

20 Democratic Vessels? The Changing Shapes of Athenian Vases in Late Archaic and Early Classical Times

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“Form ever follows function:” This famous phrase by the Chicago architect Louis Sullivan¹ could apply especially to the shapes of Athenian pottery. Even vases with sophisticated decoration were never art for art’s sake, but vessels determined by a – at least imagined – practical function. I only call to mind, for instance, the Greek hydria as an impressive functional shape with its two horizontal handles for fetching water and lifting the vessel and with the vertical handle for pouring (Fig. 1). We find the handling of hydriai depicted on a good number of vase paintings. Although almost all researchers agree that the delicate painted specimens of this shape might never have been used this way at Athenian fountains,² their form follows the fundamental functions of an everyday tool. Or, to cite another example, the shape of an oinochoe with trefoil mouth and high curved handle is best suited to ladle wine from a krater without getting the fingers wet, and then to serve the wine to symposiasts.³

Nevertheless, despite the fundamental role of function, the Athenian potters had a certain degree of freedom to decide how to form the actual vase. For the Attic oinochoai Sir John Beazley defined ten types with distinct features, adopted and sometimes modified by other authors (Fig. 2).⁴ But, in spite of the differences in shape, most of these vessels seem to have served the same purposes: the holding and pouring of wine. Additionally, we find for every one of these types of oinochoai a wide range of proportions. This may show how broad the variation within a single functional field could have been. But what was the motive for the potter to choose one or the other type for his work, or to employ the one set or another set of proportions? Was it the wish to design a shape all the better for a specific use, or was it a question of fashionable aesthetics?

To anticipate an answer, there seems to have been a couple of reasons for changing types and forms in Attic pottery. Most important were certainly the wishes of the customers. Good examples for the interdependencies between a purchaser’s preferences and a producer’s ideas

are to be found with the amphora, one of the most common shapes in Attic fine ware pottery.

Well known is the use of the so called Nikosthenic amphora and some other Etruscan shapes in the repertoire of Attic pottery, as a reaction to the demands of Italian or



Fig. 1 Pouring from a hydria (after Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B 1528: M. Maaß, Wege zur Klassik [1985] color pl. 18).

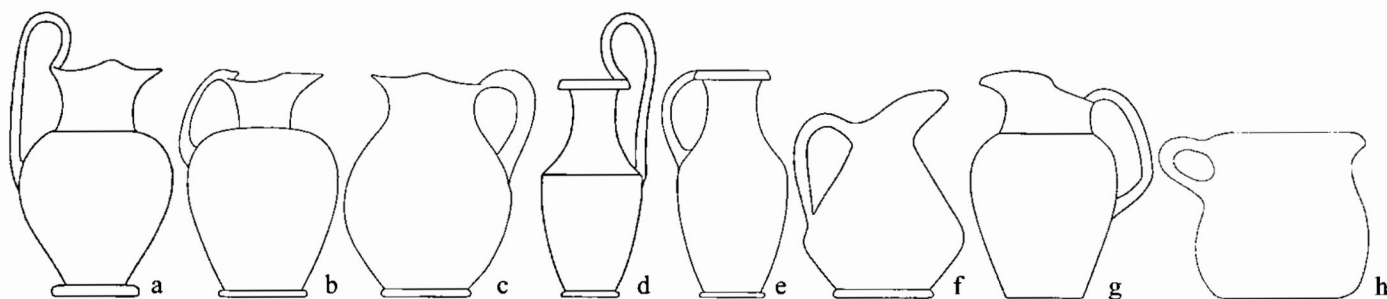


Fig. 2 Oinochoai of eight shapes (after J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Archaic Period. A Handbook* [1975] 209).

to be more precise Caeretan purchasers (Fig. 3).⁵ Vases of these shapes were developed and produced in the Athenian workshop of Nikosthenes and almost exclusively shipped to the region of Caere, modern Cerveteri. The rather straight conical form of the Nikosthenic amphora with articulated edges and broad flat handles follows exactly Etruscan *Bucchero* types, which themselves were clearly inspired by metal-ware. Although there are no extant Etruscan bronze amphorae of exactly this shape, one could imagine the construction of the vessel from several sheets of metal which are connected by folding and hammering. Such a construction is used for a bronze amphora from a warrior's grave in Tarquinia (Fig. 4).⁶

Whereas the products of the Nikosthenic workshop match very closely with Etruscan shapes, other influences of Etruscan customers on Attic vase shapes are less obvious, although it seems that a certain 'metallic' appearance of the vases was well received by the Etruscans. Indeed, the development of the Attic neck amphorae in the second half of the sixth century BC shows a gradual 'metallization' of the shape that goes together with an almost exclusively export oriented production of this shape. Although the shape itself with its two vertical handles has nothing that reminds strongly of metal vessels, the articulation of details follows the appearance of high quality metal vases (Fig. 5a). The profiled foot is inspired by cast bronze feet. As part of a clay vessel such a protruding edge could be easily damaged. The wide body and high shoulder used by Group E and Botkin neck amphorae in the middle of the sixth century may also have been prompted by metal-ware models.⁷

Similarly, there is a parallel development of the Attic shouldered hydriai in the second half of the sixth century BC. Their vertical handles have attachments and rounded knobs at the rim like contemporary bronze examples (Fig. 5b).⁸ Additionally, the profile of the Archaic hydria with its sharp angle between body and shoulder looks like an imitation of bronze models. The potters may have exaggerated the sharp but mostly rounded curve for the bronze hydriai, as they tried to make their products more 'metallic' than the metal-ware itself.

