.2, 90.2.

13.5 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 14058 / Berlin, Pergamon Museum 14058

Provenance: Olympia (SE building)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Badly damaged lion from the upper end of a vertical handle, facing to right.

Dimensions: L: 4.9

Bibliography: Neugebauer 1931, no. 182, pl. 29; Gauer 1991, 94, 98, 260, Hy 20, pl. 11.5.

13.6 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 52.188

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: A ram from the upper end of a vertical handle, facing to left, head turned outwards.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

13.7 Sparta, Archaeological Museum 5411

Provenance: Dimitzana

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: A ram from the lower end of a vertical handle, facing left, head turned outwards, seated on a short horizontal projection ending with a volute. The fleece is chased with lozenge pattern.

Dimensions: L: 5.0

Bibliography: Rolley 1982, 37 cat. 4, 45, 75, fig. 136; Herfort-Koch 1986, K 107; Stibbe 1992, H 6.

13.8 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5483

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Fragmentary pendant palmette.

Dimensions: H: 2.8

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 95, 104, 259, Hy 15, pl. 86.2i.

13.9 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 3669

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Fragmentary rotelle with beaded edge and a chased rosette on the outer face.

Dimensions: H: 3.2

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 261, Hy 32, pl. 86.2h, fig. 27.2.

13.10 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 3942

Provenance: Olympia.

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment.

Description: Fragmentary half-spool.

Bibliography: Gauer 1991.

13.12 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 3906

Provenance: Olympia (in a well, south of Building C, Room E)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Fragmentary half-spool with relief lines along the edges.

Dimensions: H: 2.3

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 105, 261, Hy 28, pl. 86.2c.

13.13 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6297

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Fragmentary half-spool with relief lines along the edges. Rivet visible

Dimensions: H: 2.9

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 261, Hy 29, pl. 86.2d.

13.14 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6573

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle fragment

Description: Fragmentary half-spool with ribbed edge.

Dimensions: H: 2.2

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 262, Hy 37, pl. 86.2a.

13.15 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 7329

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Fragmentary rotelle with smooth edge and outer face.

Dimensions: H: 3.2

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 261, Hy 31, pl. 86.2g.

13.16 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 7951

Provenance: Olympia (Building C, Room B)

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle fragment

Description: Fragmentary rotelle with smooth edge and outer face.

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 262, Hy 42, pl. 86.2f.

13.17 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 13698

Provenance: Olympia (Metroön)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Fragmentary half-spool with ribbed edge.

Dimensions: H: 3.0

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 261, Hy 30, pl. 86.2c.

13.18 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 13875

Provenance: Olympia (SE building)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at lower end. The grip is rectangular in cross-section with a column of beads up the center and a horizontal row of beads at the upper end. Above, there is a frieze of seven chased, outlined tongues between a pair of half-spoils.

Dimensions: H: 7.7; W: 10.2

Bibliography: Fürtwangler 1890, no. 896; Gauer 1991, 94, 97-98, 105, 110, 260-261, Hy 25, pl. 89.4a.

13.19 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 3321

Provenance: Olympia (NW graves)

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle fragment

Description: Fragment of a double half-spool with ribbed edges.

Dimensions: H: 4.2

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 261, Hy 27, pl. 86.2b.

13.21 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Dimensions: D: 13.5

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 108, 263, Hy 50.

13.22 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Dimensions: H: 2.5; D: 13.2

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 108, 263, Hy 52.

13.23 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Flared foot decorated with rectangular tongues indicated by a single incision line between panels.

Dimensions: H: 2.8; D: 14.9

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 109-110, 264, Hy 61, pl. 93.1a (upper).

13.24 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 264, with Hy 66.

13.25 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Flared foot decorated with tongues in low relief, defined individually with incision lines.

Dimensions: H: 2.6; D: c. 16.0

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 264, Hy 68, fig. 28.11.

13.26 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot

Description: Ogive foot in three parts. Undecorated.

Dimensions: D: 15.5

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 110, 265, Hy 73, pl. 93.5c (lower).

13.27 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 817

Provenance: Olympia (Exedra room)

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Flared foot in two parts. Undecorated.

Dimensions: D: 12.8

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 108-110, 263, Hy 53, fig. 28.2.

13.28 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 1809

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Flared foot. Undecorated.

Dimensions: D: 15.8

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 264, Hy 63, fig. 28.4.

13.29 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 3478

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot

Description: Flared foot decorated with rectangular tongues indicated by a single incision line between panels.

Dimensions: D: 14.0

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 109-110, 263, Hy 55, pl. 93.1b (lower).

13.30 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 4409

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Flared foot in two parts, decorated with a ring of beads in the upper section.

Dimensions: H: 2.6; D: 15.0

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 264, Hy 67, fig. 28.10.

13.31 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 4701

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Flared foot in two parts. Curved profile in the lower section. The upper zone is decorated with a short band of obliquely hatched lines. The lower part given tongues in low relief, each panel defined with a single incision line.

Dimensions: H: 3.2; D: 14.1

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 109-110, 263, Hy 58, pl. 93.2a (above).

13.32 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 4702

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Flared foot decorated with chased rectangular tongues.

Dimensions: H: 2.9; D: 14.9

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 109-110, 264, Hy 62, pl. 93.2b (lower).

13.33 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 4703

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Short, narrow flared foot. Undecorated.

Dimensions: H: 2.0; D: 15.0

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 109-110, 263, Hy 57, fig. 28.8.

13.34 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5077

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Flared foot in two parts. Curved profile in the lower section. The upper zone is decorated with a short band of obliquely hatched lines. The lower part given tongues in low relief, each panel defined with a single incision line.

Dimensions: H: 2.5; D: 13.6

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 110, 264, Hy 59, fig. 28.9.

13.35 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5487

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot

Description: Ogive foot in three parts. The uppermost section is left plain, while the central section has a ring of beads; lower zone with a shallow cyma reversa profile, decorated with depressed tongues with double incision lines.

Dimensions: D: 13.5

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 109-110, 264, Hy 69, pl. 93.3, fig. 28.12.

13.36 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5488

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Flared foot in two parts. Undecorated.

Dimensions: D: 14.9

Bibliography: *OF VIII*, 32; Gauer 1991, 94, 108, 264, Hy 65, fig. 28.5.

13.37 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6097

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Short, compact flared foot decorated with a tongue pattern.

Dimensions: H: 1.3; D: 11.3

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 109-110, 263, Hy 56, fig. 28.7.

13.38 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6225

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot

Description: Ogive foot in three parts. Undecorated.

Dimensions: H: 3.4; D: 15.3

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 110, 265, Hy 71, pl. 93.5a (above), fig. 28.6.

13.39 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 7704

Provenance: Olympia (Building C)

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Flared foot, decorated with chased tongues.

Dimensions: W: 6.7

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 264, Hy 64.

13.40 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 10398

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Flared foot in two parts. Undecorated.

Dimensions: H: 2.6; D: 13.4

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 263, Hy 54, fig. 28.3.

13.41 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 1583

Provenance: Olympia (NW corner of Zeus temple)

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Flared foot in two parts. Undecorated.

Dimensions: D: 18.0

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 108, 263, Hy 48.

13.42 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 3577

Provenance: Olympia (Sikyonian treasury)

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Flared foot in two parts. Undecorated.

Dimensions: D: 12.4

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 108, 263, Hy 51.

13.43 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 5168

Provenance: Olympia (South side of Prytaneion)

Parts Preserved: Foot

Description: Short, compact flared foot. Undecorated.

Dimensions: D: 13.1

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 108, 263, Hy 47, fig. 28.1.

13.44 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 8530

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Flared foot. Undecorated.

Dimensions: D: 13.5

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 108, 263, Hy 49.

13.45 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 12066

Provenance: Olympia (South of Palaistra)

Parts Preserved: Foot

Description: Ogive foot in three parts. Undecorated.

Dimensions: D: 14.7

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 110, 265, Hy 72, pl. 93.5b (center).

13.46 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 12067

Provenance: Olympia (South of Palaistra)

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Spreading, flared foot. Undecorated.

Dimensions: H: 2.1; D: 13.0

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 264, Hy 66.

13.47 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Br 14029

Provenance: Olympia (SE building)

Parts Preserved: Foot fragment

Description: Flared foot in two parts. Curved profile in the lower section. Upper zone decorated with a short band of obliquely hatched lines; lower part given tongues in low relief, with each panel defined with a single incision line.

Dimensions: D: 11.4

Bibliography: Fürtwangler 1890, no. 900a, pl. 54; Diehl 1964, 9, cat. B 11; Johannowsky 1980, 451, no. 13; Gauer 1991, 94, 109-110, 264, Hy 60.

13.48 Olympia, Archaeological Museum Kur. 178

Provenance: Olympia (barely inside the Altis)

Parts Preserved: Foot

Description: Ogive foot in three parts. Decorated with a ring of small beads above a depressed tongue pattern on the central section with a cyma reversa profile.

Dimensions: H: 3.5; D: 15.3

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 110, 264, Hy 70, pl. 93.4.

13.49 Sparta, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Amyklai

Parts Preserved: Foot

Description: Flared foot in two parts. Curved profile in the lower section. Upper zone decorated with a short band of obliquely hatched lines; lower part given tongues in low relief, with each panel defined with a single incision line.

Dimensions: H: 2.5; D: 14.2

Bibliography: Stibbe 2004, cat. 66.

13.50 Warsaw, National Museum 199085

Provenance: Uncertain (formerly in Königsberg)

Parts Preserved: Foot

Description: Flared decorated with tongues outlined with incision.

Dimensions: H: 3.0; D: 14.5

Bibliography: Lullies 1935, cat. 187, pl. 27 (below); Bothmer 1965, 600.

13.51 Isthmia, Archaeological Museum IM 229

Provenance: Isthmia, from pronaos of Archaic temple

Parts Preserved: Foot

Description: Fragmentary foot from a petite hydria. Ogive foot in three parts, with a beaded section at the top and a cyma reversa curve in the central zone.

Dimensions: H: 1.2; L: 5.0

Bibliography: Raubitschek 1998, 37, cat. 151, pl. 28.

UNNUMBERED FEET FROM OLYMPIA**13.52 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)**

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot

Description: Flared foot in two parts. Undecorated.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

13.53 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot

Description: Flared foot in two parts. Curved profile in the lower section. Upper zone decorated with a short band of obliquely hatched lines; lower part given tongues in low relief, with each panel defined with a single incision line.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

13.54 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot

Description: Flared foot in two parts. Undecorated.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

13.55 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Foot

Description: Ogive foot in three parts. Undecorated.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

13.56 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)*Provenance:* Olympia*Parts Preserved:* Foot*Description:* Flared foot in two parts. Undecorated.*Bibliography:* Unpublished (?)**13.57 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)***Provenance:* Olympia*Parts Preserved:* Foot fragment*Description:* Flared foot in two parts. Upper section decorated with concentric chased lines above and below a ring of beads.*Bibliography:* Unpublished (?)**13.58 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)***Provenance:* Olympia*Parts Preserved:* Foot fragment*Description:* Flared foot. Undecorated.*Bibliography:* Unpublished (?)**Group 14: Late Archaic/ Early Classical Bronze Hydriai with Female Protomes at the Top of the Vertical Handle (Argive Prize Type)****14.1 Nemea, Archaeological Museum BR 379***Provenance:* Nemea (in well L: 17:1, in a destruction/ clean up level)*Parts Preserved:* Complete except horizontal handles*Description:* The profile consists of a thin, overhanging lip, a wide, tall neck, and a strongly curved shoulder that leads to a tapered body, Simple ring foot. Inscribed "TO ΔΙΟΣ ΕΜΙ ΤΟ ΝΕΜΕΑΙ." The vertical handle rises well above the level of the lip. At the upper end, overlooking the mouth, a woman's head projects in relief, with her hair pulled back against her head. The handle is flanked by rotelles on the lip. Three large rivets are visible at the juncture between the mouth and handle.*Dimensions:* H: 38.0; D (body): 28.5; D (foot) 14.9; D (mouth) 19.1*Bibliography:* Miller 1978, 84, pl. 27; Miller 1984, 15-16; Miller 2004, 48-49, fig. 27.**14.2 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 1954.776***Provenance:* Corinth*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle*Description:* At the upper end of the high vertical handle, overlooking the mouth of the vase, a female protome is shown from the neck up, with two hatched braids falling to either side of her face. To either side of the handle, a rotelle with beaded edges and a chased rosette on the outer face. Grip has a relief line at both edges and a column of beads up the center. At the lower end, there is an oval-shaped plaque with a chased pendant palmette.*Dimensions:* H: 24.7*Bibliography:* *Le Musée* 3 1906, 264f., pl. 39; Robinson 1942, 184, 187f., fig. 22; Diehl 1964, 23-25, cat. B 75; Mitten and Doeringer 1971, 78-79, no. 73; Wallenstein 1971, 89, no. VIII, 18, pl. 29.1; Hill 1976, cat. 15; Gauer 1991, 159; Stibbe 1997, cat. 99.

14.3 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 57.11.13*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Mouth and neck, Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot

Description: The profile consists of a thin, overhanging lip, a tall, slender shoulder, and a simple ring foot. The vertical handle swings high above the lip of the vase. At the upper end of the high vertical handle, overlooking the mouth, a female protome is shown from the torso up, wearing a long-sleeved garment with a high neckline. Her hair is rolled around the forehead into a short hairstyle. Her arms are outstretched, with bracelets at the wrists, extending outwards into rotelles with beaded edges and rosettes on the outer faces. At the lower end, there is an oval-shaped plaque with a chased palmette. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center, bound at the midpoint with a vertical ring of beads. Plain round discs attach the handle to the body of the vase.

Dimensions: D (mouth): 15.7; D (foot): 17.8*Bibliography:* Bothmer 1965, 601; Hill 1976, cat. 14; Bothmer 1979, 64 n.11f., pl. 17.3; Gauer 1981, 155 n. 154.**14.4 Paris, Louvre 2632***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle

Description: At the upper end of the high vertical handle, overlooking the mouth of the vase, a female protome is shown from torso up, wearing a long-sleeved chiton. Her outstretched arms take the form of rotelles at the ends. The grip is articulated with a column of beads running up the center and four horizontal rows of beads of varying types and sizes at the lower end. Below, an oval-shaped plaque decorated with a chased palmette with volutes.

Dimensions: H: 51.0 (with handle)*Bibliography:* Ridder 1915, 105, pl. 95; Charbonneaux 1962, 64; Bothmer 1965, 601.**14.5 London, British Museum 1918.1-1.7***Provenance:* Uncertain (?)*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle

Description: At the upper end of the high handle, overlooking the mouth of the vase, a female protome is shown from torso up, wearing a long-sleeved chiton. Her outstretched arms take the form of rotelles at the ends. At the lower end, an oval-shaped plaque decorated with a chased palmette with volutes.

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 601.**14.6 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 54.11.2***Provenance:* Chalkidike*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: The profile consists of a thin, overhanging lip, a continuous curve from neck to shoulder, a rounded body, and a simple ring foot. At the upper end of the high vertical handle, overlooking the mouth, a female protome is shown from the torso up, wearing a long-sleeved garment with a high neckline. Her hair is rolled around the forehead to create a short hairstyle. Her arms are outstretched, with bracelets at the wrists, extending outwards into rotelles with beaded edges and rosettes on the outer faces. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center, bound at the midpoint with a vertical ring of beads. Plain round discs secure the handle to the body of the vase.

Dimensions: H: 46.5*Bibliography:* Bothmer 1954/55, 193-197; Diehl 1964, 23-25, 27, cat. B 76.

14.8 Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilization

Provenance: Sinope

Parts Preserved: Body fragments (upper half), Vertical handle

Description: The profile consists of a thin, barely overhanging lip, a curved neck, a strongly curved shoulder with a flattened upper surface, and a wide body. Inscribed on the upper surface of the mouth: "ΠΙΑΡ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΕΜΙ ΤΟΝ ΗΑΦΕΘΑΟΝ." At the top of the high vertical handle, overlooking the mouth of the vase, a female protome is shown from the torso up, wearing a long-sleeved chiton pulled taut across her breasts. Her hair is rolled under and hangs down to chin level on either side of her face. Outstretched arms end in phiale-rotelles with beaded edges and chased rosettes with raised centers on the outer faces. At the lower end, an oval-shaped plaque with a chased pendant palmette with large volutes.

Bibliography: Akurgal and Budde 1956, 12f., pl. 5; Jeffery 1961, 164; Diehl 1964, 23-25, 150, cat. B 77, pl. 5.1-3; Amandry 1971, 615; Bothmer 1974, 15-16; Amandry 2002, 29-32.

14.9 Paris, Musée des Arts Decoratifs 27178

Provenance: Uncertain (?)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top of the high vertical handle, overlooking the mouth, a female protome is shown from the waist up, wearing a long-sleeved chiton. Her hair is pulled back and rolled into two short buns at the sides of her head. Her arms are outstretched with bracelets at the wrists, extending outwards into phiale-rotelles with rosettes with raised, round centers at the outer faces. At the lower end, a sculpted palmette with round leaves and double volutes.

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 601; Bothmer 1974, 16; Lazzarini and Zevi 1988-89, 40, fig. 11.

14.10 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.11.2

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top of the high vertical handle, overlooking the mouth, a female protome is shown from the waist up, wearing a long-sleeved chiton. Her hair is pulled back and rolled into two short buns at the sides of her head. Her arms are outstretched with bracelets at the wrists, extending outwards into phiale-rotelles with rosettes with raised, round centers at the outer faces. At the lower end, there is a sculpted palmette with rounded leaves and double volutes.

Dimensions: H: 22.9

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 601; Bothmer 1974, 15-16, fig. 9; Bothmer 1975, 20, fig. 9; Tölle-Kastenbein 1980, no. 41, 229, 231f., 234, 288, 324, pl. 156 b; Gauer 1981, 155 n. 154.

14.11 United States, Private Collection (New York)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete except missing horizontal handles

Description: The profile consists of a thin, slightly overhanging lip, a long, curved neck, a rounded shoulder that is flattened on the upper surface, a nearly cylindrical body that tapers at the lowest point and a flared foot with rectilinear tongues in relief. At the upper end of the high vertical handle, overlooking the mouth of the vase, is a female protome shown from the torso up, wearing a long-sleeved chiton. Her arms are extended, turning into rotelles at the ends. The outer faces of the rotelles are corroded, but the presence of a raised center probably indicates that there was once a chased rosette on the surface. At the highest point of the handle, a pendant palmette in low relief. At the lower end, there is an oval-shaped plaque with a pendant palmette with eleven slim, rounded leaves and two prominent volutes that extend into a scroll pattern.

Dimensions: 38.7

Bibliography: Ward 1989, cat. 8.

14.12 Copenhagen, National Museum I.N. 3293

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Mouth, Vertical handle

Description: The upper surface of the mouth is inscribed "ΠΙΑΡ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΕΜΙ ΤΟΝ ΗΑΦΕΘΛΟΝ." At the top of the high vertical handle, overlooking the mouth of the vase, a female protome is shown from the torso up, wearing a long-sleeved chiton with rounded folds between her breasts. Her hair is rolled at the forehead into a short hairstyle. Her outstretched arms take the form of rotelles at the outer ends. At the lower end, there is an oval-shaped plaque with a chased pendant palmette.

Dimensions: H: 25.0; D (mouth): 18.7

Bibliography: Moltesen 1955, 185, cat. 82; Diehl 1964, 23-24, cat. B 82; Bothmer 1965, 601; Johansen 1969, 54-65, figs. 1-3, 5, 6; Amandry 1971, 617; Bothmer 1974, 16.

14.13 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.50

Provenance: Peloponnese

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The profile consists of an overhanging lip; a short, curved neck; a strongly rounded shoulder decorated with chased tongues, a gradually tapering body, and a simple ring foot with chased tongue pattern. Inscribed on the lip: "ΠΙΑΡ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΗΑΦΕΘΛΟΝ." At the upper end of the high vertical handle, overlooking the mouth, a female protome is shown from the torso up, wearing a long-sleeved chiton with a v-shaped neckline. Her hair is rolled at the forehead into a short hairstyle. Her arms stretch outwards, bracelets at the wrist, into phiale-rotelles with a two-tiered rosette with raised center on the outer faces. The side handles are wide and rectangular in cross-section, with horizontal ribbing across the grip. At either end, there is a roughly circular plaque with a chased pendant palmette with large volutes.

Dimensions: H: 42.4

Bibliography: Neugebauer 1927, pl. 23.1; Richter 1925, 8f.; Langlotz 1927, 68, no. 13, pl. 34; Richter 1928, 183-91, pl. 64a-b; Lamb 1929, 163, pl. 59a; Payne 1931, 219-220.; Poulson 1937, 15f., fig. 8; Bothmer 1954/55; Robinson 1942, 178f., figs. 7-10; Richter 1953, 82; Jeffery 1961, 151f., 169, pls. 20, 26; Charbonneaux 1962, 63; Diehl 1964, 23-25, 28, 30, cat. B 78; Johansen 1969, 59f., fig. 4; Amandry 1971, 615; Bothmer 1974, 15-16, figs. 3,4,7; Mertens 1985, 4-5, 39-40.

14.14 Perachora, Archaeological Museum (?)

Provenance: Perachora (Heraion)

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: A wide grip, rectangular in cross-section, with horizontal ribbing across the grip. At either end, there is a roughly circular plaque with a chased palmette with large volutes.

Dimensions: L: 6.7

Bibliography: Payne 1940, 165, pl. 69.6; Diehl 1964, 23, cat. B 84.

14.15 Argos, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Argos (Heraion)

Parts Preserved: Body fragments (preserved until lower part), Horizontal handle

Description: A wide grip, rectangular in cross-section, with horizontal ribbing across the grip. At either end, there is a roughly circular plaque with a chased palmette with large volutes. *Dimensions:* L: 8.1

Bibliography: Waldstein 1902, nr. 2206, pl. 123; Payne 1931, 220, cat. 2; Diehl 1964, 23-24, cat. B 83.

14.16 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AC.12

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The profile consists of a thin, overhanging lip, a tall, slim neck, a rounded body, and a simple ring foot. The vertical handle swings high above the lip of the vase. At the upper end of the high vertical handle, overlooking over the mouth, a female protome is shown from the torso up, wearing a long-sleeved chiton pinned at the shoulders. Her hair is rolled around the forehead into a short hairstyle. Her arms are outstretched, with bracelets at the wrists, extending outwards into rotelles with beaded edges and rosettes on the outer faces. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center, bound at the midpoint with a vertical ring of beads. Plain round discs anchor the handle to the body of the vase.

Dimensions: H: 47.0; D (max): 28.2

Bibliography: Bothmer 1974, 15-16, figs. 2,5,6, 8; Berger 1974, 23-24; *J. Paul Getty Museum* 2002, 38-39.

14.17 Pompeii, Archaeological Museum (?) or Naples, Archaeological Museum (?) 21803

Provenance: Pompeii

Parts Preserved: Complete except horizontal handles

Description: Thin, overhanging lip; short, curved neck; rounded body with very gradual taper, simple ring foot decorated with chased tongues. Inscribed on the lip "ΠΙΑΡ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΕΜΙ ΤΟΝ ΗΑΦΕΘΛΟΝ." At the upper end of the high vertical handle, overlooking the mouth, a female protome is shown from the torso up, wearing a long-sleeved chiton. Her hair is rolled around the forehead to create a short hairstyle. Her arms are outstretched, with bracelets at the wrists, extending outwards into rotelles with and rosettes on the outer faces. A hole has been cut into the front of the vase (on the side opposite the vertical handle), approximately midway down the body.

Bibliography: Zevi and Lazzarini 1988-89, 33-48; Zevi and Lazzarini, 1992, Amandry 1992, 29-32, pl. 2, a-b.

14.18 Oxford (MS), University of Mississippi Art Museum

Provenance: Purchased on Art Market, Said to be from near Aigion

Parts Preserved: Complete with lid except horizontal handles

Description: The profile consists of a thin, slightly overhanging lip, a tall neck, a sloping shoulder, and a narrow body. Simple ring foot. The vertical handle reaches its height well above the level of the lip. At the upper end of the high vertical handle, a female protome is shown from the torso up, wearing a long-sleeved chiton with a scooped neck. Outstretched arms with bracelets at the wrists end in rotelles with plain faces. At the lower end, there is an oval-shaped plaque with a chased pendant palmette with nine leaves.

Dimensions: H: 48.0

Bibliography: Robinson 1942, 173f., figs. 1-6; Fogg 1954, 31, cat. 216, pl. 66; Charbonneaux 1962, 64; Diehl 1964, 23-25, 150, cat. B 81; Eckstein 1959, 646; Comstock 1972, 299; Hill 1976, cat. 16.

14.19 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 8064

Provenance: Eretria

Parts Preserved: Body (with restorations), Vertical handle (missing foot and horizontal handles)

Description: The preserved part of the profile consists of a thin, slightly overhanging lip, a short neck, and a fairly straight body. At the top of the high vertical handle, overlooking the mouth, a female protome is shown from the torso up, wearing a long-sleeved chiton pulled down into a v-shaped neckline. Her hair is pulled up into a bun at the top of her head. Her outstretched arms take the form of rotelles at the outer edges.

Dimensions: H: 50.0

Bibliography: *JdI* 1888, 250f., no. 6; Politis 1936, 171; Robinson 1942, 182f., figs. 14-15; Diehl 1964, 23-25, cat. B 79; Bothmer 1974, 16.

14.20 Lyons, Archaeological Museum*Provenance:* Uncertain (?)*Bibliography:* Reinach 1913, 413, no. 10; Bothmer 1965, 601; Bothmer 1974, 16.**14.21 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1899.469***Provenance:* Purchased in Corinth, said to be from Palaiopolis*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle*Description:* At the upper end of the high vertical handle, overlooking the mouth of the vase, a female protome is shown from torso up, wearing a long-sleeved chiton. Her outstretched arms take the form of rotelles at the ends. At the lower end, an oval-shaped plaque decorated with a chased palmette with volutes.*Dimensions:* H: 26.0*Bibliography:* Robinson 1942, 182f., figs. 16-18; Charbonneaux 1962, 64; Diehl 1964, 23-25, cat. B 80; Johansen 1969, 62, fig. 6f.; Comstock and Vermeule 1971, 298-99, cat. 424; Bothmer 1974, 16.**14.22 Once Art Market (Paris)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* Small-scale. The overhanging lip is decorated with beads and tongues in relief. The profile consists of a curved neck, a compact, curved shoulder, a tapered body, and a flared foot with alternating relief and impressed tongues. The shoulder and body are decorated with elongated tongues outlined in low relief. Just below shoulder, in lateral handle zone, there is a guilloche pattern bordered by four relief lines at top and bottom. The vertical handle rises up and over rim. At the top, a female protome is flanked by rotelles with beaded edges. The grip is articulated with a horizontal relief band bordered by small beads above and below, and a beaded snake body up the spine. Below, there is a gorgoneion. The side handles are thick and ribbed across the surface.*Dimensions:* H: 17.5*Bibliography:* Diehl 1964, 23-24, 29-30, cat. B 85, pl. 5.4**14.23 Israel, Private Collection (Jerusalem, Borowski GR 150 H)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle*Description:* At the top, a female protome faces the opposite direction, looking over the mouth of the vase, with a fillet tied around her hair and two long braids falling down past her shoulders. She wears a necklace with a small pendant. The figure is flanked by a pair of rotelles with beaded edges. The outer surfaces of the rotelles are corroded, but a raised center is discernable. Grip is articulated with two horizontal rows of beads (one large, one small) at the bottom, two vertical relief lines in the center, a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves in relief at the thumb-rest and a horizontal row of beads at the upper end. Below, there is a gorgoneion flanked by a pair of recumbent rams.*Dimensions:* H: 22.5; W: 16.0*Bibliography:* Kunze 2007, 112-14.

Group 15: Early Classical Bronze Hydriai with a Lion's Head at the Top of the Vertical Handle

15.1 Paestum, Archaeological Museum 49802

Provenance: Paestum (subterranean shrine)

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations)

Description: The profile consists of an overhanging lip and a tall, wide, strongly curved neck. The full, rounded body tapers to compact ogive foot with a ring of short tongues in relief above a row of elongated, outlined tongues. There is a tongue pattern chased on the shoulder, ending in triple chased horizontal bands where the shoulder meets the body (roughly at the level of the lateral handles). At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Flanking the lion, on the lip, are two pairs of phiale-rotelles, the outermost with beaded edges. The spine of the handle is articulated with a column of square beads up the center and a relief line at either edge. At the bottom, a pair of recumbent sphinxes sits above a pendant palmette with seven pointed leaves and large volutes. The side handles are rectangular in cross-section with a row of beads across the center and at each edge. At the ends, a pair of open-mouthed lions shown in profile, facing away from each other, with one forepaw extended diagonally.

Dimensions: H: 41.6; D (rim): 20.0; D (body): 30.0

Bibliography: Sestieri 1955, 58, fig. 10; Diehl 1964, 25-27, cat. B 87, figs. 8, 15, 62, 63, 64, 66, 68, 69, 74, 91; Rolley 1982, 20, no. 6; Stibbe 1992, B 6, fig. 13; Banti 1996, 696, no. 145 IV; Stibbe 1997, cat. 64, fig. 3; Stibbe 2004, 7.57.

15.2 Taranto, Museo Nazionale 134906

Provenance: Ugento

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations)

Description: The profile consists of a flattened lip and a tall, wide neck with a concave curve. The broad shoulder gives way to a gradually tapering body. The flared foot is decorated with decorated with radiating flutes. At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane minimally chased onto the grip. 'Arms' extend outwards into rotelles with beaded edges and chased rosettes on the outer faces. At the lower end, a round plaque with a chased palmette with four rounded leaves and large palmettes. The side handles are simple, round in cross-section with a relief ring in the center and semi-circular appliquéés at the ends.

Dimensions: H: 45.5; D (rim): 19.4

Bibliography: Lo Porto 1972, 116f., pl. 45; Rolley 1982, 26-26, figs. 113-118; Herfort-Koch 1986, 49 n. 178; Stibbe 1992, B8; Tarditi 1996, 147-148, cat. 110; Stibbe 1997, cat. 102.

15.3 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7135

Provenance: Athens, Akropolis

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane and ruff encircling the face. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of rotelles with beaded edges and rosettes on the outer faces.

Dimensions: H: 4.5; W: 11.0

Bibliography: Ridder 1896, 55, no. 165, fig. 29; Diehl 1964, 25, cat. B 95.

15.4 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6405

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Surfaces are worn. Very heavy. Preserves the upper part of a vertical handle that rises well above the level of the rim. At the top of the tall grip, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of rotelles with beaded edges and rosettes on the outer faces.

Dimensions: W: 13.2

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

15.5 Olympia, Archaeological Museum 13199

Provenance: Olympia (south of the Byzantine church)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of rotelles.

Bibliography: Furtwängler 1890, 144, nr. 898, pl. 54; Diehl 1964, 25-26, cat. B 86; Herfort-Koch 1986, K21.

15.6 Delphi, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Delphi

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Lower part of handle with circular plaque chased with a pendant palmette with five rounded leaves and half-volutes.

Bibliography: Rolley 1982, 26, fig. 120; Stibbe 1997, cat. 101.

15.7 Delphi, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Delphi (Marmaria)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top, the forepart of a lion faces inwards, paws hanging down onto the fragmentary rim. Flanked by halfspools with rosettes on the outer faces and square beads along the short edges. The grip divided into three vertical sections. At the bottom, large volutes in low relief with short snake protomes emerging and curving upwards.

Bibliography: Perdrizet 1908, 87, fig. 292.

15.8 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 1190

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the top of the vertical handle, a lion's head and forepaws overlook the mouth of the vase, with rotelles (plain faces and edges) to either side. The grip is thicker in the center than on the outer edges. Below, a female protome wears a low polos with three long locks of hair to either side of her face.

Dimensions: H: c. 10.0

Bibliography: Herfort-Koch 1986, 14f., 18, 83, no. K 15, pl. 2.1; Stibbe 1992, 13, 54, cat. C 9.

15.9 Turkey, Private Collection (Izmir, Yavuz Tatish 1650)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of rotelles. The spine of the handle is articulated with a relief line along both edges and a column of beads up the center. Below, there is a pendant palmette with seven rounded leaves and large volutes.

Dimensions: H: 25.5

Bibliography: Tatish 2003, 56-57, cat. 46.

15.10 United States, Private Collection (New York)*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: The overhanging lip is decorated with beads and tongues. The neck is tall and curved. The rounded shoulder is decorated with chased tongues. The body tapers evenly to a low, spreading foot with a ring of beads above chased tongues. At the top of the vertical handle, an open-mouthed lion faces over the rim of the vase, flanked by rotelles with beaded edges. The spine of the handle is articulated with a beaded snake body up the center. At the lower end, a pendant palmette with eleven rounded leaves and two large volutes (rivets visible in centers) that extend upwards into a second set of smaller volutes (rivets visible in centers). The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center, with a vertical ring of beads at the center. At either end, a palmette with eleven rounded leaves and two volutes (rivets visible in centers) that extend outwards into a second set of smaller volutes (rivets visible in centers).

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)**15.11 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: The overhanging lip is decorated with beads and tongues. The profile consists of a curved neck, broad shoulder, and tapered body. Simple, flared foot with a pattern of chased tongues with pointed ends. At the top of the vertical handle, an open-mouthed lion faces over the rim of the vase, flanked by rotelles with beaded edges. The spine of the handle is articulated with a column of square beads up the center. At the lower end, a pendant palmette with eleven rounded leaves and two large volutes that spiral outwards into snake bodies. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center, with a vertical ring of beads at the center. At either end, a palmette with nine rounded leaves and two volutes that uncoil into snake bodies.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)**15.12 Naples, Museo Nazionale 73144***Provenance:* Lokri*Parts Preserved:* Complete (with restorations)

Description: Thin rim, tall neck with concave curve. Broad, flat shoulder chased with tongue pattern above a horizontal row of interlocking volutes where the shoulder meets the body; long, tapered body; flared foot with a row of short tongues above a ring of chased lotus buds. The vertical handle rises well above the level of the rim. At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of rotelles with beaded edges and rosettes with raised center on the outer faces. Grip articulated with columns of small beads at either edge and larger beads up the center. At the lower end, there is a gorgoneion with a pair of horses springing from her head. The side handles are articulated with a pair of nude figures in relief, attached at the head across the surface of the grip. At both ends, there is a palmette.

Dimensions: H: 54.5*Bibliography:* Neugebauer 1923, 378f., figs. 15-17; Langlotz 1927, pl. 93; Diehl 1964, 25-28, 47, cat. B 94; Tarbell 1909, 99, cat. no. 1, fig. 1 (Reproduction in Chicago, The Field Museum).**15.13 Chicago, The Field Museum 1973.3217.195785***Provenance:* Uncertain (ex-Tripp)*Parts Preserved:* Complete (with restorations)

Description: Thin rim; tall, curved neck. Broad, flat shoulder chased with tongue pattern above a horizontal band with a chased cable pattern at the point where the shoulder meets the body; long, tapered body and flared foot with a bead of rings above a band of pendant lotus buds in low relief. At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of rotelles with

beaded edges and rosettes on the outer faces. The spine of the handle articulated with columns of small beads at either edge and larger beads up the center. At the lower end, there is a gorgoneion with a pair of pegsoi springing from her head.

Side handles are articulated with a pair of nude figures in relief, attached at the head across the surface of the grip. At both ends, there is a palmette.

Bibliography: Unpublished

15.14 Once London Market (Bonham's 2007)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken on upper edge, preserving the lower part of a vertical handle. The grip is articulated with columns of small beads at either edge and larger beads up the center. A horizontal row of square beads separates the grip from the lower attachment. Below, there is a fanged gorgoneion with a pair of horses springing from her head. A pair of arms, bent at the elbows, frames her face.

Dimensions: H: 10.0

Bibliography: *Bonhams London*, 26 October, 2007, 66, cat. 152.

15.15 Once Art Market

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete except vertical handle

Description: The overhanging lip has exceptionally regular beads and small, curved ovules outlined with thin double relief lines. Inscribed, "ΦΙ (N/Λ) ΕΙΔΑΣ." The subtly curved neck is offset from a broad shoulder that is fairly flat on upper surface before curving to a wide body that gracefully tapers to a thin ogive foot decorated with a ring of beads above and below the central section with a cyma reversa profile, decorated with a chain of lotus flowers and lotus buds outlined with thin double relief lines. The body of the vase is elaborately ornamented, with pairs of chased lines at the bottom of the neck, elongated tongues with outlined edges in low relief on the shoulder and body, separated by a band of double cables bordered above and below by pairs of chased lines. The side handles attach to the body with rounded plaques with palmettes in low relief with eight concave leaves and rounded ends. The volutes uncurl into snake-like shapes but without articulated snakes' heads. A vertical relief band connects the eyes of the two volutes. On the grip of the handle, two figures (one male, one female) are carved in low relief, positioned head-to-head. The figures stand straight, feet resting on the bands of the volutes and arms by their sides.

Dimensions: 48.3

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

15.16 Once New York Market (Arte Primitivo 2006)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handles

Description: The grip is articulated with a pair of nude figures in relief, attached at the head across the surface. At both ends, there is a palmette.

Bibliography: *Arte Primitivo* 10.3.2006, 29, cat. 116.

