

19.

Plates 549–57

Accession Numbers 77.AE.II, 86.AE.587, 97.AE.58.2, and 98.AE.82.1–12

PROVENANCE 77.AE.II: By 1971, Nicolas Koutoulakis (Geneva, Switzerland); –1977, Gordon McLendon (Dallas, Texas); 1977, donated to the J. Paul Getty Museum. On the reassembly of the krater, and the inclusion of fragments from the Musée du Louvre, see below.

The following fragments have not yet been incorporated into the reconstructed vase:

- ♦ 86.AE.587: 1984–86, Herbert Cahn (Basel, Switzerland); 1986, acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum by exchange; a note states: “H.A. Cahn, ex Thimme”; a number, 1673, in red, was removed prior to photography for the present publication; other Museum documentation gives the provenance as “Swiss Market (ex Koutoulakis).”
- ♦ 97.AE.58.2: By 1995–97, Robert Hecht (New York); 1997, donated to the J. Paul Getty Museum.
- ♦ 98.AE.82.1–12: 1998, accessioned by the J. Paul Getty Museum during an inventory of the storeroom. These fragments have not as yet been identified with any dealer, donor, or collector.

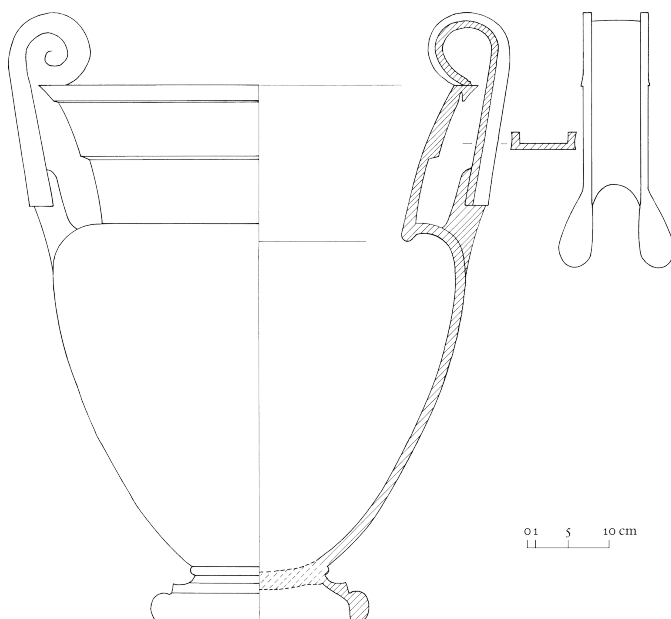
The reconstructed vase includes a number of fragments on loan from the Musée du Louvre. They were once part of a volute-krater (Louvre G166) that was acquired from the Campana Collection in 1861. By 1922, Beazley had ascertained that a nineteenth-century restorer had created this vase from fragments of two different volute-kraters—one by the Kleophrades Painter (*ARV*² 186.51), the other by the Berlin Painter (Louvre CA 10799; *ARV*² 206.129–30). The vase was disassembled in 1957. Part of the foot was subsequently identified as belonging to the Antaios krater by Euphronios (Louvre G103; *ARV*² 14.2; see A. Pasquier, “Nouvelles découvertes à propos du cratère d’Antée peint par Euphronios,” *Revue du Louvre* 1 [1981]: 3–9).

The Louvre fragments (L.80.AE.80 and L.82.AE.33) were lent to the Getty in 1980 and 1982 and incorporated into the reconstructed krater. They include the lower part of the fallen Amazon and pair of Amazons defending her, from the upper frieze of side A; part of Athena’s shield

and Herakles’s head, from the lower frieze of side A; a large fragment belonging to side B, showing running Amazons, most of the trumpeter, and the two Nereids running toward Nereus; the head of the standing female figure at the far left of the Peleus-Thetis frieze; and the two handle fragments published in H. Giroux, “La cratère à volutes du peintre de Berlin au Louvre,” *RA* 23 (1972): 243–50.

J. Gaunt has noted a fragment in the Museo Archeologico Etrusco in Florence (PD 507; *ARV*² 187.52) that is likely to belong to this krater.

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT 77.AE.II: Offset rim flares out slightly; upright cylindrical loop on each side of the shoulder supports the flanged handle that rises above the rim and terminates in a tight spiral after it attaches to the top side of the rim. Neck in two degrees, with the upper part offset from the lower; ovoid body; foot in two degrees, joined to the body by a fillet marked by a groove above and below. Top of rim reserved. Outer edge of rim on side A decorated with black squares, each outlined twice by rectangles, alternating high and low between continuous right and left meanders. On side B, saltire squares and two black outlined squares alternate high and low between right and left meanders. Row of short black tongues on body below junction with neck. On the reserved flanges of the handles, double lines frame running spirals with ivy leaves in the interstices. Between the flanges, the handles are black. Vertically addorsed palmettes at the roots of the handles. Body black, except for a reserved zone with black rays above the foot. Foot black, except for outside of upper degree, resting surface, and underside. Interior black.



86.AE.587: Two joining fragments from the lower zone of the neck on A. Black tongue pattern on shoulder below the junction with the body.

97.AE.58.2: Single fragment from the left side of the upper zone of the neck on side A.

98.AE.82.1–12: A group of twelve small fragments belonging to the neck of the vessel. Some joins, identified by An Jiang, are recorded below.

SUBJECT A. Upper zone: Amazonomachy (partially preserved). At left, an Amazon carrying a wounded or dead companion to left out of the battle. Behind them is preserved the edge of a helmet's crest. Most of the rest of the left half of the scene is missing. Here should be placed the upper torsos of the two Amazons moving to left preserved on fragment 97.AE.58.2; they are mounted, as is indicated by the edge of the horse head preserved at the left end of the fragment and the thigh of the Amazon at the right. The latter is a hoplite, with a helmet on her head and a round shield and spear in her hands; the Amazon at the left is dressed in a Skythian costume and cap. The scene continues on 77.AE.II with Telamonian Ajax (unnamed) in combat with Amazons occupying the center of the frieze. Ajax strides to left, dressed in a *chitoniskos* and armed with a round shield (bull as device), greaves, a corselet, and a Corinthian helmet with a low crest decorated with a double row of dots at the lower part. With his single-edged sword (*machaira*) he attacks a group of Amazons (two preserved) who confront him with spears. Next to Ajax stands Herakles in lionskin and *chitoniskos*, facing right. He grasps a fallen Amazon to deliver the final blow with his sword. A *gorytos* hangs at his side. The fallen Amazon wears a high-crested Attic

helmet without decoration, holds a bow in her right hand, and grasps Herakles's arm with her left. At the right, three pairs of fully armed Amazons move to the left to attack Herakles. The two Amazons at the far right are archers (98.AE.82.1 gives more of their legs and feet and the end of a quiver), the rest hoplites. One archer wears a Skythian cap; the rest of the Amazons wear greaves and helmets with crests decorated at their lower part with a double row of dots; the fallen Amazon and the first two attackers wear low-crested Attic helmets; the second pair and the first archer wear low-crested Chalcidian helmets. A centaur serves as the device on one Amazon's round shield. The Amazon behind her holds a partially preserved Boiotian shield.