The potters' efforts to give their products an elegant shape that could compete with the prestigious metal vases was certainly pushed forward by the wishes of their customers. One should assume that in these cases

the most influential customers were the Etruscans, since the great majority of the black-figured vases with emphasized 'metallic' characteristics have been found in Italy. Especially the shoulder hydria and the so-called standard amphorae are relatively rare in Athenian and Greek contexts, although they compose a high number of the total number of vases known.⁹ Most come from Etruscan graves, especially from Vulci.

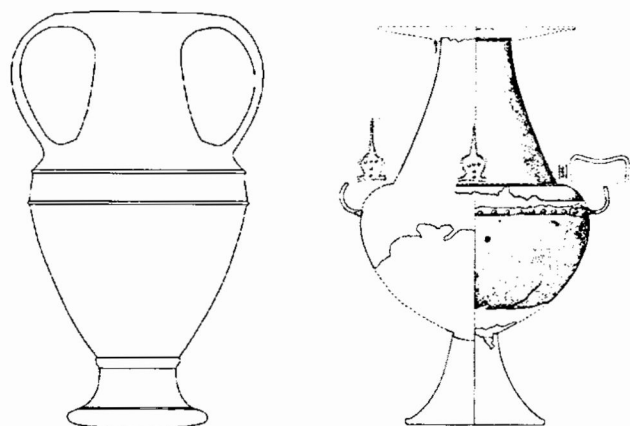


Fig. 3 (left) *Nikosthenic Amphora* (after P. E. Arias – M. Hirmer, *Tausend Jahre Griechische Vasenkunst* [1960] pl. xiii).

Fig. 4 (right) *An early seventh century Etruscan bronze amphora from Tarquinia* (after K. Kilian, *Jdl* 92, 1977, fig. 11).

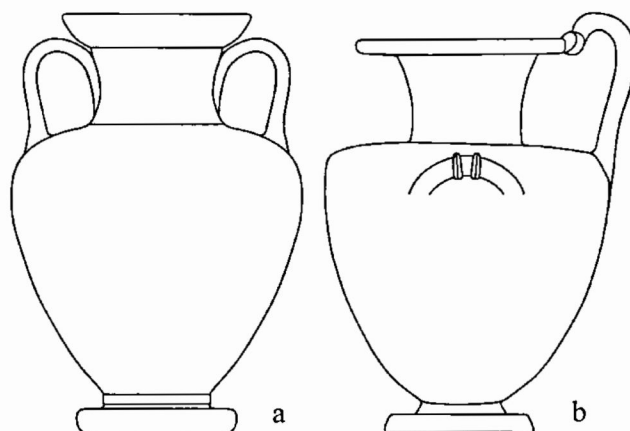


Fig. 5 *Standard neck amphora and shouldered hydria* (after T. Mannack, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* [2002] endpaper and Berlin, *Staatliche Antikensammlungen F* 2174).

On the other hand, belly or one-piece amphorae are as frequent in Athens as in Etruria. Apparently this shape matched Athenian needs (Fig. 6a). The best evidence of how they were used by the Athenians is supplied by the depictions on the vases themselves. In contrast to neck amphorae of the standard shape which never appear in the pictures,¹⁰ one-piece amphorae are sometimes shown together with men in mantles or filled with grain.¹¹ Ingeborg Scheibler has convincingly argued that the decorated one-piece amphora was inspired by the everyday *kados* and seems to be somehow connected with typical Athenian rituals or feasts. Nevertheless, although the development of the shape was obviously influenced by Athenian needs, the vases were likewise attractive to Etruscan customers. And maybe, therefore, the amphora – especially the type A amphora – also underwent a slight ‘metallization’ (Fig. 6b).

These few examples may show the variety of influences on the development of a certain vase shape in Athenian potteries. In not every case can the reasons for having chosen the one variety or the other may be traced back with the same certainty. But a hermeneutical network of information about the use, the distribution, and the origin of certain shapes could lead to a better understanding of the intentions of both the producers and the purchasers of Attic pottery.

This study will evaluate the intentions behind the development of vase shapes during an exiting period of Athenian history. In the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods not only the polis as a whole saw far-reaching changes, but also the potters’ workshops in the *Kerameikos*. The most obvious was the invention of the red-figure technique in vase-painting around 530 BC. Not only did the aesthetics of decoration change, but in the following years several new shapes found their way into the Attic repertoire. The characteristics of these newly invented shapes and their semantics will be the focus of the following paragraphs.

