LISE HANNESTAD

THE PARIS PAINTER
AN ETRUSCAN VASE-PAINTER

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 47, 2

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Preface

My thanks are especially due to Professor, dr. phil. P. J. Riis, who has taken a great interest in my work and has made many valuable suggestions.

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List of Abbreviations

Albizzati — C. Albizzati, Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano.
Andrén Arch. Ter. — A. Andrén, Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples (Skifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom VI), 1940.
Baur — Paul V. C. Baur, Centaurs in Ancient Art, 1912.
Beazley EVP — J. D. Beazley, Etruscan Vase-Painting, 1947.
Boehlau, Nekropolen — J. Boehlau, Aus jonischen und italischen Nekropolen, 1898.
Ducati — P. Ducati, Pontische Vasen, 1932.
Helbig, Führer — W. Helbig, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom.
Jacobsthal, Ornament — P. Jacobsthal, Ornamente griechischer Vasen, 1927.
Langlotz — E. Langlotz, Griechische Vasen in Würzburg, 1932.

The titles of periodicals are abbreviated according to the list of abbreviations in Archäologische Bibliographie des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.
The Paris Painter – an Etruscan Vase-Painter

Since Dohrn wrote his paper on Etruscan black-figured vase-painting, in which he made an attempt to divide the group of Pontic vases into the works of four different vase-painters and their workshops, a whole series of new vases have been added to this group. Many of these have been ascribed to specific masters on the basis of Dohrn’s classification which is generally accepted. Amyx, however, in his publication of an oinochoe in Seattle, expresses certain doubts about some of the attributions to the Paris Painter. Dohrn’s work is mainly concerned with master attributions and the subsequent literature on this group of vases comprises either short summaries, or publications of single vases.

This is the background for the following attempt to give a more exact description of the most significant of the Pontic vase-painters, the Paris Painter.

The name-piece of the Paris Painter is, as is well known, the amphora in Munich 837 (cat. no. 1) also taken by Dohrn as his starting point. On the belly of the vase there is an animal frieze with lions, panthers, griffins, and sirens. Apart from this there are oxen, a dog, and a bird in the figure frieze, so that there is, all in all, a representative selection of animals from which it is possible to isolate certain basic characteristic features. One must emphasize the incision on the front legs of the animals, the front part of the lions’ manes which are divided in two and covered by added white paint, and the facial drawing of the panthers. Further there is a three- or four-stroke zigzag at the knee joint on the hind legs of the animals, at times with a curved line in front. The shoulder is indicated by a kind of double arch, its termination on the back corresponds to a similar arch on the hind quarters. Nearly all the animals have a white belly delimited by incision. The necks of the oxen are covered by coloured stripes. Similar stripes in red are used for rendering the ribs and the muscles on the hind quarters of the
Figs. 1–5 and 7.
animals. The heads of the oxen are separated from the neck, and the horns from the head by hatching, while the muzzles are delineated by an S-shaped line (fig. 6). The eye surroundings of the oxen and lions are suggested by short strokes (figs. 2 and 6). On the hind legs are often seen a pair of short curved strokes. The drawing of the paw consists of a curved or crooked incision.

Detail by detail these traits are found on the animals on a whole series of vases:

Amphorae: Würzburg 778 (cat. no. 2), Vatican 231 (cat. no. 3), Musei Capitolini 95 and 91 (cat. nos. 4 and 5), Münzen und Medaillen XVIII, 141 (cat. no. 6), Ars Antiqua III, 113 (cat. no. 7), Münzen und Medaillen XXII, 192 (cat. no. 8), Metropolitan Museum 55.11.1 (cat. no. 9), and 55.7 (cat. no. 10), Orvieto 2665 (cat. no. 31), Louvre E 704 (cat. no. 29), British Museum B 57 (cat. no. 11), Napoli, Heydemann no. 6488 (cat. no. 25) Rome Market (cat. no. 26), Tarquinia 529 and RC 1051 (cat. nos. 13 and 14), Villa Giulia (cat. no. 16), Oxford 1961.529 (cat. no. 17), Heidelberg 59/5 (cat. no. 18), Bibliothèque Nationale 172 (cat. no. 19), Cambridge G 43 (cat. no. 20), Berlin F 1675 (cat. no. 21), Cerveteri (cat. no. 22). On cat. nos. 14 and 16–22 the choice of and animals consists merely of horses' or centaurs' bodies, but they do, however, show a sufficient number of the above-mentioned details to make the attribution certain.
Oinochoai: Seattle Cs 20.26 (cat. no. 24)\(^9\), British Museum B 54 (cat. no. 23)\(^10\) and Boulogne-sur-Mer 158 (cat. no. 39)\(^11\).

Nikosthenic amphora: Berlin F 1885 (cat. no. 37).

Plate: Bibliothèque Nationale 187 (cat. no. 38).

Stemmed kyathos: Victoria and Albert Museum 66740 (cat. no. 27).

Though it is above all in the drawing of animals that the Paris Painter clings to traits once devised, there are also many standard features in the rendering of human beings and objects. Men and centaurs have a characteristic facial profile with a long, often drooping nose. The eyes of both men and women are almond-shaped. At the wrist and elbow there is often a small incised semicircle. The calf muscle is rendered by a curved incision, and the ankle by a hook. The knee is shaped as in fig. 8a or b\(^12\). The femoral muscle is often rendered by a curved incision parallel to the back contour of the leg. On an amphora in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (cat. no. 28), the men once more show the characteristic profile. They are shown walking in a procession, in the same manner as on the Musei Capitolini 95 (cat. no. 4). On both vases the men are dressed in cloaks that cover one arm, the contour of which is rendered by incision. The cloaks have a border along the bottom edge and cling to the body at the back, while hanging more loosely in front. All carry kerykeia or other rods in one hand while they stretch the other forward. Similar cloak (and chiton) clad men in a procession were seen on Orvieto 2665 (cat. no. 31). Priam on Munich 837 (cat. no. 1) belongs to the same

Figs. 8 a–b.
race of walking gentlemen. Furthermore he is a brother of the old men on Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10) and Louvre E 704 (cat. no. 29) with his white beard and hair. On Würzburg 778 (cat. no. 2), Metropolitan Museum 55.11.1 (cat. no. 9), and 55.7 (cat. no. 10), Berlin F 1675 (cat. no. 21), and the Cerveteri amphora (cat. no. 22), a row of centaurs are seen walking along in a similar way. Instead of holding rods they all carry a tree over their shoulders, the root of which is split in two or three\textsuperscript{13}, while they stretch the other hand forward like the walking men. Athena, Aphrodite and Paris in Munich 837 (cat. no. 1) have their hair divided into single wavy strands turned up at the tips. A similar hair style can be seen worn by the men on Bibliothèque Nationale 172 (cat. no. 19) and the giant on Cambridge G 43 (cat. no. 20).

The warriors on an amphora in the Danish National Museum (cat. no. 12) are like brothers of the warriors on the two former vases. Furthermore, on the animals in the belly frieze\textsuperscript{14} appear some of the already enumerated characteristic details, some, however, rather weakened. On British Museum B 57 (cat. no. 11) there are, on the figure frieze, cauldrons with snake protomes like those on Bibliothèque Nationale 172 (cat. no. 19). The chariots on Heidelberg 59/5 (cat. no. 18) and the Villa Giulia amphora (cat. no. 16) are nearly identical, while the warrior on the latter looks very much like the warrior on the A-side of Louvre E 704 (cat. no. 29).

Physiognomy, hair styles and anatomical details make it clear that also Orvieto 463 (cat. no. 30) Vienna 3952 (cat. no. 32) and the imperfectly preserved amphora in Villa Giulia, Castellani 412 (cat. no. 33)\textsuperscript{15} are works by the Paris Painter.

The Paris Painter has a taste for vegetation in his compositions, in animal friezes as well as in figure friezes. His favourite is a straight stem with pointed leaves\textsuperscript{16}, but many other types are found, for instance on Heidelberg 59/5 (cat. no. 18), Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10) and Louvre E 704 (cat. no. 29).

The ornamentation on the vases mentioned above is very varied, in motifs as well as in the execution of these. Most frequent are motifs incorporating lotus and palmette. The lotus blossom is found in three main versions: type 1 has a square floral receptacle with all the petals growing out of it\textsuperscript{17}. In type 2 the floral receptacle is rounded and only the two outer petals are attached to it, whereas the petal (or petals) in the middle “floats” over it and has a rounded edge below. In this type the floral receptacle is
divided into two by incision. On the Villa Giulia amphora (cat. no. 16) there is a wholly dissolved version of type 2, the floral receptacle having literally disappeared. Anomalous are cat. nos. 25 and 26 where the blossom has also disintegrated, but where the outer petals suggest a square receptacle. Type 3 is a hybrid where the receptacle is more rounded than in type 1 and where all the petals are attached to it.

The palmettes can likewise be divided into three types: 1. a solid type, which has a receptacle and where the single leaves are only indicated by incision. The incisions can be drawn right down to the bottom or only a little way down, and the points of the leaves can be provided with little knobs, so that the palmette seems hairy. Type 2 is likewise solid, but lacks the receptacle, while the incisions are drawn all the way through more like a kind of striping. Type 3 consists of single leaves.