Inscriptions: KALO[S] to the right of the head of the Amazon carrying a companion. KALOS L[between the heads of the standing Amazons attacking Ajax and Herakles.

Lower zone: The Labors of Herakles. The fragment 86.AE.587 should be placed on the left end of the figural frieze. It preserves the lower part of a female's garment with the left foot standing to right, and the right foot of a figure to right. The female figure is probably Athena, standing behind her protégé Herakles, whose right foot can be recognized on the 86.AE.587 fragment and whose left foot is preserved on 77.AE.II. This is all that survives of the hero as he fights the Lernean Hydra, which is presented as a huge monster with nine snake heads; only four of the actual heads are fully or partially preserved, while the rest preserves only a part the snake's body. Iolaos (partially preserved; 98.AE.82.4 gives his head) stands on the right facing the creature and prepares to cauterize the stumps of the severed necks with the torch he holds in his right hand. He wears a helmet and greaves and holds a spear and shield (device: Pegasus) in his left hand. Behind him, Herakles in a lionskin fights the triple-bodied Geryon (only the upper part of his shield, the lower leg with greaves, and three left feet are preserved) with his club (only lower end preserved) in his right hand. The double-bodied dog Orthros lies dead on the ground by Herakles's and Iolaos's feet. Blood pours from Orthros's wound. Eurytion, the cowherd of Geryon, lies on the ground between the hero and Geryon, having been shot in the abdomen by an arrow. Blood pours from his wound. Following another lost section of the frieze is Athena (only her low-crested helmet, her left hand holding a shield, her legs from the knee down with the lower edges of her garment, and the end of a spear are preserved), who serves as a transitional element between this and the next labor. The goddess sits facing right, but looks back toward Geryon. In front of Athena to

the right, Herakles (lionskin, *gorytos*) holds his club in his left hand while with his right he picks the golden apples of the Hesperides from the tree. The dragon Ladon (not fully preserved), represented as a three-headed snake coiled around the trunk, defends the tree. To the far right, as a figure to frame the figural scene, Atlas (partially preserved) stands frontally with right hand on his hip, probably holding the heavens on his shoulders.

B. Upper zone: Amazons preparing for battle. All the Amazons wear *chitoniskoi*, greaves, and corselets, and all except for two on the left wear helmets, which are of either Attic or Chalcidian type. At left, five Amazons form two groups who test their weapons and begin to arm. The first Amazon testing her arrow serves as the framing device at the left end of the scene; she has a low-crested Chalcidian helmet on her head. Next to her, a companion facing left holds a Corinthian helmet, spear, and round shield (device: lion), and has her hair bound up in a *krobylos*, with a fillet around her head. The third Amazon also has her hair in a *krobylos*, with a fillet around it; she tests her spear, while her round shield and Corinthian helmet lie on the ground. Standing frontally while looking to her right, she is the transitional figure between the two pairs. The other two Amazons are arming. The fourth Amazon, with a Chalcidian helmet on her head, faces right (98.AE.82.3 provides a segment of her thighs and drapery), holding her round shield up before her (only the lower half depicted; device: legs of a running figure = *triskeles*), while the last, facing left, puts on her right greave and has an Attic helmet on her head (98.AE.82.6 preserves part of the helmet crest and a saltire square from the rim). In the center, three Amazons fully armed with two spears, shields, and helmets on their heads (the two on the right have Chalcidian helmets, while the third, at the rear, has an Attic helmet) calmly lead their horses to right; the lead one has a *pelta* (98.AE.82.2 provides a small part of the last horse's tail). Another group of three fully armed Amazons move quickly to the right of the scene. Two of them are on foot and one leads a horse, all running toward a trumpeter. The Amazon leading the horse wears an Attic helmet, while the other two have Chalcidian helmets on their heads. The second Amazon carries a battle-axe in her right hand. The Amazon behind her holds a spear with her right hand and a round shield with her left. The trumpeter blows a *salpinx*, in the shape of a long, narrow cylindrical tube terminating in a bell (*kodon*). She is a hoplite with greaves, has a Chalcidian helmet on her head and a round shield on her left arm, and holds a spear in her left hand while facing left as the framing device at the right end of the scene.

Lower zone: Peleus seizing Thetis. At far left a woman, probably Doris, dressed in a chiton and himation, with her hair in a *krobylos* and a fillet, stands facing right and extending her right arm. Two Nereids dressed in chitons and himatia flee left to her with both feet off the ground while looking back at the abduction. The first Nereid has her golden hair down; the other wears hers in a *krobylos* and with a fillet. The second Nereid holds a small branch in her left hand. Cheiron, Peleus, and Thetis (partially preserved) are placed in the center of the composition. The centaur looks on from the left side, dressed in a himation and with a fillet around his head. He has human forelegs and carries a branch over his shoulder. Before him, Peleus wrestles with Thetis. The beardless hero's hair is in a *krobylos* and fillet. A snake, one of Thetis's metamorphoses, is coiled around his left leg. Thetis is in the grasp of Peleus. Part of her chiton is preserved with the lower part of her face looking left. Two Nereids dressed in chitons and himatia flee to Nereus on the right. The first (upper part of her head not preserved) runs with her feet off the ground as she looks back toward Thetis. She holds a fish in her left hand and pulls up her garment with the right so that she can run faster. The second Nereid also runs with both feet off the ground, and extends her hands toward Nereus. Her hair is in a *krobylos*, and she wears a red fillet around her head. Nereus, the father of Thetis, is seated to left on a *thakos* (seat). Depicted as an old man with rounded shoulders, he is dressed in a chiton and himation, with a fillet around his head, and supports himself with a knobby staff in his right hand.

ATTRIBUTION AND DATE Attributed to the Kleophrades Painter by J. D. Beazley. Circa 490–480 B.C.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION 77.AE.II: Height to top of volutes 74.5 cm; height to top of rim 66 cm; diam. of rim 45.7 cm (inside); diam. of rim 52.4 cm (outside); diam. of body 50 cm; diam. of foot (as restored) 26 cm; height of figural scenes: upper 7 cm, lower 7.8 cm. Capacity to rim is 71.425 liters. Mended from fragments, with missing pieces restored in plaster and painted. Modern: most of the foot, upper section of one handle, part of the neck on A, and parts of the body. All fragments listed below: surfaces scratched, with chips missing around the edges.

86.AE.587: Maximum preserved dimensions: height 6.1 cm; width 3.7 cm; thickness 1.2 cm.