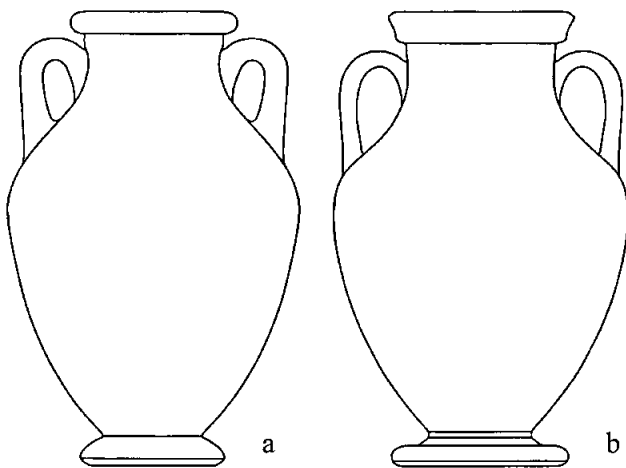


Fig. 6 One-piece amphorai of shape C and A (after T. Mannack, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* [2002] endpaper).

In 1951 Dietrich von Bothmer gave a list of Attic vase shapes invented in the early red-figure period. Beside the so called *pelike*, which was the focus of his article, he mentioned the *psykter*, the *stamnos*, the *kalpis*, and the bell *krater*.¹² This list was repeated by numerous scholars with slight modifications,¹³ and it serves as an appropriate starting point for this investigation. Two of the new shapes mentioned are easily explained. The *psykter* was a new type of vessel developed for new functional needs. The refinement of symposium culture led to a wish to cool the wine not only by adding fresh water directly to the wine, but to cool the whole wine container. For this purpose the *psykter* was developed. Containing unmixed wine, it was put into a *krater* where it was surrounded by water or ice.¹⁴

The *psykter* was a rather short-lived shape. By the middle of the fifth century it went out of fashion. It seems that the complicated procedure of cooling was no longer of interest. If one assumes – as some scholars do¹⁵ – that this equipment was necessary for serving unmixed but cool wine, the history of the shape could mirror changing habits of the Late Archaic and Early Classical symposium.

The second shape that von Bothmer lists, the *stamnos*, was one of the shapes that seems to have been invented to meet the wishes of Etruscan customers. Older hypotheses saw the shape in the tradition of either the Attic Geometric belly-handle amphora or common Greek household jars.¹⁶ Cornelia Isler-Kerényi first, and then Juliette de La Genière convincingly argued for the Etruscan connection of the shape.¹⁷ Like the *Nikosthenic* amphora or the *kyathos*, the *stamnos* is based on Italian models and was almost exclusively exported to the west.

More difficult to explain are the last three shapes mentioned by von Bothmer. Of these, only the *pelike* has been discussed in some depth by other scholars.¹⁸ All agree that the name is a purely modern convention, going back to Eduard Gerhard.¹⁹ The shape is often seen as a variation of the amphora, particularly of the type C one-piece amphora (Fig. 6a).²⁰ But, although the two vertical handles and the torus-like rim show that the shape had a similar function, it also has been pointed out that the *pelike* was somewhat odd in the Athenian repertoire of the late sixth century BC. Compared to the other vases with high shoulders and articulated details – for example, the above mentioned contemporary neck amphorae – the *pelike* is an ugly duckling. With its sagging belly on a broad simple foot, it seems to contradict all aesthetic principles of the time (Fig. 7).²¹

These characteristics have been explained by shape’s function. The low center of gravity is appropriate for vessels which filled with valuable liquids needs to stand stable. The evidence for how the Athenians used these vessels is again given by the depictions on the vases themselves. The *pelike* is shown several times in lively market scenes, where it serves as container for scented oil (Fig. 8).²² The salesmen had to be sure that their valuable liquid goods did not get lost. The ancient name of the shape could have been ‘*stamnos*’, as Ingeborg

Scheibler suggested with good reasons,²³ a name which would likewise suit its use. As a derivation from ἵστυμι it emphasizes the standing up of the vessels in contrast to commercial amphorae which had no or only small feet, so that they needed an additional piece of equipment to be stood in an upright position.²⁴

On one black figured vase in Berlin we find the depiction of pelikai used for fetching water (Fig. 9).²⁵ With a rope between the handles they were treated like a bucket. This picture may hint at one of the inspirations for the new shape. Normally the buckets used in this way in other depictions can be identified with the kados which was a very common vessel in Attic and Greek domestic pottery (Fig. 10).²⁶ These common household pots resemble the pelikai with their two vertical handles, the continuous profile, and the wide mouth. That both pelikai and kadoi could serve the same purposes, and that they had functional similarities makes it very likely that the Late Archaic potters had in mind to create the pelike as a fine ware version of the kados. Indeed, the simple and less articulate form of the pelike seems to have been inspired by the widely disseminated domestic vessels.

As mentioned above, the kados was even considered as a model for the one-piece amphora by Ingeborg Scheibler.²⁷ Indeed, the kados and one-piece amphora have a lot in common, especially the continuous curved profile. The close resemblances between the one-piece amphora, especially of Type C, and the pelike suggest that the kados was the inspiration for both. The only difference is that the creation of the one-piece amphora took place in the late seventh century, whereas the pelike was the result of changes in the last decades of the sixth century BC.