Outside these groups of lotuses and palmettes stand the very detailed and elaborate lotus-palmette ornaments flanked by cocks on Münzen und Medaillen XVIII, 141 (cat. no. 6) and Musei Capitolini 91 (cat. no. 5).

Under the handles is often placed a special palmette motif combined with volutes and usually a lotus. This handle ornament can also be turned 90° and used as a frieze ornament.

A very popular frieze ornament is a band of ivy, often with leaves alternating in red and black and with white spots where the leaves are fastened to the stem. The motif can be completely stylized or more naturalistic, for instance with an incised line through the middle of every leaf (Berlin F 1675 cat. no. 21) or an extra, small leaf growing out of every leaf (Orvieto 463, cat. no. 30).

The star meander is used on several of the vases. On Munich 837 (cat. no. 1) it is seen on the neck as well as on the belly. Single rows of the same motif are seen on Orvieto 463 (cat. no. 30), and British Museum B 54 (cat. no. 23). Variations of this ornament are seen on Metropolitan Museum 55.11.1 (cat. no. 9) where the star is placed on top of a rosette and in Vatican 231 (cat. no. 3) where half of the points of the stars have been turned into lilies.

The net pattern appears in a quite simple version with only a dot over the joints of the meshes or adorned by a cross in the interstices.
The tongue pattern with alternating black and red tongues bordered in white, and often with white dots in the angles between the tips of the tongues, is frequently used on the neck or upper part of the shoulder. Other ornamental bands which appear only once in a while are guilloche, band of pomegranates, step ornament, band of leaves, hour glass, and flower garland.

After this study of the Paris Painter's animals, men, and ornaments, it is apparent that an unpublished amphora in Tarquinia (cat. no. 15), which has a representation of a silen between two lions in either shoulder field, must be a work by this master, though many of the anatomical details on the lions are anomalous. For instance the incision on the front legs has disintegrated into several smaller strokes, more like the way it is seen in the works of the Tityos Painter and the shoulder line is rendered by hatching. This frequent use of short strokes is, however, also seen in the Nikosthenic amphora Berlin F 1885 (cat. no. 37). The ivy band on the neck of the amphora also has leaves of a shape not otherwise found in the Paris Painter's works. The style of drawing on this vase is very elaborate, not least in the lotus-palmette frieze on the belly.

On the present showing two other vases can be ascribed to the Paris Painter, i.e. the two hydriae Louvre E 695 (cat. no. 35) and Dresden 135 (cat. no. 36) which Payne enumerated among the late Corinthian vases. The drawing of the cocks and the lotus-palmette motif is an exact counterpart to that of Münzen und Medaillen XVIII, 141 (cat. no. 6) and Musei Capitolini 91 (cat. no. 5). The sirens on Louvre E 695 (cat. no. 35) have a facial drawing close, for instance, to that of the three goddesses on Munich 837 (cat. no. 1), whilst the sirens on Dresden 135 (cat. no. 36), with their large pointed noses, resemble the four women on Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10). In form as well as in content there is, naturally, a deliberate copying of the late Corinthian style.

The Structure of Decoration

Amphorae: all have a black foot and a ring of rays around the lower part of the belly. A persistent feature is also the black handles and a vertical black panel under either handle, from the
lip to the lower edge of the shoulder frieze. Moreover the amphora is divided into zones by one or more lines. The lip is generally black, but can be found with an ornamental decoration, a net pattern, a step pattern, or a band of leaves. Either side of the neck usually makes up an ornamental entity, with the same decoration on both sides. Favourite motifs are two panthers with one common head, a double lotus-palmette garland, and a band of ivy. On Bibliothèque Nationale 172 (cat. no. 19) and Cambridge G 43 (cat. no. 20) a procession of three partridges is found on either side of the neck, while Würzburg 778 (cat. no. 2) has a procession of three naked men with birds between them. Of more unusual motifs must be mentioned a basket with myrtle branches, two cocks flanking a lotus-palmette motif, a guilloche, and a star meander.

The main decoration, normally a figure scene, is placed on the shoulder. A few vases have a narrow row of tongues above this scene. The scenes can be the same on both sides of the vase, or two different.

The number of zones on the belly is normally two. In 17 out of 30 amphorae one of the two zones is decorated with an animal frieze used either as the upper or lower belly frieze. The animal frieze proper contains several kinds of animals, most common are lions, panthers, griffins, and sphinxes. Less common are deer, oxen, wild boars, and sirens, while Acheloos, goat, and hound are only seen once or twice. The animals walk along in a row, but variations like sitting or antithetically placed animals can occur. In one variation of the animal frieze there is only one kind of animal. On Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10) and Danish National Museum 14066 (cat. no. 12) the animal frieze consists of a herd of cattle tended by shepherds. On British Museum B 57 (cat. no. 11) there are two animal friezes on the belly, above a row of partridges and below an "ordinary" animal frieze.

The other belly frieze is adorned by one of the ornaments mentioned above.

As mentioned in the discussion of ornamentation, there is a special decoration under the handles usually in the form of a volute-palmette ornament. If there is an animal frieze on the upper part of the belly the handle ornament can be flanked by two animals. On Vatican 231 (cat. no. 3), where the handle orna-
ment is placed in the star meander, there are two antithetical animals underneath in the animal frieze.

Of the other vase shapes so few examples have survived that it is impossible to decide whether their form of decoration was as established as is the case with the amphorae.

As is apparent from the above, I have omitted a number of Dohrn's attributions; these belong to two different groups. One consists of small vases such as cups and ointment jars, where the decoration, in my opinion, is too sparse to make any master attribution certain. These are: Berlin F 2111, Würzburg 790 and 787, Berlin F 1687 and Toronto 210. The one-handled cup, Munich 971, with running dogs could be a work by the Paris Painter, the dogs looking very much like those on the Seattle oinochoe (cat. no. 24) and the plate, Bibliothèque Nationale 187 (cat. no. 38). The plate in Stettin I know of only from the illustration in Boehlau's book, hence I find it impossible to name the master. The cup, Munich 938, with an animal frieze definitely shows some details reminiscent of the Paris Painter, but others seem to show that it is more likely a work of the Triton-Amphiaraos Painter; these are the weakened rendering of the front leg incision and the large shoulder blade with incision right round it. The lion's head has no likeness to the Paris Painter's usual rendering. The drawing of the shoulder blade of the hippocamp is exactly like that of the panther in the animal frieze on the Amphiparaos amphora, Munich 838, while the drawing of the face of the panther more resembles that of the panther attacking an ox on the same amphora.

More important is the question of the affiliation of the following vases: Louvre E 703 (Pl. 29), Munich 839, 841, 840 and 924, plus an oinochoe in Akademisches Kunstmuseum in Bonn (Pl. 26). A comparison of these six vases with the works of the Paris Painter gives no grounds for ascribing them to this painter. The amphora Würzburg 779 (Pl. 17 and 30), however, seems to be the missing link between the two groups. On the shoulder it has dancing silens (Pl. 17) who are strongly reminiscent of those on Louvre E 703 (Pl. 29) and Munich 841, while both the animal frieze and the ornamental frieze have a pronounced likeness to the works of the Paris Painter. This, however, is only an apparent
likeness. A closer examination of the animals shows a long series of divergences from the rendering of details normal in the Paris Painter’s works. The incision on the front leg is missing or rendered in a very diluted fashion\(^73\). The drawing of the knee joint on the hind legs differs, being more like a diminished version of the front leg drawing of the Paris Painter. The shoulder arch, which is less pronounced than in works by the Paris Painter, does not correspond to an arch on the hindquarters. The animals have two parallel, slightly curved horizontal lines on the hind legs instead of the one or two arches often used by the Paris Painter in this place\(^74\). The drawing of the panther’s face, especially the ear and the forehead, is dissimilar and the drawing of the paw also differs from what is normal in the Paris Painter’s works. The neck of the ox is not striped, but plain red, and the tail has a row of twists in the tuft. That this is not a work by the Paris Painter appears even more clearly from the shoulder motif with dancing silens. Their profiles with the thick round nose are thoroughly alien to the Paris Painter. The only remaining work of his with silens seen in profile is the hydria in Fiesole (cat. no. 34). The two silens on this vase have heads like many of his centaurs and entirely different from the silens on Würzburg 779. Moreover none of the latter silens have a hatching of the tail as always seen on the horses and centaurs, plus the two Fiesole silens, by the Paris Painter. Completely inconsistent with his style is also the pronounced uniformity of all eight silens; even the two on the Fiesole hydria are rather different from each other (cat. no. 34). Only the white animal hides, in which two of the silens are dressed, recall the Paris Painter\(^75\).

Closest to the manner of the Paris Painter are the ornaments on the vase. The upper belly frieze much resembles the corresponding frieze on Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10) and Tarquinia 529 (cat. no. 13), but with such a variation that it is evidently an imitation. For instance, all the lotus flowers on Würzburg 779 are drawn with more curved outer petals than is the case on the two vases by the Paris Painter. The ornamentation on the neck is not known in the remaining works of the Paris Painter, whereas the net pattern and the volute-palmette ornament under the handles are well known\(^76\).