15.17 Ancona, Archaeological Museum 25020

Provenance: Sirolo

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip decorated with beads and tongues. The profile consists of a tall, curved neck, rounded shoulder and gracefully tapered body. A pattern of elongated tongues with rounded ends extends from shoulder to foot, separated by two horizontal bands of cables in the lateral

handle zone. Flared foot with hanging broad petals in low relief. At the upper end of the high handle, an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Rivets are visible on both sides of the lion's face. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of rotelles with beaded edges and rosettes with raised centers on the outer faces. The spine of the handle is beaded and ends in a snake's head at the top. At the bottom, horizontal bands of beads of varying size separate the grip from the lower attachment, which takes the form of a smiling gorgon with coiled, rising snakes emerging above her head on both sides. The side handles are fluted and curve up in the center, bound by a vertical ring of large beads. At either end, there is a ring of smaller beads. On both sides there is a large palmette in relief with eight rounded leaves, large volutes linked eye to eye with a band of beads, and a beaded heart.

Bibliography: Lollini 1989, 33-35, fig. 27; Shefton 2003, 331, pl. 3, a-e.

15.18 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 2434

Provenance: Samothrace

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handles

Description: The grips are fluted and curve up in the center. There is a vertical ring of large beads in the middle and smaller beads at the ends. On both sides, there is a heart-shaped plaque with a palmette with two sets of volutes.

Bibliography: Conze 1875, pl. XLVIII; Bothmer 1965, 601; Oberleitner 1978, 129, cat. 220.

15.19 Once Basel Market (1965)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handles

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 601.

15.20 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum B 2146, B 764

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handles

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 601.

15.21 Switzerland, Private Collection (Geneva, Ortiz)

Provenance: Said to be from Greece

Parts Preserved: Complete (with heavy restoration in body)

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and tongues in relief. Tall, curved neck. Ornamented from shoulder to foot with tongue patterns above and below a horizontal band decorated with a scroll pattern where the shoulder meets the body. Low, spreading foot with a cyma recta profile (decorated with chased lotus flowers) developing into a disk element with a flat resting surface (ornamented with a ring of short, narrow tongues on the outer edge). At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of phiale-rotelles with beaded edges and a rosette with raised center on the outer faces. The side handles are fluted and turn up at the center with a vertical ring of beads at the mid-point and both edges. At both ends, a horned, smiling gorgoneion with tongue out, oriented horizontally.

Dimensions: H: 48.8

Bibliography: *The George Ortiz Collection* 1993, no. 144; Ortiz 1994, cat. 144; Stibbe 1994, 101; Ortiz 1996, cat. 144

15.22 Paris, Louvre 4643

Provenance: Uncertain (ex-Hunt)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: At the upper end of the high vertical handle, an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of rotelles with

beaded edges and rosettes on the outer faces. At the lower end, there is a large, flattened lion's head with two small forepaws hanging down below. The side handles curve up in the center and are bound at the highest point with a vertical ring of beads flanked on either side by a ring of tiny beads and at the ends with a ring of tiny beads above small ovules outlined in low relief. To either side, a palmette of eleven pointed, ribbed leaves and large volutes. A pair of snakes emerges transversally from the volutes.

Bibliography: Frel 1983, 109-111, cat. 34; *Sotheby's New York* 6.19.1990, cat. 33; *Louvre* 2002, 101.

15.23 Toledo (OH), Museum of Art 64.125

Provenance: Said to come from Thessaly

Parts Preserved: Complete except restored foot

Description: At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of rotelles with beaded edges and rosettes on the outer faces. The spine of the handle articulated with a beaded snake body running up the center from the siren to the lion's mane. Below, there is a flattened forepart of a lion.

Dimensions: H (complete, including vertical handle): 52.7; H (base to rim): 46.8; D (with lateral handles): 40.5; D (without handles): 31.8; D (rim): 19.5;

Bibliography: *Museum News, The Toledo Museum of Art* 7 (1964), 80; Bothmer 1965, 601; Wittmann 1965, 35; "Accessions of American and Canadian Museums," *Art Quarterly* 30 (1967), 153, 155.

15.24 Athens, National Archaeological Museum Karapanos 378

Provenance: Dodona

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of phiale-rotelles with beaded edges and rosettes with raised center on the outer faces. At the bottom, there is a large, flattened lion's head with two small forepaws hanging down below.

Dimensions: H: 25.7; W: 7.7

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 25-27, cat. B 93.

15.25 Tirana, Archaeological Museum 9221

Provenance: Apollonia Illyrica (necropolis)

Parts Preserved: Complete (with conservation)

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and curved ovules outlined in relief. Tall, curved neck; shoulder fairly flat on upper surface, rounding down to a rather straight, tapered body. Low ogive foot in three parts, undecorated. At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of thin rotelles with a gorgoneion on the outer faces. The spine of the handle is articulated with columns of tiny beads at both edges and a beaded snake-body up the center. At the lower end, a siren with outstretched wings that turn upwards. The side handles are fluted and curve up in the center, bound by a vertical ring of five large beads at the highest point. At either end, there is a palmette with seven rounded leaves and double volutes.

Bibliography: Eggebrecht 1988, 304-305, cat. 184.

15.26 Ancona, Archaeological Museum 4846

Provenance: Castelbellino (tomb I, Campanelli)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. The spine of the handle is articulated with a beaded snake-body. Below, there is a siren with outstretched wings.

Dimensions: 48.0

Bibliography: Dall'Osso 1915, 252; Neugebauer 1923, 371f., fig. 10; *Itinerari* 37, pl. 61; Richter 1939, 192; Diehl 1964, 25-28, 47, B 91, pl. 7.2; Shefton 2001, 28 n. 42; Shefton 2003, 332, pl. 4a,b.

15.27 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Misc. Inv. 8006 a-c

Provenance: Greece

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handle

Description: At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. The spine of the handle is articulated with a beaded snake body running up the center from the siren to the lion's mane. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of rotelles with beaded edges and rosettes on the outer faces. Below, there is a siren with outstretched wings that point upwards.

Dimensions: H (vh): 22.0; L (hh): 19.7

Bibliography: Neugebauer 1923, 372f., figs. 1-11; Diehl 1964, 25-28, 47, cat. B 92.

15.28 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 38.11.11 a-c

Provenance: Aegina

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles

Description: At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of phiale-rotelles with beaded edges and a rosette on the outer faces. The spine of the handle is articulated with a beaded snake body running up the center from the siren to the lion's mane. Prominent rivets visible between lion and rotelles. At the lower end, there is a siren with outstretched wings that point upwards.

Dimensions: H (vh): 22.2; L (hh): 18.6

Bibliography: Richter 1939, 145f., figs. 1-2; Richter 1939, 189f., figs. 1-3; Robinson 1942, 188 cat. 55; Milne 1944, 33f; Richter 1959, pl. 64 e-f; Bothmer 1954/55, 196f.; Diehl 1964, 25-27, 30, 47, cat. B 89.

15.29 Sofia, National Archaeological Museum 1443

Provenance: Pastoucha

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of rotelles with beaded edges and rosettes on the outer faces. The spine of the handle is articulated with a beaded snake body running up the center from the siren to the lion's mane. Prominent rivets visible between lion and rotelles. At the lower end, there is a siren with outstretched wings that point upwards. Broken below siren.

Bibliography: Seure 1925, 435, fig. 13; Bothmer 1965, 601.

15.30 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Misc. Inv. 10519

Provenance: Purchased on Art Market (Kerstch)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of rotelles with beaded edges and a gorgoneion on the outer faces. At the lower end, there is a siren with outstretched wings.

Side handles are fluted and curve up in the center, with a vertical ring of beads at the center.

At either end, a palmette with seven pointed leaves and two sets of volutes.

Dimensions: H: 28.5

Bibliography: Neugebauer 1924, 67; Neugebauer 1923, 372, cat. 1; Diehl 1964, 25-28, 47, cat. B 90, pl. 6.

15.31 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1993.133

Provenance: Uncertain (ex-Bastis)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of rotelles with beaded edges and rosettes on the outer faces. The spine of the handle is articulated with a beaded snake body running up the center from the siren to the lion's mane. Prominent rivets visible between lion and rotelles. At the lower end, there is a siren with outstretched wings that point upwards, above a rounded-leaf palmette with volutes.

Dimensions: H: 28.5; W: 18.9

Bibliography: Hall 1987, 182-86, fig. 95 a-f.

15.32 Once London Market (Charles Ede 2001)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Thin overhanging lip with two chased concentric circles. Fairly straight neck, sloped shoulder, tapered body. Flared foot. At the upper end of the high vertical handle, an open-mouthed lion faces over the mouth, with ruff encircling the face. The face of this lion is rendered in particularly high relief. Rivets are visible to either side of lion's ruff. Rotelles fit around the lip, set transversally to the curve of the rim, with chased circles around the centers. There is a siren with up-turned wings at the lower end of the vertical handle.

Dimensions: H: 49.0

Bibliography: Robert Haber & Associates 1995, cover illustration; Charles Ede Ltd. *Ancient Bronzes* 2001, cat. no. 16.

15.33 London, British Museum 1956.7-25.1

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: At the upper end of the high handle, there is an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Below, there is a siren with outstretched wings that point upwards.

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 602.

Group 16: Classical Bronze Kalpides with Sirens*Wings up***16.1 Once Basel Market (Münzen und Medaillen 1967)**

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and long, narrow ovules outlined in low relief. Inscribed on upper surface of mouth: "ΑΘΑΝΑΔΟΡΑ ΑΜΦΟΤΙΔΙ / ΝΙΚΟ." The first part of the inscription is separate, written in punched letters. The latter inscription, "Niko," is chased directly into the surface of the mouth. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads seamlessly to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lower end to an ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle attaches at the neck and shoulder with an oval disk articulated with chased demi-palmettes with long, rounded leaves on each side of the handle terminus. The grip is round in cross-section and shallowly fluted on the front side. Below, there is a relatively small siren with wings outstretched and turned upwards. Her hair is rolled into a short coiffure; individual strands are not articulated. Her chest is broad and left smooth. The wings are divided vertically into two sections; each section is divided into a series of long, narrow, closely spaced feathers. Her claws rest above a small gorgoneion of the

beautiful type (without grotesque features). Above, there is a series of coiled volutes. The lower coil on the outer side flares out at the end to resemble a swan's head in profile. A demi-palmette blooms from the uppermost coil. Fluted side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Round disks with radiating impressed tongues are used to attach the handles to the body.

Dimensions: H: 43.0; D (max): 37.5; D (mouth): 15.2

Bibliography: *Münzen und Medaillen* 1967, 10, cat. 12.

16.2 Once Basel Market (Münzen und Medaillen 1967)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and long, narrow ovules outlined in low relief. Inscribed on upper surface of mouth: "EPPATA / ΑΓΕΙΣΑΝΔΡΙΑ." The significance of the first part of the inscription, Errata, is unclear. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads seamlessly to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lower end to an ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain oval disk. Grip is round in cross-section and shallowly fluted on the front side. Below, there is a relatively small siren with wings outstretched and turned upwards. Her hair is rolled into a short coiffure; individual strands are not articulated. Her chest is broad and left smooth. The wings are divided vertically into two sections; the innermost is unarticulated but the outer section is divided into a series of long, narrow, closely spaced feathers. Her claws rest on the heart of an abstracted palmette. To the sides, a coiled volute unfurls into a pair of spirals, one curled inwards at the lower edge of the siren's wing and one rolled outwards at the widest point of the wings. A demi-palmette blooms from the uppermost coil. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 43.0; D (max): 36.8.5; D (mouth): 15.5

Bibliography: *Münzen und Medaillen* 1967, 10, cat. 12.

16.3 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1994)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and flattened ovules outlined with chased lines. Short, subtly curved neck. Wide, fairly flat shoulder and broad body tapers at the lower end to a low, wide ogive foot with impressed tongues in the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an oval plaque; below the handle terminal, the plaque is rendered into a palmette with rounded leaves, giving the panel a scalloped lower edge. Small volutes are chased onto the underside of the grip. Grip is acutely bent and is wider than usual; the front side is shallowly fluted. At the bottom, there is a siren with outstretched wings turned upwards. Her hair is rolled into a short, closely cropped coiffure. Her face is small with modeled features. The chest is smooth and broad, resulting in wings that are broader than normal. The wings are divided into two sections, each of which is constructed of short, closely-spaced, narrow feathers. The siren perches on a fairly large palmette with eleven concave leaves with rounded edges. The volutes of the palmette spiral outwards into a scroll pattern with long connecting rods. The outermost palmette unfurls into a demi-palmette on each side. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards. At either end, there is a flattened round panel with a ring of beads on the inside and impressed tongues around the outer edge.

Dimensions: H: 40.6

Bibliography: *Sotheby's New York* 12.14.1994, cat. 69.

16.4 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1997)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and long, narrow, curved ovules outlined in low relief. Short, subtly curved neck. Wide, fairly flat shoulder and broad body tapers at the lower end to an ogive foot. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an oval plaque articulated with a chased demi-palmette to either side of the handle terminus. The acutely bent grip is wider than usual and is shallowly fluted on the front side. At the bottom, the rounded panel that attaches the handle to the shoulder is decorated with a chased pattern of long, curved lines and volutes at the ends. In front, there is a siren with outstretched wings turned upwards. Her hair is rolled into a short, closely cropped coiffure. Her face is small with modeled features. The chest is smooth and broad, resulting in wings that are broader than normal. The wings are divided into two sections, the outermost of which is articulated with closely-spaced, narrow feathers. The siren perches on a large round ball above six round circles with open centers. The volutes spiral outwards into a scroll pattern with long connecting rods. The outermost palmette unfurls into a demi-palmette on each side. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards. At either end, a flattened, round panel with a ring of beads on the inside and radiating, impressed tongues around the outer edge.

Dimensions: H: 43.2

Bibliography: Sotheby's New York 5.31.1997, cat. 89.

16.5 Athens, Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art 729 (ex-Evtaxias)

Provenance: "Probably from the area of Thebes"

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Petite vase. Overhanging lip with beads and ovules outlined in low relief. A curved neck leads to a sloping shoulder and full, tapering body. Flared foot. Plain, round disks at the ends of three handles.

Dimensions: H: 39.0; D (mouth): 15.7; D (foot): 14.3

Bibliography: Marangou 1985, 162-163; Marangou 1996, 164-165, cat. 259.

16.6 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum P 1836.

Provenance: Kul Oba (?)

Parts Preserved: Complete with lid

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, curved neck; broad, round shoulder curves down to a bulging body. Flared foot in two parts: the upper section decorated with long chased tongues and a disk element with a vertical face and a flat resting surface. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an oval plaque decorated with chased foliate patterns. The grip is fluted. Below, there is a siren with outstretched, up-turned wings. Siren's claws clutch the heart of a small pendant palmette. The space between the palmette and the siren's wings is filled with scroll patterns. The side handles fluted and curve up at the center; a ring of beads. At each end, there is a fluted, convex disk.

Dimensions: H: 44.5

Bibliography: Reinach 1892, 94, pl. 44.7; Fölzer 90, no. 190; Lamb 1929, 183, no. 3; Reinach 1929, 262, fig. 24; Picard 1940, 95; Diehl 1964, 34-35, 37-38, 151, cat. B 139, pl. 14.2.

16.7 Varna, Musuem VI 197

Provenance: Varna, Sez-Sevmes

Parts Preserved: Complete with lid

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, slim neck with shallow concave curve leads down to a sloping shoulder and rounded body. Low, spreading foot with short vertical lines chased on the upper section. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with a convex, oval disk decorated with flutes. The grip is round in cross-section, with a siren with outstretched, up-curving wings (broken at upper left side). Her claws are perched above a

small palmette. The space between the palmette and the siren's wings is filled with an elongated scroll pattern. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve up at the centers. At each end, there is a ring of beads surrounded by flutes.

Bibliography: Skorpil 1930/31, 68f., no. 1, fig. 51; Diehl 1964, 34-35, 37-38, 151, cat. B 142, pl. 15.1,3.

16.8 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7914

Provenance: Thebes

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations)

Description: Surfaces damaged but shape and decoration are recognizable. Narrow mouth and thin overhanging lip above a slim, short neck with a shallow concave curve that leads to a broad, rounded shoulder and bulging body. Compact ogive foot with lotus flowers in low relief on the central section with a shallow cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with a convex, oval appliqué decorated with foliate patterns in low relief. The grip is round in cross-section with a ring of beads at the upper end and a piece of iron or lead wrapped around the lower end. Below, there is a siren with outstretched wings that are turned upwards. Siren's claws clutch the heart of an oval-shaped plaque with a chased palmette. The space between the siren's wings and the palmette is taken up with an elaborate scroll pattern. The side handles are also fluted and curve up in the center, with rings of tiny beads at the ends. At each end, there is a convex disk with lotus flowers in relief between lotus buds inlaid with silver.

Dimensions: H: 40.0; D (max): 39.0

Bibliography: Ridder 1894, no. 30; Fölzer 1906, 89, no. 187; Lamb 1929, 183; Diehl 1964, 34-37, cat. B 148, pl. 15.4.

16.9 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 13789

Provenance: Athens (Kerameikos)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Excellent condition. Broad mouth, overhanging lip with beads above, egg-and-dart in low relief below. Fairly short, curved neck. Rounded shoulder and full body, tapered at the bottom. Compact ogive foot with lotus flowers in low relief on the central section with a shallow cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an oval-shaped plaque with chased foliate patterns. The grip is fluted. Below, there is a siren with outstretched, up-turned wings. Feathers indicated on the chest with small, rounded incision lines. Siren's claws clutch the heart of a small pendant palmette. The space between the palmette and the siren's wings is filled with elaborate scroll patterns. The side handles are also fluted and curve up in the center, with rings of tiny beads at the ends. At each end, a convex disk with lotus flowers in relief between lotus buds inlaid with silver.

Dimensions: H: 37.0

Bibliography: Lamb 1929, 183, no. 5, pl. 71a; Züchner 1942, 194; Diehl 1964, 34-38, 151, cat. B 149.

16.10 Greece, Private Collection (Athens, Goulondris 750)

Provenance: Said to be from Thebes

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, curved neck; broad, rounded shoulder; round body. Low, spreading foot in two parts: upper, cylindrical ring with concentric circles in relief, lower, section with a shallow cyma reversa profile decorated with impressed tongues in relief.

Dimensions: H: 39.0; D (rim): 15.7; D (inside mouth): 10.5; D (foot): 14.3

Bibliography: Marangou 1985, 162-63; Marangou 1996, 27, 164-165.

16.11 Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum 2004.25.1*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules. Upper surface of mouth inscribed: “ΕΚ ΦΟΚΕΟΝ ΑΕΘΛΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΔΙΟΣΚΩΡΩΙΝ.” Fairly short neck with concave curve, slightly sloping shoulder with a strong curve down to a round, sagging body. Undecorated ogive foot in three parts: a cylindrical ring at the top, a central section with a cyma reversa profile, and a lower disk element with a vertical face and a flat resting surface. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with a round disk. Grip is round in cross-section with shallow flutes. At the lower end, a siren with outstretched wings pointing upwards. The siren’s claws are perched on the heart of a chased palmette. The space between the palmette and the siren’s wings is filled with chased scroll patterns. The side handles are fluted and curve up in the center. To either side, there are fluted (?) circular disks.

Bibliography: Gaunt 2005, 16-17, fig. 17.**16.12 Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art 1986.23***Provenance:* Greece (?)*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Thin, overhanging lip decorated with a beads and ovules in relief. Tall neck with concave curve continues seamlessly into a broad shoulder and tapered body. Ogive foot in three parts: angled, cylindrical element on top, a central section with a cyma reversa profile and outlined tongues, and a lower part with a vertical face and a flat resting surface. The vertical handle attaches at the neck with an oval plaque with chased foliate patterns. The grip is fluted. Below, there is a siren with outstretched, up-turned wings. Feathers indicated on the chest with small, rounded incision lines. Siren’s claws clutch the heart of a small pendant palmette. The space between the palmette and the siren’s wings is filled with elaborate scroll patterns. The side handles fluted and curve up at the center; At each end, there is a fluted, convex disk.

Bibliography: *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 1987, 60.**16.13 Kiev, Historical Museum 41-433 (Pischane 1)***Provenance:* Chance find near village of Pischane, Zolotonos’kyi Raion, Cherkas’ka Oblast’ (in peat bog)*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and curved ovules in relief. Short, slender, curved neck; broad, round shoulder curves down to a full body. Ogive foot with impressed tongues in the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with a fluted round plaque. The slim grip is shallowly fluted on the front side. At the bottom, there is a siren with outstretched wings turned upward. Her hair is rolled into a short coiffure with individual strands articulated in chasing. The neck is indistinguishable from the round panel that attaches the handle to the shoulder of the vase. The siren’s narrow, modeled chest is covered with rounded, chased feathers. The wings, which curve forwards at the top to give greater three-dimensionality, are divided into two sections, vertically, each of which is constructed of long, narrow feathers. Her claws clutch the heart of a pendant palmette with many narrow, rounded leaves. The volutes of the palmette uncoil into an intricate pattern of heavy scrolls with prominent eyes. Small palmettes and demi-palmettes bloom out from the coils of the volutes at the top and bottom on the outer side. The side handles are fluted and curve up at the center. At each end, there is a round disk with flutes and a ring of beads around the center.

Dimensions: H: 44; D: 32*Bibliography:* Bothmer 1965, 604 (?); Hanina 1970, 84-85, figs. 42-44, pls. 1,10; Hanina 1974, fig. 20; Fuchs 1978, 113-115, pls. 19.4, 20.1; New York *Scythians* 1975, 125, no. 167; Schleswig *Gold* 1991, 311, no. 103a; Tokyo *Scythian Gold* (1992), 121, no. 126; Vienna *Gold* 1993, 222-24, no. 64; Reeder 1999, 193-194, cat. 82.

16.14 London, British Museum 1927.7.13-1

Provenance: Rhodes

Parts Preserved: Complete except missing foot

Description: Thin, overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Curved neck; broad, fairly flat shoulder; rounded body. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an oval, convex disk decorated with flutes. The grip is round in cross-section with shallow flutes. Below, there is a siren with wings outstretched and pointed upwards. Feathers indicated on the siren's chest with short, rounded incision marks. Siren's claws perch on the heart of a small pendant palmette with rounded leaves. The space between the palmette and the siren's wings is filled with an elaborate scroll pattern. The side handles are fluted and curve up at the center; a ring of beads. At each end, there is a fluted, convex disk.

Dimensions: H: 38.0

Bibliography: Lamb 1929, 164, pl. 58; Diehl 1964, 34-38, cat. B 146, pl. 15.2.

16.15 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum

Provenance: Kertsch

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, curved neck; broad, round shoulder curving down to a bulging body; Compact ogive foot in three parts: an upper cylindrical section, a central part with a cyma reversa profile, decorated with tongues, and a lower, disk element with a vertical face and a flat resting surface. The vertical handle attaches at the top with an oval plaque decorated with chased foliate patterns. Grip is fluted. Below, there is a siren with outstretched, up-turned wings at the lower end. Siren's claws clutch the heart of a small pendant palmette. Space between the palmette and the siren's wings filled with scroll patterns. The side handles are fluted and curve up at the center; a ring of beads. At each end there is a fluted, convex disk.

Dimensions: H: 34.6

Bibliography: *Treasures of the Hermitage* 2004,

16.16 Thasos, Archaeological Museum P 6764

Provenance: Thasos (grave)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Small-scale kalpis. The overhanging lip is decorated with beads and ovules in relief. Short neck, broad shoulder, and round body. Compact ogive foot in three parts: an upper cylindrical section with small beads, a central zone with a cyma reversa profile, decorated with tongues, and a lower disk element with a vertical face and a flat resting surface. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with a convex, oval-shaped disk decorated with flutes. The grip is fluted with a siren at the lower end. The siren's wings are outstretched and pointed upwards. Her claws are perched on the heart of a pendant palmette with rounded leaves. The space between the palmette and the siren's wings is taken up with a scroll pattern.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

16.17 United States, Private Collection

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Slender neck with slight concave curve; shoulder fairly flat on top, curving down to a round body with a gradual taper at the bottom. Ogive foot in three parts: a cylindrical upper section, a central zone with a cyma reversa profile, decorated with broad, veined leaves in relief, and a lower disk element with a flat resting surface. The vertical handle attaches at the neck with a convex, oval-shaped appliqué with a ring of beads around the center, surrounded by foliate patterns in relief. Grip is fluted and has a siren without stretched, up-curving wings at the lower end. Feathers are indicated on the cheat and wings with fine incision lines. The siren's claws are perched on the heart of a

palmette with long, pointed leaves. The space between the palmette and the siren's wings is filled with a heavy scroll pattern. The side handles are fluted and curve up at the center. At each end, a convex, circular disk with a ring of beads around the center, surrounded by foliate patterns in relief, similar to the top of the vertical handle.

Dimensions: H: 37.8; D (rim): 12.5; D (foot): 12.5; H (siren): 7.7

Bibliography: Padgett 2003, 301-302, cat. 80.

16.18 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum 5223

Provenance: Chalkidike, near Porto Koufo, ancient Torone (nekropolis)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Narrow mouth, overhanging lip with beads and ovules. The shoulder slopes down to a round, sagging body. Compact ogive foot in three parts: an upper cylindrical section with small beads, a central zone with a cyma reversa profile, decorated with tongues, and a lower disk element with a vertical face and a flat resting surface. The vertical handle attaches at the neck with a convex disk with a ring of beads at the center and flutes radiating around the edges. The grip is fluted, with a siren at the lower end. The siren's wings are outstretched and point upwards. Her hair is rolled at the forehead into a short coiffure. Claws perch above an acanthus leaf. Between the acanthus leaf and the siren's wings is an elaborate scroll pattern. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. Attached at the ends with circular, convex disks with a ring of beads at the center and flutes radiating around the outer edges.

Dimensions: H: 51.0

Bibliography: Daux 1961, 812, 814f., figs. 3-5; Diehl 1964, 33-36, 38, cat. B 149a; *Treasures of Ancient Macedonia*, cat. 338, pl. 48; Koulemani-Vokotopoulou 1987, 164-66, pls. 24-25; Pfrommer 1993, 18, n. 153-154.

16.19 Woronesh (Voronezh), Gebietmuseum für Heimatkunde

Provenance: Mastjugino/ Woronesh (Tumulus 19, Burial 21)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and long, narrow, curved ovules outlined in low relief. Short, subtly curved neck. Wide, fairly flat shoulder and broad body tapers at the lower end to an ogive foot. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an oval plaque articulated with a chased demi-palmette to either side of the handle terminus. Acutely bent grip is wider than usual and is shallowly fluted on the front side. At the bottom, the rounded panel that attaches the handle to the shoulder is decorated with a chased pattern of long, curved lines and volutes at the ends. In front, a siren with outstretched wings turned upwards. Her hair is rolled into a short, closely cropped coiffure. Her face is small with modeled features. The chest is smooth and broad, resulting in wings that are broader than normal. The wings are divided into two sections, the outermost of which is articulated with closely-spaced, narrow feathers. The siren perches on a large round ball above six round circles with open centers. The volutes spiral outwards into a scroll pattern with long connecting rods. The outermost palmette unfurls into a demi-palmette on each side. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards. At either end, there is a flattened, round panel with a ring of beads on the inside and radiating, impressed tongues around the outer edge.

Dimensions: H: 43.2

Bibliography: Hanina 1960, fig. 45; *Historische Schätze aus der Sowjetunion* 1967, 84, cat. 187, pl. 37; Mantsevich 1973, 23, fig. 4.2.

16.20 Göteborg, Rohsska Konstslojdmuseet RKM 59-61

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: The broad mouth ends with an overhanging lip decorated with beads above, egg-and-dart in relief below. Fairly short neck with concave curve. Rounded shoulder and round body, tapering at the bottom to a spreading, ogive foot with an impressed tongue pattern. The vertical handle is attached at the neck with an oval appliqué decorated with chased foliate patterns. Grip is fluted. Below, there is a siren with wings that are outstretched and turned upwards. Feathers are indicated on the chest with small, rounded incision lines. The siren's claws clutch the heart of a small pendant palmette. The space between the palmette and the siren's wings is filled with elaborate scroll patterns. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards, with a ring of beads at the highest point. At each end, there is a fluted, convex disk.

Dimensions: H: 45.5

Bibliography: Münzen und Medaillen May 1961, no. 58, pl. 17; *Rohsska Konstslojdmuseet* 1962, 12; Diehl 1964, 34-35, 37-38, cat. B 140.

16.21 Cambridge, Harvard University Art Museum 1949.89

Provenance: Acquired in Rhodes, Said to be from Chalke

Parts Preserved: Complete with lid

Description: Mouth covered with a convex lid with ring handle. Thin, overhanging lip decorated with a beads and ovules in relief. Narrow, almost straight neck curves seamlessly into a broad shoulder and tapered body. Ogive foot in three parts: angled, cylindrical element on top, a central section with a cyma reversa profile and outlined tongues, and a lower part with a vertical face and a flat resting surface. The vertical handle attaches at the top with an oval plaque decorated with chased foliate patterns. Grip is fluted. At the bottom there is a siren with outstretched, up-turned wings. Feathers indicated on the chest with small, rounded incision lines. Siren's claws clutch the heart of a small pendant palmette. Space between the palmette and the siren's wings filled with elaborate scroll patterns. The side handles are fluted and curve up at the center. At either end, there is a fluted, convex disk.

Dimensions: H: 51.5

Bibliography: *Christie's New York* July 1912, 92, no. 367; *Christie's New York*, July 1936, 41, no. 126; *Joseph Brummer Art Collection Sale*, May 1949, 45, no. 185; Diehl 1964, 34-38, cat. B 147; Bothmer 1965, 603; Fogg 1967, 108f., cat. 108; Hill 1976, cat. 18; Pfrommer 1993, 18, n. 155.

16.22 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 2007)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules outlined in relief. Slender neck. Sloped shoulder curves to a fairly straight body that tapers at the lower end to an ogive foot in three parts with impressed tongues on the central zone with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with a round disk decorated with slender, radiating petals with rounded edges. Grip is fluted with many narrow ridges. Below, there is a siren with outstretched wings that are turned upwards. Her hair is rolled around a fillet at the crown of her head and two long tresses hang down over her shoulders on each side. Feathers are indicated with horizontal lines on the wings; the chest is left bare. She perches on a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves. In between the lower palmette and her wings, a fairly heavy scroll pattern (now broken) and a single demi-palmette to either side. The side handles are fluted and curve up at the center. Attaches on both sides with circular disks decorated with slender, radiating petals with rounded tips.

Dimensions: 43.8

Bibliography: *Hotel Druot, Paris*, 3.16.1973, cat. 15; *Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel* 1974; *Sotheby's New York*, 12.5.2007, 130, cat. 89.

16.23 United States, Private Collection (New York)*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* Petite in scale. The overhanging lip is decorated with beads and outlined ovules. The neck is slender and curved. Sloping shoulder curves down to a round body that tapers gradually to an ogive foot decorated with a ring of tiny beads and a row of rectangular tongues in low relief. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with a rounded disk divided with incision lines into radiating petals with rounded tips. Grip is slender and round in cross-section. Below, there is a siren with outstretched, up-turned wings; rows of feathers outlined with incision towards the outer edge. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center, attached. At each end with a disk divided with incision lines into radiating petals with pointed tips.*Dimensions:* 25.0*Bibliography:* Unpublished.**16.24 United States, Private Collection (New York)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle, Horizontal handles*Description:* Vertical handle attaches at the neck with a circular convex plaque decorated with a ring of tiny beads around the center and a kymation pattern in low relief around the outer edges. Grip is shallowly fluted on the front side. At the bottom, there is a winged siren with long wings outstretched and turned upwards. Her wavy hair is rolled at the top and curling tresses hang down over the shoulders. The facial features are delicately modeled and nicely proportioned. Her chest is covered with rounded feathers individually modeled in low relief. The wings curve not only up, but slightly in at the top, which gives the siren exceptional three-dimensionality. Below the siren's feet and supporting the wings is an intricate pattern of openwork volutes and floral motifs.*Dimensions:* H (vh): 20.3; L (hh): 11.4*Bibliography:* Ward 1989, cat. 10.**16.25 United States, Private Collection (New York, White-Levy)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Upper body (rim and neck), Vertical handle*Description:* Overhanging lip with curved ovules outlined in low relief. The neck is slender and curved. The vertical handle attaches at the top with an oval panel articulated with a stylized foliate pattern in low relief. The grip is shallowly fluted. At the bottom, there is a winged siren with outstretched wings, turned upwards. The face of this siren is beautifully rendered with modeled brow, nose, cheeks, and mouth, and small, almond-shaped eyes. Her expression is calm and attentive. Her hair is parted in the center and pulled back so that only a delicate, wavy strand on each side hangs down over the shoulder. A thickened band around the neck serves to mark the transition from female neck to bird body. Her chest is covered in chased feathers. Her wings are constructed of long, narrow feathers within a prescribed curve. Her claws grip the large heart of a pendant palmette with eleven narrow, rounded leaves. Three pairs of delicate scrolls emerge from the volutes, the outermost of which flare outwards, forming a pattern that recalls the head and beak of a swan in profile.*Dimensions:* H (vh): 18; D (mouth): 15.6*Bibliography:* Bothmer 1990, 108, cat. 89; Buitron and Cohen 1992, 119, 130, cat. 41.

16.26 Paris, Louvre 2674-75*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Mouth and neck fragments, Vertical handle, Horizontal handle, Foot*Description:* Overhanging lip with beads and ovules. Compact ogive foot decorated with broad, veined leaves with small pendant palmettes between. Illegible graffiti inscribed on inner surface of foot. The vertical handle attaches at the neck with a convex, oval-shaped disk with foliate patterns in relief. The grip is fluted with a siren at the lower end. The siren's wings are outstretched and pointed upwards. Her claws are perched on the heart of a very small palmette. The space between the palmette and the siren's wings is filled with a delicate openwork scroll pattern. The side handles are fluted and curve up in the center. At each end, there is a ring of beads above a convex disk with foliate patterns in relief.*Dimensions:* H (vh): 19.0; L (hh): 10.0; D (mouth): 15.0-16.0*Bibliography:* Ridder 1915, 109, pl. 97; Weicker 1902, 132, no. 9; Züchner 1942, 194; Diehl 1964, 33-36, 38-39, cat. B 150, pl. 16.1-3; Koulemani-Vokotopoulou 1987, 166, 169, pl. 26.**16.27 Hartford, The Wadsworth Athenaeum 1917.825***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle*Description:* Attaches at the upper end with an oval appliqué with foliate patterns in relief. Grip is fluted. Below, there is a siren with outstretched wings that point upwards. Behind the siren, a thin sheet of bronze decorated with a chased pendant palmette below and scrollwork to the sides.*Bibliography:* Smith 1913, 27, no. 66, pl. 41; *Bulletin of the Wadsworth Athenaeum* 1924, 6; Züchner 1942, 176; Diehl 1964, 34, 37-38, cat. B 168, pl. 20; Bothmer 1965, 603; Pfrommer 1987, 261 KBk 109; Pfrommer 1993, 18 n. 159.**16.28 Once London Market (Sotheby's 1981)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot*Description:* Vertical handle attaches at the upper end with a convex disk decorated with radiating flutes and a ring of small beads around the center. Grip is shallowly fluted on the front side. At the lower end, there is a siren with wings outstretched. Her hair is rolled around a fillet; two long, wavy tresses hang down over her shoulders. Chest and legs left smooth. Wings are articulated with two tiers of wings. Perched on the heart of a (now-missing) palmette. Elaborate scroll pattern underneath wings (carved in relief on a solid background, not open-work, as usual). The side handles are shallowly fluted and curve up in the center. To either side, a round, convex disk with a ring of beads at the center and decorated with radiating flutes. Heavy ogive foot in three parts; central section with cyma reversa profile decorated with impressed tongues.*Dimensions:* H (vh): 19 W (hh): 11.7, 12.4; D (foot): 14*Bibliography:* *Sotheby's London* 5.18.1981, 71, cat. 338.**16.29 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum TKH***Provenance:* Nymphaea (nekropolis)*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot*Description:* Fluted grip. Below, there is a siren with wings that are outstretched and turned upwards. Siren's claws clutch the heart of a small pendant palmette. Space between the palmette and the siren's wings filled with scroll patterns. Instead of the more normal semi-circular shaped extension of the lower attachment behind the vertical handle to attach the vase around the curve of the shoulder, on this handle the wings wrap around and attach to the lower part of the handle, behind the head of the siren.*Bibliography:* *CRPetersburg* 1877, 21; Silant'eva 1959, 78f, 81; Diehl 1964, 34-36, 38, 82, cat. B 143.

16.30 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum GK/N 69

Provenance: Gut Elthege (south of Kertsch)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles

Description: Attaches at the upper end with a convex, oval disk decorated with flutes and a ring of small beads around the center. The grip is fluted. Below, there is a siren with wings that are outstretched and turned upwards. The siren's claws perch on the heart of a small palmette. The space between the palmette and the siren's wing is filled with an elaborate scroll pattern.

Bibliography: *CRPetersburg* 1877, 221, pl. 3.4; *CRPetersburg* 1976, no. 1; Furtwängler 1887, pl. 145; Waldhauer 1929, 262, fig. 25; Diehl 1964, 34-35, 38, 82, cat. B 144.