The pelike was the most successful of the potters' inventions during these years. The shape remained in production till the end of the fourth century BC. Other experiments with new amphora shapes in the Late Archaic red-figure workshops were not as well received. Either they were not nearly produced as frequently as pelikai, or they had a rather short lifespan. It is important, nevertheless, to emphasize that the other new amphorae also took their inspiration from pottery and not from metalwork. The most obvious ones are the pointed amphora which quotes the

form of the common transport amphora,²⁸ and the so-called amphora of Panathenaic shape that was reminiscent of the famous prize vases.²⁹



Fig. 8 Pelike, Firenze, Museo Archeologico 72 732 (after RA 1926, 290 fig. 5).



Fig. 9 Attic black-figure pelike Berlin, Staatliche Antikensammlungen VI. 3228 (after CVA Berlin 7 Germany 61 pl. 29,1).

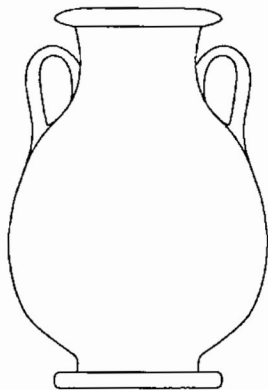


Fig. 7 Pelike (after Paris, Louvre G 65).



Fig. 10 Cooking ware kados (after Athens, Agora P 18347).

If we now broaden the view to other contemporary new shapes, it will be clear that the dependence of the pelike on everyday pottery is not accidental, but mirrors an overall tendency for Attic fine ware in the last decades of the sixth century BC. Going back to von Bothmer's list, we find the so called kalpis (Fig. 11a) as another new shape fitting perfectly within this tendency. With its bulging body, its continuous curved profile and the vertical handle attached not on the rim but on the neck, this newly invented form of the hydria was clearly a derivation from the conventional household hydria (Fig. 11b).³⁰ This marks a striking change in the potters' interests. Up to this time the shaping of the Attic hydria followed primarily metal-ware models, as mentioned above (Fig. 5b). The invention of the common household shape in the repertoire of fine ware seems to have taken place again in the same workshops that specialized in the new red figure technique.³¹ And coincidentally, the shape was attractive also to the metal workers, for at the same period of time even the bronze hydriai followed this everyday model.³²

One vessel not included in von Bothmer's list should be mentioned here: the chous (Fig. 2c). As I have shown elsewhere, this shape was inspired by the plain household jug which was used in Athens as early as the seventh century BC (Fig. 12).³³ Painted and plain jugs have in common not only the simple curved profile, the broad foot ring and the low handle, but also the more or less standardized capacity that is known in Athens nomenclature as a chous. It is true that the earliest examples of choes in fine ware can be found in the work of the Amasis and Taleides Painters who are claimed to be the inventors of this shape.³⁴ This would be a little earlier than 530 BC. But their black-figured choes were mere singletons. Only in red figure did the chous become the standard oinochoe in Athens. With the choes it was the same as with the hydriai and the pelikai: Shapes that recalled clearly the vessels every Athenian used in his kitchen were taken up by the most ambitious potters' workshops.

Another shape must be mentioned here. Conventionally considered an oinochoe, although its use as wine pitcher is not certain, Beazley's oinochoe shape VIII is a rather

simple mug with a flat bottom, convex body and short offset rim (Fig. 2h).³⁵ It has been suggested that such simple mugs originally were carried by soldiers or travelers in their pack, perhaps inspired by Laconian predecessors.³⁶ Interesting for us is that this shape appears in some early red figure workshops alongside other everyday models. Although there were only a few early workshops producing it – namely that of the Epeleios Painter and the Painter of Berlin 2268³⁷ – this experimental shape also reflects the tendency we have seen.

The last novelty listed by von Bothmer was the bell krater. Named because its shape resembles an inverted bell, this rather simple krater was an invention of the late sixth century BC too (Fig. 13). Although the earliest extant examples are by the Berlin Painter from the early fifth century BC,³⁸ the shape may well have been in the repertoire of Athenian potters and painters even before that, for there are two fragments by late sixth-century painters which may come from bell kraters.³⁹ In addition, a tub-like krater with rounded lugs instead of handles is frequently depicted on cups of the Euergides Painter and some other Late Archaic painters,⁴⁰ and these cups are certainly earlier than the Berlin Painter's bell kraters (Fig. 15). However, it is not entirely clear if the images refer to early bell kraters or to vats used for preparing grapes to make wine.⁴¹ But even this uncertainty makes the source of inspiration clearer. Also for the bell krater the potters looked at these everyday wine vessels.⁴² A tub with lug handles from an Archaic house south of the Athenian Agora illustrates what models they may have had in mind (Fig. 14).⁴³

To complete the picture, I have to mention here the second krater shape invented in the Attic repertoire during the last decades of the sixth century BC, the calyx krater. It first appeared in the workshop of Exekias slightly earlier than the shapes we have considered so far in this paper.⁴⁴ The creation of this krater shape seems to be first of all caused by functional needs. A new wide-mouthed vessel was necessary for using the almost simultaneously invented psykter.⁴⁵ This functional pairing off can be proved by the depictions of psykters in use. They were exclusively shown in calyx kraters, but never with other shapes, the only exception being a cup in Compiègne

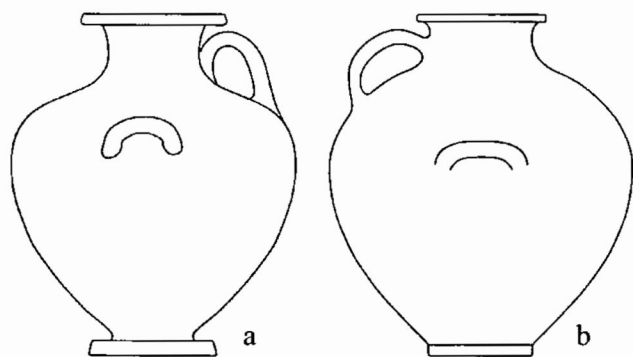


Fig. 11 Kalpis and cooking ware hydria (after Berlin, *Staatliche Antikensammlungen* 1966.20 and Athens, *Agora P 20558*).