It is clearly evident that Würzburg 779 was made by a painter
in close contact with the Paris Painter, most likely an apprentice in his workshop. This painter must be the author of the five vases mentioned above\textsuperscript{77}, probably also of the oinochoe in Bonn\textsuperscript{78} (Pl. 26), which, however, stands a little farther apart. Other works by this painter which Dohrn enumerates among the Paris Painter’s works are Munich 923\textsuperscript{79} and Bruxelles R 223\textsuperscript{80} (Pl. 31–32). A dinos in the Victoria and Albert Museum\textsuperscript{81} and the oinochoe British Museum B 56\textsuperscript{82} (Pl. 33) which Dohrn ascribed to the Paris Painter’s workshop are related to this painter’s works\textsuperscript{83}.

**Figure Scenes**

One of the Paris Painter’s favourite motifs for filling out the shoulder zones is a *procession of walking men or centaurs*. Men appear on Musei Capitolini 95 (cat. no. 4), Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 146 a (cat. no. 28), and Orvieto 2665 (cat. no. 31). On the two former vases they walk towards the left on both sides, on the latter they walk towards the left on one side and towards the right on the other. It is probably impossible to ascertain whether a certain subject was the basis for this motif. This could be the case in Orvieto 2665 (cat. no. 31) where a procession of walking bearded men carrying kerykeia\textsuperscript{84} seems to meet a procession of young men armed with spears and led by a bearded man with a kerykeion. It is evident that the Paris Painter makes a point of varying the somewhat monotonous motif, for instance the rods differ, some of the men are bearded, some are not, the shape and colour of beard and hair is varied, and also the colour of the clothes. On Orvieto 2665 (cat. no. 31) every other young man wears a hat, while the bare-headed ones turn their heads over their shoulders. On the neck of Würzburg 778 (cat. no. 2) appears a variation of the procession with three naked men on either side.

A procession of centaurs is found on Würzburg 778 (cat. no. 2), Metropolitan Museum 55.11.1 (cat. no. 9), Berlin F 1675 (cat. no. 21), and the Cerveteri amphora (cat. no. 22). In the same way as the men they carry an object in one hand, in this case a tree, and stretch out the other hand. Again it is evident that the painter tries to vary the details\textsuperscript{85}. His centaurs can be very human with only a horse’s body attached to the back, or they can be horses
from the waist and downwards, they can have human or horse's ears and finally hair and beard can be infinitely varied in the same way as on the men. On Würzburg 778 (cat. no. 2) only a part of the last centaur is visible as if he came out of the dark handle zone.

In motif the shoulder field in Musei Capitolini 91 (cat. no. 5) recalls these walking processions, but here there are rows of running women on the one side and mermen on the other.

Related to the procession is another of the Paris Painter's favourite motifs, horsemen. They are seen on Vatican 231 (cat. no. 3), Ars Antiqua III, 113 (cat. no. 7), Münzen und Medaillen XXII, 192 (cat. no. 8), Oxford 1961. 529 (cat. no. 17), the Seattle oinochoe (cat. no. 24), and Boulogne 158 (cat. no. 39). On Oxford 1961. 529 (cat. no. 17) they ride at a walking pace and lead a second horse by the bridle. In the empty space behind the horsemen there are flying birds of prey. In the other representations they tear away at a gallop and dogs run in the empty field under the horses' bellies. In all representations, except that on the Vatican amphora (cat. no. 3), the horsemen wear short chitons and hold a branch in one hand. Their hair flows behind them in the wind. On the Vatican amphora (cat. no. 3) the motif of horsemen is used in the representation of a combat between riding warriors in hoplite-armour and archers. In all these scenes the horsemen ride towards the left.

To the group of motifs with single figures moving in the same direction also belongs the drawing on Tarquinia 529 (cat. no. 13). In both fields the same elements are used: triton, hippocamp, and two dolphins, but the painter has once more taken pains to vary the two fields.

The comast motif is seen on two amphorae Vienna 3952 (cat. no. 32) and Orvieto 463 (cat. no. 30). On the latter the execution of the motif is related to the procession motif in that there are four dancers in a row on either side, all moving in the same manner. On the one side the dancers are elderly bearded men with white animal hides around their bellies. Between them are various vessels. On the other side there are young men with hides tied around their backs dancing more vigorously than the older men. On Vienna 3952 (cat. no. 32) the motif is more varied, the dan-
cers turn this way and that and all make different movements. On one side a snake appears in the corner.

The Paris Painter also masters more action-packed motifs. Best known among his mythological motifs is the judgment of Paris on Munich 837 (cat. no. 1). On one side the procession motif is used, Hermes leading the three goddesses forward, while in front of him walks an elderly bearded man also carrying a kerykeion. On the other side stands Paris receiving the procession, while his dog watches over the oxen. The representation differs from the Greek representations we know from the 6th century in being spread over both sides of the vase and in Paris being surrounded by his herd. Similarly the old man in front of Hermes is unknown in Greek representations. No earlier Etruscan picture of the myth seems to exist.

On one side of Bibliothèque Nationale 172 (cat. no. 19) appears a representation of Theseus fighting the Minotaur. It is the variation which Brommer defines as "Minotaurus aufs Knie gezwungen, Körper von Theseus abgewandt". Behind this representation obviously lie Attic scenes where Theseus likewise grabs the Minotaur by the horn with one hand, while he wields the sword with the other. Nevertheless, both the fitting of the group into the whole and the subordinate characters diverge from normal Attic use, where the group of Theseus and Minotaur is always placed in the centre of the picture flanked by two or more persons. Here the group has been moved out to fill most of the left-hand side of the picture field, correspondingly there are two subordinate characters on the right-hand side. One of these is an elderly man—which is quite unusual. Also the attributes carried by the subordinate persons are unusual according to Attic practice. The young man carries a kerykeion while the older man has a rod and a hare. Also the Paris Painter's own invention are the cauldron and the cuirass with snakes. An Etruscan representation of the theme, which might possibly be older than the Paris Painter's, is seen on the Poledrara hydria from Vulci. Here we once more find the bird flying over the Minotaur; but, apart from this feature, the Paris Painter's representation has much greater likeness to the Attic form of the subject than to this representation.

On British Museum B 57 (cat. no. 11) there is on the one side a picture of Heracles dressed in a lion-skin armed with a sword
and club fighting Juno Sospita. Behind Heracles stands a woman and behind Juno a man with a trident or sceptre, who has been identified with Poseidon or Jupiter. It is probably better to let the question of identification of the two subordinate persons stand open. A juxtaposition of Heracles and Hera in combat, as well as in more peaceful ventures, is well known in Etruscan art. P. Zancani-Montuoro has shown that the origin of the frequent juxtaposition of Heracles and Hera in Italic and Etruscan art seems to be Heracles' defence of the goddess when she is attacked by silens. The defenceless Hera is gradually replaced by the martial Juno Sospita, who fights the silens on equal terms with Heracles. Zancani-Montuoro follows the development of the motif in decorative bronzes, and considers the helmet attache in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, where the two comrades-in-arms have turned against each other, to be the last link in the chain. The author seems to believe that this is a purely decorative development without any mythical background, but the more detailed treatment by the Paris Painter seems to show that this confrontation is based upon a myth.

There is an evident parallelism between the two shoulder scenes on the Cambridge amphora (cat. no. 20). On either side two hoplites attack a monster which defends itself by wielding a stone. Baur mentions that there exists no Attic representation of a centauromachy where the figures are grouped as here. It seems to be the Thessalian centauromachy, but as the giant on the other side is possibly Alkyoneus it could be that Heracles' centaur fight is the source.

On the amphora in the Danish National Museum (cat. no. 12) there are combat motifs in both shoulder fields. On the A-side there is a falling warrior in the middle attacked from both sides. The figure attacking from behind, dressed in a long chiton and peaked shoes, must undoubtedly be a woman which makes it a reasonable assumption that it is a mythological scene. Interpreted on Greek premises she must be Athena. Furthermore, in Greek art the occasions when Athena takes active part in a combat are reduced to the Gigantomachy and the Heracles-Kyknos fight. Among the Greek representations of these themes it is not easy to find one which corresponds to the Paris Painter's. True enough the motif of a falling warrior attacked from both sides is very
common, but it is unusual that Athena should attack from behind in a secondary rôle. Closest to this is the shoulder picture on an Attic hydria of the Leagros group in the Vatican. Here a hoplit attacks a fallen warrior from the left while Athena rushes forward from the right with her spear raised in her hand. Albizzati interprets the scene as Ares and Athena attacking a fallen giant. Vian, however, believes that it is Athena attacking two giants. Under no circumstances can this be the case, even if she may be attacking the warrior to the left. In which case the lying figure should be a god as he is evidently attacked by the warrior to the left. Following Albizzati's interpretation of this Attic scene the Paris Painter's picture could depict Athena and Ares fighting a giant, but as this theme is not with certainty identified in Greek gigantomachies this interpretation must remain hypothetical.