16.31 Ioannina, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Botonosi

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot

Description: Vertical handle attaches at the upper end with a circular disk. Grip is round in cross-section with a siren at the lower end. The siren's wings are outstretched and turned upwards; individual wings indicated with long, simple up-curved lines. The siren's claws perch on the heart of a small palmette. Simple scroll patterns fill the space between the palmette and the siren's wings. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center. Ogive foot in three parts, undecorated.

Dimensions: D (foot): 12.0-13.0

Bibliography: Verdellis 1949, 23 VIII, figs. 9, 10c, 11b; Petsa 1952, no. 8, figs. 16-17; Diehl 1964, 34, 37, cat. B 159; Vokotopoulou 1975, 745-46, no. 5, fig. 10.

16.32 Once Private Collection (ex-Trau)

Provenance: Rutigliano (near Lecce)

Parts Preserved: Body fragments, Vertical handle (?)

Description: Fluted vertical handle with a siren at the lower end, wings outstretched, perched on a narrow pendant palmette. The space between the siren's wings and the palmette is filled with a scroll pattern.

Bibliography: Weicker 1902, 131, fig. 56; Fölzer 1906, 90, no. 189; Diehl 1964, 34, 37, 39, cat. B 162.

16.33 Once London Market (Bonhams 2004) (ex-German Private Collection)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with small beads and long, narrow, curved ovules outlined in low relief. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads seamlessly to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lower end to an ogive foot in three parts decorated with a band of impressed tongues in the central section with a cyma reversa profile. Vertical handle attaches at the neck with a round disk articulated with radiating impressed tongues and a ring of beads around the center. Grip is round in cross-section and shallowly fluted on the front side. At the bottom, the handle attaches to the shoulder with a rounded panel with radiating tongues and a ring of beads around the center, as above. Below, a winged siren with outstretched wings pointed upwards. Her hair is rolled at the top and hangs down in the back; individual strands are indicated with thickly chased lines. Her chest is smooth and broader than usual, which causes the wingspan to be particularly wide. The wings are divided into two sections vertically, each of which is constructed of short, closely spaced feathers. The siren's feet perch above a fairly large palmette with eleven long, rounded leaves. The coiled volutes of the palmette extend diagonally upwards and fork into two spirals at the top to support the wings. Demi-palmettes bloom from the lower spirals. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Round, convex disks with radiating flutes attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 40.6

Bibliography: *Bonhams* 4.29.2004, 32-33, cat. 57.

16.34 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3858b

Provenance: Thebes

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Attaches at the upper end with an oval disk decorated with radiating flutes. Grip is long and fluted. Below, there is a siren with wings that are outstretched and pointed upwards. The siren's claws are perched on the heart of a pendant palmette (lowest extremities broken). The space between the palmette and the siren's wings is filled with an elaborate scroll pattern.

Dimensions: H: 21.5

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 34, 38, cat. B 153, pl. 16.4.

16.35 Once New York Market (Ward)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Attaches at the upper end with a convex appliqué decorated with a ring of beads at the center and foliate patterns in low relief around the outer edge. Grip is round in cross-section with shallow flutes. At the lower end, there is a siren with outstretched wings pointed upwards. Feathers on the chest and wings are indicated with fine incision lines. Her hair is pulled back on either side of her head with two long tresses trailing down onto her shoulders. The siren's claws are perched on an acorn-shaped projection with short pointed leaves behind. The space between the siren's feet and wings is taken up with a delicate open-work scroll pattern.

Bibliography: *Münzen und Medaillen* May 1961, no. 59, pl. 17; Diehl 1964, 34, 37, cat. B 161; Bothmer 1965, 603; *Christie's New York*, 6.1965, no. 452, pl. 51.

16.36 United States Private Collection (Smith)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Fluted vertical grip with a siren below. The siren's wings are outstretched, pointing upwards; claws are perched on the heart of a pendant palmette. The palmette and the siren's wings are connected with a simple scroll pattern.

Bibliography: *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* 1904, D 107, pl. 68; *Cat. Vente Hotel Drouot*, June 1959, no. 196, pl. 7; Diehl 1964, 34, 37-38, cat. B 160; Bothmer 1965, 603.

17.37 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3858a

Provenance: Thebes

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Attaches at the upper end with an oval disk decorated with radiating flutes. Grip is long and fluted. Below, there is a siren with wings that are outstretched and pointed upwards. The siren's claws are perched on the heart of a pendant palmette (lowest extremities broken). The space between the palmette and the siren's wings is filled with an elaborate scroll pattern.

Dimensions: H: 21.0

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 34-36, 38, cat. B 152, pl. 16.4.

16.38 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1899.467

Provenance: Purchased in Athens, Said to be from Elis

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Attaches at the upper end with a convex, oval appliqué decorated with foliate patterns in low relief. Grip is fluted. Below, there is a siren with wings that are outstretched and turned upwards. The siren's claws perch on the heart of a small, pendant palmette. The space between the palmette and the siren's wing is filled with an elaborate scroll pattern.

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 34-36, 38, cat. B 151, pl. 16.2; Comstock and Vermeule 1971, 293, cat. 419.

16.39 Once Private Collection (ex-Krupp)

Provenance: Uncertain (ex-Krupp)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Attaches at the upper end with a convex, oval disk decorated with radiating flutes. Grip is fluted. Below, there is a siren with wings that are outstretched and turned upwards. Fragments of a scroll pattern are preserved beneath the wings.

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 34, 36, 38, cat. B 155, pl. 17.1.

16.40 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 4020

Provenance: Uncertain (ex-Lipperheide)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Attaches at the upper end with circular disk decorated with radiating flutes. Grip is fluted. At the lower end, there is a siren with outstretched wings pointed upwards. Broken below siren's torso, but some fragments of a scroll pattern beneath the wings are preserved.

Dimensions: H: 19.0

Bibliography: *Auktion Helbing*, Munich 1910, no. 47, pl. 4; Sieveking 1929, 14f., no. 26; Diehl 1964, 34-36, cat. B 145.

16.41 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 09.221.12

Provenance: Thebes

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Attaches at the top with a convex, oval disk with radiating flutes. Grip is round in cross-section with a siren at the lower end. The siren's wings are outstretched and pointed upwards. Her claws are perched on the heart of a small pendant palmette with pointed leaves. The space between the palmette and the siren's wings is filled with an elaborate scroll pattern.

Dimensions: H: 21.2

Bibliography: Richter 1910, 97-98, fig. 5; Reinach 1910, 446, no. 2; Richter 1915, 52, no. 80; Richter 1917, 94; Richter 1927, 107; Lamb 1929, 164; Waldhauer 1929, col. 264, no. 4; Richter 1959, 83, pl. 63; Bothmer 1954/55, 197; Diehl 1964, 34-35, 38, cat. B 141; Pfrommer 1993, 18, fig. 14.

16.42 Once London Market (Sotheby's 1988)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Attaches at the top with a round panel with radiating flutes. Grip is round in cross-section with shallow flutes on the front side. At the lower end, a siren with outstretched wings pointed upwards. Her hair is rolled into a short coiffure. The siren's chest is broad and left smooth. Wings are constructed of six long, narrow wings with pointed tips. Her claws are perched on the heart of a small pendant palmette with pointed leaves. The space between the palmette and the siren's wings is filled with an elaborate scroll pattern. A small palmette blooms from the space between the uppermost volute and the lower edge of the wing.

Dimensions: H: 19

Bibliography: *Sotheby's London* 7.11.1988, cat. 159.

16.43 Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire A 3593

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot

Description: Vertical handle attaches at the upper end with a convex, oval appliqué decorated with radiating flutes. Grip is fluted. Below, there is a siren with outstretched, up-turned wings. The siren's claws perch on the heart of a small palmette. The space between the palmette and the siren's wing is filled with an elaborate scroll pattern. The side handles fluted and curve up at the center. A ring of beads appears at the highest point. At each end there is a fluted, convex

disk. The foot takes an ogive profile with a ring of small beads above a pattern of impressed tongues in the central section.

Dimensions: H: 15.0; D (foot): 15.0

Bibliography: *Münzen und Medaillen* Nov. 1958, no. 26, pl. 8; Diehl 1964, 34, 38, cat. B 138.

16.44 Cluj, Historical Museum

Provenance: Bach Borsa, near Bene (Tiszabene)

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations) except upper part of vertical handle and foot

Description: The overhanging lip is left plain. The neck is long and curved. In its present state, the shoulder is relatively flat on top with a strong curve to a gradually tapering body. At the lower end of the now-missing vertical handle, a siren with outstretched wings pointing upwards. The claws perch on the heart of a pendant palmette with pointed leaves. The space between the palmette and the siren's wings is filled with a single volute with a long, curved tail. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. At the midpoint, a vertical ring of beads. At each end, a palmette with rounded leaves.

Dimensions: H: 42.0

Bibliography: Neugebauer 1923, 376f., fig. 14; *Strena Buliciana* 1924, 107, fig. 1; Richter 1939, 192; Diehl 1964, 25-28, 30, 47, cat. B 88.

16.45 Once Private Collection (Ex-Fejerwary)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Broken at top. The vertical grip has a column of beads running up each side and at center. At the lower end, a siren with outstretched wings pointing upwards. Her claws are perched on the heart of a pendant palmette. The space between the palmette and the siren's wings is filled with a scroll pattern.

Bibliography: *Monumenti V*, pl. 52; *Annali* 1853, 124; Weicker 1902, 132, figs. 57, 57a.

16.46 Once New York Market (Christie's 1965)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Fluted vertical grip with a siren below. The siren's wings are outstretched, pointing upwards; claws are perched on the heart of a pendant palmette. The palmette and the siren's wings are connected with a simple scroll pattern.

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 34, 37, cat. B 164, pl. 18.5; Bothmer 1965, 603; *Christie's New York* 1965.

16.47 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3857

Provenance: Ioannina

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Lower part of a vertical handle with a siren at the bottom. The siren's wings, indicated with long chased lines, are outstretched and pointed slightly upwards. The siren's body is compact and small; its claws perch on the heart of a pendant palmette (lowest extremities broken). The palmette and the siren's wings are linked by a single extended scroll on either side.

Dimensions: H: 10.5

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 34, 37, cat. B 163, pl. 18.4; Bothmer 1965, 603.

16.48 Paris, Louvre 2673*Provenance:* Lake Kopaïs*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules. The slender neck has a slight concave curve. Sloping shoulder curves down to a round body that sags towards the bottom. The foot takes an ogive profile and is decorated with broad, veined petals in low relief. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with a convex, oval plaque decorated with radiating flutes. Grip is fluted. Below, there is a siren with thin wings that are outstretched and turn upwards. Her claws perch on the heart of an elongated pendant palmette. The space between the palmette and the siren's wings is filled with an elaborate scroll pattern. At the upper end, a convex, oval-shaped disk decorated with flutes. The side handles are also fluted and curve up in the center, attaching to the body. At each end, there is a fluted, convex disk.

Dimensions: H: 40.0; D (max): 30.0

Bibliography: Weicker 1902, 132, no. 10; Ridder 1915, 109, pl. 97; Fölzer 1906, 90, no. 188, pl. 9; Neugebauer 1923, 431; Lamb 1929, 183, no. 2; Diehl 1964, 34, 36-38, cat. B 154, pl. 17.3,4.

16.49 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3642*Provenance:* Southern Italy*Parts Preserved:* Complete (with restorations, especially in lower half of body)

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules. Short, almost straight neck moves seamlessly into a sloping shoulder and tapered body and spreading, flared foot. The vertical handle attaches at the neck with an convex, oval appliqué decorated with radiating flutes. Grip is round in cross-section. Below, there is a siren with wings that are outstretched and turned upwards. Siren's claws are perched on the heart of a pendant palmette with rounded leaves. Between the palmette and the siren's wings is a simple scroll. The side handles are round in section and curve up in the center, attached on either end with a convex, fluted disk.

Dimensions: H: 42.5

Bibliography: AA 1910, 51, no. 8, fig. 5; *MuJb* 1909, 74f., no. 2, fig. 3; Lamb 1929, 164, cat. nos. 2 and 183; Diehl 1964, 34, 37-38, cat. B 137, pl. 14.1,3.

16.50 Once London Market (Christie's 1995)*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle

Description: Attaches at the upper end with an oval appliqué decorated with chased demi-palmettes to either side of the handle terminus. Closely spaced, shallow flutes across the front surface of the grip. At the bottom, attaches to the shoulder of the vase with a rounded panel articulated with chased demi palmettes to either side of the handle terminus. In front, a siren in high relief with wings outstretched and pointed upwards. Her hair is treated cursorily, rolled into a short coiffure. The long, narrow chest is left smooth but with modeled breasts. Her wings are divided vertically into three sections, each with narrow, chased wings. The siren's feet perch on the enlarged heart of a large palmette with nine leaves with rounded ends, except the middle leaf, which is pointed. The large volutes of the palmette unfurl into a second set of volutes that flare out at the end to resemble a swan's head in profile.

Dimensions: H: 24

Bibliography: *Bonhams* 12.12.1995, 43, cat. 245.

16.51 Greece, Private Collection (Athens)*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Bibliography:* Unpublished

16.52 Arta, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Ambracia (Koutsoumyta)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Body damaged. The vertical handle is round in cross-section. Below, there is a siren with wings that are outstretched and pointed upwards. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the centers. They join the wall of the vase with circular disks on both sides.

Bibliography: Orlandos 1957, 51, fig. 53; Diehl 1964, 34, 152, cat. B 172; Tzouvara-Souli 1992, 92-98, fig. 38.

16.53 Once Art Market

Provenance: Uncertain (but said to have been found with a plain kalpis inscribed as prize from games at Tanagra)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging, concave lip with beads and ovules outlined with double relief lines. Short, subtly curved neck forms continuous with shoulder that is fairly flat on top before curving down to round, full, body that tapers only at the very lowest point. Ogive foot in three parts; central section with cyma reversa profile is given a pattern of impressed tongues. The vertical handle attaches at the neck with a finely carved plaque in the shape of a palmette with individually sculpted, concave leaves with rounded edges and volutes. Grip is short and acutely bent. At the lower end, an elongated panel fits around the shoulder of the vase. On the front side, a siren with outstretched wings pointing upwards. The chest is smooth. Wings are articulated with two tiers of short, sculpted features in low relief. The siren perches on the heart of a pendant palmette with volutes that extend outwards into scrolls and hanging demi-palmettes in the intermediate space between the palmette and the wings. The side handles are fluted on the front side and curve up in the center. At both ends, a ring of tiny beads form the center of round, convex disks decorated with radiating flutes or petals.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

16.54 Once Jerusalem Market (Sasson Ancient Art)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot

Description: Vertical handle attaches at the upper end with a convex disk decorated with radiating flutes and a ring of small beads around the center. Grip is shallowly fluted on the front side. At the lower end, there is a siren with wings outstretched. Her hair is rolled around a fillet; two long, wavy tresses hang down over her shoulders. Chest and legs left smooth. Wings are articulated with two tiers of wings. Perched on the heart of a (now-missing) palmette. Elaborate scroll pattern underneath wings (carved in relief on a solid background, not open-work, as usual). Side handles are shallowly fluted and curve up in the center. To either side, a round, convex disk with a ring of beads at the center and decorated with radiating flutes. Heavy ogive foot in three parts; central section with cyma reversa profile decorated with impressed tongues.

Dimensions: H (vh): 19.5 W (hh): 12.3, 12.4; D (foot): 14.5

Bibliography: <http://www.sassonancientart.com/Classica/Classica.html>

16.55 Once Philadelphia Market (1963)

Provenance: Mylasa

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 602.

16.56 United States, Private Collection (California)*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Inscribed in punched letters on upper surface of mouth: "ΑΘΛΑ ΑΠΟ ΣΟΥΝΙΟ." The overhanging lip has small, uneven beads that range from square to rectangular, above long, curved ovules outlined in low relief with small darts inserted between each 'egg.' Short, curved neck, broad, rounded shoulder, wide body tapers only at lowest point. Ogive foot with impressed tongues in the central zone and a small, triangular dart chased between each flute at the bottom. The vertical handle seems disproportionately short and petite for the size of the vase. At top, round panel with radiating flutes. Grip is shallowly fluted but rounded channels end above the terminal at the shoulder. Below, a winged siren with wings up. Broken at bottom so that palmette is missing but remnants of scrolls around the sides remain. Inner scrolls flare outwards at the end, resembling a swan's head. The side handles are curved and fluted on the front side. At the ends, convex, circular disks secure the grip to the body of the vase. Each is articulated with a ring of beads around the ends of the grip in the center and radiating impressed flutes or tongues around the perimeter.

Dimensions: H: c. 40.0*Bibliography:* Unpublished (?).**16.57 United States, Private Collection***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle

Description: Grip is round in cross-section with shallow flutes. At the lower end, a siren with outstretched wings pointing upwards. Her claws are perched on the heart of a diminutive pendant palmette. The space between the palmette and the siren's wings is filled with an openwork scroll pattern.

Dimensions: H: 17.5*Bibliography:* True and Kozloff 1994, 68-70, cat. 24.**16.58 Once New York Market (Christie's 2008)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Inscribed on the upper surface of mouth: "ΕΚΛΕΓΟΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΕΘΛΑ: ΑΙ ῥ The profile consists of an overhanging lip decorated with beads and tongues, a slender, curved neck, rounded shoulder and tapering body. At the bottom, there is a siren with wings pointed upwards, perched on a pendant palmette framed by scrollwork.

Bibliography: Christie's New York 12.2008.**16.59 Bryn Mawr, Ella Riegel Memorial Museum M 28***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle

Description: At the top, a round disk with radiating flutes in low relief. Grip is shallowly fluted on the front side. At the bottom, there is a winged siren. She has a short, rolled hairstyle with a fillet across the top of her head. She wears a beaded necklace. Below, a pattern of scrolls and demi-palmettes is partially preserved. Broken at base of siren's torso.

Dimensions: H: 18.0*Bibliography:* Bothmer 1965, 602; Mitten and Doeringer 1967, 107, cat. 107.

16.59a Heidelberg, Universitätsammlung 66/7*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle

Description: The vertical handle attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain oval disk. Grip is round in cross-section and shallowly fluted on the front side. Below, a relatively small siren with wings outstretched and turned upwards. Her hair is rolled into a short coiffure. Her chest is broad and left smooth. The wings are divided vertically into two sections; the innermost is unarticulated but the outer section is divided into a series of long, narrow, closely spaced feathers. Her claws rest on the heart of an abstracted palmette. To the sides, a coiled volute unfurls into a pair of spirals, one curled inwards at the lower edge of the siren's wing and one rolled outwards at the widest point of the wings. A demi-palmette blooms from the uppermost coil.

Dimensions: H: 15.8*Bibliography:* Hampe 1971, 84-86, cat. 117.*HORIZONTAL WINGS***16.60 Once London Market (Bonhams 1998)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Thin, overhanging lip with beads and wide ovules outlined with chasing. Short, slender, curved neck, broad shoulder and wide body that tapers at the lower end to a narrow ogive foot with impressed tongues in the elongated central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle attaches at the neck with an oval panel articulated with chased demi-palmettes to either side of the handle terminus. Short, curved grip is shallowly fluted on the front side. At the bottom, a siren in moderately high relief. Her head is attached to the lower end of the handle but the front side is given a short, rolled coiffure. Facial features indicated with heavy chasing. Broad, smooth chest with wide, flat wings stretched horizontally. The wings are divided into two sections vertically, each constructed of tiers of narrow, horizontal feathers indicated with irregularly chased lines. Below the siren, a flattened pendant palmette with nine long, rounded leaves. The volutes of the palmette unfurl into a second spiral. Between the two coils, there are demi-palmettes. The palmette and scrolls are rendered in low relief on a flat panel with no open-work.

Dimensions: H: 43*Bibliography:* Bonhams 9.22.1998, 116, cat. 416.**16.61 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 111***Provenance:* Eretria (ex-Radovitz)*Parts Preserved:* Complete (with restorations)

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and egg-and-dart pattern in relief. Short, concave neck, broad shoulder. Body tapers gradually to an angled, flared foot (surface damaged). Vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an oval-shaped appliqué decorated with chased foliate patterns. Grip is short and acutely curved because of the limited vertical distance between the neck and shoulder. It is round in cross-section with shallow flutes on the front side. At the lower end, a siren outstretched wings pointing straight out, horizontally. Claws clutch the heart of a pendant palmette with ten rounded leaves (some damage in lower section) and two sets of volutes (rivets visible in centers).

Side handles are round in cross-section and fluted, curving upwards at the center. At each end, a convex disk with radiating flutes.

Dimensions: H: 44.0*Bibliography:* Furtwängler 1887, pl. 149; Fölzer 1906, 89, no. 185; Weicker 1902, 132, no. 4; Joubin 1898, no. 156; Diehl 1964, 34, 36-37, cat. B 156, pl. 17.2.

16.62 Once New York Market (Ariadne 2008)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Thick, overhanging lip with beads and curved ovules outlined with chasing. Curved neck, sloping shoulder, and round body that tapers at the bottom to an ogive foot with impressed tongues in the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The handle attaches at the upper end with a round disk decorated with radiating, impressed tongues and a ring of tiny beads around the center. The acutely bent handle is shallowly fluted on the front side. At the bottom, the handle is attached to the vase with a round disk decorated with tongues. On the front side, a siren with wings outstretched to the side. The siren's hair is rolled into a short coiffure. Individual strands of hair are not indicated. The narrow chest is covered with small, chased, rounded feathers. The wingspan is wide; each wing is divided into two sections, horizontally, and is constructed of rows of short, narrow, oblique feathers with rounded ends. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. At both ends, the handles attach to the vase with round, convex disks with radiating impressed tongues and a ring of tiny beads around the center.

Dimensions: H: 40.6

Bibliography: <http://www.ariadnegalleries.com/greek/>

16.63 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with curved ovules in low relief. Short, curved neck, broad shoulder, and full body tapered at the lower end to a thin, flared foot. Vertical handle is joined at the top with a fluted disk. Grip is shallowly fluted on the front side. At the bottom, a convex, fluted disk attaches the handle to the shoulder. Winged siren with wings extended horizontally. Beneath the siren, there is a diminutive palmette with a single set of scrolls.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

16.64 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations)

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and an egg-and-dart pattern in low relief. The neck is curved. The shoulder is sloping and curves down to full body. Tall, narrow ogive foot with a ring of beads above impressed tongues in the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is attached at the upper end with a convex disk decorated with radiating flutes. Grip is fluted and bent acutely. At the top, a convex disk with radiating flutes. Attaches at the shoulder with a convex disk decorated with with radiating flutes. In front, there is a siren with outstretched wings pointing downwards. She wears a short hairstyle. Her feet are perched on the heart of a pendant palmette with seven concave leaves. The volutes of the palmette unfurl upwards into a second set of volutes, creating a scroll pattern between the palmette and the siren's wings. The side handles are fluted on the front surface and curve upwards in the center. At both ends, convex disks with radiating flutes.

Dimensions: H: 42.1; D (body, without handle): 30.5

Bibliography: Herbert 1964, cat. 420, pl. 41; Bothmer 1965, 603.

16.65 Varna, Archaeological Museum VI 329-331

Provenance: Varna

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot

Description: Vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an oval appliqué decorated with radiating flutes. Grip is round in cross-section with shallow flutes on the front side. At the lower end, a petite siren with elongated, outstretched wings pointing straight out, horizontally. Claws clutch the heart of a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves and two sets of volutes (rivets visible in centers). The side handles are round in cross-section with shallow flutes on the outer face and a ring of beads at both ends, forming the centers of two convex disks with radiating flutes.

Bibliography: Filow 1930/31, 68f., fig. 42.2; Diehl 1964, 34, 36, 81, cat. B 158, pl. 18.1-2.

16.66 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 4625

Provenance: Uncertain (?)

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 602; *LIMC Supplement* 1997, s.v. "Seirenes", cat. 27a; Geschwantler and Oberleitner 1974, 60, 168.

16.67 Ioannina, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Botonosi

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot

Description: Vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an oval appliqué. Grip is round in cross-section and fluted on front side. At the lower end, a siren with outstretched wings pointing straight out, horizontally. Claws clutch the heart of a pendant palmette with rounded leaves and volutes (some damage in lower leaves). The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center. At each end, an undecorated, round disc. Ogive foot with with chased tongues in the central section with a cyma reverse a profile.

Dimensions: D (foot): 12.0-13.0

Bibliography: Verdellis 1949, 23, VIII, figs. 8, 10a,b, 11a; Petsa 1952, no. 8, figs. 16-17; Diehl 1964, 34, 36, cat. B 157; Vokotopoulou 1975, 746-49, no. 6, figs. 11-12.

16.68 France, Private Collection (Paris, Schneider)

Provenance: Uncertain (?)

Parts Preserved: Complete (?)

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 603.

16.69 Greece, Private Collection (Athens, Vlangalis, Inv. No. 27)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. The neck is short and curved. The broad shoulder rounds down to a sagging body. The foot is ogive in profile. The vertical handle attaches at the upper neck with an undecorated oval-shaped plaque. Grip is fluted. At the lower end there is a siren with wings outstretched horizontally, perched on a pendant palmette and scrolls with hanging half-palmettes attached. Side handles are fluted and curve up in the centers, attaching to the body of the vase with circular disks decorated with radiating outlined tongues.

Dimensions: H: 39.0; H (vh): 17.0; H: foot: 2.9; D foot: 14.1

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 602; Andrioménou 1975, 535-41, figs. 1-7.

16.70 Once Art Market (Anderson Galleries)/ (ex-Simkhovitch)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Broken at top. Lower part of a vertical handle with a siren with outstretched wings pointing horizontally. Wing feathers indicated by incision lines. Upper curve of legs also chased. Claws clutch the heart of a pendant palmette (surface now badly eroded) with rounded leaves four sets of volutes (rivets visible in centers).

Dimensions: H: 11.4

Bibliography: *Cat. Anderson Galleries (Simkhovitch)*, 12-14 January 1922, 29, no. 244; Bothmer 1965, 602.

Dimensions: H: 40.6

Bibliography: <http://www.ariadnegalleries.com/greek/hydria-with-siren-handle/>

16.71 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Inscribed with punched letters on upper surface of mouth: "ΠΛΟΥΤΙΣ ΣΙΜΟΝΔΑΟ ΠΟΥΘΙΑΙ." Irregularly shaped small beads around the outer perimeter of mouth. Overhanging lip with ovules and intermediary 'darts' carved in relief onto the surface. Wide neck with a concave curve, flattened shoulder, wide body, tapers at bottom. Tall ogive foot with chased tongues with rounded ends (not perfectly even) around the central zone with a cyma reversa profile. Vertical handle is attached to the neck with an oval panel with chased demi-palmettes flanking the upper terminal of the grip. Grip has five shallow flutes on the front side. Rounded panel where the grip meets the shoulder has chased demi-palmettes similar to those above. Below, siren with flattened wings extended horizontally. Details of siren chased into the surface. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards, with circular disks articulated with radiating flutes at the ends.

Dimensions: c. 42.0

Bibliography: Unpublished (?).

WINGS DOWN**16.72 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 7**

Provenance: Myrina

Parts Preserved: Complete except modern foot

Description: Thin, overhanging lip, short, slim neck, broad, flat shoulder and tapered body. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an undecorated, oval-shaped appliqué. Short grip is round in cross-section and bends acutely because of the limited vertical distance between the neck and the shoulder. Below, there is a siren with outstretched wings turned downwards, perched on a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves in relief and two sets of volutes. The lower part of the handle is soldered to the vase behind the siren and continuing up onto the shoulder of the vase with a semi-circular extension behind the vertical grip. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. On each side, plain circular discs attach the handles to the body.

Dimensions: H: 40.5

Bibliography: Ridder 1894, 11, no. 30; Weicker 1902, 132, no. 7; Fölzer 89, no. 186; Joubin, *Bronzes et Bijou*, no. 157; Diehl 1964, 34, 37, cat. B 166, pl. 18.3,6.

16.73 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1999)*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Short overhanging lip with beads and wide ovules outlined in low relief. There are two inscriptions on upper surface of mouth. The first is a dedication to the Muses at Thespias. The second reads, "Philomelas [son of] Me[lan]thus." Short, curved neck, broad shoulder, full body that tapers to a tall ogive foot with impressed tongues in the central section with a cayma reversa profile. The vertical handle attaches at the neck with an oval panel. The grip is shallowly fluted on the front side. At the bottom, a siren with drooping wings. Her hair is rolled into a short coiffure. The chest is narrow and smooth. The wings are divided into two sections, each of which is articulated with long, narrow feathers indicated by chased lines. The siren perches on the heart of a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves. The volutes of the palmette uncoil into a second set of volutes that support the wings at the lower, inner edge. A demi-palmette blooms between the two spiraled volutes. Only the space between the upper volute and the siren's legs is left open. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. At the ends, a flattened round disk with radiating concave tongues.

Dimensions: H: 41.9*Bibliography:* *Sotheby's New York* 6.5.1999, 80-81, cat. 118; *Sotheby's New York* 6.12.2001, 62, cat. 71.**16.74 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2008)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle

Description: Grip is round in cross-section with shallow flutes. At the lower end, there is a siren with broad, outstretched wings in relief that are turned downwards, perched on a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves in relief and two sets of volutes that curve downwards.

Dimensions: H: 15*Bibliography:* *Gorny & Mosch* 12.16.2008, lot 24 < <http://www.gmcoinart.de/shop/index.php3?AuID=89>>.**16.75 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2008)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle

Description: Grip is round in cross-section. Attaches at the upper end with an oval plaque with chased demi-palmettes with long, rounded leaves on either side of the grip terminus. At the lower end, there is a siren with outstretched, chased wings that are turned downwards, perched on a pendant palmette with nine rounded, concave leaves and two sets of volutes that curve upwards.

Dimensions: H: 18.5*Bibliography:* *Gorny & Mosch* 12.16.2008, lot 469 < <http://www.gmcoinart.de/shop/index.php3?AuID=89>>.**16.76 Athens, Kanelloupoulos Museum 6***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: The neck is short and wide, with a high, narrow shoulder that curves to a rounded, sagging body. Ogive foot in three parts, undecorated. The vertical handle attaches at upper end with an oval-shaped panel with chased foliate patterns. Below, there is a siren with down-turned wings. Demi-palmettes chased to either side of the vertical handle, above the siren's shoulders. Feathers indicated with long vertical and oblique incision lines; chest left smooth. Feet perch on a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves. A single long scroll fills the space between the siren's wings and the palmette. Rounded side handles curve upwards in the center and are made in one piece with plain circular disks to attach to body.

Bibliography: Brouskari 1985, 45-46.

16.77 Bonn, Akademie Kunstmuseum C 107

Provenance: Egypt

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Grip is round in cross-section with shallow flutes. At the lower end, there is a siren with outstretched wings that are turned downwards, perched on a pendant palmette with nine pointed leaves in relief and two sets of volutes (lower part of palmette leaves broken, especially on the left side).

Dimensions: H: 44.0

Bibliography: Weicker 1902, 133, no. 20, fig. 58; Fölzer 1906, 89, no. 184; Diehl 1964, 34, 37, cat. B 165; Bothmer 1965, 603.

16.78 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 112.64

Provenance: Uncertain, Purchased in London

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an oval appliqué with chased half-rosettes on either side of the handle. Grip is round in cross-section with shallow flutes on the front side. Below, there is a siren with outstretched wings pointing downwards, perched on a pendant palmette with seven rounded leaves with two sets of volutes. Wings of siren are indicated with incision lines.

Dimensions: L: 14.0

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 603; Mitten and Doeringer 1971, 107; Vermeule and Comstock 1988, 82, cat. 99.

16.79 Israel, Private Collection (Jerusalem, Borowski, Gr. 173)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Thin, overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, slim neck, broad, flat shoulder, and tapered body. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an oval appliqué decorated with radiating flutes. Grip is fluted. Below, there is a siren with outstretched, down-turned wings, perched on a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves. Wing feathers are articulated with chasing. The side handles are round in cross-section, curving upwards in the center. On each side, a convex disk with radiating flutes attaches the handle to the body.

Dimensions: H: 43.8; W: 37.2 (with handle); 30.0 (without handle); D (foot): 13.6

Bibliography: Kunze 2007, 174-175, cat. C 41.

16.80 Maine, Bowdoin College 1915.26

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Vertical grip round in section with shallow flutes on the front side. At the lower end, there is a siren with outstretched, down-turned wings, perched on a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves in relief and two sets of volutes.

Dimensions: H: 16.0

Bibliography: Herbert 1964, cat. 420, pl. 41; Bothmer 1965, 603.

16.81 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1997)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Vertical handle attaches at the upper end with a round appliqué. The grip is shallowly fluted on the front side. At the bottom, a siren with drooping wings. Her hair is rolled into a short coiffure. The chest is narrow and smooth. The wings are divided into two sections, each of which is articulated with long, narrow feathers indicated by chased lines. The siren perches on the heart of a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves. The volutes of the palmette uncoil

into a second set of volutes that support the wings at the lower, inner edge. A demi-palmette blooms between the two coiled volutes. Only the space between the upper volute and the siren's legs is left open.

Dimensions: H: 43.3

Bibliography: *Sotheby's* 12.17.1997, cat. 128.

16.82 Once London Market (Sotheby's 1986)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Short, overhanging lip with beads and wide ovules outlined in low relief. Short, curved neck and sloping, carinated shoulder lead to a full body that tapers to a tall ogive foot with impressed tongues in the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle attaches at the neck with an oval panel. The grip is shallowly fluted on the front side. At the bottom, there is a siren with drooping wings. Her hair is rolled into a short coiffure. The chest is narrow and smooth. The wings are divided into two sections, each of which is articulated with long, narrow feathers indicated by chased lines. The siren perches on the heart of a pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves. The volutes of the palmette uncoil into a second set of volutes that support the wings at the lower, inner edge. A demi-palmette blooms between the two spiraled volutes. Only the space between the upper volute and the siren's legs is left open. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. At the ends, a flattened round disk with radiating concave tongues.

Dimensions: H: 7

Bibliography: *Sotheby's London* 7.14.1986, cat. 359.

16.83 Once London Market (Bonhams 1997)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Attaches at the upper end with a round appliqué. The grip is round and widest at the center. At the bottom, there is a chased foliate pattern on the rounded panel that fits around the shoulder of the vase. In front, there is a siren with drooping wings. Her hair is rolled into a short coiffure. The chest is narrow and smooth. The wings are divided into three sections, the lower two of which are articulated with short, narrow, oblique feathers with straight edges. The siren perches on the heart of a pendant palmette with nine concave, rounded leaves. The volutes of the palmette uncoil into a second set of volutes that support the wings at the lower, inner edge.

Dimensions: H: 16.6

Bibliography: *Bonhams* 6.10.1997, 82, cat. 351; *Bonhams* 11.26.1997, 112, cat. 360.

KALPIDES WITH ELONGATED SIRENS

16.83 Jerusalem, Israel Museum 83.30.19

Provenance: Uncertain (ex-Goldman)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Thick, overhanging lip; tall, thin neck with a slight concave curve. The shoulder curves smoothly down to a tapered body. Ogive foot ornamented with hanging petals with midribs indicated. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and fluted on the front side. At the upper end of the vertical handle, the handle attaches to the body at the neck with an oval-shaped appliqué with chased foliate patterns. At the lower end, there is a standing siren with a long torso and feathered legs. Her hair is rolled at the forehead with a few long, loose tresses hanging down over her shoulders. Her wings stretch out and up, and her arms, which appear human from shoulder to elbow, end in foliate designs that blend with the curling palmette tendrils. The lower section is somewhat damaged but she stands on and in front of a pendant palmette with rounded leaves that curl upwards. The bottom of the handle is soldered to the vase around the curve of the shoulder; the part around and behind the grip takes a semi-

circular form and is chased with a scroll pattern. The side handles are fluted and curve up in the center. At each end, the handle is attached to the vase with a circular disc decorated with radiating, ribbed petals, similar to those on the foot.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

16.84 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2007)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations)

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and an 'egg and dart' pattern in low relief. Tall, narrow neck; sloping shoulder, rounded body tapers to an ogive foot in three parts decorated with impressed tongues in the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The side handles are fluted and curve up in the center. At both ends, circular disks are decorated with a ring of beads in the center and rosette leaves with flattened ends. The vertical handle is fluted and acutely bent. The attachment at the neck takes the form of an elongated appliqué that conforms to the curve of the shoulder. It is decorated with a pattern of chased scrolls. At the lower end, a second elongated plaque fits around the curve of the shoulder. A winged siren (or harpy?) stands in high relief on the front side, with wings outstretched and turned upwards at the end. Her tall, tiered headdress is covered with small dots indicating fabric or skins. Below the cap, her hair is rolled into a short coiffure across her forehead with a single tress falling to her shoulders on each side. The face is heart-shaped and facial features are modeled in low relief. Her chest and torso are smooth and feminine (human); her legs and wings are avian. The wings are constructed of twelve narrow rows of obliquely hatched lines that alternate in direction to differentiate between the bands. The feet are clawed with three long, pointed talons on each side. Three acanthus leaves bloom from a dotted surface to form a platform to support the siren; the central one bends outwards with the weight of the siren's perched claws.

Dimensions: H: 42.0

Bibliography: Fortuna Fine Arts, Ltd. 2007, cat. 61.

SIREN HANDLE, UNCERTAIN POSITION OF WINGS

16.85 Arta, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Arta (Grave on Odos Kommenou)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Bibliography: Αγγελη 1996, 387.