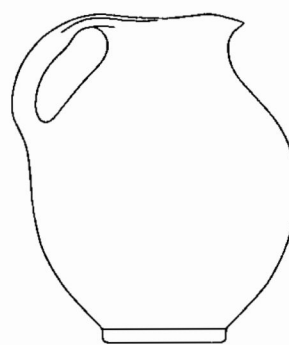


Fig. 12 Cooking ware jug (after Athens, *Agora P 12528*).

where the psykter sits in a big skyphos or bell krater.⁴⁶ So, the invention of the calyx krater and the psykter was directly connected. Nevertheless, the calyx krater developed independently even after the psykter ceased. It was still in production in Athens and South Italy during the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

To sum up, this short overview has shown a conspicuously increasing number of new shapes in the last decades of the sixth century that were inspired not by elegant metal-ware but rather by clumsy, everyday pottery. We should ask, why was there a return to everyday pottery models in a time that saw increasing competition between metal and clay? As I pointed out, one of the driving forces for the orientation towards metal vessels was the demand of Etruscan customers. Were they no longer interested in Attic vases? Definitely not! The new shapes found their way to the West as well. Not just the traditional black-figured standard neck amphorae or the shoulder hydriai were bought by the Etruscans, but almost all the experiments of the Athenian potters and painters –

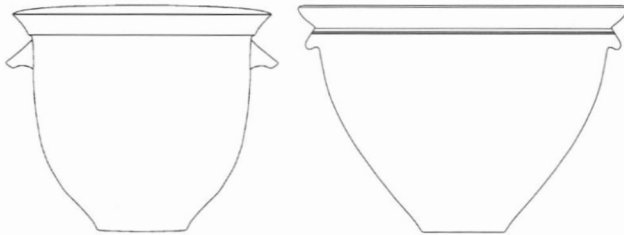


Fig. 13 (left) Lugged bell krater (after Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale RC 7456).

Fig. 14 (right) Household ware tub (after Athens, Agora P 26237).

the red figure technique as well as the new shapes – were highly welcome in Etruria, judging from the enormous corpus of such vases unearthed in Italy.

Also improbable is that all these new shapes were invented to meet new functional needs. This may have been the reason for the creation of the psykter and the calyx krater, but this does not explain the change from the shoulder hydria to the kalpis or the success of the pelike and the chous. These were indeed created due to new aesthetic values. But why did these values change so significantly?

If we look for similar changes in other fields of art, one phenomenon comes to mind. At the beginning of the fifth century BC a radical change in Athenian clothing styles took place, especially in women's dress when the patterned and delicate chiton and himation were replaced by the woolen and austere peplos.⁴⁷ Like the name, the significance of this early fifth-century garment and the connotations of its use are not perfectly clear to us,⁴⁸ but it is obvious that instead of using imported luxury fabrics, even rich Athenians gave preference to homemade Attic woolen cloth. This preference seems to acquire a political significance, if we see it together with other evidence of latent criticism of luxury of the same time, as for instance the end of lavishly decorated aristocratic family burials, a change which is often connected with a sumptuary law,⁴⁹ or the mocking of luxurious lifestyles in written sources like Aeschylus or Xenophanes.⁵⁰ All these phenomena have been seen by historians as part of the great processes of democratization, a turning to the values of the majority. To a certain degree, the peplos seems to have served as a statement that emphasized the community of isonomic and autochthonic Athenians.



Fig. 15 Attic red-figure kylix, Leipzig, Antikenmuseum T 3373 (after CVA Leipzig 3 Germany 80 pl. 12,3).

However, did the new style of pottery we have observed belong to these phenomena? Were the pelike, the kalpis or the chous “democratic” vessels? Did their shapes emphasize the simple lifestyle of ordinary Athenians? As Alan Shapiro outlined at the first Athenian Potters and Painters conference, there is a remarkable accumulation of pictures on black figure pelikai depicting scenes of craftsmen or working people. Far more detailed and more frequent as on all other shapes, these pictures gave special praise to the world of Athenian banausoi.⁵¹ One wonders if the depictions aimed to underline the significance of a banausic shape. Should the shape of the pelikai likewise highlight the habits of the average Athenian versus the sophisticated lifestyle of the aristocracy?

Although I insinuated this to be the case with the title of this paper, there are good reasons to argue against this hypothesis. First of all, there are chronological discrepancies. The changes of pottery shapes we have observed started as early as around 530 BC, a time when no one in Athens thought about democracy and when sophistication of aristocratic lifestyles reached a peak. The later success of these simple shapes in Athenian workshops might have been fostered by the same attitudes that caused the appearance of the peplos. But for the invention of the pottery shapes some fifty years earlier, this cannot be the case.