Hampe has ventured another interpretation of the scene. He points out that in the Pontic vases the two sides are often related in theme and therefore he sees a connection between the two scenes on the amphora in the Danish National Museum (cat. no. 12). He believes that the combat in which Athena participates represents the single combat between Achilles and Hector, while the other side should show Paris shooting an arrow at Achilles. The combat between Hector and Achilles is seldom seen in archaic Greek art and nowhere in the same elaboration as on the Paris Painter's amphora. There is a single Attic representation where Athena also seems to participate in the combat between the two heroes, but here she attacks the falling warrior from the front. The lekythos has the name inscriptions Achilles and Hector, but these inscriptions are very problematical. Friis Johansen correctly notes that this is the traditional scheme for Athena in a gigantomachy and that the inscriptions, if genuine, must have been added by the painter as an afterthought. Representations of Paris shooting an arrow at Achilles are unknown in Greek art. But an archer participating in a fight between hoplites is naturally not unknown. The Paris Painter's picture could be regarded as a similar, not clearly defined combat.

Even though Hampe's idea sounds tempting it must remain hypothetical. Although it is correct, as Hampe infers, that in most of the Paris Painter's amphorae there is a thematic agreement between the figure scenes on the two sides, it is impossible to
deduce that the same agreement exists in the subject matter (i.e. it is not certain that the warrior arming on the B-side of Bibliothèque Nationale 172 (cat. no. 19) must be Theseus because he appears on the A-side of the vase, or that the warrior taking leave on the A-side of Louvre E 704 (cat. no. 29) is identical with one of the warriors on the B-side). If one agrees with Camporeale in that Etruscan knowledge of Greek myths has been procured only through pictorial representations, it is possible to explain the two combat scenes on the amphora in the Danish National Museum as: A, part of a gigantomachy and B, a not closer defined fighting scene. Finally it must be emphasized that we do not know whether Greek subjects are involved at all, and not Etruscan themes in a Greek disguise.

Louvre E 704 (cat. no. 29) has a thematic connection between the two sides, A, a warrior's departure and B, a combat. The two motifs are composed very much in the same way. The painter has again used a number of juxtaposed figures, all turning to the same side, while the warrior taking leave and the warrior furthest to the left on the B-side turn around to take leave and to defend himself respectively. The departure scene is composed of elements well known in Greek vase-painting: the warrior looking back, the pleading old father, other lamenting relatives—one of them a child. That the warrior is drawing his sword might be an inspiration from representations of the departure of Amphiaraoias, a motif copied on two other Pontic vases. Pottier has suggested that it could be the departure of Hector. In that case, the other side could be considered to represent Achilles pursuing Hector before the actual single combat. Again it might be better to abstain from a mythological interpretation as the scene could just as well be a genre piece.

The representation on the Villa Giulia amphora (cat. no. 16) with a warrior in front of a team of horses can be regarded as a scene of departure. The other figure scene has not been preserved.

On the B-side of Bibliothèque Nationale 172 (cat. no. 19) there is a scene of arming. Again there is a thematic connection to the A-side with Theseus and the Minotaur, and once more the painter has picked out single details from Greek vase-painting. Thus the man putting on his greaves appears innumerable times in Attic
vase-painting, although here he usually raises his leg while his helmet is lying on the ground. The motif with a helper holding the helmet is seen on a Corinthian bowl in the Louvre\textsuperscript{123} and in a few Attic scenes of arming\textsuperscript{124}. As often before the Paris Painter has altered the very stereotyped Greek (Attic) motif.

The \textit{hunting scenes} on Bibliothèque Nationale 187 (cat. no. 38) and the Seattle oinochoe (cat. no. 24) have been thoroughly examined by Amyx\textsuperscript{125} and shall not be amplified here.

The Heidelberg amphora (cat. no. 18) has been dealt with by Margot Schmidt\textsuperscript{126} and Hampe\textsuperscript{127}. It is reasonable to assume with them that the pictures on both sides are directly connected\textsuperscript{128}. In that case the B-side must depict the warriors’ chariots and horses, even though it rather looks as if the two charioteers are arranging their own private race\textsuperscript{129}. Hampe’s idea that it should be Heracles fighting Kyknos must also remain very hypothetical, especially as Athena is missing\textsuperscript{130}. Also the figure scenes on Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10) have been interpreted as having a mythological content. It is once more impossible to see a thematic correspondence between the two sides and thus it seems correct, as E. Simon\textsuperscript{131}, to regard the two sides as representing one subject\textsuperscript{132}. Her interpretation of the two scenes as the strife amongst the goddesses at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis must, as Hampe’s interpretation of the Heidelberg amphora (cat. no. 18), be considered very hypothetical. On the other hand, it seems no ordinary banqueting scene, as no drinking cups, wine-jugs, or similar accessories are shown. It is also difficult to see why a centaur should appear at a banquet in the house of a mortal\textsuperscript{133}.

A few of the Paris Painter’s vases have \textit{antithetical compositions} of two animals on the shoulder instead of real figure scenes. This is primarily the case in the Corinthianizing hydriae Louvre E 695 (cat. no. 35) and Dresden 135 (cat. no. 36) with a lotus-palmette motif flanked by cocks, and the Fiesole hydria (cat. no. 34) where a warrior is flanked by two lions. Among the amphorae the theme is only found in two of the extant vases: Münzen und Medaillen XVIII, 141 (cat. no. 6), where the motif of the Louvre and Dresden hydriae is repeated, and the amphora in Tarquinia (cat. no. 15) where two lions flank a sitting silen seen en face.
**Vase Shapes**

The Paris Painter’s favourite shape seems to be the *neck-amphora* with a low, conical, unprofiled foot, an ovoid body, and round handles. The greatest variation appears in the execution of the rim, which can vary from echinus-shaped over a nearly vertical to a concave form. Under the rim there is often placed a moulded ring and a similar one can be found on the transition from neck to shoulder.

All three *hydria* have a conical foot, a round shoulder, a moulded ring around the neck, and a vertical ribbon handle divided by three grooves. Louvre E 695 (cat. no. 35) and Dresden 135 (cat. no. 36) are identical in shape while the Fiesole hydria (cat. no. 34) has a broader moulded ring around the neck and lacks the mouldings on the horizontal handles.

The *oinochoe* shape has been described by Amyx. British Museum B 54 (cat. no. 23) and Boulogne 158 (cat. no. 39), however, lack the thumb grip on the handle.

The solitary *Nikosthenic amphora* Berlin F 1885 (cat. no. 37) is rather fragmentarily preserved. It follows, as Dohrn remarks, the Etruscan rather than the Attic shape.

The small vase shapes seem to have attracted the Paris Painter to a lesser degree. The cup in the Victoria and Albert Museum (cat. no. 27) has a high foot and a high vertical handle. Between foot and belly there is a moulded ring. In the same way there is a profile on the transition between the bottom of the cup and the vertical sides. The vertical handle is decorated with a modelled rosette and two circular discs on the highest point. The *plate* Bibliothèque Nationale 187 (cat. no. 38) is imperfectly preserved, the foot being modern. Both shapes are well known in Pontic vase production.

**Dating**

*Relative dating.* As mentioned above the Paris Painter’s style is very homogeneous and it can be difficult to trace any chronological development. It does, however, seem possible to divide his production, especially the many amphorae, into different groups.

Closely related are the Vienna and the Heidelberg amphorae (cat. nos. 32 and 18) with their almost identical representations
of the lotus-palmette band on neck and belly. Further, both have on the belly a stylized band of ivy with red and black leaves. The drawing of the figures corresponds in detail, for instance in the long incision on the thighs of the men. The heads of the dancers on the Vienna amphora (cat. no. 32) have great likeness to the young charioteer on the Heidelberg vase (cat. no. 18).

The amphora in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (cat. no. 28) is decorated on the belly with bands of stylized ivy and lotus-palmettes of the same types as on the two amphorae mentioned above. The same applies to the Villa Giulia amphora (cat. no. 16) where we furthermore find the same incision in the middle leaf of the lotus blossom that appeared on the Vienna amphora (cat. no. 32). This incision is also seen on the lotus buds on the amphora in Oxford (cat. no. 17) which, like the Villa Giulia vase (cat. no. 16), has a naturalistic ivy band on the shoulder. The amphora in Tarquinia with silens (cat. no. 15) has on the belly a very elaborate representation of this lotus-palmette band and above it a stylized ivy. On the upper part of the neck there is a little separate ornamental border, also seen on Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 146a (cat. no. 28), while Vienna 3952 (cat. no. 32), Heidelberg 59/5 (cat. no. 18), and Oxford 1961.529 (cat. no. 17) only have the dark horizontal line a little way down the neck zone. The lotus blossoms on the amphora in Tarquinia (cat. no. 15) have the above-mentioned characteristic incision on the middle leaves. Finally to this group also belong the two amphorae Napoli H 6488 (cat. no. 25) and the one formerly on the Rome market (cat. no. 26), which could almost be regarded as companion pieces, plus Tarquinia RC 1051 (cat. no. 14).

This first group is characterized by the use of the "rounded" lotus type and by the absence of the animal frieze on the belly.