97.AE.58.2: Length 6.5 cm.

98.AE.82.1: Greatest extent 5 cm.

98.AE.82.2: Greatest extent 4 cm.

98.AE.82.3: Greatest extent 4.1 cm.

98.AE.82.4: Greatest extent 3.8 cm.

98.AE.82.5: Greatest extent 4.9 cm.

98.AE.82.6: Greatest extent 3.2 cm.

98.AE.82.7: Greatest extent 2.9 cm.

98.AE.82.8: Greatest extent 3.1 cm.

98.AE.82.9: Greatest extent 3.2 cm.

98.AE.82.10: Greatest extent 2.6 cm.

98.AE.82.11: Greatest extent 2.6 cm.

98.AE.82.12: Greatest extent 2.4 cm.

TECHNICAL FEATURES 77.AE.II: Preliminary sketch. Relief contour. Accessory color. Red: external outline of volutes, circumference of rim, inscriptions, fillets, bridles, leaves on Cheiron's branch, straps of helmet, small branch in Nereid's hand, flame of torch, blood, tongues of snakes, leaves on tree, straps on quivers. Dilute glaze: hair of Nereus, hair of two Nereids.

86.AE.587: Preliminary sketch. Relief contour.

97.AE.58.2: Preliminary sketch. Relief contour.

98.AE.82.1–12: Preliminary sketch. Relief contour.

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15; Brommer, "Herakles und Theseus," pp. 183–228, figs. 6, 15, 18, 20; "Acquisitions/1986," *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987): 160–61, no. 7; J. Neils, *The Youthful Deeds of Theseus* (Rome, 1987), pp. 71–72, cat. no. 320; Schefold and Jung, *Die Urkönige Perseus*, p. 155, no. 335; D. Williams, *CVA* London 9 (Great Britain 17), p. 74; A. Kauffmann-Samaras, in *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), pt. 1, p. 592, no. 87, s.v. "Amazones"; B. de Grino and R. Olmos, in *LIMC*, vol. 2 (1984), pt. 1, p. 5, no. 8, s.v. "Atlas"; M. Gisler-Huwiler, in *LIMC*, vol. 3 (1986), p. 240, no. 30, s.v. "Cheiron"; E. Zervoudaki, in *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), p. 113, no. 8, s.v. "Eurytion II"; J. Boardman, in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), pt. 1, p. 7, no. 1702, s.v. "Herakles: Dodekathlos"; P. Brize, in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), pt. 1, p. 77, no. 2502, s.v. "Herakles and Geryon"; G. Kokkorou-Alewrass, in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), pt. 1, p. 101, no. 2680, s.v. "Herakles"; M. Pipili, in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), pt. 1, p. 690, no. 23, s.v. "Hippodameia"; N. Icard-Gianolio, in *LIMC*, vol. 6 (1992), pt. 1, pp. 805–6, no. 287, s.v. "Nereides"; M. Pipili, in *LIMC*, vol. 6 (1992), pt. 1, p. 830, no. 72, s.v. "Nereus"; S. Woodford, in *LIMC*, vol. 7 (1994), p. 106, no. 17, s.v. "Orthros"; R. Vollkommer, in *LIMC*, vol. 7 (1994), pt. 1, p. 262, no. 176, s.v. "Peleus"; Robertson, *Art of Vase-Painting*, p. 60; Kunze-Götte, *Der Kleophrades-Maler*, pp. 76, 89, 124; T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore and London, 1993), p. 412; A. Kossatz-Deissman, "Eine etruskische Feldflasche mit Herakles am Hesperidenbaum: Nachrichten aus dem Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, Würzburg," *AA* (1994): 56, fig. 61; Barringer, *Divine Escorts*, p. 194, no. 131; J. M. Padgett, "The Kleophrades Painter," in *Perseus II* (Harvard, 1995), a computerized database, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0013%3Asection%3D11>; T. Schreiber, *Athenian Vase Construction: A Potter's Analysis* (Malibu, 1999), fig. 16.17; F. Diez de Velasco, "Marge, axe et centre: Iconographie d'Héraclès, Atlas et l'arbre des Hespérides," in *Héros et héroïnes*, ed. V. Pirenne-Delforge and E. Suarez de la Torre, *Kernos*, Supplement 10 (Liège, 2000), pp. 204–5; L. Norfolk, *In the Shape of a Boar* (New York, 2001), p. 4, note 12; *Getty Handbook of the Antiquities Collection*, 1st ed., p. 72; Gaunt, "Attic Volute Krater," pp. 529–30, cat. no. 50; R. Kousser, "The World of Aphrodite in the Late Fifth Century B.C.," in *Greek Vases: Images, Contexts and Controversies*, ed. C. Marconi (Leiden and Boston, 2004), p. 106, fig. 8.9; A. Arvanitaki, *Hero and the Polis: The Example of Herakles in the Archaic Iconography of Corinth* (Thessaloniki, 2006), p. 68, note 12; H. Mommsen, "Prometheus oder Atlas? Zur Deutung der Amphora München 1540," in *Athenian Potters and Painters*, vol. 2, pp. 201–11, fig. 5; A. G. Mitchell, *Greek Vase-Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour* (New York, 2009), p. 220; *Getty Handbook of the Antiquities Collection*, 2nd ed., p.

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86.AE.587: "Acquisitions/1986," *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987): 161, no. 8.

LOAN Los Angeles, Loyola Marymount University, *Painting on Vases in Ancient Greece*, March 20–April 22, 1979.

COMPARANDA For the Kleophrades Painter, see *ARV*² 181–95, 1631–33, 1705; *ABV* 404–5, 696, 715; *Paralipomena* 175–76, 340–41; *Beazley Addenda*² 105, 186–89; J. Six, "Kleophrades Sohn des Amasis," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 3 (1888): 233–34; J. D. Beazley, "Kleophrades," *JHS* 30 (1910): 38–68; Beazley, *Vases in American Museums*, pp. 40–44; G. M. A. Richter, "The Kleophrades Painter," *AJA* 40 (1936): 100–115; L. Schnitzler, "Vom Kleophrades-Maler," *Opuscula Atheniensia* 2 (1955): 47–60; R. Lullies, *Die Spitzamphora des Kleophrades* (Bremen, 1957); P. E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *A History of 1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting*, trans. and rev. by B. B. Shefton (New York, 1962), pp. 328–31; A. H. Ashmead, "Fragments by the Kleophrades Painter from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 35 (1966): 20–36; U. Knigge, "Neue Scherben von Gefäßen des Kleophrades-Malers," *AM* 85 (1970): 1–22; Greifenhagen, *Neue Fragmente des Kleophradesmalers*; J. D. Beazley, *The Kleophrades Painter* (Mainz, 1974); F. W. Hamdorf, "Eine neue Hydria des Kleophradesmalers," *Pantheon* 32 (1974): 219–24; J. Boardman, "The Kleophrades Painter's Cup in London," *GettyMusJ* 1 (1975): 7–14; idem, "The Kleophrades Painter at Troy," *AK* 19 (1976): 3–18; Robertson, "An Unrecognized Cup" (supra),

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For the painter's Panathenaic amphorae and black-figure work, see Kunze-Götte, *Der Kleophrades-Maler*; S. B. Matheson, "Panathenaic Amphorae by the Kleophrades Painter," in *Greek Vases in the Getty* 4, pp. 95–112; *CVA* Leiden 1 (Netherlands 3), pp. 37–38, pls. 48–49; B. Kratzmüller, "'Not That the Vases Are Easy to Interpret...' Some Thoughts on Panathenaic Prize Amphorae," in *The Panathenaic Games: Proceedings of an International Conference Held at the University of Athens, May 11–12, 2004*, ed. O. Palagia and A. Spetsieri-Choremi (Oxford, 2015), pp. 103–106.