Secondly, we would misunderstand these revolutionary changes in Athenian society during Kleisthenic and even later times, if we were to assume that aristocratic values were totally replaced by new democratic values. Isonomia, the slogan of the Kleisthenic reforms, did not mean the deprivation of power for Athenian aristocrats, but only the political and juridical equality of all *politai*. Even in the first half of the fifth century BC aristocratic lifestyles did not meet with disapproval. Moreover, participating in former aristocratic occupations like the symposium, sports or horse races was the ideal of most Athenian democrats.⁵² To a certain degree, democratization in fifth-century Athens means the aristocratization of the life of the many.

Since there are no clear hints of a special appreciation of austerity in Late Archaic or Early Classical Athenian society, we have to look for other reasons for the obvious change of fashion in Athenian pottery. Most promising for understanding the invention of the new shapes is the fact that this was contemporary with the invention of the red figure technique; especially, since most of the shapes were developed in the same workshops in Athens that gave favor to this new, revolutionary manner of decoration. We have to assume a direct link between these two developments.

As Richard Neer has convincingly pointed out in his study of the political attitudes of the Pioneers, the invention of the red figure technique was part of a broad, innovative climate in the Late Archaic Kerameikos. Potters and painters experimented a lot with new techniques in order to give their products a more striking appearance⁵³ – especially in respect to some of the efforts undertaken to compete with metal-ware. The red figure technique,

too, may have been caused first by a wish to imitate the glossy surface of metal vessels. But the painting of bright red figures surrounded by a black background turned out to surpass the possibilities of metal-ware decoration. The potters and painters had by chance developed a new aesthetic based on purely ceramic means. The great success of this experiment, confirmed by the almost complete change of techniques within the next decades, may have been one of the reasons for the increasing wealth and above all the pride of the artisans. There is some evidence for the social advancement and newly found self-confidence of the former banausoi. Often discussed are the self-portraits on vases of some Pioneers in sympotic or other aristocratic contexts.⁵⁴ Likewise well known are the remains of costly votives of potters and painters in Athenian sanctuaries.⁵⁵

The great aesthetic and economic success of red figure seems to have, on the other hand, encouraged potters to look more closely at clay traditions than to metal-ware to develop new shapes. Since red figure’s painterly lines outdid the old black figure incisions, so similar to toreutics, why should not a shape that brought the potter’s craft to perfection be more attractive than one that was inspired by metal-ware? So, in a period of artisans’ growing self-confidence, referring to Athenian common pottery makes sense.

The vase shapes examined in this paper are, therefore, not evidence for the special wishes of the customer. They hint neither at new functional needs nor at a new aesthetic of the sober and simple. The shapes are first of all evidence for the intentions of their producers. They hint at the changing self-awareness of the potters and painters in the Athenian Kerameikos. In doing this, the new pottery shapes add a tiny aspect to our view of the development of an Athenian middle class, so to speak. Beside other evidence, the trends in shaping fine ware pottery shed additional light on the growing importance of salesmen, artisans and industrialists in Late Archaic Athenian society. The increasing wealth and self-confidence of these groups allowed them to participate in the political process. Balancing out these needs with the power of the landowning aristocrats was one of the aims of the Kleisthenic reforms. Athenian democracy was later built on this foundation of the participation of the many in decisions for the polis. So indeed, the pottery shapes let us grasp a little bit of the atmosphere in which democratic ideas began to grow. And only in this respect may one speak of “democratic” vessels.

Abbreviations

Agora VIII	E. T. H. Brann, <i>Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery, The Athenian Agora VIII</i> (1962)
Kerameikos IX	U. Knigge, <i>Der Südhügel, Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen IX</i> (1976)