The second group includes most of the amphorae. It is less homogeneous than the first group and can be divided into several subgroups with fluid transitions. Louvre E 704 (cat. no. 29) and Münzen und Medaillen XVIII, 141 (cat. no. 6) both have animal friezes directly under the figure frieze and tongues on the upper part of the shoulder—a detail also seen on several amphorae in group 1. On Louvre E 704 (cat. no. 29) there is a bird of prey of a type similar to that on Heidelberg 59/5 (cat. no. 18) and Oxford 1961.529 (cat. no. 17). Closely connected with Münzen
und Medaillen XVIII, 141 (cat. no. 6) are the two amphorae in Musei Capitolini (cat. no. 4 and 5) all three having a decoration of two cocks flanking a plant ornament, though placed differently on the vases. On Musei Capitolini 95 (cat. no. 4) and Münzen und Medaillen XVIII, 141 (cat. no. 6) the animal friezes are very much alike containing boars, sphinxes with palmettes growing from their heads and a sitting panther. On Musei Capitolini 91 (cat. no. 5) the tongue pattern has been moved up on the neck, the same applies to Ars Antiqua III, 113 (cat. no. 7) and Münzen und Medaillen XXII, 192 (cat. no. 8) which are closely related to one another. In the two latter vases the tongue pattern only takes up part of the neck, while there is a band of ivy leaves above. The cocks placed under the handles of Musei Capitolini 91 (cat. no. 5) might mark the initiation of decorating this particular place. On Ars Antiqua III, 113 (cat. no. 7) and Münzen und Medaillen XXII, 192 (cat. no. 8) it has attained its canonic form of a volute-palmette ornament, which is found on a whole series of amphorae in group 2. Three amphorae differ by having a meander ornament between the figure and the animal frieze: Vatican 231 (cat. no. 3) Munich 837 (cat. no. 1), and Metropolitan Museum 55.11.1 (cat. no. 9). On Würzburg 778 (cat. no. 2) there is a procession of centaurs like those on the two last mentioned vases, but as the decoration of its belly is like Musei Capitolini 91, and its decoration under the handles is also unlike the usual volute-palmette ornament, it may rather belong in the early phase of group 2. The amphora Berlin F 1675 (cat. no. 21) also has a figure frieze with centaurs but apart from that the decoration differs. The bands of ivy on the neck and belly have another type of leaf with an incision through the middle. Further there is no animal frieze on the belly but a lotus-palmette band of a new type. The ivy as well as the lotus-palmette bands are found again on Orvieto 463 (cat. no. 30). The palmettes belong to the group mentioned in the discussion of ornaments as type 2, which is also found on Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10) where it has been placed in a new kind of ornament border. Related to this is the border on Tarquinia 529 (cat. no. 13) which likewise has an animal frieze on the belly. The four last mentioned amphorae have many features characteristic of main group 3. Until now the rim has been
dark but in Berlin F 1675 (cat. no. 21) it is decorated with a net pattern. Furthermore, there has been no attempt so far to render folds in the garments, but this is now attempted on Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10), partly in the rugs on the couches and partly in the old man’s chiton and the shepherd’s cloak.

In group 2 the transitions from group to group are fluid, often they are more likely parallel than consecutive. It is, however, evident that there is a rather marked chronological development, when comparing for instance the two amphorae in Musei Capitolini (cat. no. 4 and 5) with Munich 837 (cat. no. 1) and Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10). Two of the most characteristic elements in the group are the animal frieze and the decoration under the handles, but these elements are found on far from all the amphorae. It is a salient question whether group 1 is older than the oldest vases in group 2; a comparison between the figure frieze on Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 146 a (cat. no. 28) and Musei Capitolini 91 (cat. no. 5) does not seem to show any difference in time. However, I still find that there is sufficient homogeneity in group 1 to keep it apart.

Group 3 is clearly definable. It could be named “the partridge group” from the partridges which appear, either in a frieze of their own or in other friezes, on three of the amphorae in this group: Cambridge G 43 (cat. no. 20), British Museum B 57 (cat. no. 11), and Bibliothèque Nationale 172 (cat. no. 19). The two latter are further linked by the cauldrons with snake protomes in the figure friezes. Bibliothèque Nationale 172 (cat. no. 19) has in the upper part of the belly a border of what could be called lying-handle-palmettes. The same ornament is seen in the imperfectly preserved amphora Villa Giulia, Castellani 142 (cat. no. 33). Cambridge G 43 (cat. no. 20) has a lotus-palmette frieze under the partridge frieze, the lotus blossoms are here of the rectangular type 1 like those on the amphora in the Danish National Museum (cat. no. 16). All these four amphorae are decorated on the rim. On the amphorae in the Danish National Museum and British Museum B 57 (cat. nos. 16 and 11) the decoration is not the usual net pattern, but a step ornament and a band of leaves respectively. Furthermore these two amphorae do not have the usual convex but a lightly concave rim. None of the amphorae of this group
have any special decoration under the handles. Folds are shown in the clothes of the women on British Museum B 57 (cat. no. 11) and Bibliothèque Nationale 172 (cat. no. 19).

Some general features can be summarized: the tongue ornament belongs to the older amphorae, either placed on the neck or on the upper part of the shoulder. The same applies to the stylized ivy. Panthers on the neck belong to vases with animal frieze on the belly. On many of the older amphorae there is a dark line a little way down the neck: Heidelberg 59/5 (cat. no. 18), Oxford 1961. 529 (cat. no. 17), Vienna 3952 (cat. no. 32), the Tarquinia amphora with a silen (cat. no. 15), and Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 146a (cat. no. 28). The last two, as mentioned, have a separate motif above this line. It is evident that the main decoration of the belly is either an animal frieze or a lotus-palmette frieze. The mythological motifs seem to belong mostly in the later part of the production. In the later part of group 2 the Paris Painter starts to render the folds of the garments but it is evident that he never gained real understanding of or interest in the problem. On British Museum B 57 (cat. no. 11), probably the youngest vase of his production, it is apparent that what should have been the lower folded edge of Athena’s chiton has been placed a little above the Paris Painter’s usual curved edge of the garment.

It is evident that of the remaining vases of his production the three hydriai\textsuperscript{146} must belong in the earlier stages because the cocks flanking the lotus-palmette ornament were found among the earlier vases of group 2. The Nikosthenic amphora Berlin F 1885 also belongs here with its rounded lotus-bud-frieze and stylized ivy band. The great elaboration which characterizes the drawing of the animals on this vase is found again in the Tarquinia amphora with silens (cat. no. 15). The Seattle oinochoe (cat. no. 24) and Boulogne 158 (cat. no. 39) also belong in the earlier part of the production, with their friezes of horsemen and tongue ornaments on the neck. Bibliothèque Nationale 187 (cat. no. 38) with its hunting frieze could be regarded as belonging to approximately the same time. On the other hand, it is hardly possible to date the oinochoe British Museum B 54 (cat. no. 23) and the cup in the Victoria and Albert Museum (cat. no. 27) with any certainty.
Absolute Dating

External evidence for dating the Pontic vases is sparse. As far as the Paris Painter is concerned, we only know that the amphora from grave 106 on the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri (cat. no. 22) was found in the right-hand side chamber together with, among other things, an Attic black-figured lekythos which, however, is only mentioned briefly and not depicted in the publication.

The two Corinthianizing hydriae Louvre E 695 and Dresden 135 (cat. nos. 35 and 36) must undoubtedly have been made at a time when late Corinthian I ware was still exported to, or at least used in Etruria. This late Corinthian I style terminates approximately 550–40 B.C. The two vases proved to belong in the earlier part of the Paris Painter's production, and so it must be reasonable to assume that he started his production not later than in the decennium 550–40 B.C.

It has often been pointed out that the Tyrrhenian neck-amphora must have served as a model for the type of amphora used by the Paris Painter. The Tyrrhenian group was probably not manufactured later than during the second quarter of the 6th century B.C., which indicates that Pontic vase-production cannot have started later than 550 B.C. Dohrn supports this dating but he assumes that only the Amphiaraos Painter and maybe the Triton Painter started as early as that, the Paris Painter on the other hand about ten years later. Dohrn's arguments for the Amphiaraos Painter being the earliest of the painters can hardly hold water, since the painter seems to have made an effort to render the folds on Amphiaraos' chiton on Munich 838. True enough, his oinochoai are of an older form than the Paris Painter's, but the shape of Munich 838 seems younger than the Paris Painter's amphorae, especially the bell-shaped foot. The explanation is rather that the Amphiaraos Painter's style is much more provincial and therefore seems older.

The folds on the cushions in figure frieze A on Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10) must imply a vase such as the Exekias amphora in the Vatican, which is dated between 540 and 530 B.C. by Hemelrijk, Langlotz, and Cook. On the old man on the B-side of the Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10) the
folds in the chiton are rendered by vertical wavy lines, in the same way as seen on the amphora by the Amasis Painter, Bibliothèque Nationale 2221\textsuperscript{160}, which is dated by Langlotz\textsuperscript{161} before 530, by Cook to about 530\textsuperscript{162}, and by Lane\textsuperscript{163} to about 540, and also on the Northampton amphora Munich 585 which is dated by E. Walter-Karydi\textsuperscript{164} to 540 B.C.