For decorative ornaments used by the Kleophrades Painter, see B. Otto, "Dekorative Elemente in den Bildschöpfungen des Kleophrades- und Berliner-Malers," in *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, pp. 198–201.

Spirals are a relatively unusual decorative motif on volutes of volute-kraters. For other examples, see Athens, *Agora* P 24784 and P 26550 (*Agora* 30, p. 173, nos. 242–43, pl. 33); and three vases by the Niobid Painter: Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 268 (*ARV*² 598.1; *Paralipomena* 394; *Beazley Addenda*² 265; Schleiffenbaum, *Volutenkrater*, pp. 332–33, no. V 227, fig. 14), Palermo, National Museum G 1283 (*ARV*² 599.2; *Paralipomena* 394.2; *Beazley Addenda*² 266; Schleiffenbaum, *Volutenkrater*, pp. 318–19, no. V 188, fig. 13), Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2421

(*ARV*² 600.13; *Paralipomena* 395.13; *Beazley Addenda*² 266; Schleiffenbaum, *Volutenkrater*, p. 371, no. V 294; J. P. Barron, "New Light on Old Walls: The Murals of the Theseion," *JHS* 92 (1972): pl. VI.b, c), all dated around the mid-fifth century B.C. See the comment on the handle ornament of the Getty krater by Williams, in "Beyond the Berlin Painter" (*supra*), p. 176. The handles on Louvre G 166, which are given as examples for spirals on the flange in *Agora* 30, p. 173, no. 242, belong to our krater 77.AE.11, and they are currently incorporated into it. See Frel, "The Kleophrades Painter in Malibu" (*supra*), p. 75, note 7.

In overall shape and decoration, the krater resembles the black-figure volute-kraters of the late sixth century B.C., which have a black body, figural decoration on the neck, and rays at the base. Cf. the black-figure krater by the Golvol Group in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 90.153 (*ABV* 194–95, 689; *Paralipomena* 79–80; *Beazley Addenda*² 52; Hitzl, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Volutenkraters*, pp. 297–98, no. 34). See J. Neils, "The Euthymides Krater from Morgantina," *AJA* 99 (1995): 428–31.

For figural decoration on both registers of the neck, see Hitzl, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Volutenkraters*, pp. 115–20; Schleiffenbaum, *Volutenkrater*, pp. 57–60. The scheme is found mostly on black-figure volute-kraters. See Hitzl, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Volutenkraters*, pp. 304–5, 317–24, 328–33, 340, 357, 365, 379, 382, 385, 398, 399, 419, 428, nos. 38, 45–48, 51–53, 60, 76, 84, 99, 102, 105, 118, 119, 140, 151; Schleiffenbaum, *Volutenkrater*, pp. 265, 270, 273, 275, 276, 279, 282, 285, 287, 293, 294, 306–8, 312–17, nos. V58, V71, V78, V81, V84, V92, V97d, V104, V108, V109, V123, V126, V163, V164, V165, V176, V180, V181, V183, V185. For red-figure examples, see a volute-krater by the Kleophrades Painter once in Freiburg, art market (*Kunst der Antike: Galerie Günter Puhze* [Freiburg, 1983], cat. no. 5, p. 21, no. 189); an unattributed neck fragment in Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale C 4006 (Kunisch, "Zum helmhaltende Athena," p. 92, no. 98, pl. 47.1); a neck fragment near the Nikoxenos Painter in the Rhodes Museum without inv. no. (*ARV*² 223.4; Schleiffenbaum, *Volutenkrater*, p. 388, no. V335; G. Jacopi, *Esplorazione archeologica di Camiro 2*, *ClRh* 6/7 [Rhodes, 1932/39], p. 175, fig. 207). Herakles is a popular subject for decorating the necks of volute-kraters; see Hitzl, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Volutenkraters*, pp. 286–432; Schleiffenbaum, *Volutenkrater*, pp. 257–404.

Close to the neck decoration of our vase is that of an unattributed black-figure volute-krater in Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 1740 (Hitzl, *Die*

Entstehung und Entwicklung des Volutenkraters, pp. 119, 125–26, 304–5, cat. no. 38, pls. 48–49a; Schleiffenbaum, *Volutenkrater*, p. 286, no. V106). The painter of this vase has also placed the figural decoration in two registers on the neck, leaving the body black, except for the zone with the black rays at the bottom of the body. Worthy of note is that the scenes with the abduction of Thetis by Peleus in the presence of Cheiron and with the arming of the Amazons are found on both vases and in the same registers.

The Kleophrades Painter divides all the scenes on the krater into triptychs, primarily using the "back to back" scheme. This seems to be characteristic of the painter; cf. a volute-krater once in Freiburg, art market (*Kunst der Antike: Galerie Günter Puhze* [Freiburg, 1983], cat. no. 5, p. 21, no. 189). Despite the limitations of space, he maintained his preference for narration. The miniaturist execution of the figures is of high quality and very carefully done. Except for the missing parts of the Amazonomachy on A, which does not allow for a full reconstruction, the rest of the scenes can be easily restored.

Frontal figures such as Atlas are a common feature in the work of the Kleophrades Painter: cf. a pointed amphora in Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen NI 8732 (*ARV*² 182.6; M. Tiverios, *Archaia Aggeia* [Athens, 1996], pp. 134–35, 296, figs. 106–7); a hydria in Salerno, Museo Archeologico Provinciale 1371 (*ARV*² 188.67; J. Boardman, in *LIMC*, vol. 5 [1990], pt. 1, p. 156, no. 3233, s.v. "Herakles"); a skyphos in Florence, Museo Archeologico 4218 (*ARV*² 191.102; S. Colvin, "On Representations of Centaurs in Greek Vase-Painting," *JHS* 1 [1880]: 139–47, pl. 3).