Notes

- 1 L. H. Sullivan, *Kindergarten Chats and Other Writings* (1947) 208 (reprinted from L. H. Sullivan, *The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered*, Lippincott's Magazine, March 1896).
- 2 Cf. I. Scheibler, *Griechische Töpferkunst. Herstellung, Handel und Gebrauch der antiken Tongefäße*, 2nd ed. (1995) 29; V. Liventhal, *AnalRom* 14, 1985, 44; B. Sparkes, *The Red and The Black. Studies in Greek Pottery* (1996) 80; S. Schmidt, *Rhetorische Bilder auf attischen Vasen. Visuelle Kommunikation im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (2005) 226; – for the use of hydriae see E. Trinkl, in: *Tsingarida, Shapes* 155–158.
- 3 Cf. B. Kaeser, in: K. Vierneisel – B. Kaeser, *Kunst der Schale – Kultur des Trinkens* (1990) 187; A. J. Clark, in: *Tsingarida, Shapes* 90–92.
- 4 ARV² xlix–l; J. R. Green, *BICS* 19, 1972, 6–9; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Archaic Period. A Handbook* (1975) 208–209; M. G. Kanowski, *Containers of Classical Greece. A Handbook of Shapes* (1984) 108.
- 5 Scheibler (supra n. 2) 172–173; T. Rasmussen, *AntK* 28, 1985, 33–39; V. Tosto, *The Black-figured Pottery Signed ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ* (1999) 17–43.
- 6 K. Kilian, *JdI* 92, 1977, 33 fig. 11. For critics on the relationship between metal and clay: D. K. Hill, *AJA* 51, 1947, 248–256; see remarks in *Agora XII* 15.
- 7 See H. Mommsen, in: *Tsingarida, Shapes* 31–46 rejecting the older assumption of an Origin from East Greek Fikellura models: D. A. Jackson, *East Greek Influence on Attic Vases* (1976) 13–37.
- 8 E. Diehl, *Die Hydria. Formgeschichte und Verwendung im Kult des Altertums* (1964) 58; J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases. A Handbook* (1974) 186.
- 9 A. W. Johnston, in: H. A. G. Brijder (ed.), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (1984) 208–211. On the distribution of standard neck amphorae: M. Bentz, in: *Tsingarida, Shapes* 83.
- 10 Bentz (supra n. 9) 82–83.
- 11 I. Scheibler, *JdI* 102, 1987, 63–75.
- 12 D. von Bothmer, *JHS* 71, 1951, 42; going back to J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure, A Sketch* (1928) 24.
- 13 H. Bloesch, *JHS* 71, 1951, 29; *Agora XII* 49; W. Schiering, *Die griechischen Tongefäße. Gestalt, Bestimmung und Formenwandel*, 2nd ed. (1983) 52; *Agora XXX* 12.
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- 16 B. Philippaki, *The Attic Stamnos* (1967) xxi; Schiering (supra n. 13) 51–52; Kanowski (supra n. 4) 141.
- 17 C. Isler-Kerényi, *NumAntCl* 5, 1976, 33–52; J. de La Genière, *MEFRA* 99,1, 1987, 43–61; C. Isler-Kerényi, *Gnomon* 66, 1994, 48; J. de La Genière, in: M. C. Villanueva Puig (ed.), *Céramique et peinture grecques. Modes d'emploi* (1999) 418.
- 18 Von Bothmer (supra n. 12); R.-M. Becker, *Formen attischer Peliken von der Pionier Gruppe bis zum Beginn der Frühklassik* (1977) (D. von Bothmer, *Review of Becker* 1977, *AJA* 83, 1979, 361–362); H. A. Shapiro, in: *APP* 63–70; Γ. Καββαδίας, *Τό Μουσείον* 2, 2001, 29–31.
- 19 Richter – Milne (supra n. 15) 5; Shapiro (supra n. 18) 63; Καββαδίας (supra n. 18) 29.
- 20 von Bothmer (supra n. 12) 44; *Agora XII* 49; Schiering (supra n. 13) 38; *Agora XXIII* 20; Shapiro (supra n. 18) 63.
- 21 Schiering (supra n. 13) 38; von Bothmer (supra n. 18) 362; Shapiro (supra n. 18) 68. For the overall tendency see Bloesch (supra n. 13) 29.
- 22 Scheibler (supra n. 2) 17 fig. 7; Shapiro (supra n. 18) 64; Schmidt (supra n. 2) 29 fig. 1.
- 23 Scheibler (supra n. 2) 147; cf. A. W. Johnston, *ZPE* 12, 1973, 265–266.
- 24 Cf. D. A. Amyx, *Hesperia* 27, 1958, 193; Kanowski (supra n. 4) 141.
- 25 Berlin, *Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung V.I.3228: CVA Berlin 7 Germany* 61 pls. 28, 29, 1–2; Shapiro (supra n. 18) 64 fig. 1. – Cf. for pelikai actually used as buckets: K. M. Lynch, *Hesperia* 70, 2001, 171–173.
- 26 *Agora VIII* 54–55; *Agora XII* 201–203; Kerameikos IX 192 pl. 95,1. For depictions in vase-paintings see Scheibler (supra n. 2) 61 n. 19; Trinkl (supra n. 2) 157.
- 27 Scheibler (supra n. 11) 60–63.
- 28 Boardman (supra n. 4) 208; Schiering (supra n. 13) 36.
- 29 J. D. Beazley, *BSA* 19, 1912/13, 239–240; Boardman (supra n. 4) 208; M. Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren. Eine athenische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.–4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (1998) 21.
- 30 *Agora VIII* 56 pl. 12. *Agora XII* 200–201 pl. 71 – Cf. R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (1960) 226; Diehl (supra n. 8) 58–59.
- 31 ARV² 34; F. W. Hamdorf, *Pantheon* 32, 1974, 220; *Agora XXIII* 38; *Agora XXX* 38; CVA Berlin 9 Germany 74 19. Add New York, Market: BAPD 19827; Würzburg K 2025; E. Simon (ed.), *Die Sammlung Kiseleff im Martin-von-Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg 2. Minoische und griechische Antiken* (1989) 109 no. 180 pl. 77; BAPD 46203.
- 32 Diehl (supra n. 8) 58.
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- 34 Cf. *Agora XII* 63; *Agora XXIII* 42. – Amasis Painter: A. J. Clark, in: *Tsingarida, Shapes* 35–51; D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and his World* (1985) 154–162. Taleides: *ABV* 174,3. 4; BAPD 301122. 301123.
- 35 Green (supra n. 4) 8; *Agora XXX* 43; F. Lissarrague, *L'autre guerrier* (1990) 165.
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- 37 ARV² 152. 156–158. 1676; *Agora XXX* 43 nos. 30–31; Lissarrague (supra n. 35) 166; D. Paleothodoros, *Epictetos* (2004) 50–52.
- 38 Paris, *Louvre G 174: CVA Louvre 2 France 2 pl. 12,2; ARV² 205,123; BAPD 201932; Paris, Louvre G 175: CVA Louvre 2 France 2 pl. 12,5. 7; 14,3. 4; ARV² 205,124; BAPD 201933; Rome Market: ARV² 205,125; BAPD 201934; Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale RC 7456: ARV² 205,126; BAPD 201935. – Cf. *Agora XXX* 31; CVA Berlin 11 Germany 86 43.*
- 39 Rome, *Villa Giulia 50590: ARV² 162,5; BAPD 201518; Agora XXX* 31 n. 5 (Hischylos Painter). – Paris, *Cab.*