On the A-side of the amphora in the Danish National Museum (cat. no. 12) the warrior to the left wears a chiton, the folds of which resemble those seen on some Caeretan hydriai, especially on the garments of Eos and Kephalos on Louvre E 702 dated by Hemelrijk\textsuperscript{165} to just before 530 B.C. at the earliest.

The most advanced rendering of folds is seen on British Museum B 57 (cat. no. 11) where the woman at the far left on the A-side wears a garment with a bundle of folds terminating at the lower edge in small triangles which give a clear three-dimensional effect.

On the same vase the chiton of Juno Sospita shows a bundle of folds in the centre of the front, which might be an imitation of the Attic fashion of a bundle of folds around a middle fold\textsuperscript{166}. The inspiration for the Paris Painter’s rendering of folds on this and other late vases must be the early Attic red-figured vase-painters such as the Andocides Painter or Psiax (or in sculpture the frieze on the treasury of the Siphnians in Delphi). Nothing indicates that his production continued much later than 520 B.C.

**The Paris Painter’s Relationships to the Greek Vase-Schools**

*Attic influence*: As was mentioned in the discussion of figure scenes, the Paris Painter was inspired in his motifs by Attic vase-painting. The similarity to the Tyrrhenian amphora mentioned in the passage on absolute dating seems incontestable as regards the form of the vase and the arrangement of the decoration in friezes, with the main motif on the shoulder and animal friezes frequently on the belly. On the earlier works by the Paris Painter there is furthermore often a tongue ornament on the shoulder as on the Tyrrhenian amphorae. The choice of animals in the animal frieze is to a large extent the same in the two vase groups. A more special phenomenon appearing on both are the sphinxes with
palmettes growing out of their heads\textsuperscript{167}. However, the griffins, tritons, and hippocamps are lacking on the Tyrrhenian amphorae\textsuperscript{168}. On the other hand, the variation of the animal frieze with oxen herded by a shepherd is found here\textsuperscript{169}.

At the same time it must be stressed that there are a number of differences between the two groups. Dohrn\textsuperscript{170} points out that the moulded ring under the rim, seen on several of the Paris Painter's amphorae, is absent in the Tyrrhenian group. In the structure of decoration the Tyrrhenian amphorae often have several animal friezes on the belly, while the selection of ornamental borders is limited to lotus-palmette friezes. According to Attic customs\textsuperscript{171} the animals are placed in groups, while they nearly always walk in a row one after the other in the works of the Paris Painter.

Other traits which the Paris Painter may have borrowed from Attic vase-painting are the black handle field\textsuperscript{172}, the rectangular lotus type 1, perhaps the band of ivy\textsuperscript{173}, and the wavy lines used to render folds, for instance on the chiton of the old man on Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10).

\textit{Corinthian influence}: The clearest sign that the Paris Painter was inspired by Corinthian vase-painting is naturally his copies of late Corinthian hydriai. In shape Louvre E 642\textsuperscript{174} and 643\textsuperscript{175} are closest to his hydriai, the greatest difference being the shape of the horizontal handles. In motif Louvre E 695 (cat. no. 35) and Dresden 135 (cat. no. 36) are nearest to Corinthian, while the shoulder motifs on Fiesole 1132 (cat. no. 34) stand somewhat apart.

The Paris Painter also uses Corinthian motifs on a number of his other vases: the lotus-palmette ornament flanked by cocks on Musei Capitolini 91 (cat. no. 5), the step ornament on Danish National Museum 14066 (cat. no. 12) and the Cerveteri amphora (cat. no. 22), and the net pattern on a whole series of vases\textsuperscript{176}. There might possibly be some Corinthian influence in the painter's frequent use of added red and white paint\textsuperscript{177}. This balance between the black colour and red and white is also seen in other groups of vases, for instance the Caeretan hydriai. Instead of seeing it as a Corinthian influence it would be more correct just to call it non-Attic.
East Greek influence: Beazley\textsuperscript{178} says of Munich 837 (cat. no. 1) that it shows an eclectic style with a dominating East Greek element without explaining to which elements he refers. This opinion is an offshoot of the older theory which considered the Pontic vases to be works by Ionian masters in Etruria\textsuperscript{179}. Dohrn\textsuperscript{180} in his analysis reaches the conclusion that the connexion between the Pontic vases and East Greek art is not so much a matter of details as "die gleiche Gesinnung", and both Amyx\textsuperscript{181} and R. M. Cook\textsuperscript{182} reject an East Greek influence on Pontic vase-painting. The place of the Pontic vases as works by East Greek artists has now been taken over by two other groups of vases: the Northampton amphorae\textsuperscript{183} and the Campana vases\textsuperscript{184}. Both groups have close relations to what we know as East Greek black-figured ware, especially Cook’s Enmann Class\textsuperscript{185} and a few vases from his Miscellanea\textsuperscript{186}. The Northampton and Campana vases and the Paris Painter’s works do not have much in common, the few points of resemblance are, as a matter of fact, limited to characteristics of the Northampton amphorae which are also seen in Attic\textsuperscript{187}, so that it is more reasonable to regard Attic vase-painting as the common source of inspiration. A possible direct inspiration from the Campana-Northampton vases to the Paris Painter might be seen in the short strokes he sometimes places along the backs of the animals\textsuperscript{188}, a detail very much used in East Greek black-figure.

Another group of vases found in Etruria with East Greek affiliations is the Caeretan hydriai. Hemelrijk in his monograph\textsuperscript{189} stresses the Etruscan origin. The many East Greek traits\textsuperscript{190}, however, as for instance the name inscriptions on Louvre C 321 (Hemelrijk no. 21), makes him think that the painters must have been East Greek immigrants\textsuperscript{191}. He shows that they must have been made from roughly 530 to after 510 B.C., thus later than most of the Paris Painter’s production. It also appears that Hemelrijk’s comparisons between the Caeretan hydriai and the Pontic vases all refer to the younger Tityos Painter. The style of the figures on the hydriai is much heavier than that of the Paris Painter and neither in the details, except maybe the rendering of the lotus blossoms, is there anything indicating that the Paris Painter should have gathered any inspiration from the same East Greek source as is the case with the Caeretan hydriai.
A few traits though seem to have been borrowed from East Greek art. Thus both Dohrn\textsuperscript{192} and R. M. Cook\textsuperscript{193} believe that the Paris Painter has borrowed the partridge, seen in his late works, from the Fikellura style. As Fikellura ware was only exported to Etruria in small numbers and as the motif is also known from other East Greek groups of monuments\textsuperscript{194}, it could perhaps have been procured in another way.

Several of the Paris Painter’s ornamental borders are likewise of East Greek origin, but as they are also seen in other Etruscan types of monuments it is hardly possible to decide whether he has adopted them directly from East Greek art or via Etruscan works of art. This applies for instance to the many variations of the meander where every second section is filled by stars or birds. The nearest parallels are probably seen on the Clazomenian sarcophagi\textsuperscript{195}, while in Etruria they are known from the friezes from Velletri\textsuperscript{196} and from the architectonic terracottas from Cerveteri\textsuperscript{197} where in addition to the birds we find the rosette type, which is seen on Metropolitan Museum 55.11.1 (cat. no. 9).

East Greek inspiration lies behind the guilloche on the neck of Münzen and Medaillen XVIII, 141 (cat. no. 6), but in the second half of the 6th century B.C. that motif had spread also to other parts of the Greek world\textsuperscript{198}, thus it is not certain that the Paris Painter borrowed it directly from East Greek art.

The Paris Painter’s early rounded type of lotus with the “floating” middle leaves is related in type to the East Greek, without there being any close parallels. The same basic type is seen for instance in the La Tolfa group and on the bronze reliefs from Bomarzo in the Vatican\textsuperscript{199}.

\textit{Chalcidian influence:} There seems to be no influence from Chalcidian. On the amphora in the Danish National Museum the group of a panther attacking a bull in the lower figure frieze could recall Chalcidian groups of fighting animals, but what other resemblances there might be in ornament or figure motifs are more likely due to common sources of inspiration in Corinthian and Attic\textsuperscript{200}.

\textbf{The Paris Painter and Etruscan Art}

It seems that although the Paris Painter was inspired by several of the Greek vase-schools, there is not one showing a closer stylistic
correspondance with him. Such a correspondance is, however, found with Etruscan art of the time. The man and woman on the terracotta sarcophagus from Cerveteri in the Villa Giulia have profiles resembling those of the figures on the Paris Painter’s works. It is for instance possible to compare the profile of the man with the men on Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 146a (cat. no. 28). The same facial profiles are also seen on the terracotta friezes from Velletri, especially in the assembly of the gods where also the proportions of the figures and their bearing clearly bring to mind the Paris Painter; they look as if they are his figures used in relief. The friezes have been dated by Andrén to the middle of the 6th century, while Åkerström believes that they cannot be older than the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. He bases this late dating on a comparison between the horse-racing scenes on the terracotta plaques, the racing scene on the Pontic Amphiaraos amphora in Munich, and the horse on the Pontic amphora in Reading. He believes that the differences between them are chronological, the Amphiaraos amphora being the oldest and the terracotta frieze the youngest. Åkerström accepts Dohrn’s dating of the Amphiaraos amphora to about 550–40 B.C. and therefore, as mentioned, places the terracotta friezes in the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. If, however, one compares the horses on the Velletri terracotta friezes with the Paris Painter’s horses there is a great likeness, for example between the racing frieze and the two teams of horses on the Heidelberg amphora (cat. no. 18), and between the frieze with horsemen and for instance the Vatican amphora (cat. no. 3). Like the horses on the Velletri frieze, the Paris Painter’s horses are fairly slim with strongly curved necks and narrow heads. For this reason I find no stylistic reasons for dating the Velletri friezes as late as Åkerström does, but rather in the third quarter of the 6th century B.C.