16.86 Once Art Market (Ascher 1965)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 603.

16.87 Once Athens Market (1965)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 602.

16.88 Once Athens Market (1965)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 602.

16.89 Once Athens Market (1965)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 602.

16.90 Once Geneva Market (1965)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot

Dimensions: 42.3

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 602.

16.91 Present Location Uncertain (ex-Hermitage Museum)

Provenance: Juz Oba

Bibliography: CR 1863 X; Fürtwangler 1887, pl. 149.Fölzer 90, no. 190b; Diehl 1964, 34, 152, cat. B 170.

16.92 Once Art Market (Christie's 1912)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Dimensions: H: 22.9

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 603.

16.93 Greece, Private Collection (Athens, Kanellopoulos)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 602.

16.94 Greece, Private Collection (Athens, Kanellopoulos)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 602.

16.95 Greece, Private Collection (Kifissia, Apergis)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete (?)

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 34, cat. B 171

16.96 Cape Town, South African Art Museum H 4830

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Bibliography: Boardman and Pope 1961, 5; Bothmer 1965, 602.

16.97 Hague, Gemeente Museum Okant 1733

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 602.

16.98 Kiev, Historical Museum

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Foot

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 604.

16.99 Kiev, Historical Museum

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Foot

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 604.

16.100 Leiden, National Museum of Antiquities 1898.12.1

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 603.

16.101 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1952.234

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Bibliography: *Report of the Visitors* 1952, 26-27; Bothmer 1965, 602.

16.102 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 2930

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 602.

SIREN MISSING

16.103 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 3531

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Foot

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 604.

16.104 Moscow, Archaeological Museum 38227

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete except missing vertical handle

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 604.

16.105 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1874.474

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 604.

16.106 Warsaw, National Museum 199031

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Mouth, Foot

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 604.

16.107 Warsaw, National Museum 199086 (ex-Königsberg 188/ F 31)*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Bibliography:* Bothmer 1965, 604.**Group 17: Classical Bronze Hydriai and Kalpides without Sculptural Decoration****17.1 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7917***Provenance:* Piraeus*Parts Preserved:* Complete except horizontal handles and foot*Description:* Mouth flat on top with a narrow overhanging lip. Inscribed: "TIMONOAΣ ΔΩΠΟΝ." Short neck with a shallow, concave curve. Sloping shoulder rounds to a full, almost cylindrical body and a flattened base. The body has been cut and reattached across the shoulder. The vertical handle is simple, with very little elaboration. At the top, narrow horizontal projections extend from the grip around the rim, flush with the level of the mouth, and attach with two thin strips of bronze with rivets. Below, the grip widens into a roughly circular shape and is pinned to the shoulder with three small nails.*Dimensions:* H: 37.5; H (vh): 12.5; D (rim): 16.5;*Bibliography:* *Praktika* 1890, 95; Ridder 1894, 10, no. 26; Diehl 1964, 28-30, cat. B 102, pl. 7.3.**17.2 Athens, National Archaeological Museum Karapanos 697***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete except foot*Description:* Mouth flat on top with a narrow overhanging lip with thin lines chased at the top and bottom edges. The neck is short and curved, the shoulder is sloping, and the body is round and bulging. It stands on a ring foot. The vertical handle is simple, with very little elaboration. At the top, narrow horizontal projections extend from the grip around the rim, flush with the level of the rim. Grip is rectangular in cross-section and is decorated with a long leaf in relief towards the upper end. Below, the grip widens to a roughly circular shape and is soldered to the shoulder. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center. Plain round disks attach the handles to the body.*Dimensions:* H: 26.3; H (vh): 7.5; W (hh): 8.1; D (rim): 13.4*Bibliography:* Diehl 1964, 28-30, cat. B 101.**17.3 Athens, National Archaeological Museum Karapanos 1189***Provenance:* Dodona*Parts Preserved:* Complete (missing one horizontal handle and foot)*Description:* Narrow, overhanging lip with thin lines chased at the top and bottom edges. Short, shallowly curved neck, rounded shoulder, and full body. Flattened base with chased concentric circles on the lower surface. The vertical handle is simple, with very little elaboration. At the top, narrow horizontal projections extend from the grip around the rim, flush with the level of the rim. Grip is rectangular in cross-section and is decorated with a leaf-shaped relief towards the upper end. Below, the grip widens to a roughly circular shape and is soldered to the shoulder. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center. Plain round disks attach the handles to the body.*Dimensions:* H: 37.8; H (vh): 12.8; W (hh): 12.2; D (rim): 16.0*Bibliography:* Lamb 1929, 163; Diehl 1964, 28-30, cat. B 100, pl. 7.4.

17.4 Königsberg, Art Museum F 19

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: The vertical handle is simple, with very little elaboration. At the top, narrow horizontal projections extend from the grip around the (would-be) lip. Grip is rectangular in cross-section and is decorated with a long leaf in relief towards the upper end. Below, the grip widens to a roughly circular shape that would have been soldered to the shoulder.

Dimensions: H: 15.5

Bibliography: Lullies 1935, cat. 189, pl. 28; Diehl 1964, 28-29, cat. B 99a.

17.5 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1078

Provenance: Galaxidi

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Mouth flat on top with a narrow overhanging lip with thin lines chased at the top and bottom edges. Short, shallowly curved neck, sloping shoulder, and round, bulging body. It stands on an unadorned ring foot. The vertical handle is simple, with very little elaboration. At the top, narrow horizontal projections extend from the grip around the rim, flush with the level of the rim. The grip is rectangular in cross-section and is decorated with an elongated leaf in relief towards the upper end. Below, the grip widens to a roughly circular shape and is soldered to the shoulder.

Side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center. Plain round disks attach the handles to the body.

Dimensions: H: 36.5; H (vh): 14.2; W (hh): 10.2

Bibliography: *BMMA* February 1907, 20; Richter 1915, 197f., no. 525; Richter 1917, 94; Hambidge 1920, 75f., fig. 1, pl. opposite 74; *NSc* 1932, 144; Lamb 1929, 163 n. 1; Richter 1953, 82, pl. 64b; Riis 1950, 29 n. 83; Diehl 1964, 28-30, cat. B 99.

17.6 Arta, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Arta (grave on Odos Kommenou)

Parts Preserved: Complete with lid

Description: Lid flattened on top with curved sides; ring handle in center for lifting. Mouth flat on top with a narrow overhanging lip with thin lines chased at the top and bottom edges. Short, shallowly curved neck, sloping shoulder, round body. It stands on a short ring foot. The vertical handle is simple, with very little elaboration. At the top, narrow horizontal projections extend from the grip around the rim, flush with the level of the rim. The grip is rectangular in cross-section and is decorated with a leaf-shaped relief towards the upper end. Below, the grip widens to a roughly circular shape and is soldered to the shoulder.

Side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center. Plain round disks attach the handles to the body.

Bibliography: *Αννγελη* 2001, 387, pl. 104γ.

17.7 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum P 1851.1

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Body, Horizontal handle

Description: Mouth flat on top with a narrow overhanging lip. Short, curved neck, shoulder flat on top, with a strong curve down to a rounded body. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Bibliography: Reinach 1892, 95; Diehl 1964, 28-30, 32, 153, cat. B 104, pls. 8.1,3

17.8 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum Ju-O-2

Provenance: Juz Oba (grave 49)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Mouth flat on top with a narrow overhanging lip with thin lines chased at the top and bottom edges. Short, shallowly curved neck, sloping shoulder, round, bulging body. The vertical handle is simple, with very little elaboration. At the top, narrow horizontal projections extend from the grip around the curve of the lip. The grip is rectangular in cross-section and is decorated with a leaf-shaped relief towards the upper end. Below, the grip widens to a roughly circular shape and is soldered to the shoulder. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center. Plain round disks attach the handles to the body.

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 28-30, 32, 82, cat. B 103, pl. 8.2.

17.9 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 13792

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Inscribed: “[EX?]Σ ΑΙΑΙΑΣ/ΤΑΣ ΦΘΙΑΣ/ΕΘΛΟΝ ΠΑΡ ΠΡΟΤΕΣΙΑ[Α].” Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lower end to a low, spreading ogive foot (undecorated). The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles also are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 40.5; H (vh): 6.4; W (hh): 12.8; D (rim): 15.0; D (foot): 9.4-13.0

Bibliography: Lamb 1929, 163, 183, cat. 6; Diehl 1964, 31-32, cat. B 115, pl. 10.1,3; Amandry 1971, 617-618; Vokotopoulou 1975, 754; Kalligas 1989, 143-144, no. 33; Kaltsas 2004, 230.

17.10 Athens, Kerameikos Museum 2073

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Shallowly curved neck leads, curved shoulder that is fairly flat on the top before curving to a rounded body that tapers down at the lower end. The foot takes an ogive profile. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles also are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach the handles to the body.

Dimensions: H: 42.7

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 31-32, 150, cat. B 125, pl. 12.2.

17.11 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 30636

Provenance: Notion (near Kolophon)

Parts Preserved: Complete with restorations

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Inscribed on upper surface of mouth: “ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΓ ΛΑΜΨΑΚΟ ΕΠΙ ΔΕΟΦΑΝΤΟ ΤΟ ΛΑΜΠΡΟ.” The neck is short and narrow with a shallow curve. The broad shoulder is flattened on the upper side. The body is rounded and sags at the bottom. The foot takes an ogive profile. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles also are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Bibliography: Kontoleon 1889, 317; Reinach 1892, 125; Hoffman *Griechische Dialekte* III, 48, no. 100; Fölzer 1906, 88, no. 182, pl. IX; Führer I 1924, 99; Schroder 1927, 45-48, pl. 11b; Lamb 1929, 183; Blumel 41f., no. 155; Diehl 1964, 31-32, cat. B 120; Jeffery 1961, 367f., no. 47; Amandry 1971, 618.

17.12 Bursa, Archaeological Museum Inv. 1426-7

Provenance: Mudamya

Parts Preserved: Body (upper half), Horizontal handle

Description: Short neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a sloping shoulder and a rounded body, now broken below the mid-point. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center (one missing). Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 21.0; D (mouth): 9.5

Bibliography: Mansel 1946, 8f., pl. 7.8; Diehl 1964, 31, 33, 82, cat. B 112.

17.13 Kiev, Historical Museum (Pischane 3)

Provenance: Chance find near village of Pischane, Zolotonos'kyi Raion, Cherkas'ka Oblast' (in peat bog)

Parts Preserved: Complete (?)

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and narrow ovules outlined in low relief. The neck is short and slender. The broad shoulder slopes down to a tapering body. The short foot takes an ogive profile with shallow cyma reversa profile in the central section. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks are used at the ends of all three handles to secure the handles to the body.

Dimensions: H: 37.5

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 603; Hanina 1970, 86-87, pl. 12

17.14 Kiev, Historical Museum (Pischane 4)

Provenance: Chance find near village of Pischane, Zolotonos'kyi Raion, Cherkas'ka Oblast' (in peat bog)

Parts Preserved: Complete except missing foot

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and narrow ovules outlined in low relief. The neck is short and slender with a subtle concave curve. The broad shoulder is fairly flattened on the upper side. The body is full and tapers at the lowest point. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve up in the center. Plain round disks are used at the ends of all three handles to secure the handles to the body.

Dimensions: H: 35.0

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 603; Hanina 1970, 87, pl. 13.

17.15 London, British Museum 67.6-8.719

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. The neck is short with a shallow concave curve. The broad shoulder rounds down to a full body that tapers at the very lowest point. The foot is ogival. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Bibliography: Fölzer 1906, 88, no. 180; Lamb 1929, 183; Robinson 1942, 180, cat. 32; Diehl 1964, 31-32, cat. B 110, pl. 9.3.

17.16 Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum Inv. 1540

Provenance: Muschovitzza, Mogila near Duvanlij

Parts Preserved: Complete (?)

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers at the lowest point. The foot is ogival. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 37.3; D (max): 31.5

Bibliography: Filow and Welkow 1930, 312, 314, no. 8, fig. 34; Filow 1934, 89, no. 9, fig. 111; Diehl 1964, 31, 80, cat. B 106.

17.17 Providence, Rhode Island School of Design

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Inscribed on upper surface of mouth: "TON ΘΕΒΑΙΣ ΑΙΘΛΑΝ." Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads seamlessly to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lower end to an ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 39.3; D (max): 34.0

Bibliography: Robinson 1942, 180f., figs. 12-13; Jacobsthal 1933, 93, figs. 10-11; Jeffery 1961, 83, 93, 95, pl. 9.16; Diehl 1964, 31, 33, 37, cat. B 107; Bernard and Salviat 1967, 596; Amandry 1971, 617; Mitten 1975, 46-47, cat. 13.

17.18 Rhodes, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Heavy overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder, flat on top, and a rounded body that tapers down at the lowest point. Low, ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. Fluted round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 40.0

Bibliography: Jacopi 1929, 273f. fig. 270; Diehl 1964, 31-32, 150, cat. B 111.

17.19 Sozopol, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Sozopol (ancient Apollonia)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Damaged. The overhanging lip is decorated with beads and ovules in relief. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lowest point. Ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

17.20 St. Louis, City Art Museum 169.24

Provenance: Uncertain (ex-Pozzi)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder that is flat on the upper side and a rounded, sagging body that tapers at the very lowest point. Spreading ogive foot. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles also are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 42.6

Bibliography: G. Petit sale, 6.25-27.1919, 31, no. 430; Bothmer 1965, 603; Mitten and Doeringer 1967, 110, cat. 109; Hill 1976, cat. 17.

17.21 Syracuse, Museo Regionale Paolo Orsi

Provenance: Camarina

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations, especially on lower half of body)

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lower end to an ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 40.0

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 31-32, cat. B 121, pl. 10.2.

17.22 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 3056

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lowest point. The foot is ogival. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 39.0

Bibliography: Lamb 1929, 183; Diehl 1964, 31-32, cat. B 109, pl. 9.2.

17.23 Once London Market (Rupert Wace 2007)

Provenance: Uncertain (ex-American Private Collection)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules. The neck is short and slender. The broad shoulder curves to a full body, tapered at the lower end. The foot is ogival. The side handles are made in one piece with circular disks to attach to body. The vertical handle curves acutely, made in one piece with plain circular disks at neck and shoulder to attach to body.

Bibliography: http://www.rupertwace.co.uk/13948_bronze-hydria.html

17.24 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2006)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and shallow ovules. The short, narrow neck has a shallow curve. The broad shoulder is flattened on the upper side and rounds down to a full, sagging body. The foot is ogival. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles also are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 43

Bibliography: Gorny & Mosch 7.11.2006, 187, cat. 533.

17.25 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2004)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Straight neck; shoulder slopes on the upper side, then curves to an exceptionally round, wide body that tapers at the lowest point to a narrow ogive foot. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 42.5

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

17.26 Once New York Market (Apolonia Ancient Art 2008)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads seamlessly to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lower end to a low ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 45.2

Bibliography: <http://www.trocadero.com/stores/apoloniaancientart/items/752195/item752195.html>

17.27 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1995)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and shallow ovules. The neck is short and narrow with a shallow concave curve. The rounded shoulder is flattened on the upper side before curving down to a broad, sagging body. The foot is ogive in profile. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles also are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks

Dimensions: H: 47

Bibliography: *Sotheby's New York*, 6.1.1995, cat. 95.

17.28 United States Private Collection (New York)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Inscribed on upper surface of mouth "ΘΕΡΣΟΝΕΙΑ ΕΙΜΙ." Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a steeply sloped shoulder that curves down to a wide, tapered body. Spreading ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles also are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Bibliography: Unpublished

17.29 Izmir, Müze Çalışmaları

Provenance: Seferilisar, Izmir (near ancient Teos)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Mouth flat on top with an overhanging lip. The neck is short and wide with a shallow concave curve. Rounded shoulder (slopes downwards on upper surface) and bulging body. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles also are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain fluted disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 43.0

Bibliography: *Müze Çalışmaları ve Kurtarma Kazuları Sempozyumu 2007*, 9-10.

17.30 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number, formerly Inv. C)

Provenance: Rhodes

Parts Preserved: Body (lower part missing), Horizontal handles, Foot

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Inscribed on upper surface of mouth: "E." Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder that is flat on the upper side and a rounded, sagging body. Ogive foot in three parts, with impressed tongues in the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. Round disks decorated with radiating flutes attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 39.5; D (rim): 15.5

Bibliography: Joubin 1898, no. 158; Diehl 1964, 31-32, cat. B 122, pl. 11.1,3.

17.31 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number, formerly Inv. D)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations)

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder that is flat on the upper side and a rounded, sagging body. Ogive foot in three parts with impressed tongues in the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. Round, fluted disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 39.0

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 31-32, cat. B 123, pl. 11.2,4.

17.32 Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum Inv. 1637

Provenance: Golemata-Mogila near Duvanlij

Parts Preserved: Complete except one horizontal handle and shoulder

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Tall, narrow neck with a concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder, flat on top, and a rounded body that tapers down at the lower end. Ogive foot in three parts with flutes in the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is round in cross-section with shallow flutes and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a fluted round disk. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. Fluted round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 41.0; D (max): 32.2

Bibliography: Filow 1934, 51f., figs. 62-64; Diehl 1964, 31-32, 37-38, 80, cat. B 117.

17.33 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum P 1834.1

Provenance: near Kertsch (burial mound)

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations)

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Tall neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a rounded shoulder that is fairly flat on top, and an elongated, tapered body. Heavy ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Bibliography: Fürtwangler 1887, pl. 149; Reinach 1892, 95; Fölzer 1906, 90, no. 190a; Diehl 1964, 31-32, 153, cat. B 127, pl. 13.3.

17.34 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum 5243

Provenance: Karabournaki (chance find in course of construction work in Thessalonike)

Parts Preserved: Complete except vertical handle

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Upper surface of mouth inscribed: "ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΙ ΑΘΛ(Α) ΕΠΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝΤΟΙΠΙΟΑΕΜΟΙ, Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder, fairly flat on top, and a rounded body that tapers down at the lowest point. Ogive foot with outlined tongues on the central section with a cyma reversa profile.

Side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. Round, fluted disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 34.0

Bibliography: Petsas 1969, 135, pls. 13, 14a,b; Vanderpool 1969, 3-5, pl. 4a,b, fig. 2; *Treasures of Ancient Macedonia* 1979, cat. 344, pls. 24-25; Koulemani-Vokotopoulou 1987, 164-66.

17.35 Once London Market (Bonhams 2004)

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lower end. The vertical handle is fluted and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a round disk decorated with radiating flutes. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. Round, fluted disks attach handles to body.

Bibliography: Bonhams 2004.

17.36 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Galaxidi

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lower end. The vertical handle is fluted and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a round disk decorated with radiating flutes. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. Round, fluted disks attach handles to body.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

17.37 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2005)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules. The neck is short and curved. Broad, rounded shoulder is flat on the upper surface, then curves to a full body, tapered at the lowest point. The foot takes an ogive profile. The vertical handle curves acutely. At both ends of the grip, a ring of tiny beads separates the grip from the attached rosette made of individually sculpted petals with rounded ends. The side handles are faceted and end in rosette panels similar to the vertical handle.

Dimensions: H: 39.3

Bibliography: Gorny & Mosch 6.21.2005, 54-55, cat. 111.

17.38 Once Art Market (Now Lost) (with Rhodian Inscription)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Inscribed on upper surface of mouth: "ΑΘΛΑΝ ΕΓ ΡΟΔΟ ΠΑΡ ΑΛΙΟ." Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads seamlessly to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lower end to an ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 38.0

Bibliography: Frel 1975, 77-78.

17.39 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2007)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

17.40 Kiev, Historical Museum (Pischane 5)

Provenance: Chance find near village of Pischane, Zolotonos'kyi Raion, Cherkas'ka Oblast' (in peat bog)

Parts Preserved: Complete except missing foot, vertical handle

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and short ovules outlined in low relief. The neck is short and slender with a subtle concave curve. Broad shoulder, fairly flat on the upper side, full body tapers only at the lowest point.

Dimensions: H: 41.0

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 603; Hanina, 87, pl. 14

17.41 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum P 736

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Surfaces badly damaged. The overhanging lip is decorated with beads and ovules in relief. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder and a full body that tapers down at the lowest point. The foot is ogive in profile. The vertical handle is fluted and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a round disk. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. Round disks attach handles to body.

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 31, 33, cat. B 126.

17.42 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number?)

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Body

Description: Overhanging lip. Slim, short neck with a concave curve. The rounded shoulder is flattened on the upper side before curving down to fairly straight body that tapers at the very lowest point.

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 265, Hy 74 (?), Foto 81/115.

17.43 Taranto, Museo Nazionale 113502

Provenance: Taranto (Via Tirrenia, tomb 31, found 1.30.1959)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Bibliography: Lippolis 1994, 153, fig. 132.

17.44 Once New York Market (Arte Primitivo/ Howard S. Rose Gallery 2005)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules. The neck is short and slender. Broad, rounded shoulder curves to a full body, tapered at the lowest point. The foot takes an ogive profile. The vertical handle curves acutely, made in one piece with plain circular disks at neck and shoulder to attach to body. The side handles in one piece with circular disks to attach to body.

Bibliography: https://www.artep primitivo.com/scripts/detail.asp?LOT_NUM=110906

17.45 Veroia, Archaeological Museum 1004-1018-1021

Provenance: Veroia (grave)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Thin, overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Tall, fairly straight neck leads to a rounded shoulder and an elongated, tapered body. Ogive foot in three parts. Visible seam cross the shoulder, dipping down to avoid the vertical handle. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 45.5

Bibliography: *Treasures of Ancient Macedonia* cat. 67, pl. 13; http://www.macedonian-heritage.gr/Museums/Archaeological_and_Byzantine/Arx_Beroias.html

17.46 Athens, Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art 731 (ex-Evtaxias)

Provenance: Uncertain (Dodona?)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Wide neck with a shallow curve leads seamlessly down to a sloped shoulder and rounded body. Ogive foot in three parts with shallow moldings. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles also are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 9.5; D (rim): 4.5; D (mouth): 2.5; D (foot): 3.7

Bibliography: Marangou 1985, 163-164; Marangou 1991, 24-25; Marangou 1996, 27, 165-66.

17.47 Olympia, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number?)

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Body,

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Slim, short neck with a concave curve. Rounded shoulder, flat on top, with a rounded body.

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 265, Hy 75 (?), Foto 81/114-119.

17.48 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1999.460

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Flat mouth with overhanging rim. Upper surface of mouth inscribed "ΕΞ ΑΝΑΚΙΟ ΑΘΑΟΝ." Short, wide, nearly straight neck. Rounded shoulder and slightly sagging body. Ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body. Placement of side handles is lower than usual.

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 603.

17.49 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2008)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging, undecorated lip. Short, narrow neck and ovoid body. Ogive foot in three parts, undecorated. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck with a plain round disk and at the shoulder with a modified disk that has been carved out on the front side. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 33.5

Bibliography: Gorny & Mosch 12.16.2008, lot 25 <http://www.gmcoinart.de/shop/index.php3?AuID=89>.

17.50 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum (inv. number?)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

17.51 Delphi, Archaeological Museum 8592

Provenance: Delphi

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Mouth flat on top with a narrow overhanging lip with thin lines chased at the top and bottom edges. Short, shallowly curved neck, sloping shoulder, and round, bulging body. It stands on an unadorned ring foot. The vertical handle is simple, with very little elaboration. At the top,

narrow horizontal projections extend from the grip around the rim, flush with the level of the rim. The grip is rectangular in cross-section and is decorated with an elongated leaf in relief towards the upper end. Below, the grip widens to a roughly circular shape and is soldered to the shoulder. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center. Plain round disks attach the handles to the body.

Dimensions: H: 38.5

Bibliography: Rolley 1980, 30, cat. 36.

17.52 Isthmia, Archaeological Museum IM 3318

Provenance: Isthmia

Parts Preserved: Complete but extremely damaged

Description: Flattened hydria with extensive damage to body. Rim and top of vertical handle are discernable. Plain strap handle flanked by two rivets at the top, where it attaches to the mouth.

Dimensions: m.p.D: 0.327

Bibliography: Raubitschek 1998, 37, cat. 152, pl. 37.

17.53 Aegina, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Aegina

Parts Preserved: Complete except vertical handle

Description: Mouth flat on top with an overhanging lip. Inscribed on upper surface of mouth: "ΠΛΑΘΟΝ ΕΚΕΣΘΕΝΕΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΝ ΗΥΙΟΙ ΠΡΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΗΕΛΛΑΝΙΟΙ ΔΙΙ." Short, curved neck, shoulder flat on top, curving down to a full, rounded body that tapers at the lower end. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 35.4; D (max): 29.3

Bibliography: Wolters 1925, 49; Harland 1925, 76-78, figs 1-2; Welter 1938, 8, figs. 3-4; Jeffery 1961, 109, 112, 113, pls. 16-17; Diehl 1964, 31, cat. B 108.

17.54 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Mouth flat on top with a narrow overhanging lip decorated with beads and small ovules. Short neck with a shallow, concave curve. Sloping shoulder rounds to a full, almost cylindrical body and a flattened base. Simple vertical handle, round in cross-section. Flat, round disks are used to attach the ends of all three handles. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve up in the center.

Bibliography: Brijder and Jurriaans-Helle 2002, 128, fig. 116.

17.55 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7918

Provenance: Uncertain (?)

Parts Preserved: Body (with restorations), Vertical handle, Foot

Description: Shallowly fluted vertical handle is attached at the top of the neck, just below the mouth. Ogive foot.

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 602-03.

17.56 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR 10.1943

Provenance: Uncertain (ex-Goetze)

Parts Preserved: Complete (?)

Dimensions: H: 0.315; D: 0.330

Bibliography: <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk>

17.57 Chalkis, Archaeological Museum*Provenance:* Uncertain (?)*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lowest point. Ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.*Bibliography:* Unpublished (?)**17.58 Ioannina, Archaeological Museum 302***Provenance:* Botonosi*Parts Preserved:* Mouth, Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot*Description:* Upper surface of mouth inscribed: “-] EPA [-] O [-] ΕΣ ΘΕΣΠΙΑ.” Vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles also are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body. Ogive foot in three parts.*Dimensions:* D (rim): 15.7; H (vh): 15.0; L (hh): 12.0; H (foot): 2.5; D (foot): 14.8*Bibliography:* Verdelis 1949, 24-25, nos. 9-10, fig. 1c, 11b, no. 17, 2; *AE* 1952, 9f., fig. 20; Diehl 1964, 31, cat. B 135; Vokotopoulou 1975, 749-54, no. 8, figs. 14-15.**17.59 Ioannina, Archaeological Museum 307, 309***Provenance:* Botonosi*Parts Preserved:* Horizontal handles, Foot*Description:* Side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. Fluted disks attach handles to body. Ogive foot decorated with impressed, outlined tongues in the central section with a cyma reversa profile*Dimensions:* L (hh): 11.2; H (foot): 2.3; D (foot): 13.4*Bibliography:* Verdelis 1949, 24, no. 9, fig. 10a; Vokotopoulou 1975, 749, no. 7, fig. 13.**17.60 Nessebar, Archaeological Museum***Provenance:* Nessebar (ancient Mesembria)*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Illegible (?) inscription on upper surface of mouth. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder that is flat on the upper side and a rounded, sagging body that tapers at the very lowest point. Tall, compact ogive foot in two parts, decorated with flutes in the upper section. Vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk.

Side handles also are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)**17.61 Olympia, Archaeological Museum BE 533***Provenance:* Olympia*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot*Bibliography:* Unpublished (?)

17.62 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1948.101

Provenance: Dalboki (Bulgaria)

Parts Preserved: Complete (?)

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lower end to a spreading ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Bibliography: Filow 1930/31, 50f., no. 4, fig. 40.1-2; Diehl 1964, 31-32, 80, cat. B 124; Bothmer 1965, 603.

17.63 Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum 1200-1204

Provenance: Kukuva-Mogila (near Duvanlij)

Parts Preserved: Body, Horizontal handles

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short neck with a shallow concave curve. Wide shoulder, flat on top, rounded body. The side handles fluted and curve up in the center. Fluted, round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 35.0

Bibliography: Filow 1934, 51, figs. 61, 64; Diehl 1964, 31-32, 37, 41, 80, cat. B 118.

17.64 Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum 1200-1204

Provenance: Kukuva-Mogila near Duvanlij

Parts Preserved: Complete except shoulder and one horizontal handle

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Side handles fluted and curve up in the center. Fluted, round disks attach handles to body. Ogive foot in three parts with broad tongues in low relief on the central section.

Dimensions: H: 40.0

Bibliography: Filow 1934, 51f., figs. 62-64; Diehl 1964, 31-32, 37, 41, 80, cat. B 119.

17.65 Present Location Uncertain (Lost)

Provenance: Chersonnes, Grave 1012 (under city wall, left of entrance 4)

Parts Preserved: Complete with restorations

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Inscribed: "ΕΞ ΑΝΑΚΙΟ ΑΘΛΟΝ" (Games of the Dioskouroi). Short, fairly straight neck leads down to a wide, rounded shoulder, flat on top, and a rounded body. The vertical handle is round in cross-section with shallow flutes and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a fluted round disk. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. Fluted round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 35.0

Bibliography: Grinevich 1926, 10f.; Manzevich 1932, pl. IV.3-8; Diehl 1964, 31, 155, cat. B 132.

17.66 Present Location Uncertain (Lost)

Provenance: Chersonnes, Grave 1012 (under city wall, right of entrance 2)

Parts Preserved: Complete (?)

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 31, 155, cat. B 134.

17.67 Once Private Collection

Provenance: Uncertain (ex-Simkhovitch)

Parts Preserved: Body, Foot

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 603.

17.68 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2007)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations)

Description: Petite. The mouth is covered by horizontal lid, secured by two small rivets on opposite sides. The short, narrow neck has a shallow concave curve. The wide, rounded shoulder is flattened on the upper side before curving down to a full, sagging body. The foot takes an ogive profile. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles also are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 35.5

Bibliography: *Gorny & Mosch* 6.22.2007, 42, cat. 41.

17.69 Once Zurich Market (Rhéa Galerie 1997)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads seamlessly to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lower end to an ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 40.0

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

17.70 Once Art Market (ex-German Private Collection)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Inscribed on upper surface of mouth: "ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ ΠΑΡ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ." Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads seamlessly to a wide, rounded shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lower end to an ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 39.4

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

17.71 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1997)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Thick overhanging lip without decoration. A tall, narrow neck. The shoulder slopes down to a fairly upright body that tapers at the bottom to a flared foot. Plain round disks used to attach all three handles.

Dimensions: H: 44.8

Bibliography: *Sotheby's New York*, 12.17.1997, cat. 129.

17.72 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 2004) (ex-Weller)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Inscribed on upper surface of mouth: "ΤΟΝ ΘΕΒΑΙΣ ΑΙΘΛΟΝ." Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads seamlessly to a wide, sloping shoulder and a rounded body that tapers down at the lower end to a low ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the neck and

shoulder with a plain round disk. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards in the center. Plain round disks attach handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 38.7

Bibliography: *Sothbeby's New York*, 12.9.2004, 107, cat. 294.

17.73 Samos, Vathy Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Body

Dimensions: H: 37.0

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 31, cat. B 113.

17.74 Sofia, National Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Kazanluk

Parts Preserved: Complete

Dimensions: H: 39.3; D (max): 34.0

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

17.75 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum x.1899.22

Provenance: Chersonnes, Grave 1012 (under city wall, right of entrance 1)

Parts Preserved: Mouth with lid

Dimensions: H: 16.0

Bibliography: *Khersonesskii Sbornik* 1 1926, figs. 14-15; Diehl 1964, 31, 155, cat. B 133.

17.76 Syracuse, Museo Regionale Paolo Orsi

Provenance: Canalicchio (nekropolis)

Parts Preserved: Complete (?)

Bibliography: *NSc* 1956, 150, fig. 4; Diehl 1964, 31, B 114.

17.77 Thasos, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Thasos

Parts Preserved: Body, Horizontal handles

Description: Upper surface of mouth inscribed “ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΣ / ΝΙΚΙΠΤΑΙ / ΕΔΟΚΕ.”

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 31, 150, cat. B 116.

17.78 United States, Private Collection (Chicago)

Provenance: Uncertain (but said to have been found with a siren kalpis)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Upper surface of mouth inscribed with chased letters: “ΤΟΝ ΤΑΝΑΓΡΑΙΣ·ΑΕΘΛΟΝ” which marks it as a prize from games in Tanagra. Short, narrow neck with a shallow concave curve leads to a wide, rounded shoulder, fairly flat on top, and a rounded body that tapers down at the lowest point. Ogive foot with outlined tongues on the central section with a cyma reversa profile.

Side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. The side handles made in one piece; plain round disks attach curved handles to body.

Dimensions: H: 34.0

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

17.79 Epidauros, Archaeological Museum (?)

Provenance: Palaia Epidauros, Grave 7

Parts Preserved: Body (fragmentary, especially in area of shoulder)

Description: Thick, heavy overhanging lip. Tall, fairly straight neck. Flattened shoulder and tapered body.

Bibliography: Piteros 1989, 81, pl. 39a.

Group 18: Classical Bronze Kalpides with Attacking Lions at the Lower End of the Vertical Handle**18.1 Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum Inv. 1519**

Provenance: Baschova-Mogila

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules. Slender neck; rounded shoulder; tapered body; ogive foot in three parts, decorated with a ring of depressed tongues. Fluted vertical handle attaches at the neck with an oval-shaped plaque. At the lower end, a pair of lions attacks a beast (?). A satyr's head occupies the center of the lower attachment. The lions perch on an open-work scroll pattern, above a pendant palmette with seven rounded leaves.

Dimensions: H: 45.0

Bibliography: *JdI* 45, 1930, 290f., figs. 11-12; Filow 1934, 67f., figs. 85-86; Züchner 1942, 176, cat. 1; Diehl 1964, 39, 43, 81, cat. B 174.

18.2 Princeton, University Art Museum y1985-9

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Most of body (in two parts, with significant conservation), Vertical Handle, Horizontal Handle

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules. Inscribed: "ΠΑΛΑ...ΕΥΜΠΙ." Short, slender neck; rounded shoulder; tapered body; ogive foot in three parts, decorated with a ring of depressed tongues. Fluted vertical handle attaches at the neck with an oval-shaped plaque. At the lower end, a pair of lions attacks a beast (?). A satyr's head occupies the center of the lower attachment. The lions perch on an open-work scroll pattern, above a pendant palmette with seven rounded leaves.

Bibliography: *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 1986, 38.

18.3 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1400, Gids. No. 765

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Fluted vertical handle attaches at the neck with an oval-shaped plaque. At the lower end, a pair of lions attacks a beast (?). A satyr's head occupies the center of the lower attachment.

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 604.

Group 19: Classical Varia**19.1 Athens, Akropolis Museum 7039**

Provenance: Athenian Akropolis

Parts Preserved: Miniature hydria. Heavy, flared mouth; rounded shoulder and body; flared foot with depressed tongues. Chased zigzag pattern around mid-section of body, in the handle zone. The vertical handle rises well above the level of the rim. At the lower end, a circular plaque with a schematically chased pendant palmette. The side handles are thick and ribbed, with round panels chased with schematic pendant palmettes at either end.

Bibliography: Ridder 1896, cat. 162, fig. 26; Diehl 1964, 28, 30, cat. B 105a.

19.2 Athens, Akropolis Museum (no inv. number)

Provenance: Athenian Akropolis

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Dimensions: H: 6.5; W: 6.5

Bibliography: Ridder 1896, 58, cat. 172.

19.3 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Misc. Inv. 7907

Provenance: Eretria

Parts Preserved: Complete with restorations (especially on body below shoulder)

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules. Short, wide neck; broad, rounded shoulder; sagging body; flared foot in two parts. The vertical handle attaches at the top of the neck with a round plaque. The grip is round in cross-section. At the lower end, there is a horizontal ring of small beads. Below, a bearded satyr or silenos face in low relief. The side handles curve up in the center and attach to the vase with plain, circular disks.

Dimensions: H: 43.0; D (max): 33.0

Bibliography: *AdI* 1883, 184, pl. N1; Fürtwangler 1887, pl. 149; Neugebauer 1923, 401f.; Neugebauer 1924, 99f; Fölzer 1906, 88f., cat. 183; Lamb 1929, 163; Picard 1940, 94; Charbonneaux 1962, 64; Diehl 1964, 39, 152, cat. B 173, pl. 20.1-2.

19.4 Once New York Market (Ariadne Galleries 2008)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and curved ovules outlined in low relief. Short, curved neck, broad, flattened shoulder, and full, sagging body taper to a low ogive foot with impressed tongues in the central section with a shallow cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with a round, fluted, convex disk. At the bottom, a winged female figure in a knielauf position (Nike? Iris?) wearing a long dress. She is balanced on an uneven platform with scrolls at both ends. The fluted side handles curve up in the center. At both ends, there are round, convex, fluted disks similar to the top of the vertical handle.

Dimensions: H: 48.0

Bibliography: <http://www.ariadnegalleries.com/greek/hydria-with-nike/>

19.5 Sofia, National Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle (?)

Description: At the upper end of the high handle, an open-mouthed lion with mane carved in low relief to the highest point of the grip. Flanking the lion, on the lip, is a pair of rotelles with beaded edges and rosettes on the outer faces. At the lower end, a running female figure (Iris? Nike?).

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 601.