The Amazonomachy was a popular subject in Greek art during the Archaic and Classical periods. For Amazonomachies with Herakles, see D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 6–10, 30–63, 111–12, 115, 117, 120; M. Schmidt, "Zu Amazonomachiedarstellungen der Berliner Malers und des Euphronios," in *Tainia: Festschrift für Roland Hampe*, ed. H. A. Cahn and E. Simon (Mainz am Rhein, 1980), pp. 153–69; Kauffmann-Samaras, "Amazones" (*supra*), pp. 587–97; J. Boardman, "Herakles, Theseus and Amazons," in *The Eye of Greece: Studies in the Art of Athens*, ed. D. Kurtz and B. Sparkes (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 1–28; W. Blake Tyrrel, *Amazons: A Study in Athenian Mythmaking* (Baltimore, 1984); Brommer, "Herakles und Theseus," pp. 183–89; Schefold and Jung, *Die Urkönige Perseus*, pp. 154–60; J. Henderson, "Timeo Danaos: Amazons in Early Greek Art and Pottery," in *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture*, ed. S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (Cambridge,

1994), pp. 85–137; Saunders, “An Amazonomachy Attributed to the Syleus Painter” (supra), pp. 187–96. Cf. the cup by the Kleophrades Painter in Paris, Cab. Méd. 535 (*ARV*² 191.103; Beazley, *Kleophrades Painter* (supra), pp. 9–10, pls. 11–12), for a similar arrangement (note the use again of a centaur as the shield device for the Amazon attacking Herakles) and the presence of both heroes (Herakles and Telamonian Ajax) in the scene. For other examples following the pattern of the same two heroes fighting back to back against the Amazons, cf. the volute-krater by Euphronios in Arezzo, Museo Archeologico Mecenate 1465 (*ARV*² 15.6; von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* [supra], pl. 69.3); the volute-krater by Euthymides from Morgantina, Aidone, Museo Archeologico 58.2382 (*ARV*² 128.10, 1620; Beazley *Addenda*² 156; J. Neils, “The Euthymides Krater from Morgantina,” *AJA* 99 [1995]: 427–44); a kantharos by Douris in Brussels, Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire A 718 (*ARV*² 445.256, 1653; *Paralipomena* 521; Beazley *Addenda*² 241; *CVA* Brussels 1 [Belgium 1], pls. 5–6). See the comments in *Pandora* by E. Reeder, p. 375, and C. Benson, p. 376.

While all the Amazons use spears, Herakles uses a sword. Worthy of note is that Ajax holds a *machaira*, a type of single-edged sword with a distinctive hooklike pommel designed for slashing rather than for stabbing. For the *machaira*, see A. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (London, 1967), p. 97; F. Quesada Sanz, “La falcata Ibérica: ¿Un arma de origen ilirio y procedencia itálica?,” in *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 63 (1990): 65–93; J. K. Anderson, “Hoplite Weapons and Offensive Arms,” in *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience*, ed. V. Hanson (London, 1991), pp. 26, 32; P. Bonnechere, “La μάχαιρα était dissimulée dans le κανοῦν: Quelques interrogations,” *REA* 101 (1999): 21–35; T. H. Carpenter, “Harmodios and Apollo in Fifth-Century Athens: What’s in a Pose?,” in *Athenian Potters and Painters*, vol. 1, pp. 172–74, where the *machaira* is considered a “barbaric” weapon. In this case, it is strange that Ajax and not an Amazon holds the *machaira*. *Ibid.*, p. 178, note 16, also mentions that the Kleophrades Painter is the earliest known to include the appropriate scabbard for the *machaira*. For the use of a *machaira* in the Amazonomachy, see P. Devambez, in *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), pt. 1, pp. 586–653, s.v. “Amazones.” The *machaira* is also found in the Gigantomachy; cf. a stamnos by the Tyszkiewicz Painter in London, British Museum E 443 (*ARV*² 292.29; *CVA* London 3 [Great Britain 4], pl. 21.3).

The preparation for battle of the Amazons on side B could be recognized as the scene before the battle depicted on A. This is also supported by the *salpinx*, which was blown before or after battle.

For the *salpinx*, see S. Michailidis, *Enkyklopaideia tēs archaias hellēnikēs mousikēs* (Athens, 1982), pp. 278–79; M. Tiverios, *Perikleia Panathēnaia: Henas kratēras tou z. tou Monachou 2335* (Thessaloniki, 1989), pp. 37–40, with earlier bibliography; P. Krenz, “The Salpinx in Greek Warfare,” in Hanson, *Hoplites* (supra), pp. 110–20; T. J. Mathiesen, *Apollo’s Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Lincoln, Neb., 1999), pp. 230–34; J. R. Hale, “Salpinx and Salpinktes: Trumpet and Trumpeter in Ancient Greece,” in *Literature, Art, History: Studies on Classical Antiquity and Tradition in Honour of W. J. Anderson*, ed. A. F. Basson and W. J. Dominik (Frankfurt, 2003), pp. 267–73; Bundrick, *Music and Image*, pp. 44–46; N. Xanthoulis, “The Salpinx in Greek Antiquity,” *International Trumpet Guild Journal* 31 (October 2006): 39–45; P. Holmes, “The Greek and Etruscan Salpinx,” *Studien zu Musikarchäologie* 6 (2008): 241–60; J. Neils, “Bronze-Belled Braying: The Salpinx in Athenian Art,” in *Essays on Greek Pottery and Iconography in Honour of Professor Michalis Tiverios*, ed. P. Valavanis and E. Manakidou (Thessaloniki, 2014), pp. 257–70.

The *salpinx* is mainly a warlike instrument with a military use—for example, to signal the beginning of a battle, which in our case is depicted on the other side of the krater. Moreover, the *salpinx* gave cavalry signals (Xenophon, *Hipparch.* 3.12), something that also coincides with the depicted scene. In Attic vase-painting it is found mostly in battle scenes and less often in Dionysiac contexts, rituals, and athletics (see Neils, “Bronze-Belled Braying” [supra], pp. 258–66). Trumpeting Amazons are found in Late Archaic Athenian iconography; cf. a red-figure hydria by Hypsis in Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2423 (*ARV*² 30.1; Beazley *Addenda*² 156; Bundrick, *Music and Image*, p. 46, fig. 29); a red-figure cup by Olto in the Vatican AST 47 (*ARV*² 47.152; Beazley *Addenda*² 78; B. Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases* [New York, 1978], pl. 85.1,2); a red-figure kalpis by the Leningrad Painter in London, British Museum E 167 (*ARV*² 571.77; *CVA* London 5 [Great Britain 7], pp. 11–12, pls. 73.1, 79.1); a red-figure stamnos by the Eucharides Painter in St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 642 (*ARV*² 228.30; *Paralipomena* 347, 510; Beazley *Addenda*² 199; C. Ellinghaus, *Die Parthenonskulpturen: Der Bauschmuck eines öffentlichen Monumentes der demokratischen Gesellschaft Athens zur Zeit des Perikles, Techniken in der bildenden Kunst zur Tradierung von Aussagen* [Hamburg, 2011], fig. 122); a red-figure stamnos

by the Tyszkiewicz Painter in Brussels, Musées Royaux A3092 (*ARV*² 291.21; *CVA* Brussels 3 [Belgium 3], p. 13, pl. 23.1).