The Paris Painter has also clear stylistic connexions with Etruscan monumental painting, not so much the paintings in the graves at Tarquinia, which in most cases are younger, but more with some of the terracotta plaques from Cerveteri. On the Campana plaques in the Louvre, for instance, we find the procession motif where the participants carry a branch in one hand while stretching the other forward. Here also is the simplicity and clarity which marks the Paris Painter’s compositions. Somewhat ana-
logous is the case with the Boccanera plaques in the British Museum.

In addition a whole series of details ties the Paris Painter to Etruscan art, as has often been shown. I shall not here enumerate them again, but just mention a few which may not have been remarked upon before. As mentioned when discussing Attic influence, the Paris Painter’s animal friezes differ from those of Greek vase schools in that the animals nearly always walk or run in a row. Similar animal friezes are found on Bucchero and Red-ware vases where also tritons and hippocamps can be found, which are known too from the painted gables in Etruscan tombs. Many features of the individual animals are also found in the tomb paintings. His type of lion with the mane divided in two in front is found for instance in the Tomba del Topolino, while the facial drawing of his panthers much resembles that seen in tomb 3698 in Tarquinia.

It is not quite clear in which of the two Etruscan cities, Cerveteri or Vulci, the Pontic vase-painters worked. As far as the Paris Painter is concerned the provenance of about half of his vases is known: 4 come from Tarquinia (cat. no. 13–15 and 21), 2 from Orvieto (cat. nos. 30–31), while 6 come from Vulci (cat. nos. 1–3, 19, 20 and 38) and 7 from Cerveteri (cat. nos. 4–5, 16, 22, 27, 32, and 33). This distribution differs somewhat from that of other Pontic vases which predominantly come from Vulci.

The Paris Painter’s style seems to have its closest connexions with South Etruscan art, such as the already mentioned terracotta sarcophagus and the painted plaques from Cerveteri, plus the architectonic friezes from Velletri, Rome, and Veii, which were possibly manufactured in Veii. Nevertheless the picture may easily be distorted on this point too, as there is no comparable large amount of works preserved from Vulci from this period. There are not many points of resemblance between the Vulcian bronzes and the Paris Painter’s work, but this might be due to the fact that his style is older, since there is a clearer connexion between the bronzes and the later Pontic vase-painters, stylistically perhaps most marked with Riis’ Tripod-workshop. Dohrn has already shown that the large lyre motifs, as for instance on the neck of Louvre E 703, are found on the bronze tripods. For the Pontic vases as a whole everything points to Vulci as the place...
of manufacture. It seems to me to be of importance that a whole series of the smaller and lesser vases have been found here, while only vases of high quality primarily by the Paris Painter have been found in Cerveteri. It looks as if it is mostly his earlier works that have been found here, but this might be a coincidence and cannot be taken as an indication that he started his career in Cerveteri and later moved to Vulci.

On the other hand if one assumes that he worked in Vulci all his life, one must also assume that to a certain extent similar stylistic tendencies prevailed in Vulci and in Cerveteri\textsuperscript{223}.

In contrast to many other Etruscan vase-painters, the Paris Painter understood and mastered his medium just as well as the Greek vase-painters and like these he subjected himself to a strict restraint and discipline by retaining certain features once he found a satisfactory way of rendering them. He had no tradition of Etruscan vase-painting behind him on which to build, but in contrast to the contemporary or slightly earlier Etruscan Ivy Painter he chose to convert the Etruscan style of his day—if one dares to talk of such a common denomination—into vase-painting, and not to copy the style of one of the Greek workshops. The attractive thing about the Paris Painter is the vigour with which he handled motifs often well known to us from Greek vase-painting, and his pronounced sense of the decorative.
Notes


2. Previous to Dohrn, Ducati in a more sketchy form had tried a classification of the group (Pontische Vasen, Berlin 1932), which was commented on and partly reorganized by Mingazzini in a review (Gnomon 11 p. 68 ff.).

2 a. Listed in this catalogue are some pieces of which the authenticity has previously been doubted. Since scientific investigations now have proved them genuine, they are included here.


5. E.g. R. M. Cook, Greek Painted Pottery (London 1972) p. 154 f., EAA VI Pontici Vasi (Paribení) and V Paride, pittore di (P. Bocci).


7. Later I hope to publish similar articles on other of the Pontic vase-painters.

8. On one of the panthers on the A-side the usual rendering of the front leg has been decorated with a palmette, it can be seen faintly on Albizzati fig. 26. See fig. 7.

9. In the little sketchy hunting frieze the rendering of the shoulder is often divergent.

10. This jug is, as Dohrn mentions, of far inferior quality to the average of the Paris Painter's works. The details are his, often however weakened. It is possible that it is a work from his workshop, but more likely a careless work by his own hand (see the comment on the Louvre E 703 Painter).

11. Both on this very badly preserved and damaged oinochoe, formerly heavily restored, and on British Museum B 54 the drawing is more superficial and careless than normal; nevertheless there are so many points corresponding to the Paris Painter's rendering of details that it may rather be regarded as a careless work than a work by the workshop.

12. At times there is only a single arch, or the rendering of the knee is omitted.

13. Resembling the tails of the oxen.

14. Oxen and one panther.

15. The fragment in Leipzig T 328, mentioned by Mingazzini, has been lost since the war, and there exist no photographs of it.

16. E.g. Oxford 1961. 529 (cat. no. 17) or British Museum B 57 (cat. no. 11).

17. E.g. on the belly of Danish National Museum 14066 (cat. no. 12).
18. E.g. Heidelberg 59/5 (cat. no. 18), Oxford 1961. 529 (cat. no. 17) and Vienna 3952 (cat. no. 32).
19. E.g. Orvieto 463 (cat. no. 30), Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10) and Berlin F 1675 (cat. no. 21).
20. E.g. Cambridge G 43 (cat. no. 20), Vienna 3952 (cat. no. 32), Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 146a (cat. no. 28) and Heidelberg 59/5 (cat. no. 18).
21. E.g. Orvieto 463 (cat. no. 30), Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10) and Berlin F 1675 (cat. no. 21). Note that it belongs together with lotus type 2.
22. E.g. the Villa Giulia amphora (cat. no. 16), Tarquinia RC 1051 (cat. no. 14) and Musei Capitolini 91 (cat. no. 5).
23. E.g. on Vatican 231 (cat. no. 3) and Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10).
24. On Castellani 412 (cat. no. 33) and Bibliothèque Nationale 172 (cat. no. 19).
25. E.g. on Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 146a (cat. no. 28), Vienna 3952 (cat. no. 32) and Münzen und Medaillen XXII, 192 (cat. no. 8).
26. E.g. Berlin F 1675 (cat. no. 21), Orvieto 463 (cat. no. 30) or Oxford 1961. 529 (cat. no. 17).
27. E.g. on the rim of Cambridge G 43 (cat. no. 20) and on the belly of Musei Capitolini 91 (cat. no. 5).
28. E.g. on the belly of the Seattle oinochoe (cat. no. 24) and Würzburg 778 (cat. no. 2).
29. E.g. Musei Capitolini 91 (cat. no. 5) Münzen und Medaillen XXII, 192 (cat. no. 8), the Villa Giulia amphora (cat. no. 16) and Oxford 1961. 529 (cat. no. 17).
30. On the neck of Münzen und Medaillen XVIII, 141 (cat. no. 6).
31. On the belly of British Museum B 54 (cat. no. 23).
32. On the rim of Danish National Museum 14066 (cat. no. 12) and on the belly of the Cerveteri amphora (cat. no. 22), Napoli H 6488 (cat. no. 25), and Louvre E 704 (cat. no. 29).
33. On the rim of British Museum B 57 (cat. no. 11) and the belly of the Napoli amphora (cat. no. 25).
34. On the belly of Bibliothèque Nationale 172 (cat. no. 19).
35. On the belly of Musei Capitolini 95 (cat. no. 4).
38. Payne mentions that it is possible somewhere on Louvre E 695 to see the original pale colour of the clay; it has, however, definitely not the greenish Corinthian colour, but the brownish-yellow seen in most of the Pontic vases.
39. In rare cases there is an ornament between the rays, on Vienna 3952 (cat. no. 32) and Bibliothèque Nationale 172 (cat. no. 19) a swastika, on Berlin F 1675 (cat. no. 21) a cross. Heidelberg 59/5 (cat. no. 18) has a double row of rays and on Metropolitan Museum 55.11.1 (cat. no. 9) a triangle is incised in every ray.
40. Berlin F 1675 (cat. no. 21) and Bibliothèque Nationale 172 (cat. no. 19).
41. Danish National Museum 14066 (cat. no. 12).
42. British Museum B 57 (cat. no. 11).
43. Ars Antiqua III, 113 (cat. no. 7) and Münzen und Medaillen XVIII, 192 (cat. no. 8) differ in having an ivy band at the top and under that a tongue ornament. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 146a (cat. no. 28) has a row of dots limited
by a dark line over the ivy band, while the Tarquinia amphora with a silen between two lions (cat. no. 15) has a pseudo meander placed in the same way.