19.7 Once New York Market (Sotheby's 2005)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules outlined in relief. Two punched inscriptions on the upper side of the mouth: "ΣΚΑΦΣΙΣ ΗΕΡΜΑΙΑ ΕΔΟΚΕ ΚΥΤΙΣ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΗ ΕΔΟΚΕ." Slim, rather short neck. Rounded shoulder curves down to full, tapered body and low ogive foot in three parts with impressed tongues decorating the central zone with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle attaches at neck with an oval-shaped plaque with an elongated half-palmette with rounded leaves on each side of the handle terminus. On the front side, a plaque with two seated sphinxes, shown in profile but with faces turned outwards. Below, pendant palmette with nine rounded leaves and small volutes extend into demi-palmettes. The

side handles are fluted and curve up in the center. At either end, a circular disk with radiating flutes.

Dimensions: H: 43.3

Bibliography: Gorny & Mosch 12.15.2004, 62-63, cat. 172; Sotheby's New York, 6.7.2005, cat. 7.

19.8 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.472 a-f

Provenance: Smyrna

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handles, Foot

Description: Fluted side handles curve up in the center. The foot is ogive in profile and decorated with a pattern of alternating lotus flowers and buds in low relief in the central section.

Dimensions: D (foot): 15.1

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 31, 33, cat. B 129; Bothmer 1965, 603; Comstock and Vermeule 1971, 301, cat. 427.

19.9 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.5448, 74.51.5452 (C.B. 182, 186)

Provenance: Cyprus

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handles

Description: Thin handles curve upwards in the center, attaching to the body of the vase with round, fluted disks on either side. Three rivets visible in each disk.

Dimensions: L: 6.7

Bibliography: Myres 1914, cat. nos. 4903, 4904; *Cesnola Atlas*, pl. LVII.4; Richter 1915, 248, cat. nos. 715, 716.

19.10 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 3507

Provenance: Olympia (Building C, under the Poros debris)

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handles

Description: Handle round in cross-section, curves upward in the center. Attaches to the body of the vase on either side with a round disk with a scalloped edge.

Dimensions: W: 12.1

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 107, 262, Hy 44, pl. 92.4a.

19.11 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 10367

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: Heavy. Thick handle, round in cross-section. At the center of the grip, a large bead. Attaches to the body of the vase on either side with a round disk with a scalloped edge.

Dimensions: H: 5.0; W: 6.5

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

19.12 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 7625

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handles

Dimensions: Handle round in cross-section, curves upward in the center. Attaches to the body of the vase on either side with a round disk with a scalloped edge.

Dimensions: W: 9.75

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 107, 263, Hy 46, fig. 92.4c.

19.13 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 5735

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: Handle round in cross-section, curves upward in the center. Attaches to the body of the vase on either side with a round disk with a scalloped edge.

Dimensions: W: 10.9

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 94, 107, 263, Hy 45, fig. 92.4b.

13.14 Olympia, Archaeological Museum BE 535, 535a

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handles, Foot

Description: Fluted handles curve upwards in the center. Attach to the body of the vase on either side with a round, fluted disk.

Dimensions: D: 14 (foot); H (foot): 2.6

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 110, 265, Hy 77-78, Foto Ol. 81/154.

19.15 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 68.11.2

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: Grip is are thick and curve up in the center. Shallowly fluted across the length of the grip; the edges of the flutes are beaded. At the ends, long palmettes with eleven pointed, ridged leaves. The volutes of the palmette are connected by a hatched band.

Dimensions: L: 16.5

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

19.16 Once London Market (Bonhams 2008)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handles

Description: Both handles broken at one end. Grips are thick and curve up in the center. Shallowly fluted across the length of the grip; the edges of the flutes are beaded. At the ends, long palmettes with eleven pointed, ridged leaves. The volutes of the palmette are connected by a hatched band.

Dimensions: L (m.p.): 20.5

Bibliography: *Bonhams* 5.1.2008, 101, cat. 186.

19.18 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1899.772a-f

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handles, Foot

Description: The grips of the lateral handles are fluted and end in flattened, rounded disks decorated with a pattern of radiating petals. The foot is ogive in profile and decorated with a kymation pattern in the central section.

Dimensions: L (m.p.): 20.5

Bibliography: *Bonhams* 5.1.2008, 101, cat. 186.

19.19 Lecce, Archaeological Museum 3942

Provenance: Rochavecchia

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handle

Description: Thin handles curve upwards in the center, attaching to the body of the vase with round disks on either side.

Dimensions: L: 11.6

Bibliography: Tarditi 1996, 146, cat. 108.

19.20 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3626 a-c

Provenance: Uncertain, Purchased in Athens 1907

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handles, Foot

Dimensions: L (hh): 12.5; D (foot): 15.5

Bibliography: Züchner 1942, 192, cat. 2; Eichler 1953, 240; Diehl 1964, 31, 33, cat. B 128.

19.121 Athens, Akropolis Museum (no inv. number)

Provenance: Athenian Akropolis

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Dimensions: H: 9.3; W: 7.5

Bibliography: Ridder 1896, 58, cat. 175.

19.22 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7111

Provenance: Athenian Akropolis

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Description: Lower attachment of vertical handle in the form of a pendant triangular plaque with a chased palmette with dis-proportionally large volutes and a hatched heart.

Dimensions: H: 4.5; W: 6.5

Bibliography: Ridder 1896, 58, cat. 174, fig. 34.

19.23 Königsberg, Archäologischen Museum der Albertus-Universität F31

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Foot

Description: Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with beads around the uppermost section, depressed tongues around the central zone with a cyma reversa profile, and a second ring of elongated beads on the lower part.

Dimensions: H: 2.5; D: 15.0

Bibliography: Lullies 1935, 69, cat. 188, pl. 28.

19.24 Nemea, Archaeological Museum Br 377

Provenance: Nemea

Parts Preserved: Foot

Bibliography: Miller 1978, 84.

19.25 Nemea, Archaeological Museum Br 378

Provenance: Nemea

Parts Preserved: Foot

Bibliography: Miller 1978, 84.

19.26 Nemea, Archaeological Museum Br 380

Provenance: Nemea

Parts Preserved: Foot

Bibliography: Miller 1978, 84.

19.27 Nemea, Archaeological Museum Br 381

Provenance: Nemea

Parts Preserved: Foot

Bibliography: Miller 1978, 84.

19.28 Isthmia, Archaeological Museum IM 110, IM 748

Provenance: Isthmia

Parts Preserved: Foot fragments

Description: Plain foot with complex moldings consisting of a cyma reversa, fillet, half-round, and fillet.

Dimensions: *IM 110:* H: 4.0; L: 8.0. *IM 748:* L: 1.8

Bibliography: Raubitschek 1998, 36, cat. 148a,b, pl. 28; Rostoker and Gebhard 1980, 351, 362, pl. 104e.

19.29 Isthmia, Archaeological Museum IM 109, IM 386

Provenance: Isthmia

Parts Preserved: Foot fragments

Description: Plain foot with complex moldings consisting of a cyma reversa, fillet, half-round, and fillet.

Dimensions: *IM 109:* H: 4.0; L: 6.8; Th. 1.0. *IM 386:* H: 6.2; L: 5.3.

Bibliography: Raubitschek 1998, 36, cat. 149a,b, pl. 28.

19.30 Rhodes, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Rhodes

Bibliography: *ILN* May 1933, 712; Diehl 1964, 34, 37-38, cat. B 167.

19.31 Worms, Städtisches Museum RB 432

Provenance: Uncertain (ex-Heyl)

Parts Preserved: Complete (missing one horizontal handle)

Description: Surfaces extremely corroded. The overhanging lip is heavy and decorated with ovules in relief. The slender neck has a concave curve. The rounded shoulder leads to a tapered body. The foot takes a flared profile.

Dimensions: H: 12.5

Bibliography: Weickerling 1885, 100; Diehl 1964, 31, 33, 43, cat. B 136, pl. 13.1-2.

19.32 Bulgaria (Location Uncertain)

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

19.33 Bulgaria

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

19.34 Bulgaria (Location Uncertain)

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

19.35 Bulgaria (Location Uncertain)

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

19.36 Olympia, Archaeological Museum BE 536

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Neck, Shoulder

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules. Inscribed "ΘΡΑΣΕΑΙ."

Dimensions: H (m.p): 9; D (mouth): 15.9

Bibliography: Gauer 1991, 265, Hy 76.

19.37 Present Location Uncertain (Lost?)

Provenance: Rachmanlij, Bulgaria (burial mound)

Parts Preserved: Complete (?)

Bibliography: Filow 1934, 158f.; Diehl 1964, 39, 81, cat. B 175.

19.38 Kiev, Historical Museum (Pischane 2)

Provenance: Chance find near village of Pischane, Zolotonos'kyi Raion, Cherkas'ka Oblast' (in peat bog)

Parts Preserved: Complete except missing foot

Description: Overhanging lip, undecorated. Short, curved neck, broad shoulder, wide, tapering body. Plain round disks at the ends of all three handles. On the shoulder, underneath the vertical handle, there is a separately applied plaque with an eagle, wings outstretched, with a snake in its beak.

Dimensions: H: 42

Bibliography: Hanina 1970, 45f. 85-86, figs. 11, 29, 49, pls. 11, 29; Fuchs 1978, 114-115, pl. 19.1-3.

19.39 Athens, National Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)

Provenance: Athenian Akropolis

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle fragment

Dimensions: H: 5.0; W: 6.5

Bibliography: Ridder 1896, 58, cat. 173.

19.40 Athens, National Archaeological Museum X7294

Provenance: Athenian Akropolis

Parts Preserved: Rim fragment

Description: Inscribed "ΖΕΝΟΣ· ΕΡ[ΚΕΙΟΥ] [ΗΑ]ΥΤΕΣ· ΚΑΙ ΠΑΙΔΟΝ· ΘΕΚΕΝ· ΑΓΑΛΜΑ· ΕΤΕΟΝ."

Dimensions:

Bibliography: Shapiro 2008, 56, cat. 15.

Group 20: Late Classical Bronze Kalpides with Mythological Appliqués**20.1 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.11.6**

Provenance: Acquired on Paris Art Market. Said to be from Greece

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short neck with strong concave curve. Round, full shoulder curves to a round body that tapers at the bottom. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with a ring of beads above an alternating frieze of lotus flowers and lotus buds inlaid with silver. Vertical handle attaches at the neck with an oval plaque with foliate patterns in relief. Grip is round in cross-section with shallow flutes. Below, there is a narrative repoussé plaque at the lower end that is soldered around the curve of the shoulder of the vase. The plaque shows a winged female figure, likely Artemis, with her left arm wrapped around the neck of a stag and her right arm pulled back in preparation to attack the animal. Her legs are bent in action to help her steady the animal, as the stag rears back on his hind legs. The side handles are round in cross-section with shallow flutes and curves up at the center. At either end, a ring of small beads above convex disk with alternating lotus flowers and lotus buds inlaid with silver.

Dimensions: H: 41.6; D (max): 33.7

Bibliography: Richter 1937, 532f., figs. 1-4; Richter 1937, 255f., figs. 1-2; Richter 1959, 95, pl. 76 a,d; Züchner 1942, 192; Diehl 1964, 39-43, 152, cat. B 178; Koulemani-Vokotopoulou 1987, 158-59, 169., pl. 22

20.2 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum M0 7552*Provenance:* Aineia*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Large, circular iron lid fits over the mouth and rim. The overhanging lip is decorated with beads and ovules in relief. Short neck leads to a wide shoulder, flat on top and strongly rounded down to a round body that tapers at the bottom. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and buds in the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is fluted on the front side and attaches at the neck with a circular disk with a ring of alternating lotus flowers and buds in low relief. At the lower end, the handle attaches to the shoulder with a heart-shaped plaque decorated with a scroll pattern. In the center of the panel and rising up in front of the handle itself, in high relief, a winged female figure standing in a contrapposto position with her weight on her left leg and her right knee raised slightly so that her right heel is off the ground. She wears a long chiton that clings to her body and then billows outwards around her calves, giving the impression that she is striding forward. She holds a torch diagonally across her body. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. At either end, a ring of small beads forms the innermost section of a convex, circular disk decorated around the outer edges, alternating with three-leaved pendant lotus flowers.

Dimensions: H: 42.5; H (vh appliqué): 12.0; D (rim): 16.0; D (foot): 12.0*Bibliography:* Koulemani-Vokotopoulou 1987, 157-69, pls. 21-27.**20.3 Once Munich Market (Gorny & Mosch 2004)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, subtly curved neck continues into a relatively flattened shoulder that curves down to a wide, full body that tapers at the lower end to an ogive foot. The side handles are made in one piece, with plain round disks to either side of a grip that curves up in the center. The vertical handle attaches at the neck with a plain disk similar to the side handles. At the shoulder, the grip widens into a small panel with volutes to either side of a small female head in relief. Below, a separately worked panel with two figures. On the left, a short, male figure (Pan), nude except for a skin tied around his shoulders and hanging down behind him, knotted at the chest. He holds an elaborately chased thyrsos. His chest is smooth with some modeling to indicate pectoral and abdominal musculature. His legs are hairy, covered with chased locks. He is moving to right, with his right leg trailing and his left fist raised. On the right, a larger figure (Hermaphrodite), covered with a veil and drapery over the legs, reclines against a rock. The figure grasps the veil just above the shoulder, in a bridal gesture (?). The rock that the figure leans against is given an intricate pattern of small, punched dots.

Dimensions: H: 34.5*Bibliography:* Christie's New York 6.8.2005, 86, cat. 102; Gorny & Mosch 12.15.2004, lot 173.**20.4 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 8068***Provenance:* Lokris*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Short, curved neck leads down to a sloping, curved shoulder and a tapered body. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and lotus buds in relief in the central zone with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is fluted and attaches at the upper end with an oval shaped plaque with foliate patterns in relief. At the lower end, the flutes give way to a roughly crescent-shaped plaque that takes the form of long, pointed leaves on either side. Below, a separately applied plaque shows a winged male figure in a three-quarters view with his outer, left leg crossed over his right. He looks back over his left shoulder, which is draped with a piece of cloth. Both arms are raised and he holds a ball in each hand. The side handles are fluted and curve up in the center. At

both ends, there is a ring of small beads above a convex, circular disk with radiating petals in low relief.

Dimensions: H: 42.0; D (max): 28.0

Bibliography: Fölzer 1906, 91, cat. 192; Rubensohn 1911, 58, fig. 7; Neugebauer, 1925 12, fig. 20; Blinkenberg 1933, 105, fig. 44; Richter 1946, cat no. 1, pl. 24, fig. 4; Diehl 1964, 37, 39, 41-43, cat. B 181; Schwarzmeier 1997, 112, 200f.

20.5 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 2271

Provenance: Athens

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Grip is round in cross-section. At the top, there is an oval-shaped appliqué. Below, a tall siren with outstretched wings (left wing broken at mid-point, right wing broken at lower end) looking down towards her proper left hand (now empty, but once held an object). Her right hand reaches up to grasp a lock of hair. Her hair is rolled at the forehead with two tresses hanging down over each shoulder.

Dimensions: H: 27.0

Bibliography: Schneider 1895, pl. 37; *Gazette archaéologique* 2, 1876, pl. 35; Weigand 1923, 25, cat. 4; Diehl 1964, 34, 37, 39, cat. B 169, pl. 21.4

20.6 Once New York Market (Fortuna)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Slim, graceful neck; rounded shoulder; tapered body; ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and buds in low relief. Fluted vertical handle attaches at the neck with an oval-shaped plaque with chased foliate patterns. At the lower end, the flutes give way to a roughly semi-circular panel with rosettes with raised centers and elongated leafy shapes at the edges. Below, there is a separately applied panel with a standing, elongated, winged siren plucking the strings of a lyre. The siren stands on an elaborately carved, openwork foliate and scroll pattern.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

20.7 Paris, Louvre 4308

Provenance: Myrina

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot

Description: Vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an oval-shaped plaque with a ring of tiny beads above radiating petals in low relief. The handle itself is faceted. At the lower end, a winged, nude, male figure with long locks of hair falling over his shoulders, standing in a contrapposto position with his weight on his left leg. His right arm is raised above his head and is broken at the wrist. His left arm is bent at the elbow with an outstretched forearm, now broken. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards at the center, attaching to the body of the vase with a pair of circular disks decorating with a ring of beads above radiating petals interspersed with three-leaved lotus flowers in low relief. The foot is ogive in profile and decorated with alternating lotus flowers and schematically rendered lotus buds in low relief.

Dimensions: W (hh): 14.5

Bibliography: Pottier-Reinach 1888, 495, 580, pl. 49, 50.1; Richter 1946, 363f., cat. 4, pl. 25, fig. 12; Charbonneaux 1962, 64, pl. 9.1; Diehl 1964, 39, 153, cat. B 177; Pfrommer 1980, 538-539, fig. 5; Ajootian 1996, 114, fig. 65.

20.8 United States, Private Collection (Boston)*Provenance:* Mylasa, Caria*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Thin, overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Upper surface of mouth inscribed, “ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΓ ΜΥΛΑΣΩΝ ΖΗΝΟΠΙΟΣΕΙ[ΔΕΩ]ΝΟΣ.” Tall, nearly straight neck leads down to a sloped shoulder and rounded, tapering body. The foot is ogive and decorated with a ring of lotus petals in low relief. The long, slender vertical handle attaches at the neck with a convex, oval-shaped plaque with radiating flutes. At the lower end, a fragmentary appliqué representing an eagle, shown frontally with wings outspread (right side broken). In front of the eagle, a male figure, nude except a piece of drapery that hangs to his right side and behind his back. The figure stands, moving to right, with his right leg crossed over his left. His arms reach upwards, the left hand caressing the eagle’s head and the right hand extended horizontally, holding a piece of drapery.

Side handles are fluted and curve up in the center. At either end, a convex, circular disk with radiating petals in low relief.

Dimensions: H: 47.0*Bibliography:* Hermann and Kondoleon 2004, 21, fig. 1, n. 12.**20.9 Istanbul, Tire Museum 93/93***Provenance:* Uncertain (?) [Tire?]*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Thin, Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Tall, nearly straight neck leads down to a sloped shoulder and rounded, tapering body. The foot is ogive in profile and decorated with a ring of lotus petals in low relief. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an oval disk articulated with long, leafy patterns. Grip is fluted. Transitional panel is roughly semi-circular in shape, with a leafy pattern similar to the upper attachment. Appliqué shows an eagle, shown frontally with wings outspread. In front, a male figure, nude except a piece of drapery that hangs to his right side and behind his back. The figure stands, moving to right, with his right leg crossed over his left. His arms reach upwards, the left hand caressing the eagle’s head and the right hand extended horizontally, holding a piece of drapery. The side handles are fluted and curve up in the center. At either end, a convex, circular disk with radiating petals in low relief.

Dimensions: H: 52*Bibliography:* Gürler 2004, 78, cat. 60.**20.10 United States, Private Collection (New York)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Curved neck leads to a rounded shoulder and tapered body. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with a ring of beads above a row of alternating lotus flowers and buds in low relief in the central section with a cyma reversa profile. Fluted vertical handle attaches at the neck with a round plaque with lotus flowers and buds in low relief. At the lower end, a crescent-shaped panel attaches to the shoulder, decorated with abstract leaf patterns. Below, the appliqué takes the form of a scroll-patterned background with a single figure in high relief. The female figure stands frontally, weight on her right foot, while the left leg crosses behind. Both of her arms are outstretched, the left arm extends horizontally and the right arm holds the staff of a thyrsos. Her head is tilted upwards. Her hair is tied up and tied with a fillet. She wears a tied shoes and a long, diaphanous gown that slips down on her right shoulder, revealing her breast. Side handles are fluted and curve up in the center. At either end, a convex (shallow), round disk with a ring of alternating lotus flowers and buds in low relief.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

20.11 Volos, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: near Volos (?)

Parts Preserved: Complete with lid (some damage to body)

Description: Round, flat lid with chain still attached. Thin, overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. A tall, curved neck leads down to a rounded, sloping shoulder and a tapered body. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with pendant petals alternating with lotus flowers on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is shallowly fluted and attaches at the top with an oval-shaped plaque with radiating petals in low relief. At the lower end, a winged male figure moving to left, nude except for a piece of drapery hanging over his left elbow and trailing behind him. He strides to left, left leg crossed over right, perched on the balls of his feet. His hair is pulled up into a knot on the top of his head. In his left hand, he holds a phiale. In his right hand he holds a tall, four-tiered thymiaterion. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. The ends of the flutes form the inner ring of a floral motif that continues on circular disks with radiating petals in low relief.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

20.12 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.89

Provenance: Bonikovo (Akarnania)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle appliqué

Description: Winged, nude, male figure, Eros, stands in a contrapposto position with his weight on his right leg. He looks over his left shoulder. He holds a phiale in his raised left hand and an oinochoe hangs from his right hand.

Dimensions: H: 14.0

Bibliography: Richter 1915, 65-66, cat. 106, fig. 106; Picard 1940, 90, no. B 1; Züchner 1942, 195; Richter 1946, 363f., cat. 3, pl. 25, fig. 10; Richter 1959, 111, pl. 90b; Diehl 1964, 39, 42, cat. B 183; Schwarzmeier 1997, 33, 96 n. 516, pl. 56.4.

20.13 London, British Museum 306

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Body fragments, Appliqué fragments

Description: Mouth inscribed ΛΕΙΤΡΑΣ, which perhaps may be taken as a unit of measuring volume. Appliqué shows a winged man with a thyrsos in his right hand and the edge of a chlamys over the opposite arm.

Bibliography: Heydemann 1869, 30; Bothmer 1965, 604.

20.14 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AC.15

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Gracefully curving neck leads to a rounded shoulder and gradually tapering body down to a low, spreading ogive foot. The vertical handle attaches at the neck with an oval plaque and below with two tassle-shaped extensions. Grip is round in cross-section. Below, fitted into the lower side of the tassles, a repoussé plaque representing a heavily draped and armed female figure, probably Athena, with her supporting, proper left leg turned out, knee bent, and the right leg extended. Her outer arm grips the inside of a shield, while the right arm reaches out to grasp a nude, male figure by the hair. The man is kneeling on his right knee while his left leg is outstretched. His right arm bends up to grab Athena's hand, while his left arm reaches towards her dress. A snake is coiled around his waist and bent leg. The far left side of the plaque is broken. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center. To either side, a round disc attaches the handle to the vase.

Dimensions: H: 40.6; D (body): 26.0

Bibliography: Züchner 1942, 5, fig. 24; Bothmer 1965, 604; Bothmer 1974, 16, figs. 10-13; *J Paul Getty Museum* 2002, 42.

20.15 Villa Giulia*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Appliqué fragment*Description:* Athena, on the left, holds a shield with a gorgoneion in relief on the oblique in one hand and a spear in the other. She stands in a wide-legged stance with her weight on her back, bent leg in preparation to hurl her spear forward towards an anguiped giant on his knees in front of her. His head is broken but his arched torso and raised right arm with bulging bicep survives.*Bibliography:* Züchner 1942; Bothmer 1965, 605.**20.16 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.119***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. A rather short, slim neck moves seamlessly into a sloping, curved shoulder and tapered body. Compact ogive foot decorated with alternating lotus flowers and lotus buds in relief on the lower section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is fluted and attaches at the shoulder with an oval-shaped plaque with foliate patterns in low relief. At the shoulder, the fluted handle gives way to a flattened, horizontal plaque with rosettes in low relief to either side. Below, a separately attached panel represents a large nude, male figure, Herakles, striding to left, standing on a rocky ground-line. In his right hand, he holds the end of a club that he carries on his right shoulder. With his left arm, he carries a seated, winged, male child, Eros, who looks back over his left shoulder and reaches with his left arm in that direction, palm outstretched. A lion's skin hangs behind Herakles in a somewhat unclear position. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. The ends of the flutes form the inner ring of a floral motif that continues on circular disks with radiating petals in low relief.*Bibliography:* *J. Paul Getty Museum* 2002, 41; Schwarzmeier 1997, 125 n. 643, pl. 56.3.**20.17 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18775***Provenance:* Pharsala, Larisa*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Tall, slim neck; rounded shoulder and tapered body. The foot is ogive in profile and decorated with alternating lotus flowers and buds on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. Fluted vertical handle attaches at the neck with an oval plaque with chased foliate designs. At the lower end, a separately applied panel with two figures, one male, one female. The winged male figure, on the left, moving to right, stands with his weight on his bent left leg while his right leg trails behind. His arms wrap around the waist of a female figure, whom he has lifted off the ground. She crosses her right leg over her left in mid-air and grasps his arm with her left arm. Her right hand rests behind his shoulders and grasps her own drapery behind his back. The male figure is nude but the female figure wears a long, clinging garment that floats around her legs and behind the couple. The side handles are fluted and curve up in the center, attached to the vase with circular disks with lotus flowers alternating with broad, veined petals in low relief.*Dimensions:* H: 49.0; H (vh appliqué): 17.0; D (max): 32.0*Bibliography:* Verdelis 1950-51, 80-105, pls. 1-2; Charbonneaux 1962, 65; Diehl 1964, 39-42, 153, cat. B 201; Venedikov 1965, 56, 57-65, cat. 7, fig. 9; Schwarzmeier 1997, 74, 111f.**20.18 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 53.11.3***Provenance:* Chalke (near Rhodes)*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* Thin, Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Long, slim neck curves down to a sloping shoulder and an elongated, gracefully tapering body. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and lotus buds on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is fluted and attaches at the upper end with an oval-shaped plaque with carved foliate patterns and below with a roughly crescent-shaped panel

(now broken at both corners) with chased foliate patterns and a rosette with raised center in low relief to either side of the handle. The repoussé plaque (broken at the lower end, especially on the left side) shows a winged, bearded male figure, standing on a rocky surface, wearing a high boots and a cloak knotted around his neck and draped over his left shoulder, hanging down to his knees. He balances his weight on both feet, legs bent, and looks out diagonally to his right as he holds a woman in his arms. His left arm wraps behind her waist and his right arm bends up to grab her wrist and pulls her arm behind his neck. The woman, wearing a long, flowing garment that reveals the curves of her body, bends back gracefully, her feet between his legs and her free arm pulled up to her forehead. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards at the center. The ends of the flutes form the inner ring of petals at the top of a pair of circular disks with radiating petals alternating with lotus flowers.

Dimensions: H: 48.2

Bibliography: Walters 1899, xlv; Christie's 1912, 93, no. 368; Sotheby's 1939, 46, no. 271, pl. X; Richter 1946, 365, no. 18, fig. 22, pl. XXVII; Verdelis 1950-51, 90; Soethby's 1953, no. 12; Bothmer 1955, 198-99; Diehl 1964, 39-42, cat. B 198; Neuser 1982, 43, 47f., 55, 194, no. B 11; *LIMC* III (*Boreas*) 1986, vol. 1, 138, no. 170, pl. 121.

20.19 United States, Private Collection (New York)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Long, slim fairly straight neck, shoulder sloping on top with a strong curve down to a tapered body and an ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and buds in low relief. Below the vertical handle, there is a separately applied panel with a winged, bearded male figure, standing on a rocky surface, wearing a high boots and a cloak knotted around his neck and hanging down his back. He balances his weight on both feet, legs bent, and looks out diagonally to his right as he holds a woman in his arms. His left arm wraps behind her waist and his right arm bends up to grab her wrist and pulls her arm behind his neck. The woman, wearing a long, flowing garment that bares her left breast and reveals the curves of her body, bends back gracefully, her feet between his legs and her free arm pulled behind his neck. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center, attaching to the vase with round disks with eight veined petals in low relief at either side.

Dimensions: H: 52.7

Bibliography: Unpublished (?)

20.21 Present Location Uncertain

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Appliqué

Description: Winged, bearded male figure, standing on a rocky surface, wearing a high boots and a cloak knotted around his neck and draped over his left shoulder, hanging down to his knees. He balances his weight on both feet, legs bent, and looks out diagonally to his right as he holds a woman in his arms. His left arm wraps behind her waist and his right arm bends up to grab her wrist and pulls her arm behind his neck. The woman, wearing a long, flowing garment that reveals the curves of her body, bends back gracefully, her feet between his legs and her free arm pulled up to her forehead.

Bibliography: Walters 1899, xlv; Richter 1946, 365, cat. 21; Venedikov 1965, 56-65, cat. 6, fig. 8.

20.22 London, British Museum 310

Provenance: Kalymnos (near Kos)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle appliqué, Horizontal handles

Description: Winged, bearded male figure, standing on a rocky surface, wearing a high boots and a cloak knotted around his neck and draped over his left shoulder, hanging down to his knees. He balances his weight on both feet, legs bent, and looks out diagonally to his right as he holds a woman in his arms. His left arm wraps behind her waist and his right arm bends up to grab

her wrist and pulls her arm behind his neck. The woman, wearing a long, flowing garment that reveals the curves of her body, bends back gracefully, her feet between his legs and her free arm pulled up to her forehead.

Dimensions: H: 13.2

Bibliography: Newton 1865, pl. 15; Robinson 1942, 190, cat. 78; Richter 1946, 365f., cat. 19, pl. 28.23; Diehl 1964, 39-42, 153, cat. B 199; Venedikov 1965, 57-65, fig. 8; Schwarzmeier 1997, 22 n. 121.

20.23 Nessebar, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Nessebar (ancient Mesembria)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and egg-and-dart pattern in relief. Long, slim fairly straight neck, shoulder sloping on top with a strong curve down to a tapered body. Ogive foot in three parts with lotus flowers in relief on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is missing, but the repoussé plaque survives. Winged, bearded male figure, standing on a rocky surface, wearing a high boots and a cloak knotted around his neck and draped over his left shoulder, hanging down to his knees. He bends his left knee, right leg trailing, and looks out as he holds a woman in his arms. His arms wrap around her waist. The woman, wearing a long, flowing garment bends backwards and looks over her right shoulder. Her left arm hangs down towards the hem of her dress and her right hand reaches up towards her hair, as her dangling feet brush the ground between his legs. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards at the center, attaching to the vase with round, convex disks at either side.

Bibliography: Chimbuleva 1962, 38-41, no. 3; Bothmer 1965, 604 (?); Venedikov 1965, 49, 52-54, 57-65; cat. 2, figs. 3-4.

20.24 Nessebar, Archaeological Museum

Provenance: Nessebar (ancient Mesembria)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and egg-and-dart pattern in relief. Long, slim fairly straight neck, shoulder sloping on top with a strong curve down to a tapered body. Ogive foot in three parts with lotus flowers in relief on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is missing, but the repoussé plaque survives. Winged, bearded male figure, standing on a rocky surface, wearing a high boots and a cloak knotted around his neck and draped over his left shoulder, hanging down to his knees. He bends his left knee, right leg trailing, and looks out as he holds a woman in his arms. His arms wrap around her waist. The woman, wearing a long, flowing garment bends backwards and looks over her right shoulder. Her left arm hangs down towards the hem of her dress and her right hand reaches up towards her hair, as her dangling feet brush the ground between his legs. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards at the center, attaching to the vase with round, convex disks at either side.

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 604 (?); Venedikov 1965, 49-52, 57-65, cat. 1, figs. 1-2.

20.25 Sofia, National Archaeological Museum 5039

Provenance: Nessebar (ancient Mesembria)

Parts Preserved: Complete with lid

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Long, slim fairly straight neck, shoulder sloping on top with a strong curve down to a tapered body and an ogive foot in three parts. Below the vertical handle, there is a separately applied vertical handle with a winged, bearded male figure wearing a high boots and a cloak knotted around his neck and draped over his left shoulder, hanging down to his knees. He bends his left knee, right leg trailing, and looks back behind his right shoulder as he holds a woman in his arms. His arms wrap around her waist. The woman, wearing a long, flowing garment bends backwards and looks over her right shoulder. Her arms reach up for her head as her dangling feet are swept off the ground. The

side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center, attaching to the vase with round disks at either side.

Dimensions: H: 51.0; D (max): 33.0

Bibliography: Kazarow 1911, 308f., figs. 4-5; Richter 1946, 365f., cat. 17, pl. 28, fig. 21; Diehl 1964, 39-42, 153, cat. B 197.

20.26 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen SL 34

Provenance: Kyzikos

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip, long, slim fairly straight neck, shoulder sloping on top with a strong curve down to a tapered body. Spreading ogive foot with tongues on the lower section. Below the vertical handle, on a separately applied panel, there is a winged, bearded male figure, standing on a rocky surface, wearing a high boots and a cloak knotted around his neck and draped over his left shoulder, hanging down to his knees. He bends his left knee, right leg trailing, and looks out as he holds a woman in his arms. His arms wrap around her waist. The woman, wearing a long, flowing garment bends backwards and looks over her right shoulder. Her left arm hangs down towards the hem of her dress and her right hand reaches up towards her hair, as her dangling feet brush the ground between his legs. The side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center, attaching to the vase with round disks at either side.

Dimensions: H: 46.2

Bibliography: Sieveking 1913, 78-79, pls. 36-37; Züchner 1942, 145; Richter 1946, 365f., cat. 20, pl. 28, fig. 24; Diehl 1964, 39-42, cat. B 200; Venedikov 1965, 49, 54-55, 57-65, figs. 5-6.

20.27 Delphi, Archaeological Museum (no inv. number)

Provenance: Makrokomi

Parts Preserved: Body, Horizontal handles

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Long, curving neck down to a rounded, sloping shoulder and a round body that tapers towards the foot (now missing). The vertical handle is now lost, but the outlines left by the solder affixing the plaque beneath the vertical grip are clear enough to enable an identification of the subject, which was the abduction of Oreithyia by Boreas.

Dimensions: H: 42.0

Bibliography: Roux 1954, 91-92, fig. 2; Diehl 1964, 39-40, 154, cat. B 202; Rolley 1980, 30, cat. 37.

20.28 United States, Private Collection (New York)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete except appliqué

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Long, slim fairly straight neck, shoulder sloping on top with a strong curve down to a tapered body and an ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and buds in low relief. Below the vertical handle, there is a separately applied panel with a winged, bearded male figure, standing on a rocky surface, wearing a high boots and a cloak knotted around his neck and hanging down his back. He balances his weight on both feet, legs bent, and looks out diagonally to his right as he holds a woman in his arms. His left arm wraps behind her waist and his right arm bends up to grab her wrist and pulls her arm behind his neck. The woman, wearing a long, flowing garment that bares her left breast and reveals the curves of her body, bends back gracefully, her feet between his legs and her free arm pulled behind his neck.

Side handles are round in cross-section and curve upwards at the center, attaching to the vase with round disks with eight veined petals in low relief at either side.

Dimensions: H: 46.0

Bibliography: Unpublished.

20.29 Princeton, University Art Museum y1989-56*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle appliqué fragment*Description:* Small fragment of an appliqué showing the face of a bearded man with goat legs (Pan) lifting a female figure (Nymph) with a rolled hairstyle, wearing a chiton with a v-shaped neckline. Flowing drapery forms the background.*Dimensions:* H: 14.5*Bibliography:* Schefold 1960, 92, 261, 262, cat. 344; Diehl 1964, 39-40, cat. B 179; LIMC Supplement 1997, Pan 185.**20.30 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 51.11.8***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete (with restorations)*Description:* Thin, Overhanging lip, narrow neck. Upper side of mouth inscribed “TEIΣI...[...graffiti: XAPTA, KAPPAΛE, ΣQIΣTP.” Shoulder relatively flat on top with a strong curve down to a long, tapered body.

The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the upper end with an oval plaque. At the lower end, just beneath the handle and connecting it with the body of the vase, there is an ornamental plaque in the form of two hanging tassels. A separately applied plaque (heavily restored) represents a pair of figures standing on a rocky ground-line. The male figure, Dionysos, on the left, wears a short chiton and high boots. He moves to right, with his weight on his right leg and his back, left leg raised. His left arm wraps around the back of his female companion. The woman, Ariadne, wearing a long, flowing dress, also moves to right. Her right arm is around the waist of Dionysos and she holds a torch in her outstretched left arm.

Side handles are fluted and curve upwards at the center. The ends of the flutes form the inner ring of petals at the top of a pair of circular disks with radiating petals alternating with lotus flowers. Compact ogive foot.

Dimensions: H: 52.0*Bibliography:* *Bulletin City Art Museum*, St. Louis 1924, 11; *Auction Kende Galleries* 1945, 70, no. 235; Richter 1946, 364, cat. 14, figs. 15, 16, 20; Bothmer 1954/55, 199f.; Diehl 1964, 39-42, cat. B 194; Schwarzmeier 1997, 22 n. 121, 74 n. 426, 125 n. 643.**20.31 Formerly Private Collection (Once Segredakis)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* Thin, Overhanging lip, narrow neck. Shoulder relatively flat on top with a strong curve down to a long, tapered body. The vertical handle is round in cross-section and attaches at the upper end with an oval plaque. At the lower end, just beneath the handle and connecting it with the body of the vase, there is an ornamental plaque in the form of two tassels. A separately applied plaque represents a pair of figures standing on a rocky ground-line. The male figure, Dionysos, on the left, wears a short chiton and high boots. He moves to right, with his weight on his right leg and his back, left leg raised (broken at the far edge). His left arm wraps around the back of his female companion. The woman, Ariadne, wearing a long, flowing dress, also moves to right but is turned almost frontally. She looks over her right shoulder. Her right arm is around the waist of Dionysos and her left arm hangs down by her side. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards at the ends. Side handles are fluted and curve upwards at the center. The ends of the flutes form the inner ring of petals at the top of a pair of circular disks with radiating petals alternating with lotus flowers. Compact ogive foot.*Dimensions:* H: 52.0*Bibliography:* Richter 1946, 364f., cat. no. 14, pl. 26, figs. 15-16, pl. 27, fig. 20.