For Herakles's labors, see Brommer, *Heracles*; R. Vollkommer, *Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece* (Oxford, 1998); Schefold and Jung, *Die Urkönige Perseus*, pp. 135–66; Boardman, “Herakles: Dodekathlos” (*supra*), pp. 5–16; G. Kokkorou-Alewrass, “Herakles and the Lernean Hydra” (*supra*), pp. 34–43; P. Brize, “Herakles and the Lernean Hydra” (*supra*), pp. 73–85; G. Kokkorou-Alewrass, in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), pt. 1, pp. 100–III, s.v. “Herakles and the Hesperides”; I. Sforza, “I pomi d'oro delle Esperidi: Un viaggio verso l'immortalità,” *Atene e Roma* 3–4 (2010): 213–26. See also Brommer, “Herakles und Theseus,” pp. 189–203.

It is worth noting that the vase-painter has depicted the labors in the order in which they supposedly took place.

Pausanias (2.37.4) claims that Peisandros invented the idea of a Hydra with many heads to make his account more impressive. A scholion to the *Theogony* adds that Alkaios (443 frg.) gave her nine heads (see fragments of Sappho and Alkaios cited according to E. Lobel and D. L. Page, *Poetarum lesbiorum fragmenta* [Oxford, 1955]). The nine-headed Hydra is found in several literary sources (Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.2; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 151; *Suda*, s.v. “Hydra”) and is common in representations throughout the fifth century B.C. During this period the Hydra is normally shown with nine or seven heads, with some exceptions that vary from three to eleven heads (see G. Kokkorou-Alewrass, “Herakles and the Lernean Hydra” [*supra*], pp. 42–43). For the chronological appearance of literary sources regarding the myth, see Gantz, *Early Greek Myth* (*supra*), pp. 384–86. For Herakles's labor with the Hydra, see also *CVA* Basel, Antikenmuseum 1 (Switzerland 4), pp. 41–43, pl. 11.10–13; P. Amandry and D. Amyx, “Héraclès et l'hydre de Lerne dans la céramique corinthienne,” *AK* 25 (1982): 102–16; J.-J. Maffre, “Le combat d'Héraclès contre l'hydre de Lerne dans la collection de vases grecs du Louvre,” *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 35 (1985): 83–95; Brommer, *Heracles*, pp. 12–18. Athena standing behind Herakles while he fights with the Hydra is not rare in Attic vase-painting: cf. a cup by the Ashby Painter in Athens, Agora P 7899 (*ARV*² 455.12; *Agora* 30, p. 309, no. 1340, pl. 125); an oinochoe in St. Petersburg, Hermitage B 4257 (Brommer, *Heracles*, pl. 14). The placement of Herakles to the left of the Hydra with Iolaos to the right is typical. Iolaos is shown as a hoplite in Archaic black-figure vase-painting: cf. a Tyrrhenian amphora by the Castellani Painter, once on the art market in Rome (*ABV* 97.25; *Paralipomena*

35.37; J. Kluiver, “The Five Later ‘Tyrrhenian’ Painters,” *BABesch* 71 [1996]: 9, no. 181); a white-ground lekythos in the manner of the Theseus Painter in Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale C869 (*ABV* 521; C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi* [Paris, 1936], 254.2; *CVA* Agrigento 1 [Italy 61], pls. 75.1–2, 76.1–2); a neck amphora by the Diosphos Painter in Paris, Louvre F 387 (Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi* [*supra*], 238.132; F. Lissarrague, *Greek Vases: The Athenians and Their Images* [New York, 2001], p. 166, fig. 126); and red-figure vase-painting: cf. an amphora by the Kleophrades Painter in Cologne, Fond. M. Bodmer (Maffre, “Le combat d'Héraclès contre l'hydre de Lerne” [*supra*], p. 89, fig. 10); a stamnos by the Syleus Painter in Palermo, Museo Nazionale V 763 (275) (*ARV*² 251.34; *CVA* Palermo, Collezione Mormino, Banco di Sicilia 1 [Italy 50], pl. 31.4); perhaps a fragmentary cup by the Ashby Painter in Athens, Agora P 7899 (*ARV*² 455.12; *Agora* 30, p. 309, no. 1340, pl. 125).

The labor with Geryon is more popular in black-figure than on red-figure vases. For the setting, cf. a red-figure cup by Euphronios in Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 8704 (*ARV*² 16–17.17, 1619; *Paralipomena* 322; *Beazley Addenda*² 153; F. W. Hamdorf, in *Euphronios der Maler*, pp. 199–204, cat. no. 41), depicting the scene with the involvement of the same figures (Herakles, Geryon, Orthros, Eurytion). The version of Eurytion being killed while asleep is rare (cf. the representations in Zervoudaki, “Eurytion II” [*supra*], pp. 112–17). Based on Eurytion's posture, perhaps this is the case here; this might be an innovation of the Kleophrades Painter.

Except for the number of the heads, Ladon is depicted almost like the Hydra. Normally Ladon has one head; three heads is very rare. For another example, cf. a hydria in Paris, Cab. Méd. 4820 (J. D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* [Tübingen, 1925], p. 320, no. 17 [attributed to the Amymone Painter]). Cf. also a neck amphora attributed to the manner of Euphronios in St. Petersburg, Hermitage B 2351 (A. Bukina, A. Petrakova, and C. Phillips, *Greek Vases in the Imperial Hermitage Museum: The History of the Collection, 1816–69, with Addenda et Corrigenda to Ludolf Stephani, “Die Vasen-Sammlung der Kaiserlichen Ermitage” (1869)* [Oxford, 2013], p. 156, fig. 103). The image of Herakles picking the apples on his own is not common in Attic red-figure; for other examples, see Kokkorou-Alewrass, “Herakles and the Hesperides” (*supra*), pp. 102–3.

Pegasos is a trademark on the Kleophrades Painter's shields, particularly on the Panathenaic amphorae. See Frel, "The Kleophrades Painter in Malibu" (supra), p. 70; Matheson, "Panathenaic Amphorae by the Kleophrades Painter" (supra), pp. 95, 100; Kunze-Götte, *Der Kleophrades-Maler*, p. 19; M. Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren: Eine athenische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.-4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Basel, 1998), pp. 48–49.

For Atlas supporting the heavens, cf. a cup by Makron in Bochum, Ruhr-Universität S 1168 (N. Kunisch, *Erläuterung zur griechischen Vasenmalerei* [Bochum, 1996], pp. 161–65); Mommsen, "Prometheus oder Atlas?" (supra).