- Méd. 387; ARV² 31,5; BAPD 200190; Agora XXX 31 n. 6 (Dikaios Painter).
- 40 Euergides Painter etc.: ARV² 89,14. 20; 90,29; 91,50. 54; 92,61. 65; 95,126. 127; 97,10; BAPD 200710. 200716. 200724. 200745. 200749. 200758. 200762. 200822. 200823. 200848; add: Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte β402: CVA Frankfurt 2 Germany 30 pl. 59,2; BAPD 10535; Taranto, Museo Nazionale Vinc 108/2: CVA Taranto 4 Italy 70 pl. 21,3; 22,2; BAPD 23633. Others: ARV² 133,4; BAPD 201096 (Circle of Nikosthenes Painter); ARV² 151,51; CVA Baltimore 1 USA 28 pl. 45,3; BAPD 201375 (Manner of Epeleios Painter); ARV² 152,5; BAPD 201392 (akin to Epeleios Painter); Para 336; BAPD 352457 (Manner of Epeleios Painter). – Cf. J. H. Oakley, CVA Baltimore 1 USA 28 45; F. G. Lo Porto, CVA Taranto 4 Italy 70 17. – See a depiction of a similar vessel on a neck amphora by the Berlin Painter, Paris Louvre G 201: ARV² 201,63 BAPD 201871.
- 41 Agora XII 55.
- 42 J. D. Beazley, *Der Berliner Maler* (1930) 12; H. R. W. Smith, CVA San Francisco 1 USA 10 45; ARV² 1632.
- 43 Agora XII 217. 366 no. 1847 pl. 88.
- 44 Cf. Agora XXIII 26–27; K. Huber, *Werkstattgesellen. Zur Produktion früher Kelchkratere*, in: *Euphronios und seine Zeit* (1992) 57–72; Agora XXX 26–28; A. Tsingarida, in: P. Rouillard – A. Verbanck-Piérard (eds.), *Le vase grec et ses destins* (2003) 99–109; A. Schöne-Denkinger, CVA Berlin 11 Germany 89 26.
- 45 Agora XXIII 21; Agora XXX 36; Tsingarida (supra n. 44) 100.
- 46 Compiègne, Musée Vivenel I102: ARV² 341,1; BAPD 203525 (Manner of Antiphon Painter).
- 47 W. Martini, in: K. Zimmermann, *Der Stilbegriff in den Altertumswissenschaften* (1993) 75 80; E. B. Harrison, in: S. J. Barnes – W. S. Melion (eds.), *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity on the Visual Arts* (1989) 41–44; J. M. Hall, in: S. E. Alcock – R. Osborne (eds.), *Classical Archaeology* (2007) 343–347.
- 48 There is no evidence for peplos as a name for the classical garment: see M. M. Lee, *The Myth of the Classical Peplos* (1999) 5–8. 351–355, who argues that the depicted garment was not in everyday use, but an iconographical construct of Hellenic identity: 359–361.
- 49 J. Engels, *Funerum sepulcrorumque magnificentia. Begräbnis- und Grabluxusgesetze in der griechisch-römischen Welt mit einigen Ausblicken auf Einschränkungen des funeralen und sepulkralen Luxus im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (1998) 97–106.
- 50 Aesch. *Pers.* 181–187; Xenophan. Fr. 3 (Heitsch; DK 21 B 3); Cf. Martini (supra n. 47) 78. – For modest dressing see Thuc. I, 6.3–5.
- 51 Shapiro (supra n. 18) 63–70.
- 52 Cf. C. Mann, *Klio* 80, 1998, 20; Hall (supra n. 47) 347.
- 53 R. Neer, *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase-painting. The Craft of Democracy, ca. 530–470 B.C.E.* (2002) 32–37.
- 54 L. Giuliani, in: *Euphronios* (supra n. 44) 16–18; Scheibler (supra n. 2) 130–132; E. C. Keuls, *Painter and Poet in Ancient Greece. Iconography and the Literary Arts* (1997) 288–290; J. Boardman, *The History of Greek Vases* (2001) 146–149 fig. 179; Neer (supra n. 53) 87–134; G. Hedreen, in: D. Yatromanolakis (ed.), *An Archaeology of Representations. Ancient Greek Vase-painting and Contemporary Methodologies* (2009) 200–239.
- 55 Scheibler (supra n. 2) 124–127.