20.32 Chantilly, Musée Condé*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Long, slim neck with a seamless curve to a sloping, rounded shoulder and tapering body.

The vertical handle is fluted and attaches at the upper end with an oval-shaped plaque with chased foliate designs and below with a flattened, rounded extension with two rosettes in low relief. Beneath the handle, a separate appliqué with two figures standing on a rocky ground-line. A male figure on the left, identified as Dionysos, wears boots and a loosely draped cloak across his left shoulder and thigh. He looks to his left, where holds a thyrsos and a piece of drapery with his left, slightly bent arm. His right arm rests on the shoulders of his female to his right. She stands on her right leg, with her left leg bent and crossed across her right knee. Her right arm rests on her hip and her left arm reaches behind her companion's back. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards at the center, attaching to the body of the vase with a pair of circular disks decorating with a ring of beads and floral motifs in relief. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and lotus buds on the central section with a cyma reversa profile.

Dimensions: H: 41.0*Bibliography:* Picard 1940, 86f., pl. 8; Richter 1946, 364f., cat. 11, pl. 27, fig. 18; Diehl 1964, 39-41, cat. B 191; Schwarzmeier 1997, 124f.**20.33 Bucharest, Muzeul National de Istorie al Romaniei 48899***Provenance:* Callatis/ Mangalia*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Long, slim neck with a seamless curve to a sloping, rounded shoulder and tapering body. The vertical handle is fluted and attaches at the upper end with an oval-shaped plaque with hanging leaves and demi-palmettes in low relief around the rounded ends of the fluted channels. Beneath the handle, a separate appliqué with two figures standing on a rocky ground-line. A male figure on the left, identified as Dionysos, wears boots and a loosely draped cloak across his left shoulder and thigh. He looks to his left, where holds a thyrsos and a piece of drapery with his left, slightly bent arm. His right arm rests on the shoulders of his female to his right. She stands on her right leg, with her left leg bent and crossed across her right knee. Her right arm rests on her hip and her left arm reaches behind her companion's back. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards at the center, attaching to the body of the vase with a pair of circular disks decorating with a ring of beads and floral motifs in relief. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and lotus buds on the central section with a cyma reversa profile.*Dimensions:* H: 52; D (max) 41.5; H (foot): 4.5; D (foot): 14.5*Bibliography:* Zavatin-Coman 1972 (Dacia 16), 271-280. Schwarzmeier 1997, 32, 47, 123f.**20.34 London, British Museum 312***Provenance:* Chalke (near Rhodes)*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Slender neck with a concave curve moves seamlessly to a rounded shoulder and tapered body. The vertical handle is fluted and attaches at the upper end with an oval-shaped plaque with chased foliate motifs and at the lower end with a thin plaque that wraps around the shoulder with chased foliate patterns and a pair of rosettes with raised centers in low relief. Below the vertical handle, a separately applied plaque with two figures standing on a rocky ground-line. On the right, a male figure wearing a loosely draped garment sits on a rock and rests his right arm on it as he looks over his right shoulder at his female companion. The woman, wearing a heavy, draped garment leans back against the rock and adjusts her hair. A thyrsos lies across her body from the upper right to

lower left corner. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards at the center. The ends of the flutes form the inner ring of petals at the top of a pair of circular disks with radiating petals alternating with lotus flowers.

Dimensions: H: 47.0

Bibliography: Walters 1899, no. 312; Fölzer 1906, 91, no. 193; Sieveking 1925, pl. 5; Lamb 1929, 184, no. 2; Blinkenberg 1933, 104, fig. 43; Picard 1940, 90, no. A 6, fig. 7; Richter 1946, 364f., cat. 12, pl. 26, fig. 14; Diehl 1964, 39-40, 42-43, cat. B 192; Schwarzmeier 1997, 32, 57, 122.

20.35 Chantilly, Musée Condé

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Tall, slim neck with concave curve. Broad, rounded shoulder and tapered body. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and lotus buds in relief on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. Fluted vertical handle attaches at upper end with an oval-shaped plaque with chased foliate patterns. Below, the handle gives way to a flattened plaque with a pair of rosettes with raised centers. A separately applied panel shows two figures, one male, one female, stand in a rocky landscape. The male, on the left, leans against a rock or tree stump between the two figures, supporting himself with his right arm. His chest is bare except for a piece of drapery that covers his left shoulder and arm before draping down his right side and covering his hips and legs. In his bent left arm, he holds a mirror but looks away from it, down over his right shoulder. The female figure to his right, stands in a contrapposto position with her weight on her right leg. She wears a long dress under a short, belted chiton pinned at the shoulders. Another piece of drapery covers her left shoulder and falls behind her back, emerging again over her right forearm, which is placed at her hip. Her hair is rolled at the forehead and pulled back. She looks over her left shoulder at her companion. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards at the center, attaching to the body of the vase with a pair of circular disks decorating with a ring of beads above radiating petals interspersed with three-leaved lotus flowers in low relief.

Dimensions: H: 46.0

Bibliography: Picard 1940, 74f., 90, pl. 6; Richter 1946, 354f., cat. 6, pl. 24, fig. 5; Diehl 1964, 39-40, 42-43, cat. B 186; Schwarzmeier 1997, 31.

20.36 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 30071

Provenance: Amisos (on the Black Sea)

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle appliqué, Foot

Description: Broken at the lower right side. Two figures, one male, one female, stand in a rocky landscape. The male, on the left, is winged and nude, with a single lock of long hair falling over each of his shoulders. He stands in a contrapposto position with his weight on his right leg. He supports himself with his left arm, resting on a rock or tree stump between the two figures. His right arm reaches across his chest towards the chin of his companion. She, also winged, is heavily draped in a long, belted chiton and a himation wrapped around her left arm and covering her waist and hips. Her hair is tied back and covered. Her right arm reaches behind his back and rests on his right shoulder. Her left arm is bent and placed on her hip. She looks away from him, down to her left.

Dimensions: H: 13.9

Bibliography: Wiegand 1923, pl. 13.1-2; Speier 1932, 79, pl. 26.3; Züchner 1942, 175, 178f., fig. 87; Richter 1946, 364f., cat. 9, pl. 25, fig. 8; Diehl 1964, 39-40, 42, cat. B 189; Schwarzmeier 1997, 31f., 39, 57, 75f., 83f., 121.

20.37 Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum 2001.12.1*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Fairly tall, slender neck with a shallow concave curve gives way to a sloping, rounded shoulder and tapered body. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and lotus buds in relief on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is fluted and attaches at the neck with an oval-shaped plaque with foliate patterns in low relief. At the lower end is a separately applied plaque that slots into the fluted ends of the handle with a stylized floral pattern with geometrically rendered rosettes with open centers. Below, two standing figures, one male and winged, one female, stand on a rocky ground-line. The male figure, standing on the left, is nude except for shoes and a cloth draped around his right shoulder and left arm, hanging mostly behind his back to form the backdrop for the vignette. His left arm hangs down by his side and his right arm pulls up the drapery at his shoulder. He stands in a contrapposto position with his weight on his right leg. He looks over his left shoulder at his female companion. The woman stands on the right side of the composition, also in a contrapposto position, with her weight on her outer, left leg. In contrast to her nearly nude counterpart, she is heavily draped with a long chiton underneath a short chiton, and also wears shoes and a veil. Her right arm is hidden behind the back of the male figure and her hand rests on his right shoulder. Her left arm reaches up to lift her veil. She looks over her right shoulder towards the winged figure. The side handles are fluted and turn upwards in the center. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. The ends of the flutes form the inner ring of a floral motif that continues on circular disks with radiating petals in low relief.

Dimensions: H: 46.2; D (mouth): 16.2; D (max): 30.0; D (foot): 14.5; H (vh appliqué): 14.1; W (vh appliqué): 10.1; D (hh disks): 5.4-5.5

Bibliography: Gaunt, et. al. 2006, 363-67, figs. 1, 4a.

20.38 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 5310*Provenance:* Apollonia (near Broussa)*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Slim neck with concave curve leads seamlessly down to a rounded shoulder and tapered body. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and lotus buds in relief on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. Fluted vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an oval-shaped plaque with chased foliate motifs. The lower end of the handle gives way to a flattened plaque with two rosettes with raised centers in low relief. Below, a separately applied panels shows two figures, one male, one female, stand in a rocky landscape. The male, on the left, is winged and nude, with a single lock of long hair falling over each of his shoulders. He stands in a contrapposto position with his weight on his right leg. He supports himself with his left arm, resting on a rock or tree stump between the two figures. His right arm reaches across his chest towards the chin of his companion. She, also winged, is heavily draped in a long, belted chiton and a himation wrapped around her left arm and covering her waist and hips. Her hair is tied back and covered. Her right arm reaches behind his back and rests on his right shoulder. Her left arm is bent and placed on her hip. She looks away from him, down to her left. The side handles are fluted and turn upwards in the center. The ends of the flutes form the inner ring of a floral motif that continues on circular disks with radiating petals in low relief.

Dimensions: H: 48.5; H (vh appliqué): 0.14.0

Bibliography: Ogan 1936, 83f.; Devambez 1937, 57-69, pls. 15-18; Picard 1940, 90, no. A 8; Robinson 1942, 190, cat. 78; Richter 1946, 364f., cat. 5, pl. 24, fig. 6; Diehl 1964, 39-42, cat. B 185; Schwarzmeier 1997, 31 n. 180, 39, 123.

20.39 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 7806

Provenance: Epirus

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle appliqué

Description: Broken at the lower end. Two figures, one male, one female, stand in a rocky landscape. The male, on the left, leans against a rock or tree stump between the two figures, supporting himself with his right arm. His chest is bare except for a piece of drapery that covers his left shoulder and arm before draping down his right side and covering his hips and legs. In his bent left arm, he holds a mirror but looks away from it, down over his right shoulder. The female figure to his right stands in a contrapposto position with her weight on her right leg. She wears a long dress under a short, belted chiton pinned at the shoulders. Another piece of drapery covers her left shoulder and falls behind her back, emerging again over her right forearm, which is placed at her hip. Her hair is rolled at the forehead and pulled back. She looks over her left shoulder at her companion.

Dimensions: H: 14.5

Bibliography: Speier 1932, 83, pl. 30.2; Züchner 1942, 176, figs. 88, 181; Richter 1946, 364f., cat. 10, pl. 25, fig. 9; Diehl 1964, 39-40, cat. B 190; Schwarzmeier 1997, 31 n. 180, 38f, 121f.

20.40 London, British Museum 311

Provenance: Chalke (near Rhodes)

Parts Preserved: Mouth, Vertical handle appliqué, Horizontal handles, Foot

Description: Broken at top, especially on left side. Appliqué with two standing figures, one male, one female, stand on a rocky ground-line. The male figure, standing on the left, wears a cloak draped across his left shoulder and covering his legs. His left arm rests on a pillar placed between the two figures and his right arm is raised and either pulled the drapery away from his shoulder or held an object. He stands in a contrapposto position with his weight on his right leg, left leg crossed over in front. He looks over his left shoulder at his female companion. The woman stands on the right side of the composition, also in a contrapposto position, with her weight on her outer, left leg. In contrast to her nearly nude counterpart, she is heavily draped with a long chiton underneath a short chiton, and also wears shoes and a veil. Her right arm is hidden behind the back of the male figure and her hand rests on his right shoulder. Her left arm reaches up to lift her veil.

Bibliography: Walters 1899, cat. 46, pl. 11; Lamb 1929, 185, no. 6; Picard 1940, 90, no. B 6; Robinson 1942, 190, cat. 78; Züchner 1942, 181; Richter 1946, 364f., cat. 13, pl. 27, fig. 19; Schauenburg 1953, 53; Diehl 1964, 39-42, cat. B 193; Schwarzmeier 1997, 32.

20.41 Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations, particularly in appliqué) except horizontal handles

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Silver inlays in center of each ovule. Long, slim, curved neck moves seamlessly to a sloping, curved shoulder and a tapered body. The fluted vertical handle attaches to the neck at the upper end with an oval-shaped plaque decorated with jagged, leafy edges and rosettes to either side of the curved ends of the flutes. Below, a separately applied panels shows two figures, one male, one female, stand in a rocky landscape. The male, on the left, is winged and nude, with a single lock of long hair falling over each of his shoulders. He stands in a contrapposto position with his weight on his right leg. He supports himself with his left arm, resting on a rock or tree stump between the two figures. His right arm reaches across his chest towards the chin of his companion. She, also winged, is heavily draped in a long, belted chiton and a himation wrapped around her left arm and covering her waist and hips. Her right arm reaches behind his back and rests on his right shoulder. Her left arm is bent and placed on her hip. She looks away from him, down to her left. The side handles are fluted and turn upwards in the center. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. The ends of the flutes form the inner ring of a floral motif that continues on circular disks with radiating petals in low relief.

Bibliography: Unpublished (?).

20.42 London, British Museum 313*Provenance:* Telos (near Rhodes)*Parts Preserved:* Mouth and body, Vertical handle and appliqué*Description:* Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Long, slim, curved neck moves seamlessly to a sloping, curved shoulder and a tapered body. The fluted vertical handle attaches to the neck at the upper end with an oval-shaped plaque decorated with chased foliate patterns. Below, the fluted handle gives way to a plaque with two careful rosettes with raised centers in low relief above two winged figures set in a stippled, rocky landscape. The male figure, on the left, is nude, with locks of hair falling on either side of his face down to his shoulders. He stands in a contrapposto position with his weight on his outer, right leg and supports himself by resting his left hand on a tree stump or rock placed between himself and his companion. His right arm reaches across his chest, towards her chin. On the right, the female figure is heavily clad, in a long-sleeved chiton with chased decoration around her breasts and a himation that wraps around her left arm and covers her hips and legs. Her hair is pulled back and covered. She stands in a contrapposto position with her weight on her left leg and the right leg crossed in front. Her left arm rests on her hip and her right arm wraps around the shoulders of her partner. She looks out over her left shoulder.*Dimensions:* H: 39.4*Bibliography:* Lippold 1939, 569; Züchner 1942, 180; Richter 1946, 364f., cat. 7, pl. 24.7; Diehl 1964, 39-42, cat. B 187; Schwarzmeier 1997, 31 n. 180, 39f., 123f., 211, pl. 56.1.**20.43 London, British Museum 309***Provenance:* Kyme (Aeolis)*Parts Preserved:* Vertical handle appliqué fragment*Description:* Small fragment of a plaque, showing a woman, heavily clad in a belted chiton with a himation draped across her hips, and with her hair tied back and covered, looking to right. The hand of another figure reaches from the left across her chest towards her chin.*Dimensions:* H: 7.0*Bibliography:* Walters 1899, cat. 309; Robinson 1942, 190, cat. 78; Züchner 1942, 181; Richter 1946, 364f., cat. 8, pl. 25, fig. 11; Diehl 1964, 39-40, cat. B 188; Schwatzmeier 1997, 31 n. 180.**20.44 United States, Private Collection (New York, White-Levy)***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* Overhanging lip. Fairly tall, slender neck with a shallow concave curve gives way to a sloping, rounded shoulder and tapered body and an ogive foot in three parts. The vertical handle is fluted and attaches at the neck with an oval-shaped plaque with chased foliate patterns. At the lower end is a separately applied plaque that fits into the fluted ends of the handle with a stylized floral pattern with geometrically rendered rosettes with open centers at either side of a band of vertically chased lines that give the impression of an abstracted leaf pattern. Below, two seated male figures facing towards each other. The taller of the two, seated on the left, is shown in three-quarters view. Hewears a pointed cap that hangs down in the back over his shoulders and a long, clinging chiton. His right arm reaches across his body to pluck the strings of a lyre that rests against his left side. On the opposite side, a nude figure represented in a position between three-quarters view and profile, sits with his left leg hanging loosely over the side of his seat and his right knee drawn up to support his right elbow. His left arm reaches across his chest and rests under his right bicep. His face is shown in profile, facing towards his lyre-playing companion, chin resting on his right hand.

Side handles are fluted and turn upwards in the center. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center, attaching to the vase at either end plain, circular disks.

Dimensions: H: 48.2; D (rim): 18.2; D (body): 31.2; D (foot): 15.9*Bibliography:* Chi and Gaunt 2005, 22, 23, 28, cat. 8; Gaunt and Stein 2006, 366, pls. 3, 4b.

20.45 United States, Private Collection*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Thick overhanging lip without decoration. Tall, narrow, subtly curved neck leads to a relatively flattened shoulder and tapered body. Ogive foot, undecorated. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end to the neck with an oval plaque articulated with long leafy patterns with pointed edges. Grip is fluted. At the bottom, there is a separately applied panel with a pointed leafy pattern in relief at the top and a single winged female figure (Nike?) shown in three-quarters view to the left. She wears a long chiton with a himation over her left shoulder. She holds a round object (mirror?) in her raised right hand and a fillet in her left hand, which is by her side. The side handles are fluted and turn upwards in the center. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center, attaching to the vase at either end plain, circular disks.

Dimensions: H: 51.4*Bibliography:* Ward 1989, cat. 11.**20.46 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18787***Provenance:* Pharsala, Larisa*Parts Preserved:* Complete with lid

Description: Lid is circular and sits flush against the inner side of the beaded rim. At the top, a ring-handle for lifting and a long, round-headed nail for sealing the vessel. The overhanging lip is decorated with beads and ovules in relief. Silver inlay appears in the center of each of the eggs. Slim, curved neck leads to a broad, rounded shoulder and a tapered body. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and buds inlaid with silver, on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The fluted vertical handle attaches at the neck with an oval-shaped plaque decorated with chased foliate patterns and at the bottom with a wide, rounded appliqué with chased pointed petals. Below, a separately applied panel with a winged female figure wearing a long, clinging chiton and a himation over her hips and legs. She stands in a contrapposto position with her weight on her left leg. She looks down towards her left. Her arms reach upwards, holding long strands of hair out to the sides. The side handles are fluted and turn up in the center. At either end, a ring of small beads around the fluted handle forms the innermost section of a convex, circular disk decorated around the outer edges with chased petals with silver inlay in the center of each alternating with three-leaved pendant lotus flowers.

Dimensions: H: 48.8; H (vh): 25.7; H (vh appliqué): 14.9; W (hh) 12.4; H (foot): 4.0*Bibliography:* Cook and Boardman 1954, 158; Bothmer 1965, 604.**20.47 Amphipolis, Archaeological Museum 7344***Provenance:* near Amphipolis (?)*Parts Preserved:* Mouth, Body fragments (especially from neck and shoulder); Vertical handle and appliqué, Horizontal handles, Foot

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Slim, curved neck leads to a broad, rounded shoulder. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and buds in low relief in the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The fluted vertical handle attaches at the neck with an oval-shaped plaque decorated with chased foliate patterns. Below, there is a separately applied panel with a winged female figure wearing a long, clinging drapery. She stands in an exaggerated contrapposto position with her weight on her left leg and her right hip pushed far out to the side. Her head is turned in three-quarters view towards her left. Her arms reach upwards, her left arm towards her hair, the right one holding a crown. The side handles are fluted and turn up in the center. At the outer ends, the flutes form the inner ring of a floral motif continued on convex, circular disks with a ring of chased ivy leaves and lotus flowers.

Bibliography: *Treasures of Macedonia*, cat. 362.

20.48 Once New York Market (Symes 1999)*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and curved ovules outlined in low relief. A narrow silver inlay has been placed on the front side of each egg. Subtly curved neck leads to rounded shoulder and tapered body. The foot is ogive in profile and decorated with alternating pattern of lotus buds and lotus flowers in low relief. A silver dart is inlaid on each lotus bud. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an oval plaque decorated with four demi-palmettes in low relief. Grip is fluted. At the lower end, a round disk with alternating lotus buds and lotus flowers with silver inlays attaches the handle to the shoulder. Below, a single female winged figure (Nike?) is shown in three-quarters view, moving to left. Her hair is rolled into a short coiffure. She wears a long, sleeveless belted garment, which has slipped off her shoulder on the right side, revealing her breast. In her right hand, she holds a wreath (?) and in her left, she reaches for her garment that has come loose. She wears a copper bracelet on her arm. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. At the ends, there are flattened round disks with radiating petals and lotus flowers in low relief.

Dimensions: H: 47.5*Bibliography:* Symes 11.30-3.12.1999, cat. 9.**20.49 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1984.750***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. The neck is slender, the shoulder, rounded, and the body evenly tapered. The foot is ogive in profile and decorated with alternating lotus flowers and lotus buds in relief on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The fluted vertical handle attaches at the neck with an oval-shaped plaque with foliate designs. At the lower end, the flutes give way to a panel of elongated leaves. Below, there is a separately worked appliqué with two figures. The larger, male figure is winged and wears only a loosely draped cloth around his legs and a bracelet around each wrist. He stands in a contrapposto position with his weight on his right leg. His right arm reaches up towards a lock of his hair and the left hand holds a mirror or bowl, into which he gazes. Beneath his bent, left elbow, a small female figure in an upright position, wearing heavy drapery and bracelets on both wrists.

Dimensions: H: 45.0; W: 38.0*Bibliography:* *Museum Year* 1984-85, 27, 47; Vermeule 1987, 68-69; Comstock and Vermuele 1988, 82f., cat. 100; Schwarzmeier 1997, 33 n. 189.**20.50 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 44.11.9***Provenance:* Eretria*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Long, almost straight neck leads down to a sloping, curved shoulder and a tapered body. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and lotus buds in relief on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is fluted and attaches to the neck with an oval-shaped plaque with chased foliate patterns. At the shoulder, it attaches with a flattened, horizontal plaque with chased vertical lines and scalloped, leafy edges. Below, a separately applied panel shows a winged male figure standing in a contrapposto position with his weight supported on his right leg and his left leg crossed in front. He wears only a piece of cloth draped across his thighs and calves. Both arms are bent, the right one reaching up to adjust his hair and the left one holding a mirror. Beneath his left elbow, a small, heavily draped female figure on a short, round platform. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards at the center, ending with rounded disks decorated with a floral pattern.

Dimensions: H: 50.8; H (vh): 30.0; L (hh): 12.3 H (foot): 4.2

Bibliography: BMMA 1946, 184f.; Richter 1946, 361f., cat. 2, pls. 22-23; Züchner 1942, 195, cat. 2; Verdélis 1950/51, 89, cat. 7; Bothmer 1954/55, 198; Diehl 1964, 37, 39, 42, cat. B 182; Schwarzmeier 1997, 32 n. 184, 91 n. 504, 124f., 204, pl. 56.2.

20.51 Greece, Private Collection (Thessalonike)

Provenance: Uncertain (near Thessalonike?)

Parts Preserved: Lip fragments, Appliqué fragment, Horizontal handles

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules outlined in low relief, separated by narrow, pointed darts. A narrow silver darts is inlaid in the center of each ovule. Approximately half the circumference of the lip is preserved. Appliqué with winged, nude youth standing in contrapposto with his weight on his right leg and the left leg crossed in front, at the knee. His left arm is bent and the hand rests just behind the hip. He leans on his right, bent arm, which rests on a folded piece of cloth slung over the top of a herm with a three-stepped base. Side handles are fluted and curve upwards. Thin strips of silver inlaid in each carination. At the ends, rounded, convex disks with an alternating frieze of rounded petals and small palmettes with three leaves.

Bibliography: Michaud 1970, 1066, 1068, figs. 387-389; Reinsberg 1980, 23; Schwarzmeier 1997, 37 n. 213, 38 n. 220.

20.52 Tirana, Tirana Archaeological Museum 8915

Provenance: Selca, from one of the monumental tombs at Selca e Poshtëme.

Parts Preserved: Appliqué

Description: Nude, winged boy wears a chlamys across his hips and legs. He stands in a contrapposto position with his weight on his right leg and the left leg crossed over at the knee. His right hand reaches up to his hair, while his left hand grasps the upper end of a colum, on top of which is balanced a silen theater mask.

Dimensions: H: 14.3; W: 9

Bibliography: Eggebrecht 1988, 323, cat. 207.

20.53 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7913

Provenance: Eretria

Parts Preserved: Complete (with restorations, especially in lower body)

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Fairly tall neck with concave curve moves to a shoulder that slopes down on the top before curving down to a tapering body. Compact ogive foot decorated with an alternating pattern of lotus flowers and lotus buds. The vertical handle is fluted and attaches at the neck with an oval shaped-plaque with chased foliate patterns. At the lower end, the flutes give way to a roughly crescent-shaped plaque that takes the form of long, pointed leaves on either side. Below, a separately applied panel shows two nude, male figures standing on a rocky ground-line. On the left, a male figure, Dionysos, stands upright in a contrapposto position. His right arm rests against his side, while his left arm hangs over the shoulders of his companion and he turns his head to look at him. The figure on the right takes an unsteady, bow-legged stance. He looks over his right shoulder towards Dionysos and tilts his head backwards as he looks up. His right arm is behind Dionysos' back and his left arm is hidden beneath the edge of a long skin that hangs behind his back. Neither the satyr nor Dionysos wears any clothes but flowing garments seem to float behind them in the background. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards at the center. The ends of the flutes form the inner ring of petals for a floral motif that is continued on circular disks with chased rounded petals and alternating pointed leaves.

Dimensions: H: 47.5; D (max): 36.0

Bibliography: Tsountas 1886a, 57; Tsountas 1886b, 36; Politis 1936, 149, cat. 1; Ridder 1894, 10f., no. 29; Lamb 1929, 185, pl. 71b; Picard 1940, 82, fig. 5, 90, A 4; Richter 1946, 364f., cat. 15, pl. 27, fig. 17; García-Bellido 1951, 145, fig. 23; Züchner 1942, 194; Diehl 1964, 39-42, 153, cat. B 195; Schwarzmeier 1997, 21, 33, 44 n. 282, 85 n. 487, 115 n. 608, 201.

20.54 Nessebar, Archaeological Museum*Provenance:* Nessebar (ancient Mesembria)*Parts Preserved:* Lid, Mouth, Body fragments, Vertical handle with appliqué, Horizontal handles, Foot.

Description: Simple disk-shaped lid with a circular depression in the center. Not attached to mouth but lays over it. The overhanging lip is decorated with beads and ovules in relief. The foot is ogive in profile and decorated with alternating lotus flowers and lotus buds in relief on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The v handle attaches at the neck with an oval-shaped plaque with chased radiating petals in relief. Grip is fluted. At the lower end, a roughly crescent-shaped plaque attaches to the shoulder, with irregular, leafy edges and a pair of rosettes with raised centers in relief. Below, a separately applied panel shows two standing male figures, both nude except for calf-length boots and a cloak draped around their shoulders. The figure on the left, Dionysos, is beardless and youthful, with a lean, muscular body. He stands in a contrapposto position with his weight on his right leg, gesturing outwards with one arm (broken at the wrist) and draping his left arm around the shoulder of his companion. His companion, a bearded satyr with exaggerated facial features and a soft, rounded body, stands with his weight balanced on two bent legs, facing frontally. His right arm disappears behind Dionysos' back and his left arm is bent at the elbow and is broken at the wrist. Flowing drapery wraps around their shoulders and behind their backs.

Side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. At either end, the ends of the flutes form the inner ring of petals of a floral pattern continuing on the circular disks below, which are decorated with eight radiating petals, each with a sliver of inlaid silver in the center, alternating with small, three-leaved lotus flowers.

Bibliography: Chimbuleva 1962, 38-41, no. 3; Bothmer 1965, 604 (?); Schwarzmeier 1997, 32f (?).

20.55 Paris, Louvre MNE 1191, Br 4997*Provenance:* Nessebar (ancient Mesembria)*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Slender neck with a concave curve moves seamlessly to a sloping, curved shoulder and a tapered body. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and lotus buds in relief on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle attaches at the neck with an oval-shaped plaque with chased radiating petals in relief. Grip is fluted, giving the appearance of being braided, with a series of v-shaped bands. At the lower end, a roughly crescent-shaped plaque attaches to the shoulder, with irregular, leafy edges and a pair of rosettes with raised centers in relief. Below, a separately applied panel shows two standing male figures, both nude except for calf-length boots and a cloak draped around their shoulders. The figure on the left, Dionysos, is beardless and youthful, with a lean, muscular body. He stands in a contrapposto position with his weight on his right leg, gesturing outwards with one arm (broken at the wrist) and draping his left arm around the shoulder of his companion. His companion, a bearded satyr with exaggerated facial features and a soft, rounded body, stands with his weight balanced on two bent legs, facing frontally. His right arm disappears behind Dionysos' back and his left arm is bent at the elbow, holding a thyrsos in his hand. Flowing drapery wraps around their shoulders and behind their backs. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. At either end, the ends of the flutes form the inner ring of petals of a floral pattern continuing on the circular disks below, which are decorated with eight radiating petals, each inlaid with silver in the center, alternating with small, three-leaved lotus flowers.

Dimensions: H: 51.0

Bibliography: Picard 1940, pl. 8; *Arkeologiya* 4 1962, 38-41, no. 3; Bothmer 1965, 604 (?); *Revue du Louvre* 2002, 16-17.

20.56 Elis, Archaeological Museum M 2791*Provenance:* Elis*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Slender neck with a concave curve moves seamlessly to a sloping, curved shoulder and a tapered body. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and lotus buds in relief on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle attaches at the neck with an oval-shaped plaque. Fluted grip. At the lower end, a roughly crescent-shaped plaque attaches to the shoulder, with irregular, leafy edges and a pair of rosettes with raised centers in relief. Below, a separately applied panel shows two standing male figures, both nude except for calf-length boots and a cloak draped around their shoulders. The figure on the left, Dionysos, is beardless and youthful, with a lean, muscular body. He stands in a contrapposto position with his weight on his right leg, gesturing outwards with one arm (broken at the wrist) and draping his left arm around the shoulder of his companion. His companion, a bearded satyr with exaggerated facial features and a soft, rounded body, stands with his weight balanced on two bent legs, facing frontally. His right arm disappears behind Dionysos' back and his left arm is bent at the elbow, holding a thyrsos in his hand. Flowing drapery wraps around their shoulders and behind their backs. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. At either end, the ends of the flutes form the inner ring of petals of a floral pattern continuing on the circular disks below, which are decorated with a lotus-and-palmette pattern.

Dimensions: H: 50*Bibliography:* Αραπογιάννη 1995, 123, pl. 54A.**20.57 Corfu, Archaeological Museum 3475***Provenance:* Paramythia*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. The neck is tall and slender, the shoulder rounded, and the body evenly tapered. The foot is ogive in profile and decorated with alternating lotus flowers and buds in low relief on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is fluted and attaches at the neck with an oval-shaped plaque with chased foliate designs. At the lower end of the handle, the flutes give way to a semicircular panel with tiers of chased leafy patterns. Below, a separately applied panel shows two figures moving to right on a rocky ground line. The smaller figure, on the right, wears an animal skin knotted around his neck. He balances his weight on two bent legs as he steadies the larger figure in front. His outer, left arm is bent at the elbow and extended, but is broken at the forearm. The larger figure stands unsteadily, swaying backwards. He is bearded and wears a fillet across his forehead, tied in the back. A cloak is draped across his arm but he is otherwise nude. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. The ends of the flutes for the inner ring of petals for a floral motif that continues on the convex, circular disks with small, pointed petals radiating around the center at either end.

Bibliography: Spetsieri-Choremi 1997, 30.**20.58 Chantilly, Musée Condé***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Tall, slender neck and a shoulder that is flat on top and rounded where it meets the body, which tapers to an ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and lotus buds on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is fluted and attaches to the neck with an oval-shaped plaque with chased foliate patterns. At the shoulder, the handle widens into a semi-circular panel with vertically chased lines and irregular, leafy edges. Beneath the handle, a separately applied plaque shows two male figures standing on a rocky groundline. The figure on the right leads as they move to right. He looks down towards his feet, His striding legs are bent and share his weight. His body is rounded. His left arm holds a torch (?) and his right arm

disappears behind the shoulders of his companion. The figure on the left has a more toned physique, visible even under his flowing, knee-length chiton. His left arm is hidden behind the first figure, while his back, right arm holds a torch. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. The ends of the flutes form the inner ring of petals for a floral motif that continues on circular discs with rounded petals.

Dimensions: H: 51.0

Bibliography: Picard 1940, 81f., 90, pl. 7; Richter 1946, 364f., cat. 16, pl. 26, fig. 13; Diehl 1964, 32, 39-40, 42, cat. B 196; Schwarzmeier 1997, 44 n. 282.

20.59 Once New York Market (Symes 1999)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete with lid

Description: Mouth covered by flat lid with round knob in center. Overhanging lip with small beads and wide, rounded ovules outlined in low relief. A narrow 'dart' is placed between each ovule. Slender, subtly curved neck, rounded shoulder, tapered body. Narrow ogive foot with alternating lotus buds and lotus flowers in relief. The vertical handle attaches at the upper end with an oval plaque decorated with a foliate pattern in relief. Grip is fluted. Below, there is a separately applied panel with foliate patterns in relief at the top and a mythological scene with two figures in repousse below. On the right, Dionysos, shown in three-quarters view moving to left, wears a short chiton and mantle over his shoulder and boots. He holds a thyrsos in his outer hand, with the top resting over his shoulder. He wears an ivy wreath in his hair. He looks at and wraps his right arm around the shoulder of his companion, a satyr, who is much smaller in scale. The satyr is naked except for the cloak that wraps around his back arm. The curly-headed satyr looks up at Dionysos and holds a long torch in his outer hand. They stand on a rocky groundline, now mostly broken, especially on the left side. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. At the ends, round, convex disks with beaded edges are decorated with radiating, ribbed petals alternating with small florals.

Dimensions: H: 42.5

Bibliography: Symes 11.30-3.12.1999, cat. 9.

20.60 Thasos, Archaeological Museum (no. inv. number?)

Provenance: Thasos (nekropolis, Ladikas plot)

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads above and ovules below, with a strip of silver inlaid in the center of each egg. The neck curves seamlessly down to a rounded, sloping shoulder and tapered body. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and lotus buds on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is fluted and attaches at the upper end with an oval-shaped plaque with chased foliate designs. At the lower end, the handle connects to the body with a roughly crescent-shaped plaque with chased foliate patterns and a pair of rosettes with raised centers in low relief. Below, a separately applied panel represents a standing, nude male figure, Dionysos, and a seated panther in a rocky landscape. Dionysos stands on his right leg and bends the left, leaning backwards on a rock, supporting himself with his left arm. His right arm reaches out and curves under the panther's chin. The panther sits upright and reaches one forepaw behind Dionysos' legs to touch the cloth-covered rock, while his left forepaw rests lightly on Dionysos' right bicep. The branches of a bent tree hang overhead, filling the space between the two figures. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. At either end, the ends of the flutes form the inner ring of petals of a floral pattern continuing on the circular disks below, which are decorated with eight radiating petals, each with a sliver of inlaid silver in the center, alternating with small, three-leaved lotus flowers.

Bibliography: Sgourou 2002, 12, pl. 4 a,b; Sgourou 2004, 721, pl. 283a.

20.61 Greece, Private Collection (Athens, Iolas, no. 119)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete (vertical handle appliqué broken)

Dimensions: H: 49.0; H (vh appliqué): 9.3; W (vh appliqué): 12.5; D (foot): 16.2

Bibliography: Andrioménou 1972, 438-40; Michaud 1973, 255, fig. 9; Andriouménou 1975, 544-51, figs. 14-17.

20.62 Greece, Private Collection (Athens, Iolas, no. 16)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete (vertical handle appliqué broken)

Dimensions: H: 48.5; D (foot): 14.3

Bibliography: Andriouménou 1975, 551-55, figs. 18-22.

20.63 Once Art Market

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle (missing appliqué)

Description: Fluted vertical handle with oval-shaped plaque at the upper end, decorated with chased foliate patterns. At the lower end, the fluted edges give way to a (now-broken) plaque with a pair of rosettes in low relief.

Dimensions: H: 18.0

Bibliography: *Auction Helbing* 1913, no. 566, pl. 23; Diehl 1964, 39, cat. B 205.

20.64 Once London Market (Bonhams 1998)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Rim, Vertical handle (missing appliqué), Horizontal handles

Description: Fluted vertical handle with oval-shaped plaque at the upper end, decorated with chased foliate patterns. At the lower end, the fluted edges give way to a (now-broken) plaque with a pair of rosettes in low relief.

Dimensions: H (vh), 17.7; L (hh): 11, 9.5; D (mouth): 17

Bibliography: *Bonhams* 9.22.1998, 108, cat. 398.

20.65 Richmond (VA), Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 57-18

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Complete except appliqué beneath vertical handle.

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Upper side of mouth inscribed "ΧΑΡΩΝΙΔΑ ΧΑΙΡΕ / ΔΕΙ." Long, slightly curved neck leads to a shoulder that is fairly flat on top and then rounds down to a full body that tapers at the very bottom. Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating chased lotus flowers and buds on the central section with a cyma reversa profile. The vertical handle is fluted and attaches at the upper end with an oval-shaped plaque with chased foliate designs. At the lower end, the flutes give way to a (now-broken) rounded panel with pointed leaf patterns. The side handles are fluted and curve upwards in the center. The ends of the flutes form the inner ring of a floral motif that continues on circular disks with radiating petals between lotus flowers in low relief.