For Athena and Herakles, see N. Kunisch, "Athena und Herakles: Entwicklung bildlicher Mythen im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.," in *Mythos: Erzählende Weltdeutung im Spannungsfeld von Ritual, Geschichte und Rationalität* (Trier, 1990), pp. 75–89.

For the seated Athena, see Kunisch, "Zum helmhaltende Athena," esp. p. 92, nos. 96–108. On the neck fragment in Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale C 4006 (Kunisch, "Zum helmhaltende Athena," pl. 47a), the seated goddess watches the hero wrestling; the subject might be Herakles with the Nemean Lion or the Marathonian Bull. For Athena's types, see P. Demargne, in *LIMC*, vol. 2 (1984), pt. 1, pp. 955–1044, s.v. "Athena"; B. S. Ridgway, "Images of Athena on the Akropolis," in *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 119–42.

The wrestling of Peleus and Thetis is also found on other vases attributed to the Kleophrades Painter. Cf. the fragmentary red-figure stamnos in Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.220 (Barringer, *Divine Escorts*, pl. 100); an amphora of Type A in a private collection attributed to the painter by J.-L. Zimmermann (J.-L. Zimmermann, in *Art Antique: Collections privées de Suisse Romande*, ed. J. Dörig [Geneva, 1975], no. 204; for an attribution of this vase to the Dikaios Painter by D. von Bothmer, see his *Glories of the Past: Ancient Art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection* [New York, 1990], pp. 153–54, no. 115). The depiction of the theme on a volute-krater is extremely rare in Attic vase-painting (for another example, see the black-figure volute-krater in Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 1740 [supra]); see Vollkommer, "Peleus" (supra), pp. 255–69. For the Kleophrades Painter and the subject, see Boardman, "The Kleophrades Painter at Troy" (supra), pp. 3–4.

For Peleus and Thetis, see J. Kaiser, *Peleus und Thetis: Eine sagengeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Munich, 1912); Krieger, "Der Kampf zwischen Peleus und Thetis" (supra);

Barringer, *Divine Escorts*, pp. 69–77; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "A Series of Erotic Pursuits: Images and Meanings," *JHS* 107 (1987): 138–39; E. Reeder, "Peleus and Thetis," in *Pandora*, pp. 340–51; Vollkommer, "Peleus" (supra), pp. 255–69, s.v. "Peleus"; idem, in *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), pt. 1, pp. 6–9, s.v. "Thetis." For pursuit scenes, see also entry no. 5 (86.AE.206). The scene belongs to Krieger's "Umklammerungstypus" (the struggle type), which dominates the extant Attic representations of the subject. Cf. also two other vases by the Kleophrades Painter depicting the subject: a fragmentary red-figure stamnos in Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.220 (Barringer, *Divine Escorts*, pl. 100) and a cup in London, British Museum E 73 (*ARV*² 192.106; Barringer, *Divine Escorts*, p. 194, no. 132).

The symmetrical arrangement with three figures on each end of the scene moving away from the central group highlights the setting with the struggling couple and Cheiron. The composition with the two protagonists wrestling in the center and flanked by Cheiron to the left and a fleeing Nereid to the right is found on a black-figure belly-amphora, Munich 1415.WAF near the Leagros Group (Barringer, *Divine Escorts*, pl. 71). The centaur is again depicted with human forelegs and holds a branch over his shoulder. The similarity extends to the Nereid who is fleeing to the right while looking back toward Thetis and holding her garment with her right hand. This arrangement with Cheiron standing next to the couple is found primarily in black-figure, whereas in red-figure he is usually placed farther away (for another exception, see a hydria in *Münzen und Medaillen Sonderliste N* [Basel, 1971]: 15, no. 10). For Attic vases depicting Cheiron in the scene, see Vollkommer, "Peleus" (supra), pp. 256, 261–63; Gisler-Huwyler, "Cheiron" (supra), pp. 239–40. For Cheiron, see also M. Vogel, *Chiron der Kentaur mit der Kithara* (Bonn, 1978).

Centaur from Geometric and Archaic times are normally depicted as ordinary men with human feet and the rear end of a horse grafted on. For centaurs with human forelegs, see B. Schiffer, *Die Typologie der Kentauren in der antiken Kunst* (Frankfurt am Main, 1976), pp. 30–37, 257–61, nos. A/Ch1–41; J. M. Padgett, "Horse Men: Centaurs and Satyrs in Early Greek Art," in Padgett, *Centaur's Smile*, pp. 3–46, with previous bibliography. For centaurs, see also Colvin, "On Representations of Centaurs in Greek Vase-Painting" (supra), pp. 107–67; P. V. C. Baur, *Centaurs in Ancient Art* (Berlin, 1912); E. Buschor, "Kentauren," *AJA* 38 (1934): 128–32; S. Drougou et al., in *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), pt. 1, pp. 671–721, s.v. "Kentauroi et Kentaurides"; G. Morawietz, *Der gesamte Kentaur* (Munich, 2000).

For the presence of Doris in an illustration of this myth, cf. a cup by Douris in Paris, Louvre G 116 (*ARV*² 431.44; *Beazley Addenda*² 236; Barringer, *Divine Escorts*, pp. 195–96, no. 141). For Nereus depicted as an old man seated, cf. a cup by the Kleophrades Painter in London, British Museum E 73 (*ARV*² 192.106; *Paralipomena* 341; *Beazley Addenda*² 189; Barringer, *Divine Escorts*, p. 194, no. 132); a cup by the Euergides Painter in London, British Museum E 9 (*ARV*² 89.13; 1625; *Beazley Addenda*² 170; Barringer, *Divine Escorts*, p. 193, no. 125); a stamnos by the Deepdene Painter in Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum der

Universität L 519 (*ARV*² 498.3; Barringer, *Divine Escorts*, p. 196, no. 146). See also Pipili, “Nereus” (supra), pp. 830–32.

For the transparency of the garment on the Nereid, cf. the Harpies on a kalpis by the Kleophrades Painter formerly in Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.316 (“Acquisitions/ 1985,” *GettyMusJ* 14 [1986]: 192, no. 51), now held by Soprintendenza speciale per i beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei (<http://www.archeologia.beniculturali.it>); at *BAPD* 30369, the current location is given as Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia.