Dimensions: H: 46.4

Bibliography: Picard 1935, 1450 n. 1; Glasser 1958; Diehl 1964, 39, 42, 154, cat. B 204, pls. 22-23; Fogg 1967, 112f., cat. 110; Bothmer 1965, 604; Hoffman 1976, 42, 44, fig. 34; *Virginia*, 106f., cat. 124; Hill 1976, cat. 19.

20.66 Israel, Private Collection (Jerusalem, Borowski)

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle appliqué, Horizontal handles (now attached wrongly to a Roman cinerary urn)

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 37, 39-40, cat. B 180

20.67 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 1954.193b

Provenance: Uncertain

Parts Preserved: Foot

Bibliography: Bothmer 1965, 604.

20.68 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Misc. Inv. 7430

Provenance: Smyrna

Parts Preserved: Complete except missing vertical handle appliqué

Bibliography: Fölzer 1906, 91, no. 191, cat. 241; Diehl 1964, 39, cat. B 203.

20.69 Leiden, National Museum of Antiquities LKA 1159

Provenance: Notion

Parts Preserved: Body fragments

Description: Inscribed ΟΛΥΜΠΙΧΟΥ ΕΙΜΙ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΦΡΟΝΟΣ.

Bibliography: Picard 1935, 1450 n. 1; Bothmer 1965, 605.

20.70 Olympia, Archaeological Museum BE 533

Provenance: Olympia

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle, Horizontal handles, Foot

Bibliography: Diehl 1964, 31, 33, cat. B 130.

20.71 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 4047

Provenance: Ephesos

Parts Preserved: Foot

Description: Ogive foot in three parts, decorated with alternating lotus flowers and buds in low relief in the central section with a cyma reversa profile.

Bibliography: Eicher 1953, 241, fig. 5; Bothmer 1965, 604.

Group 21: Late Classical and Hellenistic Varia**21.1 Chalkis, Archaeological Museum**

Provenance: Chalkis

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip; tall, almost straight neck; rounded shoulder, flat on top; sagging body; flared foot in two parts.

Heavy vertical handle attaches at the mouth with undecorated horizontal projections that sit flush against the rim. Grip is wide and articulated with a pendant tear-drop in low relief towards the upper end. Below, applied separately, a female head in low relief, facing frontally.

Bibliography: Züchner 1942, 181, 194, figs. 94, 95; Diehl 1964, 39, cat. B 176.

21.2 Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum Py 208

Provenance: Pydna

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Thick, overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Inscribed "ANAKIO AEΘΛΑ." A narrow mouth and short, slim neck lead to a broad shoulder, slightly sloping on the upper surface, and a rounded body that tapers at the very bottom to a low ogive foot in three parts. Vertical handle is round and slightly irregular in cross-section, attaching at the neck with basically circular disk with three rivets. Below, the handle adheres around the curve of the shoulder into a bi-lobed attachment with short, pointed projections at either side. The lower attachment seems to have been cut off abruptly at the lower end and has been shaved down on the front surface (toolmarks visible). Below, a female head and neck in high relief has been soldered onto the vase. The woman's head is turned slightly to right. Her hair is worn long, falling to her neck on both sides.

Side handles are found in cross-section and curve upwards at the center. On either side, there is a round, circular disk used to attach the handle to the shoulder of the vase.

Dimensions: H: 43.9; H (vh): 20.3; W (hh): 13.0; D (rim): 15.4; D (foot): 9.5-13.0

Bibliography: Grammenos 2004, 182-183.

21.3 Ankara, Archaeological Museum Inv. 10612

Provenance: Lerduge

Parts Preserved: Complete

Description: Overhanging lip with beads and ovules in relief. Long neck with a shallow concave curve. Rounded shoulder and belly, tapers at the very lowest point to a thin, flared foot. The vertical handle is slim and carved with shallow flutes. It attaches at the neck with a small, round plaque. At the shoulder, the flutes give way to a large, schematic palmette with eleven rounded leaves. Side handles are found in cross-section and curve upwards at the center. On either side, a round, circular disk.

Dimensions: H: 36.7; D (mouth): 13.6; D (max): 23.0; D (foot): 12.8

Bibliography: Akok 1948, 835-53, pls. 175-76; Diehl 1964, 47, 162, cat. B 217.

21.4 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Fr. 1657

Provenance: near Smyrna

Parts Preserved: Complete with lid (except foot)

Description: Vertical handle fits flush around the rim of the vase extending outwards and ending in flared, pointed tips (left tip broken) with a small circular projection decorated with a chased spiral on either end. Grip grip is rectangular in cross-section at the upper end and given a chased large tear-drop. Towards the lower end, thickened diagonal lines in relief give the effect of a braided handle. Below, a grape leaf with jagged edges and chased veins.

Dimensions: H: 46.0; H (vh): 33.0; L (hh): 10.9; D (max): 29.0

Bibliography: Friederichs 1871, 356; Diehl 1964, 48, 163, cat. B 219, pl. 29.1

21.5 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.5463

Provenance: near Smyrna

Parts Preserved: Vertical handle

Description: Vertical handle fits flush around the rim of the vase extending outwards and ending in flared, pointed tips (left tip broken) with a small circular projection decorated with a chased spiral on either end. Grip grip is rectangular in cross-section at the upper end and given a chased large petal or tear-drop. Towards the lower end, thickened diagonal lines in relief give the effect of a braided handle. Below, a grape leaf with jagged edges and chased veins.

Dimensions: H: 25.8

Bibliography: Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pl. IV; *Atlas III* (1903), pl. LIX, 2; Myres 1914, 494, no. 4896; Richter 1915, 250, no. 726 with ill.; Diehl 1964, cat. 48-49 n. 146; Bothmer 1965, 606.

21.6 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 66.11.12 a,b*Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete with lid*Description:* Pointed lid with final at top and two tiers of moldings at the lower end. The upper of the two moldings takes a cyma reversa profile and is articulated with a lotus-and-palmette pattern in low relief. The lower has an ovolo profile and is given a series of ovules, which is repeated on the overhanging lip. Tall, straight neck, sloping shoulder, slender, tapered body. Ogive foot with an elongated central section that takes a cyma reversa profile and is given a lotus-and-palmette pattern in low relief, beneath a ring of tiny beads. The vertical handle is joined at the neck with a small, circular disk. The fluted grip rises upwards from the upper point of attachment, achieving its greatest height well above the level of the rim. At the bottom, the handle meets the vase with a flattened panel articulated with an elaborate palmette outlined in low relief.*Dimensions:* H (lid): 9.6; D (lid): 12.2; H (total):40.3; D (mouth): 13.8; H (foot): 5.1; D (foot): 6.9-13.3*Bibliography:* Unpublished (?)**21.7 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 66.11.12 a,b***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete with lid*Description:* Pointed lid with final at top and two tiers of moldings at the lower end. The upper of the two moldings takes a cyma reversa profile and is articulated with a lotus-and-palmette pattern in low relief. The lower has an ovolo profile and is given a series of ovules, which is repeated on the overhanging lip. Tall, straight neck, sloping shoulder, slender, tapered body. Ogive foot with an elongated central section that takes a cyma reversa profile and is given a lotus-and-palmette pattern in low relief, beneath a ring of tiny beads. The vertical handle is joined at the neck with a small, circular disk. The fluted grip rises upwards from the upper point of attachment, achieving its greatest height well above the level of the rim. At the bottom, the handle meets the vase with a flattened panel articulated with an elaborate palmette outlined in low relief.*Dimensions:* H (lid): 9.6; D (lid): 12.2; H (total):40.3; D (mouth): 13.8; H (foot): 5.1; D (foot): 6.9-13.3*Bibliography:* Unpublished (?)**21.8 Milan, Archaeological Museum A 0.9.9285***Provenance:* Uncertain*Parts Preserved:* Complete*Description:* Flattened mouth, overhanging lip, nearly straight neck. Broad, rounded shoulder and round belly, tapers at lowest section to a thin, flared foot. The vertical handle is fluted on the front side. Attaches at the neck with a solid ivy-leaf shaped panel. At the lower end, a pair of goat's heads flanking a small pendant palmette. The side handles are found in cross-section and curve upwards at the center. On either side, a round, circular disk.*Dimensions:* H: 36.0*Bibliography:* *Corriere della Sera*, Milan, 30 August 1959, 4; Frova 1961-1963, 71-78; Diehl 1964, 47, 162, 158, cat. B 218, pl. 27.1.**21.9 Tunis, Bardo Museum Hydria (nr. MB 1 and unnumbered fragments of a second handle)***Provenance:* Mahdia shipwreck*Parts Preserved:* Horizontal handles*Description:* Grip is fluted; flutes flare into rosettes with intermediate darts at each end and in the middle to either side of a series of three flattened disks with narrow edges. Second handle is broken in three parts with the center section missing.*Dimensions:* L (MB 1): 15.7; H (MB 1): 6.2*Bibliography:* Petrovsky 1994, 665, 680, fig. 2.

21.10 Tunis, Bardo Museum Hydria 2 (nr. MB 2 and nr. MB 4)

Provenance: Mahdia shipwreck

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handles

Description: Grip is fluted; flutes flare into rosettes with intermediate darts at each end and in the middle to either side of a series of three flattened disks with narrow edges.

Dimensions: m.p.L (MB 2): 13.3; H (MB 2): 6.5; L (MB 4): 14.1; H (MB 4): 6.0

Bibliography: Petrovsky 1994, 665, 680.

21.11 Tunis, Bardo Museum Hydria 3

Provenance: Mahdia shipwreck

Parts Preserved: Horizontal handles

Description: Grip is fluted; flutes flare into rosettes with intermediate darts at each end and in the middle to either side of a series of three flattened disks with narrow edges.

Dimensions: L (handle 1): 17.8; H (handle 1): 6.5; m.p.L (handle 2): 10.9; m.p.H. (handle 2): 5.0

Bibliography: Petrovsky 1994, 665, 680-681, figs. 17-19.

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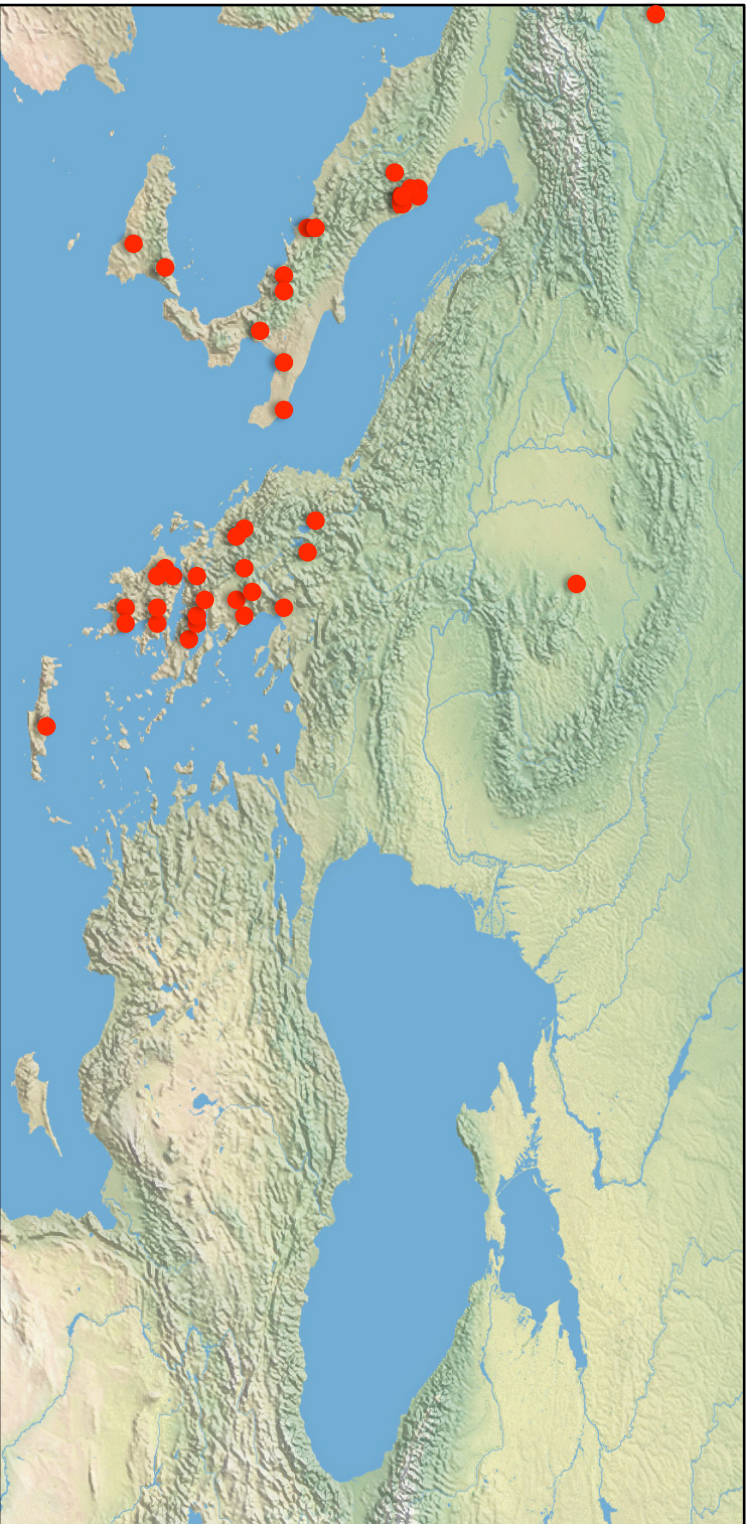
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Appendix 1: Geographic Distribution of Findspots

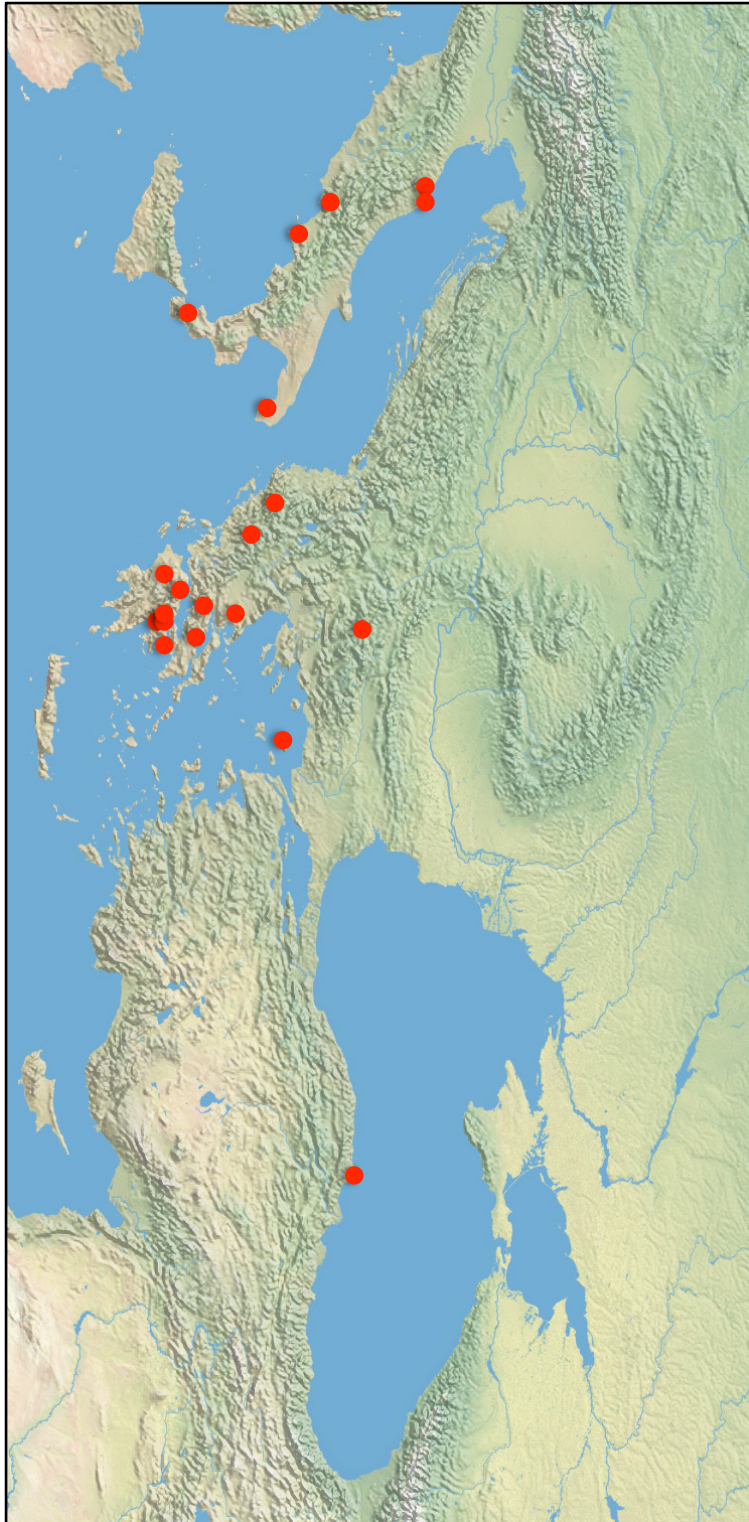
- 1A. Archaic Bronze Hydriai, *Groups 1-13*
- 1B. Late Archaic / Early Classical Bronze Hydriai, *Groups 14-15*
- 1C. Classical Bronze Hydriai, *Groups 16-19*
- 1D. Late Classical and Hellenistic Bronze Hydriai, *Groups 20-21*

- 1.1. *Group 1*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Non-Figural Decoration
- 1.2. *Group 2*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Swan's Heads
- 1.3. *Group 3*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with the Forepart of a Lion
- 1.4. *Group 4*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Palmettes and Animals
- 1.5. *Group 5*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with a Female Protome at the Lower End of the Vertical Handle
- 1.6. *Group 6*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with a Female Protome and a Palmette at the Lower End of the Vertical Handle
- 1.7. *Group 7*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Gorgoneia
- 1.8. *Group 8*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Ivy Leaves
- 1.9. *Group 9*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Anthropomorphic Handles (Kouroi)
- 1.10. *Group 10*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Zoomorphic Handles (Lions)
- 1.11. *Group 11*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Elaborately Decorated Handles (Non-Anthropomorphic)
- 1.12. *Group 12*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Elaborately Decorated Handles (Anthropomorphic)
- 1.13. *Group 13*: Archaic Varia
- 1.14. *Group 14*: Early Classical Bronze Hydriai with a Female Protome at the Top of the Vertical Handle (Argive Prize-Type)
- 1.15. *Group 15*: Early Classical Bronze Hydriai with a Lion's Head at the Top of the Vertical Handle
- 1.16. *Group 16*: Classical Bronze Hydriai and Kalpides with Sirens
- 1.17. *Group 17*: Plain Classical Bronze Hydriai and Kalpides
- 1.18. *Group 18*: Classical Bronze Kalpides with Attacking Lions at the Lower End of the Vertical Handle
- 1.19. *Group 19*: Classical Varia
- 1.20. *Group 20*: Late Classical Kalpides with Figural Appliqués
- 1.21. *Group 21*: Hellenistic Bronze Hydriai

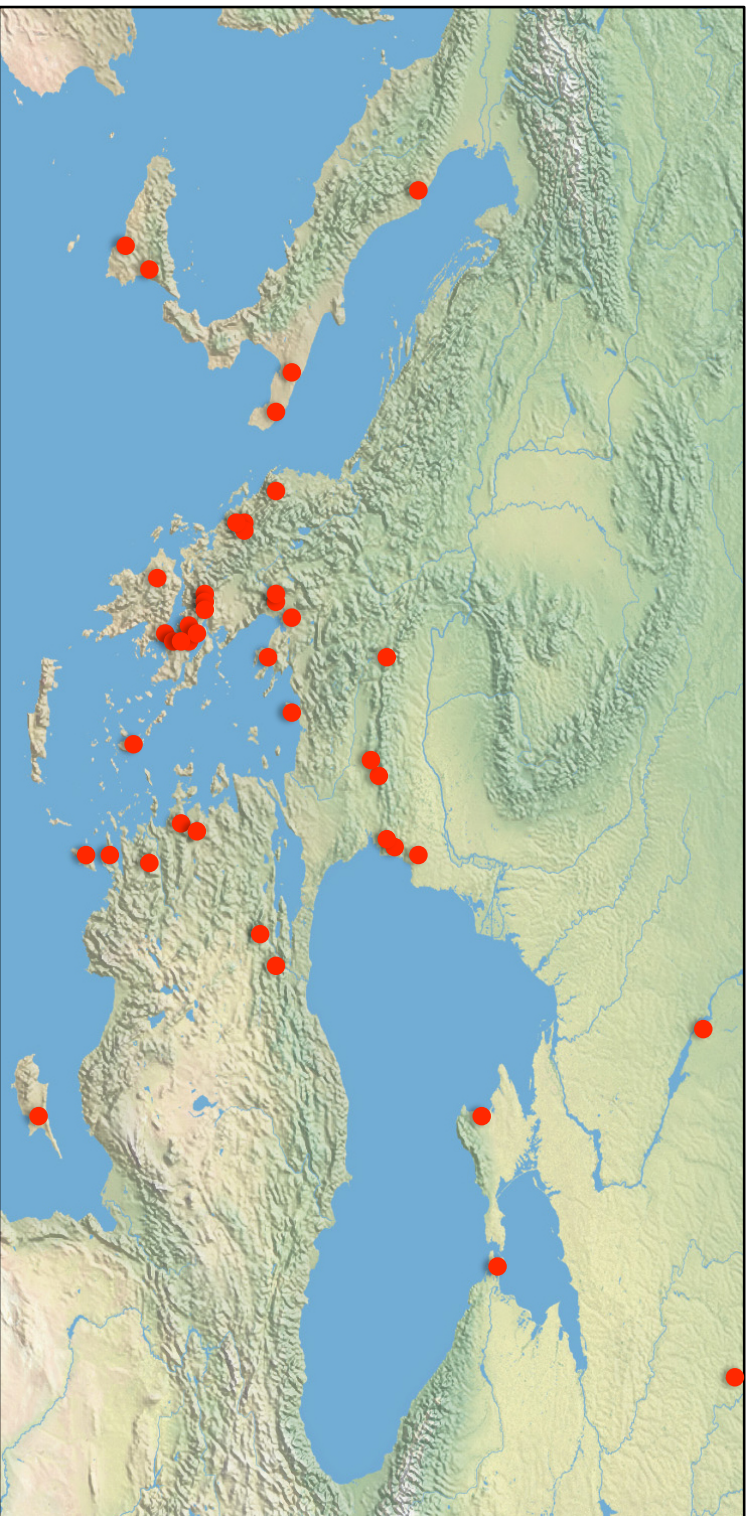
Appendix 1A. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: Archaic Bronze Hydriai: *Groups 1-13*



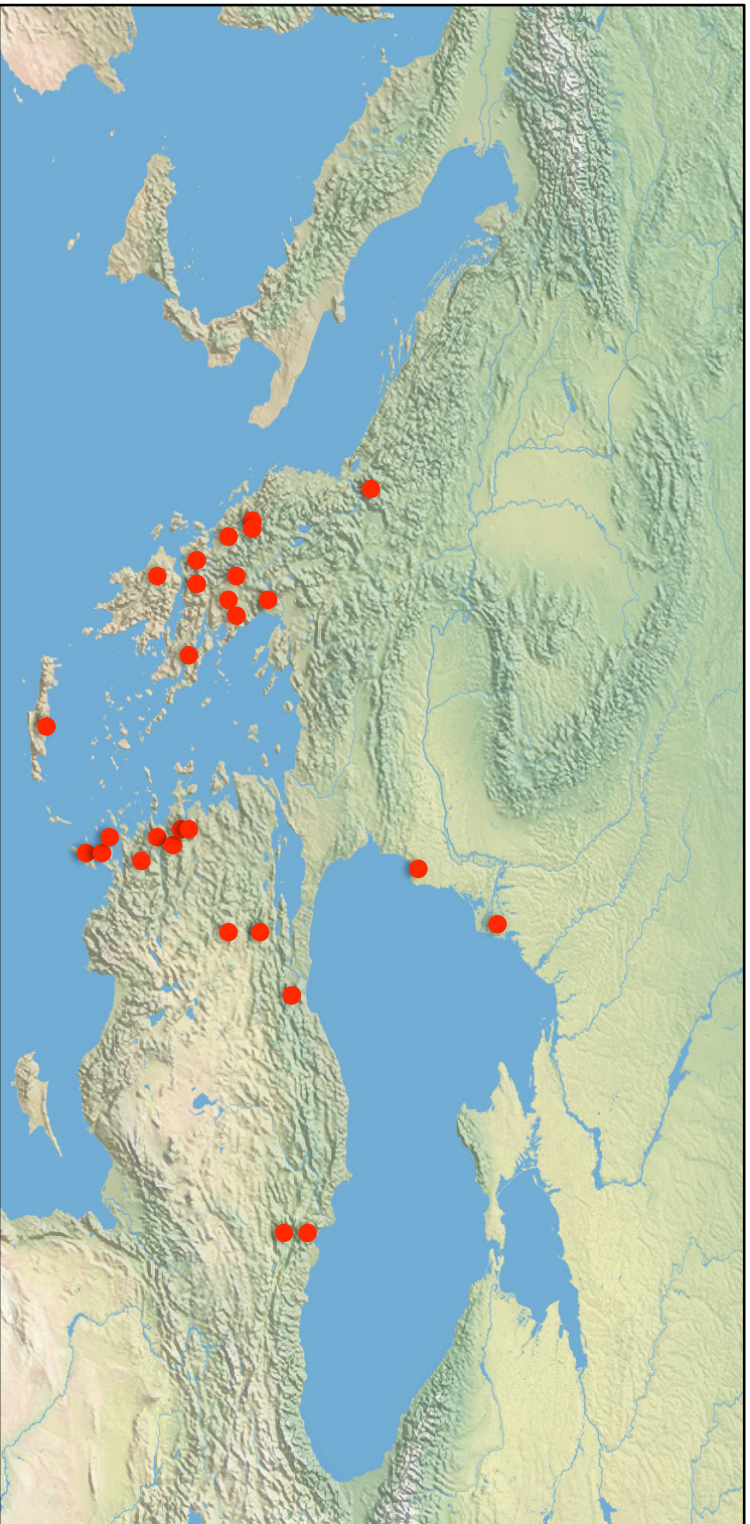
Appendix 1B. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: Late Archaic / Early Classical Bronze Hydriai: *Groups 14-15*



Appendix 1C. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: Classical Bronze Hydriai: *Groups 16-19*



Appendix 1D. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: Late Classical and Hellenistic Classical Bronze Hydriai: *Groups 20-21*



Appendix 1.1. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: *Group 1: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Non-Figural Decoration*

Greece: Olympia: 9



Appendix 1.2. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: *Group 2*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Swan's Heads

Greece: Corinth: 1; Kalavrita: 1; Olympia: 9

Hungary: Artand: 1

Italy: Ancona: 1; Capua: 1; Francavilla Marittima: 1



Appendix 1.3. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: *Group 3*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with the Forepart of a Lion

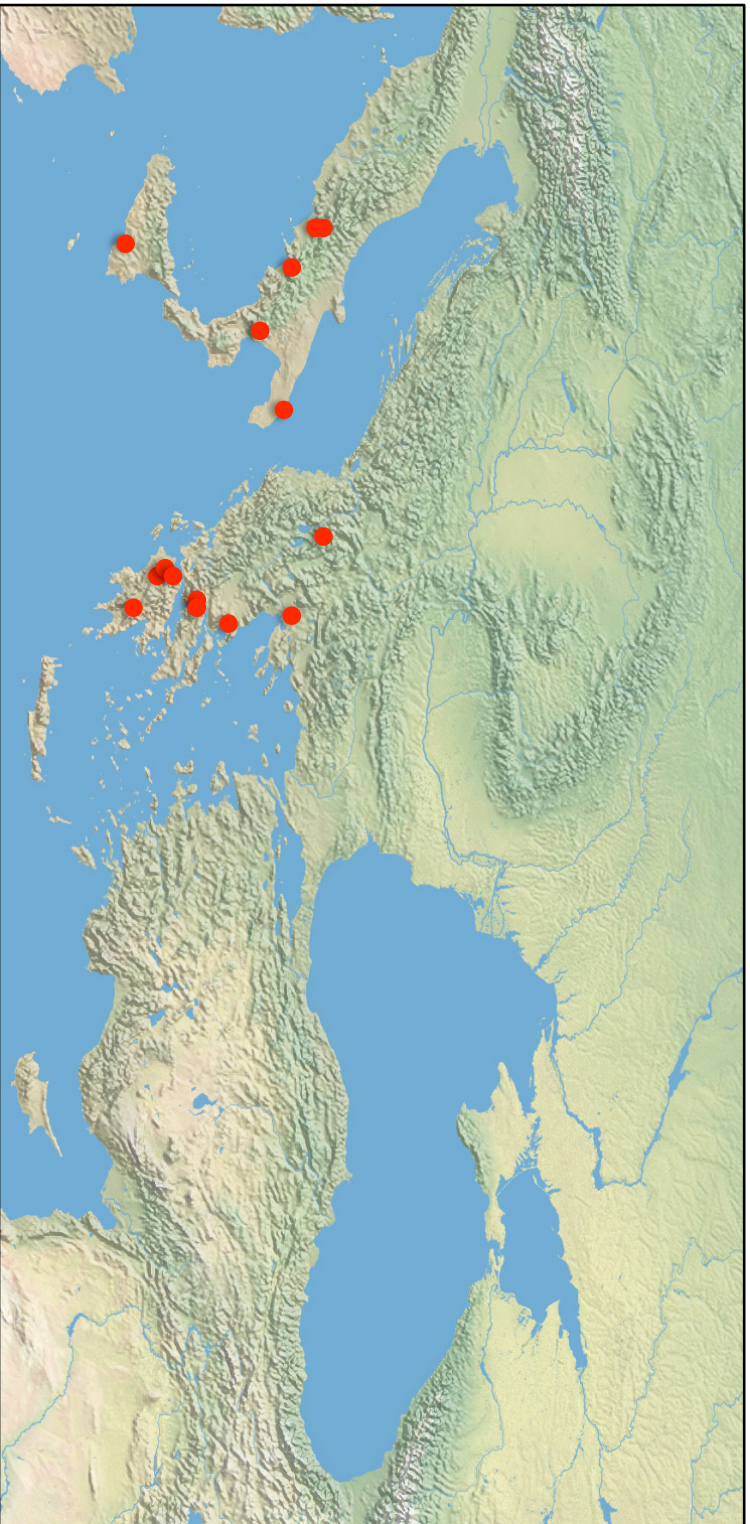
Greece: Kalavrita: 1; Olympia: 2; Mt. Ida (Crete): 1
Uncertain: 1



Appendix 1.4. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: *Group 4*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Palmettes and Animals

Crete: Aigion: 1; Athens: 1; Delphi: 3; Elis: 1; Eretria: 1; Hermione: 1;
 Olympia: 8; Sparta: 1; Thermi: 1
Italy: Capua: 1; Cumae: 1; Francavilla Marittima: 2; Paestum: 1; Rudiae
 (Lece): 1

Sicily: Gela: 1
Macedonia: Trebenishhte: 4
Uncertain: 10
Uncertain “from Peloponnese”: 1



Appendix 1.5. Geographic Distribution of Findspots:

Group 5: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with a Female Protome at the Lower End of the Vertical Handle

- Greece*: Lebadeia: 1; Olympia: 2
- Italy*: Capua: 1; Arena Lucana: 1
- Sicily*: Gela: 1

- Uncertain*: 5
- Uncertain* "Epirus?": 1
- Uncertain* "Italy?": 1
- Uncertain* "Greece?": 1



Appendix 1.6. Geographic Distribution of Findspots:

Group 6: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with a Female Protome and a Palmette at the Lower End of the Vertical Handle

- Greece*: Eretria: 1; Olympia: 3
- Italy*: Capua: 1; Paestum: 3; Sala Consilina: 1
- Sicily*: Gela: 1

- Uncertain*: 3
- Uncertain* "Greece?": 1
- Uncertain* "Sicily?": 1
- Uncertain* "Southern Italy?": 1



Appendix 1.7. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: *Group 7*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Gorgoneia

- Uncertain*: 9
- Uncertain* “Etruria”?: 2
- Uncertain* “Athens”?: 1
- Uncertain* “Corinth”?: 1
- Uncertain* “Greece”?: 1
- Uncertain* “Olympia”?: 1
- Uncertain* “Thessaly”?: 1

- With gorgoneion but cross-listed with another group*:
- Greece*: Athens: 1
- Italy*: Lokri: 1; Sirolo: 1
- Serbia*: Novi Pazar: 1
- Uncertain*: 1



Appendix 1.8. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: *Group 8: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Ivy Leaves*

- Greece*: Aigion: 1; Corinth: 1; Elis: 1; Karo Achaia: 1; Krestaina: 1; Olympia: 6
- Uncertain*: 15
- Uncertain* “Peloponnese”: 1
- Uncertain* ‘Attica’: 1



Appendix 1.9. Geographic Distribution of Findspots:

Group 9: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Anthropomorphic Handles (Kouroi)

- Greece*: Athens: 2; Delphi: 1; Florina: 1; Magula: 1; Monemvasia: 1;
Olympia: 1; Pydna: 1; Sparta: 2;
Trikala: 1; Volos: 1
- Italy*: Paestum: 1; Treia: 1
- Sicily*: Randazzo: 1
Serbia: Novi Pazar: 1
Uncertain: 7
Uncertain "Elis?": 1



Appendix 1.10. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: *Group 10*: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Zoomorphic Handles (Lions)

Greece: Delphi: 1; Pydna: 1

Italy: Paestum: 1



Appendix 1.11. Geographic Distribution of Findspots:

Group 11: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Elaborately Decorated Handles (Non-Anthropomorphic)

Italy: Cerveteri: 1; Taranto: 1

Uncertain: 1



Appendix 1.12. Geographic Distribution of Findspots:

Group 12: Archaic Bronze Hydriai with Elaborately Decorated Handles (Anthropomorphic)

Greece: Athens: 1

Italy: Treia: 1

Switzerland: Graechwil: 1

Uncertain "Southern Italy": 1

Companunda:

Italy: Belmonte Piceno: 1; Camai: 2; Foligno: 2; Sirolo: 2; Tolentino: 2

Uncertain : 2



Appendix 1.13. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: *Group 13: Archaic Varia*

Greve: Amyklai: 1; Delphi: 1; Dimitsana: 1; Dodona: 1; Olympia: 48



Appendix 1.14. Geographic Distribution of Findspots:

Group 14: Late Archaic/ Early Classical Bronze Hydriae with Female Protomes at the Top of the Vertical Handle (Argive Prize-Type)

- Greece:* Aigion: 1; Argos: 1; Corinth: 1; Eretria: 1; Nemea: 1; Perachora: 1
- Italy:* Pompeii: 1
- Turkey:* Sinope: 1
- Uncertain:* 10
- Uncertain* ‘Southern Italy?’: 1
- Uncertain* ‘Eli?’:
- Uncertain* ‘Chalkidike?’:
- Uncertain* ‘Peloponnese?’:

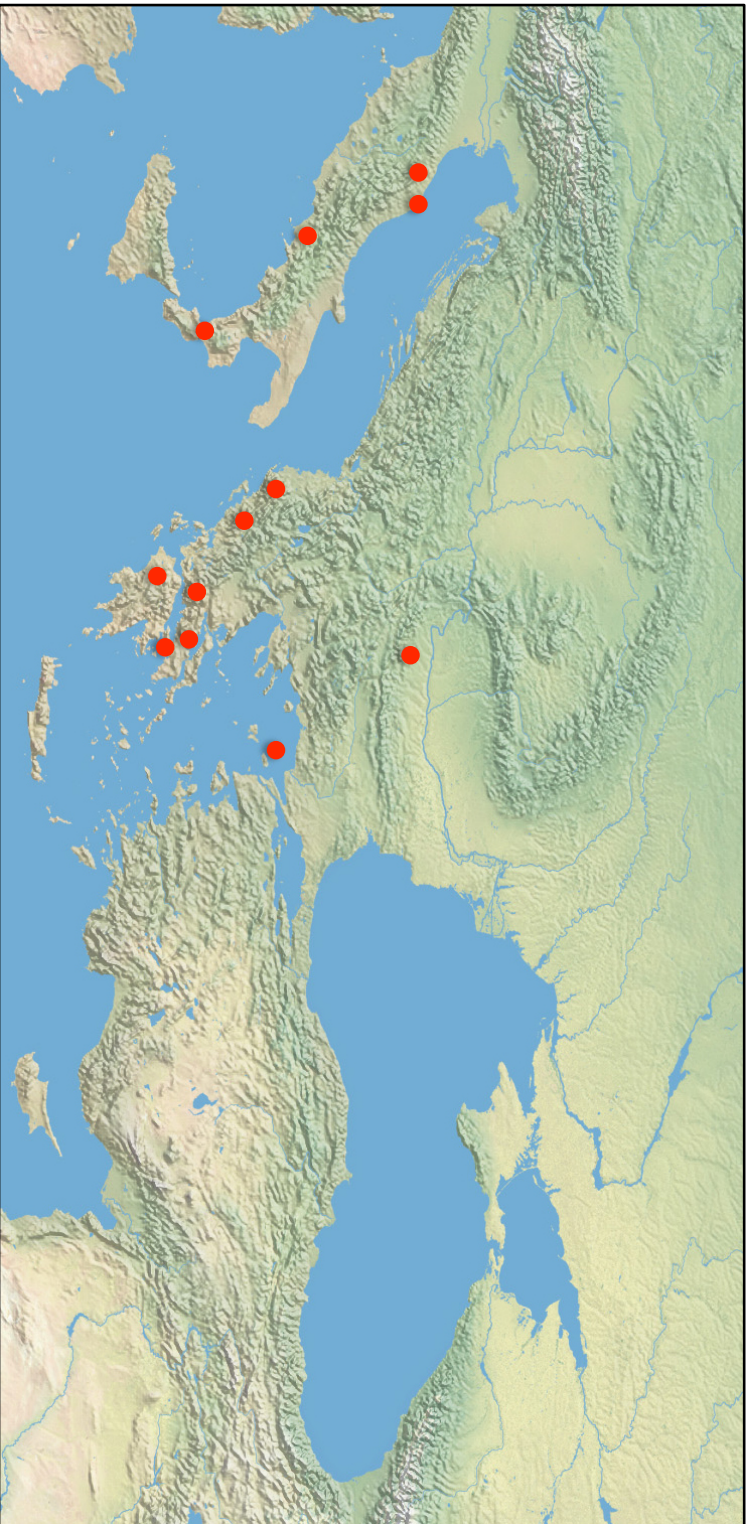


Appendix 1.15. Geographic Distribution of Findspots:

Group 15: Late Archaic / Early Classical Bronze Hydriai with Lions Facing Inwards at the Top of the Vertical Handle

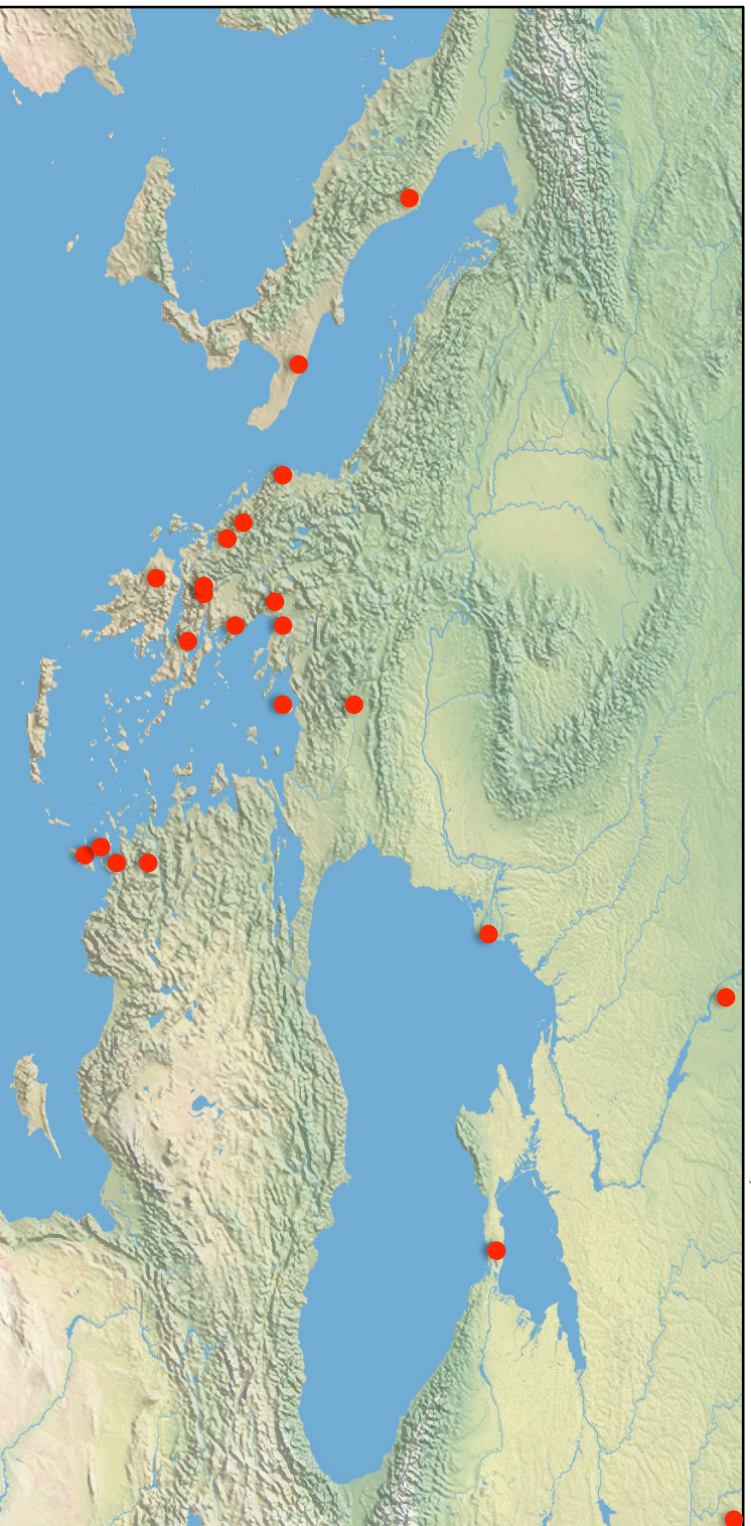
- Albania:* Apollonia Illyrica: 1
- Bulgaria:* Pastouscha: 1
- Greece:* Aegina: 1; Athens: 1; Delphi: 2; Dodona: 1; Olympia: 3;
Samothrace: 1
- Italy:* Castelbellino: 1; Lokri: 1; Paestum: 1; Sirolo: 1; Ugento: 1

- Uncertain:*
- Uncertain* "Greece?": 2
- Uncertain* "Thessaly?": 1
- Uncertain* "Kertsch?": 1



Appendix 1.16. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: *Group 16*: Classical Bronze Hydriai with Sirens

- Albania*: Apollonia Illyrica: 1
Bulgaria: Pastouscha: 1; Varna: 2
Greece: Aegina: 1; Arta: 2; Athens: 2; Chalke: 1; Elis: 1; Eretria: 1; Ioannina: 1; 2; Kopais: 1; Myrina: 1; Thasos: 1; Thebes: 2; Torone: 1; Rhodes: 1;
 Votonosi: 2
Italy: Castelbellino: 1; Rutigliano (Lecce): 1
Turkey: Milas: 1
Russia: Woronesh: 1
- Ukraine*: Kertsch: 5; Pischane: 1
Uncertain: 73
Uncertain "Greece": 2
Uncertain "Egypt": 1
Uncertain "South Italy": 1
 **Nymphaea, Greece*: 1
 **Baib Borsa, near Bene*: 1



Appendix 1.17. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: *Group 17: Plain Classical Bronze Hydriai and Kalpides*

Hydriai

Greece: Arta: 1; Delphi: 1; Dodona: 1; Galaxidi: 1;
Isthmia: 1; Piraeus: 1

Ukraine: Kertsch: 1

Uncertain: 4

Kalpides

Bulgaria: Dalboki (Stara Zagora): 1; Duvanlij
(Plovdiv): 4; Kazanlak: 1; Nessebar (Mesembria):

1; Sozopol (Apollonia): 1

Greece: Aegina: 1; Epidaurus: 1; Galaxidi: 1;

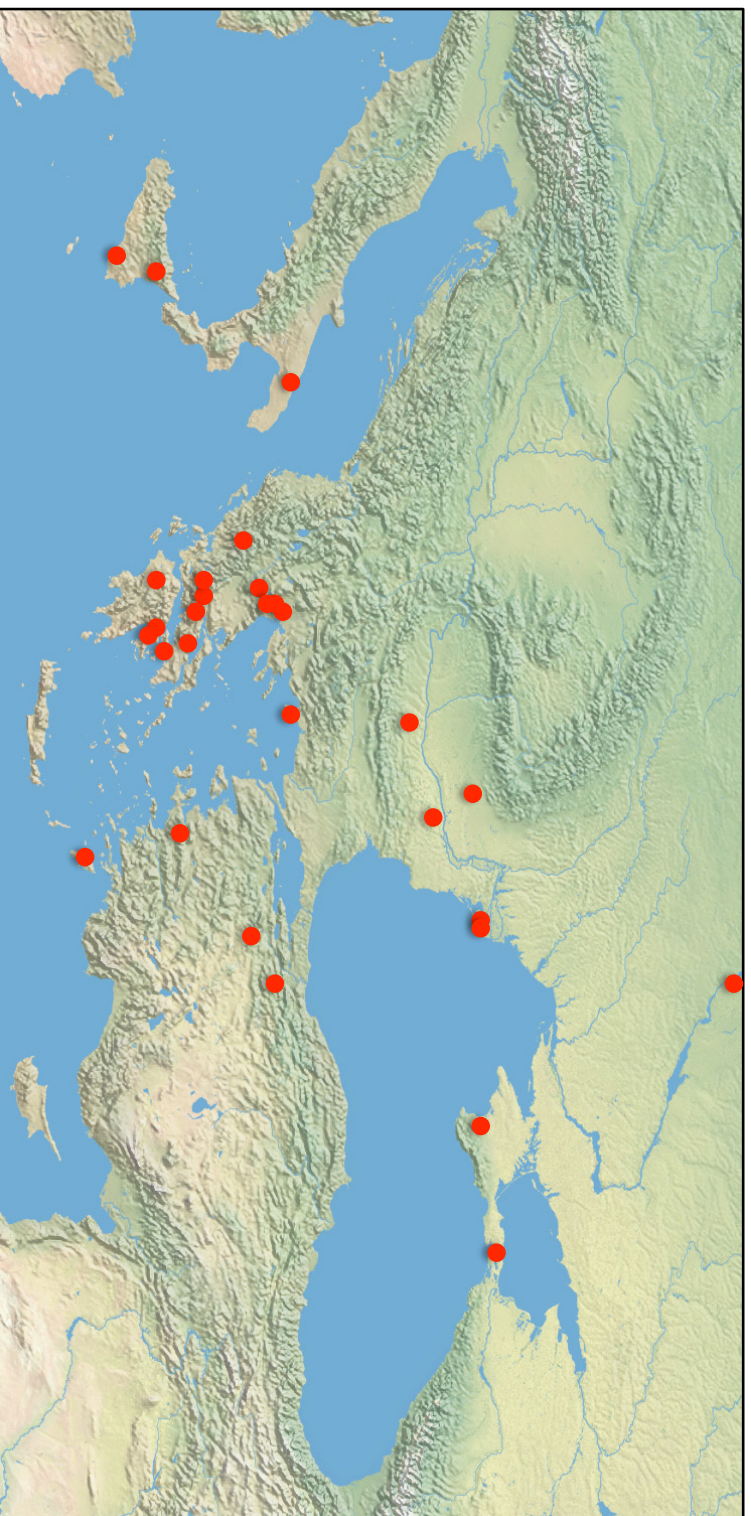
Olympia: 3; Thasos: 1; Thebes: 1; Thessalonike
(Karabournaki, Gephyra): 1; Vergina: 1; Verroia: 1

Italy: Camarina: 1; Canallicio: 1; Taranto: 1

Turkey: Mudanya (Bursa): 1; Notion: 1; Seferlisar
(Teos): 1

Ukraine: Cherosomes: 3; Kertsch: 1; Pischane: 3

Uncertain: 34



Appendix 1.18. Geographic Distribution of Findspots:

Group 18: Classical Bronze Hydriai with Attacking Lions at the Lower End of the Vertical Handle

Bulgaria: Plovdiv: 1

Uncertain: 2



Appendix 1.19. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: *Group 19: Classical Varia*

Bulgaria: Rachmanliji: 1

Cyprus: 1

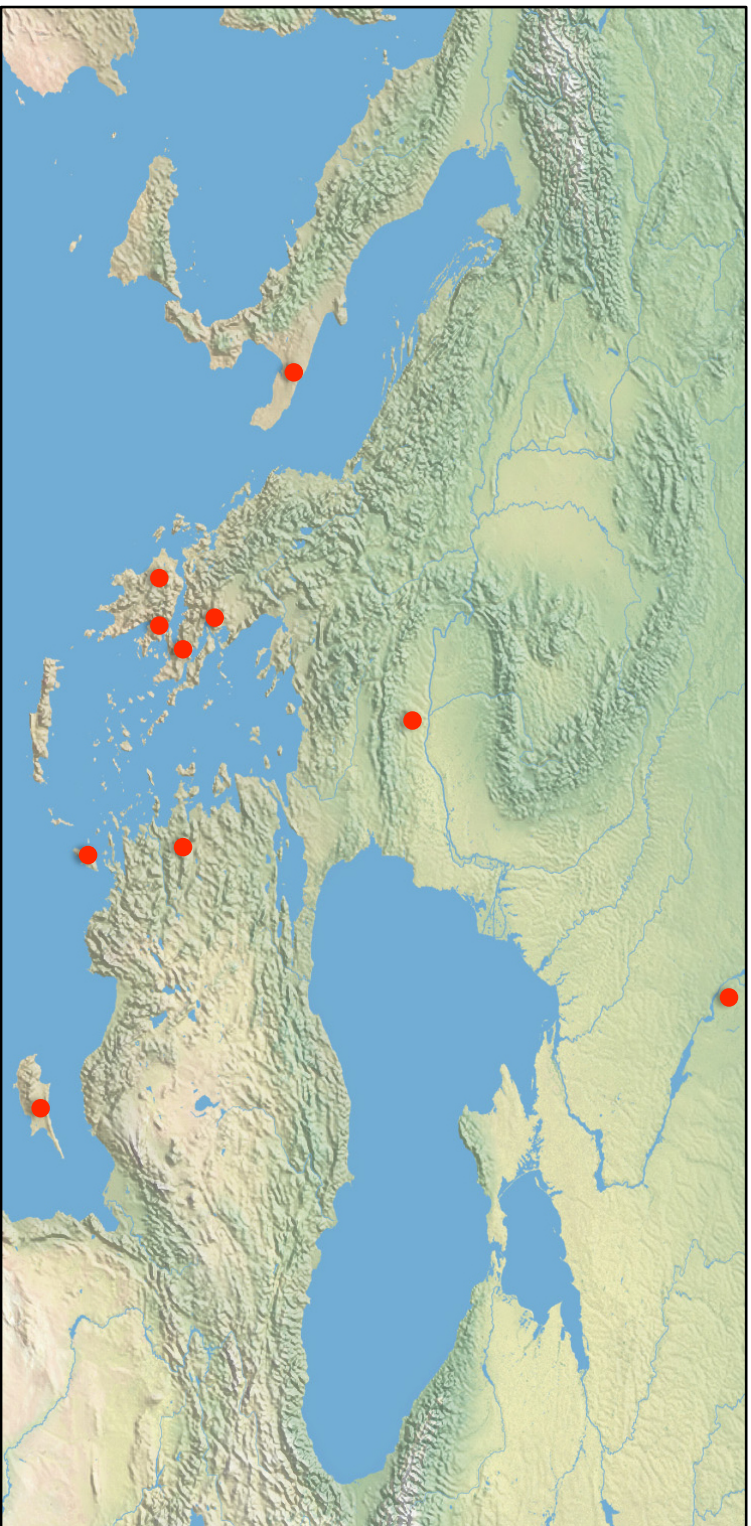
Greece: Athens: 5; Eretria: 1; Isthmia: 2; Olympia: 7; Rhodes: 1

Italy: Lecce: 1

Turkey: Izmir (Smyrna): 1

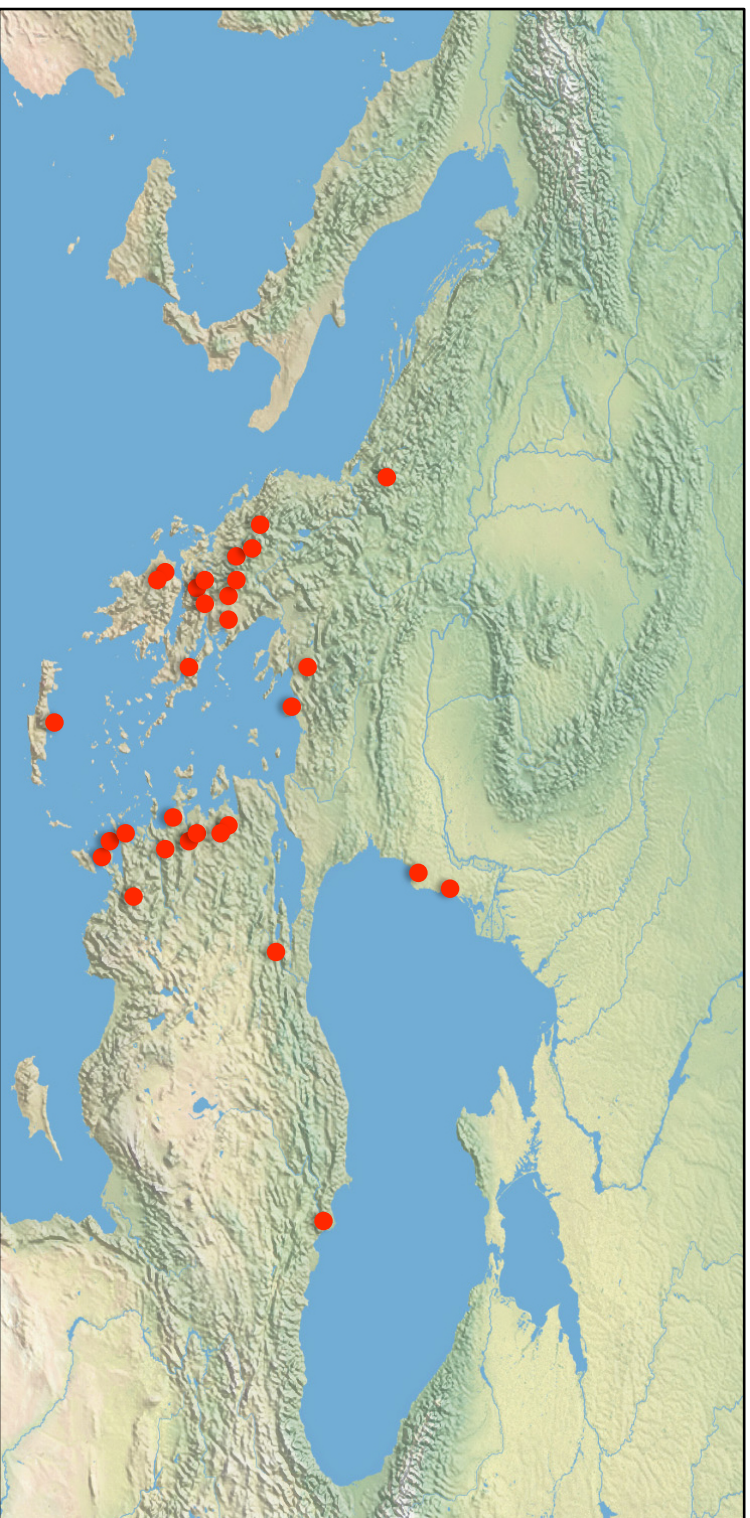
Ukraine: Pischane: 1

Uncertain: 8



Appendix 1.20. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: *Group 20: Late Classical Bronze Kalpides with Mythological Appliqués*

- Albania*: Selca: 1
- Bulgaria*: Nessebar: 5
- Greece*: Aineia: 1; Amphipolis: 1; Arta: 1; Bonitkovo (Akarnania): 1; Chalke: 3; Elis: 1; Eretria: 2; Kalymnos (Kos): 1; Lokris: 1; Makrokomi: 1; Myrina: 1; Olympia: 1; Paramythia: 1; Pharsalos: 2; Telos: 1; Thasos: 1; Volos: 1
- Romania*: Kallatis/Mangalia: 1
- Turkey*: Amisos: 1; Broussa (Apollonia): 1; Ephesos: 1; Kyme: 1; Kyzikos: 1; Mylasa: 1; Notion (Kolophon): 1; Smyrna: 1; Tire: 1
- Uncertain*: 30
- Uncertain "Greece"?: 1*
- Uncertain "Epirus"?: 1*



Appendix 1.21. Geographic Distribution of Findspots: *Group 21*: Hellenistic Bronze Hydriai and Kalpides

Greece: Chalkis: 1; Pydna: 1

Turkey: Lerdige (Samsun): 1; Smyrna (Izmir): 1

Uncertain: 2

Mahdia Shipreck: 3



Appendix II: Inscribed Bronze Hydriai

*Arranged according to type of inscription

*Inscriptions restored (where possible) [see catalogue for actual state of preservation]

<u>Location</u>	<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Date</u>
Mainz 201 (cat. 5.3)	ΤΕΛΕΣΣΤΑΣ	Personal Name(s)	Lebadeia (Boiotia)	c. 600-575
New York 26.255.2a (cat. 8.20)	ΣΟΠΟΛΙΔΟΣ	Personal Name(s)	Peloponnese	c. 500-450
New York 51.11.8 (cat. 20.30)	ΤΕΙΣΙ [...graffiti: ΧΑΡΤΑ, ΚΑΡΡΑΛΕ, ΣΩΙΣΤΡ	Personal Name(s)	Uncertain	c. 375-325
Once Art Market (cat. 15.15)	ΦΙ(N/Λ)ΕΙΔΑΣ	Personal Name(s)	Uncertain	c. 475-450 (?)
Leyden LKA 1159 (cat. 20.69)	ΟΛΥΜΠΙΧΟΥ ΕΙΜΙ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΦΡΟΝΟΣ	Personal Name(s)	Uncertain	c. 375-325 (?)
Private Collection (New York) (cat. 17.28)	ΘΕΡΣΩΝΕΙΑ ΕΙΜΙ	Personal Name(s)	Uncertain	c. 450-400
Olympia BE 536	ΘΡΑΣΕΑΙ	Personal Name(s)	Olympia	c. 500-400
Once Basel Market (Münzen und Medaillen 1967) (cat. 16.1)	ΑΘΑΝΑΔΟΡΑ ΑΜΦΟΤΙΔΙ · ΝΙΚΟ	Personal Name(s)/ Gift	Uncertain	c. 450-400
Once New York Market (Sotheby's 2005) (cat. 19.7)	ΣΚΑΦΣΙΣ ΗΕΡΜΑΙΑ ΕΔΩΚΕ ΚΥΤΙΣ ΦΙΛΟΖΕΝΗ ΕΔΩΚΕ	Personal Name(s)/ Gift	Uncertain	c. 450-400
Once New York Market (Fortuna 2008) (cat. 16.71)	ΠΛΟΥΤΙΣ ΣΙΜΟΝΔΑΟ ΠΟΥΘΙΔΙ	Personal Name(s)/ Gift	Uncertain	c. 450-400
Thasos (cat. 17.78)	ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΣ ΝΙΚΙΠΠΑΙ ΕΔΟΚΕ	Personal Name(s)/ Gift	Thasos (?)	c. 550-500 (?)

Berlin 10.822 a-c (cat. 8.7)	ΦΙΛΕ	Commemorative	Uncertain	c. 550
Once Basel Market (Münzen und Medaillen 1967) (cat. 16.2)	ΕΡΑΤΑ· ΑΓΕΙΣΑΝΔΡΙΑ	Commemorative	Uncertain	c. 450-400
Richmond (VA) 57-18 (cat. 20.65)	ΧΑΡΩΝΙΔΑ ΧΑΙΡΕ / ΔΕΙ	Commemorative	Uncertain	c. 375-325
Thessalonike 5243 (cat. 17.34)	ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΑΘΛ(Α) ΕΠΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝΤΟΙΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ	Commemorative	Karabournaki	c. 490-450
Nemea Br 379 (cat. 14.1)	ΤΟ ΔΙΟΣ ΕΙΜΙ ΤΟ ΝΕΜΕΑΙ	Votive/Sacred	Nemea	c. 525-475
Athens 7917 (cat. 17.1)	ΤΙΜΟΝΟΑΣΔΩΡΟΝ	Votive	Piraeus	c. 525-475 (?)
Aegina (cat. 17.53)	ΠΛΑΘΩΝ ΕΚΕΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΝ ΗΥΙΟΙ ΠΡΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΕΛΛΑΝΙΩ ΔΙΙ	Votive	Aegina	c. 450-400 (?)
Athens X7294 (cat. 19.40)	ΖΕΝΟΣ· ΕΡ[ΚΕΙΟΥ] [ΗΑ]ΥΤΕΣ· ΚΑΙ ΠΑΙΔΟΝ· ΘΕΚΕΝ· ΑΓΑΛΜΑ·	Votive	Athenian Akropolis	c. 500-400
New York 57.11.12	ΚΑΛΛΙΑΡ/ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΑ	Votive/Sacred	Uncertain	c. 550-500
Once New York Market (Sotheby's 1999)	*Dedication to the Muses / Philomelas [son of] Me[lan]thos	Votive/ Personal Name(s)	Uncertain	c. 450-400
London 306 (cat. 20.13)	ΛΕΙΤΡΑΣ	Weight (?)	Uncertain	c. 375-325 (?)
Ankara (cat. 14.8)	ΠΑΡ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΕΜΙ ΤΟΝ ΗΑΦΕΘΛΟΝ / ΕΚ Φ[ΩΚΕ]ΩΝ Α[ΕΘΛΑ] Π[ΑΡ] Δ[Ι]Ο[Σ]ΚΩ[Ρ]ΩΙΝ	Prize	Sinope	c. 470-460

Copenhagen I.N. 3293 (cat. 14.12)	ΠΑΡ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΕΜΙ ΤΟΝ ΗΑΦΕΘΛΟΝ	Prize	Uncertain	c. 450-440
New York 26.50 (cat. 14.13)	ΠΑΡ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΗΑΦΕΘΛΟΝ	Prize	Peloponnese	c. 460
Pompeii 21803 (cat. 14.17)	ΠΑΡ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΕΜΙ ΤΟΝ ΗΑΦΕΘΛΟΝ	Prize	Pompeii	c. 450
Atlanta 2004.25.1 (cat. 16.11)	ΕΚ ΦΩΚΕΩΝ ΑΕΘΛΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΔΙΟΣΚΩΡΩΙΝ	Prize	Uncertain	c. 450-400
New York 1999.460 (cat. 17.48)	ΕΧΣ ΑΝΑΚΙΟ ΑΘΛΟΝ	Prize	Uncertain	c. 450-400
Present Location Uncertain (lost) (cat. 17.65)	ΕΧΣ ΑΝΑΚΙΟ ΑΘΛΟΝ	Prize	Chersonnes	c. 450-400
New York 57.11.12 (cat. 8.26)	ΚΑΛΛΙΑΡ / ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΑ	Prize	Uncertain	c. 550
Baltimore 1954.1269-71 (cat. 7.1)	ΙΕΡΑ ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙ Ε....ΟΛΚΑ ΜΜΜΜ	Prize	Uncertain	c. 550
Athens 13792 (cat. 17.9)	[ΕΧ?]Σ ΑΙΑΙΑΣ/ΤΑΣ ΦΤΗΙΑΣ/ ΕΘΛΟΝ ΠΑΡ ΠΡΟΤΕΣΙΑ[Α]	Prize	Uncertain	c. 450-400
Berlin 30636 (cat. 17.11)	ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΓ ΛΑΜΨΑΚΟ ΕΠΙ ΔΕΟΦΑΝΤΟ ΤΟ ΛΑΜΠΡΟ	Prize	Notion (near Kolophon)	c. 450-400
Ioannina 302 (cat. 17.58)	-] ΕΠΑ [-] Ο [-] ΕΣ ΤΗΣΠΙΑΣ	Prize	Botonosi	c. 450-400
Present Location Uncertain (now Lost) (with Rhodian Inscription) (cat. 17.38)	ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΓ ΡΟΔΟ ΠΑΡ ΑΛΙΟ	Prize	Uncertain	c. 450-400
Providence, Rhode Island School of Design (cat. 17.17)	ΤΟΝ ΘΕΒΑΙΣ ΑΙΘΛΟΝ	Prize	Uncertain	c. 450-400
Once New York Market (Sotheby's 2004) (cat. 17.72)	ΤΟΝ ΘΕΒΑΙΣ ΑΙΘΛΟΝ	Prize	Uncertain	c. 450-400

Aegina (cat. 17.53)	ΠΛΑΘΟΝ ΕΚΕΣΘΕΝΕΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΝ ΗΥΙΟΙ ΠΡΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΗΕΛΛΑΝΙΟΙ	Prize	Aegina	c. 450-400
Once Art Market (ex-German private collection) (cat. 17.70)	ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ ΠΑΡ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ	Prize	Uncertain	c. 450-400
United States, Private Collection (Chicago) (cat. 17.78)	ΤΟΝ ΤΑΝΑΓΡΑΙΣ· ΑΕΘΛΟΝ	Prize	Uncertain	c. 450-400
Princeton y1985-9 (cat. 18.2)	ΠΑΛΑ...ΕΥΜΠ	Prize	Uncertain	c. 450-400
United States, Private Collection (Boston) (cat. 20.8)	ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΓ ΜΥΛΑΣΩΝ ΖΗΝΟΤΟΣΕΙ(ΔΕΩ)ΝΟΣ	Prize	Mylasa, Caria	c. 375-350
Thessalonike Py 208 (cat. 21.2)	(Ε)ΧΣ ΑΝΑΚΙΟ ΑΘΛΟΝ	Prize	Pydna	body: c. 425-400; appliqué: Hellenistic
Private Collection (California) (cat. 16.56)	ΑΘΛΑ ΑΠΟ ΣΟΥΝΙΟ	Prize	Uncertain	c. 450-400
Once New York Market (Christie's 2008) (cat. 16.58)	ΕΚ ΛΕΓΟΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΕΘΛΟΝ : ΑΙ	Prize (?)	Uncertain	c. 450-400 (?)
Once New York Market (Phoenix Ancient Art 2006)	ΜΑΧΕΙΑ ΕΜΜΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΑΜΙΠΠΟΙ... Ι° Σ 'Χ	War-Prize	Uncertain	c. 550
Istanbul (formerly Inv. C) (cat. 4.18)	Ε	Illegible	Rhodes	c. 450-400
Nessebar (cat. 17.60)	?	Illegible (?)	Nessebar	c. 450-400
Paris, Louvre 2674-75 (cat. 16.26)	? (graffito on foot)	Illegible	Uncertain	c. 450-400

Appendix III: Greek Gold and Silver Hydriai

I. Gold Hydriai

- a. *Surviving vessels*: None
- b. *Known from Inscriptions/Inventories*:
 - i. *Athens, Hekatompedon. Bibliography*: Harris 1995, 158 (V.244-249).
 1. Five uninscribed. Weights: (1): 78⁺ dr., 4 ob. (*IG II²*, 1425, line 19 [368/7]); (2) 1200 dr., 3 ob. (*IG II²*, 1424a, line 63 [371/0]); (3) 1174 dr., 4 ob. (*IG II²*, 1424a, line 24 [371/0]); (4); 1201 dr. (*IG II²*, 1424a, lines 24-25 [371/0]); (5) 1100 dr., 5. ob (*IG II²*, 1425, line 63 (368/7)).
 2. One inscribed with part of the name of the dedicator – AN(---). Weight. 100 dr. (*IG II²*, 1463, line 14 [349/8]).
 3. One dedicated to Athena. Weight: 49 dr., 3 ob. (*IG II²*, 1415, lines 7-8 [375/4]).
 4. One dedicated to Artemis, made by Nikokrates of Kolonos. *Bibliography*: Harris 1995, 162 (V.261). Weight: 20⁺ dr. (*IG II²* 1492, add. P. 810, lines 17-20 [305/4]).

II. Silver Hydriai

- a. *Surviving vessels*:
 - i. Vergina, Archaeological Museum, from Vergina, Tomb III (“Prince’s Tomb”). *Parts Preserved*: Complete with lid. Contained purple cloth and cremated human remains. *Bibliography*: Andronikos 1984, 212-213, figs. 183-184. (Figure S.1, following page).
 - ii. Toledo, Museum of Art 1979.1. *Parts Preserved*: Complete. *Bibliography*: Luckner 1979, 78; *The Search for Alexander*, no. S-9. (Figure S.2, following page).
 - iii. Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum 7228, from Gephyra. *Parts Preserved*: Upper part of the body and one horizontal handle. *Bibliography*: *Treasures of Ancient Macedonia* 1979, cat. 330; Michaud 1970, 1066, 1069, fig. 391. (Figure S.3, following page).

b. *Known from Inscriptions/Inventories:*i. *Athens, Hekatompedon:*

1. Thirty dedicated to Athena Polias. *Bibliography:* Harris 1995, 159 (V.255). Harris 1995, 161-162 (V.260). Weights: (1) 893 dr.; (2) 907 dr.; (3) 900 dr., 3 ob. (*IG II²*, lines 1413, lines 17-18 [between 384/3 and 378/7], 1424a, lines 220-3 [371/0], 1425, lines 165-8 [368/7], 1428, lines 104-7 [367/6], 1437, lines 73-74 [after 350/49]). (4) 998 dr.; (5): 991 dr.; (6); 982 dr.; (7) 989 dr.; (8) 1003 dr., 3 ob.; (9) 997 dr., 3 ob.; (10) 993 dr.; (11) 995 dr., 3 ob.; (12) 1001 dr., 3 ob.; (13) 991⁺ dr.; (14) 995 dr., 3 ob.; (15) 990 dr.; (16) 992 dr., 4 ob.; (16) 990 dr., 4 ob.; (17) 993 dr.; (18) 999 dr., 3 ob.; (19) 991 dr.; (20) 994 dr.; (21) 994 dr., 3 ob.; (22) 992 dr.; (23) 1004 dr., 1 ob.; (24) 992 dr., 4 ob.; (25) 1002 dr., 1 ob.; (26) 991 dr.; (27) 1000 dr.; (28) 1009 dr. 4 ob; 1000 dr., 3 ob. *IG II²* 1372 lines 7-10 + EM 13409 [EAC 3 (1965), 60-61], lines 10-26 [402/1], etc., see Harris).
2. Seven dedicated to Artemis Brauronia. *Bibliography:* Harris 1995, 161 (V.259). Weights: 979 dr., 882 dr., 987 dr., 992 dr., 922 dr., 922 dr., 959 dr. (*IG II²*, 1412, lines 19-21 [382/1], 1413, lines 15-18, 21-4 [between 384/3 and 378/7], 1424a, lines 229-36 [371/0], 1425, lines 174-81 [368/7], 1437, lines 49-57 [after 350/49], 1444, lines 9-13 [341/0]).
3. Four dedicated to Asklepios, made by Nikokrates of Kolonos. *Bibliography:* Harris 1995, 153 (V.215-218), Harris 1995, 158-159 (V.251), 160 (V.258). Weights: (1) 1000 dr., (*IG II²*, 1492, lines 24-7 [305/4]); (2) 1004 dr. (*IG II²*, 1492, lines 22-4 [305/4]); (3) 1050 dr. (*IG II²*, 1492, lines 32-5 (305/4)); (4) 1437 dr. (*IG II²*, 1492, lines 29-32 [305/4]).
4. Five belonging to Demeter and Kore. *Bibliography:* Harris 1995, 160 (V.257). Weights: (1) 924 dr., 3 ob.; (2) 988 dr.; (3) 928 dr., 3 ob.; (4) 988 dr.; (5) 959 dr. (*IG II²*, 1412, lines 24-25 [382/1], 1413, lines 24-7 [between 384/3 and 378/7], 1424a, lines 241-5 [371/0], 1425, lines 186-91 [368/7], 1429, lines 14-19 [c. 367/6], 1437, lines 58-65 [after 350/49], 1444, lines 14-17 [341/0]).
5. Three dedicated to the Dioskouroi. *Bibliography:* Harris 1995, 159 (V.254). Weights: (1) 883 dr.; (2) 895 dr.; (3) 932 dr. (*IG II²*, 1412, line 20 [382/1]; 1413, lines 21-2

[between 384/3 and 378/7]; 1424a, lines 237-40 [371/0]; 1425, lines 182-5 [368/7], 1429, lines 10-13 [c. 368/6], 1437, lines 67-72 [after 350/49, adding a fourth], lines 1444, lines 19-22(?) [341/0].

6. Four dedicated to Athena Nike. *Bibliography*: Harris 1995, 160 (V.256). Weights: (1) 960 dr.; (2) 982 dr.; (3) 1001 dr.; (4): 988 dr. (*IG II²*, 1412, lines 17-18 [382/81], 1413, lines 18-19 [between 384/3 and 378/7], 1424a, lines 224-8 [371/0], 1425, lines 169-73 [368/7], 1429, line 1 [c. 367/6], 1437, lines 42-8 [after 350/49, adding a fifth], 1444, lines 8-12 [341/0]).
7. Three made by Diomedon under the archonship of Archippos (321/0), from the “phialai of the freedmen.” Harris 1995, 159 (V.253). Weights: (1) 1489 dr. *IG II²*, 1469, lines 3-12 [after 320/19]).
8. One dedicated to Aphrodite. *Bibliography*: Harris 1995, 159 (V.252). Weight: 950 dr. (*IG II²* 1424a, line 246 [371/0], 1425, line 192 [368/7], 1429, lines 20-21 [367/6], 1437, line 66 [after 350/49], 1444, line 18 [341/0]).
9. Five made by Nikokrates of Kolonos and Archephron of Erchia in the archonship of Neaichmos [320/19], from the ‘phialai of the freedmen.’ Weights: (1): 1471 dr.; (2) 1481 dr.; (3) 1479 dr.; (4) 1475 dr.; (5) 120⁺ dr. (*IG II²*, 1469, lines 12-26 [after 320/19]).

ii. *Delos, Temple of Apollo*

1. Two kept in the Temple of Apollo. *Bibliography*: Hamilton 2000, 137 (Apollo Treasure C).

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