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77.AE.11

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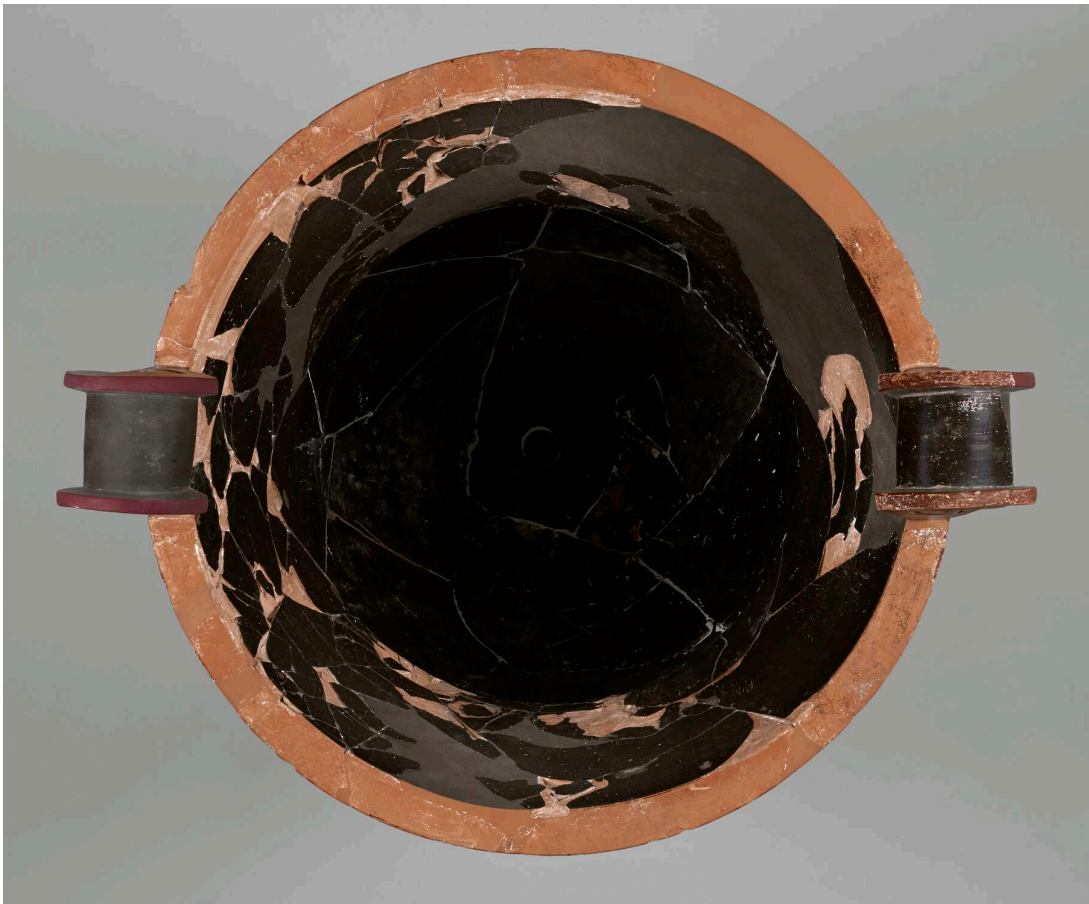
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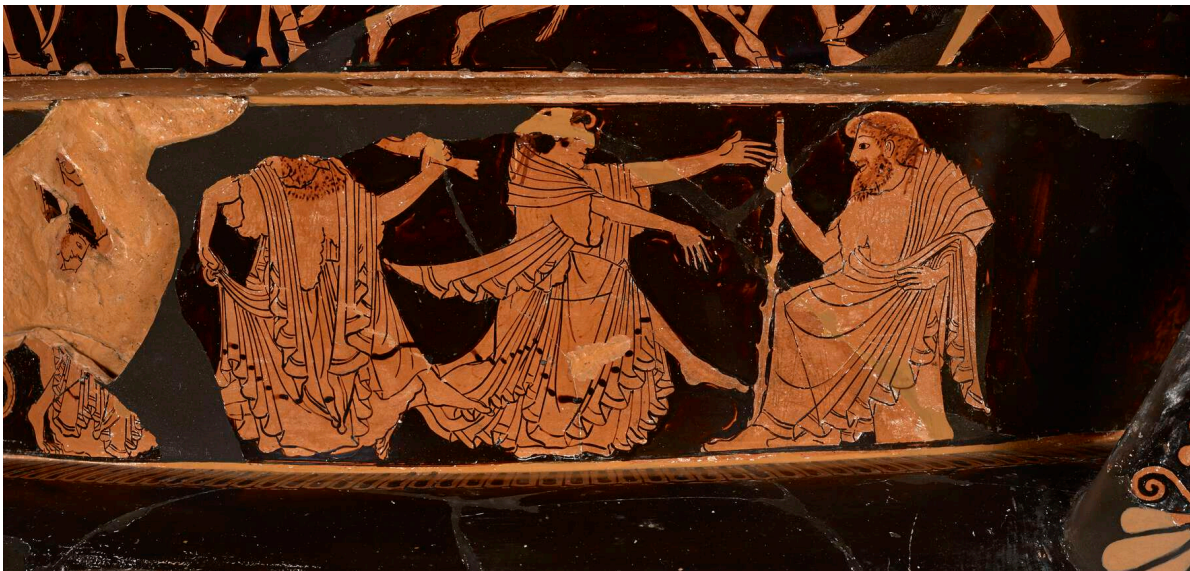
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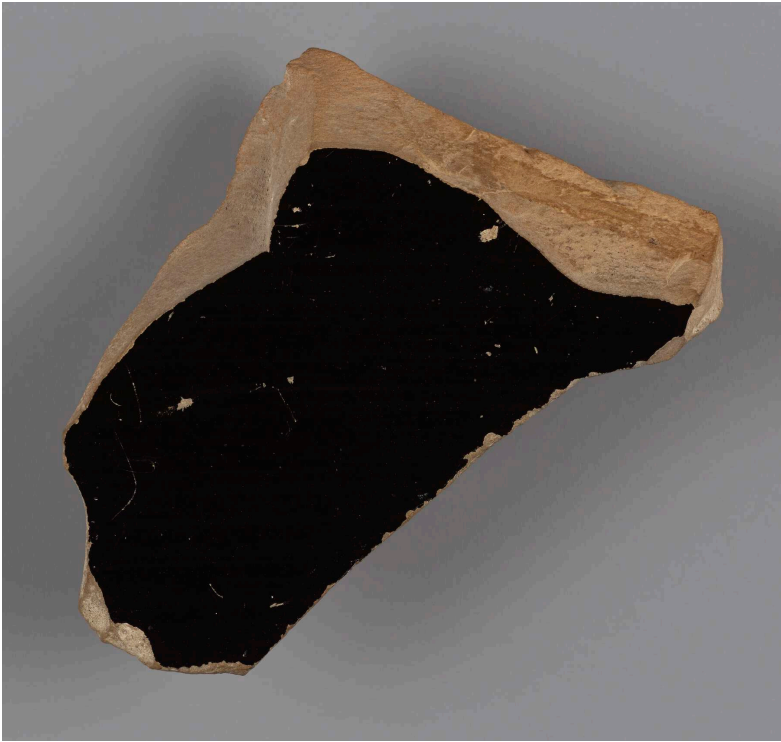


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77.AE.11



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