44. Vatican 231 (cat. no. 3), Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10), Tarquinia 529 (cat. no. 13), British Museum B 57 (cat. no. 11) and Orvieto 2665 (cat. no. 31).

45. Heidelberg 59/5 (cat. no. 18), Vienna 3952 (cat. no. 32) and the Danish National Museum 14066 (cat. no. 12).

46. E.g. the Cerveteri amphora (cat. no. 22), Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 146a (cat. no. 28), Orvieto 463 (cat. no. 30), and Louvre E 704 (cat. no. 29).

47. Metropolitan Museum 55.11.1 (cat. no. 9).

48. Musei Capitolini 95 (cat. no. 4).

49. München und Medaillen XVIII, 141 (cat. no. 6).

50. München 837 (cat. no. 1).

51. E.g. Heidelberg 59/5 (cat. no. 18), Louvre E 704 (cat. no. 29), and the Villa Giulia amphora (cat. no. 16).

52. They will be dealt with separately later in the article.

53. On Bibliothèque Nationale 172 (cat. no. 19) a narrow ornamental band is inserted over the rays.

54. Under and between the larger animals can be placed long-necked birds (British Museum B 54 (cat. no. 23)), partridges (Bibliothèque Nationale 172 (cat. no. 19)), snakes, hares or a bird of prey (all on Louvre E 704 (cat. no. 29)).

55. Lions on Metropolitan Museum 55.11.1 (cat. no. 9) and partridges on Cambridges G 43 (cat. no. 20).

56. Or where there is no figure frieze, both belly friezes.

57. Louvre E 704 (cat. no. 29), Ars Antiqua III, 113 (cat. no. 7), München und Medaillen XXII, 192 (cat. no. 8), Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10), Vatican 231 (cat. no. 3), and Tarquinia 529 (cat. no. 13) where the palmette has been dissolved into three single leaves. Variations of this handle decoration are seen on Würzburg 778 (cat. no. 2), where two lions flank a fantasy tree, and on Musei Capitolini 91 (cat. no. 5) where two cocks flank a lotus-palmette ornament.


59. Dohrn Nos. 96 and 97. Langlotz Taf. 229.

60. Dohrn No. 94, depicted in AM 1920 Taf. 5.3.


63. Dohrn No. 87.

64. Sammlung Vogell, p. 9, No. 51.

65. Dohrn No. 89. The cup has not yet appeared in Munich after the war, so I only know it from the reproduction in Sieveking-Hackl.

66. This can, however, also be seen in the Paris Painter's works, for instance on the dogs and hares on the Seattle oinochoe.


68. The Amphiparasos Painter often seems to imitate the Paris Painter's manner of rendering anatomical details.

69. Dohrn No. 74. Jacobsthal, Ornamente Taf. 10c. Ducati Pl. 9b.
70. Dohrn Nos. 75–78. All four vases have not yet appeared in Munich after the war, so my judgment relies on the reproductions in Sieveking-Hackl Taf. 34 and Abb. 108–115.
71. Dohrn No. 79. Ducati Pl. 17b.
72. Dohrn No. 82. Langlotz Taf. 227.
73. On the bull and the panther (Pl. 30 a and c).
74. Like, for instance, on the elbows of the human beings.
75. See the comasts on Orvieto 463 (cat. no. 30).
76. Jacobsthal, Ornamente Taf. 10b.
77. Louvre E 703 (pl. 29), Munich 839–41 and 924 (see note 70).
78. See note 71.
80. Dohrn No. 86. CVA Bruxelles 3, IV B Pl. 1. Ducati Pl. 21.
82. Dohrn No. 100. Ducati Pl. 27a.
83. In a following article I hope to return to this Louvre E 703 Painter, to whom several other vases can be ascribed.
84. The last one, however, seems to carry a spear.
85. Note especially Metropolitan Museum 55.11.1 (cat. no. 9).
86. Under two of the horses on the Vatican amphora (cat. no. 3) there are hares, thus a dog-chasing-hare motif as seen in the two hunting scenes of the painter (Bibliothèque Nationale 187 (cat. no. 38) and the Seattle oinochoe (cat. no. 24)).
87. This does not apply to the one farthest back on the Seattle oinochoe.
88. The dog-chasing-hare motif is purely a filling and has nothing to do with the narrative.
89. Normally towards the left.
90. Beazley describes the representation extremely well in EVP p. 1. Clairmont (Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst, 1951, p. 18) has interpreted the elderly gentleman as Teukros, this is probably too subtle and the old identification as Priam seems more probable.
93. On amphorae.
94. JHS XIV, 1894 Pl. VII.
95. JRS III, 1913, p. 61 ff.
96. A similar object is carried by one of the persons on the bronze relief from Castel S. Mariano depicted in AD III Taf. 15.
98. Op. cit. fig. 18 B.
99. See also Roscher Myth. Lex. p. 2221.
100. On one side a centaur, on the other a giant.
103. Lamb CVA Cambridge I p. 18 and Brommer, Vasenlisten p. 5.
104. Which we continually apply to Etruscan art.
105. Albizzati No. 422 fig. 139.
Répertoire des gigantomachies, 1951, p. 42, No. 120.

Schauenburg in Ars Antiqua I p. 46 mentions the interpretation as a gigantomachy as a possibility.

Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst, 1964, p. 45f.

Cf. Friis Johansen, The Iliad in Early Greek Art, 1967, p. 213 and 262ff.; this evidently is Hampe's background for using it in his book about the possibility of direct Etruscan knowledge of the Greek epics.

On a black-figured lekythos in Oslo, CVA Norway 1 pl. 18 and 19.

Friis Johansen op. cit. p. 264 and CVA Norway 1 p. 24.

E.g. a Nikosthenic amphora in the Vatican (Albizzati No. 361 Pl. 48 = M. F. Voss, Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase-Painting, 1963, No. 213), or an East Greek sherd from Tell Defenneh (CVA British Museum 8 Pl. 584.3).

Thus on the vases where the motifs on the two sides are dissimilar there still is a connection, for instance combat—warrior's departure (Louvre E 704 (cat. no. 29)).


Cf. the Juno Sospita-Heracles motif.

Munich 838 and an amphora in Basel from the Züst Collection (Hampe-Simon p. 18ff.).

Vases antiques du Louvre, 1897, p. 67.

He probably refers to the Iliad XXII, 25ff.

It must, however, be stressed that the warrior is pursued by three men and not just one.

In the same attitude as the warrior on the A-side of Louvre E 704 (cat. no. 29); however he does not turn his head.


K. Friis Johansen, The Iliad in Early Greek Art, 1967, p. 110 with references to earlier literature.

Friis Johansen, op. cit. fig. 36.

E.g. on a hydria in Schloss Fasanerie (CVA 1, Taf. 10) and on an amphora in the Vatican (Albizzati no. 396, tav. 57).


CVA Heidelberg 2 p. 18ff. and Taf. 55 and 56, 1–3.


Completely different motifs in the two figure scenes on the same vase are otherwise only found on Munich 837 (cat. no. 1) where one subject is spread over both sides and on Metropolitan Museum 55.7 (cat. no. 10).

Hampe, op. cit. p. 9, gives a reasonable explanation for this. Apart from his objections, one could add the Paris Painter's inclination to place the figures behind each other facing the same direction (the procession motif).


Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst p. 40ff.

Cf. the judgment of Paris on Munich 837 (cat. no. 1).
133. One could imagine that it was an Etruscan subject, but the centaur rather points to the Greek mythical world.

134. Or nearly rounded as in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 146a (cat. no. 28). Now and then it has profiles like Musei Capitolini 91 (cat. no. 5) and Würzburg 778 (cat. no. 2).

135. Danish National Museum 14066 (cat. no. 12).

136. British Museum B 57 (cat. no. 11).

137. Louvre E 695 (cat. no. 35), Dresden 135 (cat. no. 36) and Fiesole 1132 (cat. no. 34).


139. Thus the whole lower part of the ring of rays is modern, the foot however is antique but not belonging to the vase (cf. Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium, 1885, p. 369).

140. Dohrn p. 53.

141. Mingazzini p. 38 text to no. 129.

142. Cf. de Ridder, Catalogue p. 95.

143. The ivy is, however, not placed in the same position on the two vases.

144. I.e. also beyond the standard traits of the Paris Painter.

145. The group-division used here may not be the only one possible.

146. Fiesole 1132 (cat. no. 34), Louvre E 695 (cat. no. 35), and Dresden 135 (cat. no. 36).

147. Monumenti Antichi 1955 p. 538 no. 7 (48076). Professor P. J. Riis has kindly pointed out to me that the description in the text seems to show that this lekythos, which on the shoulder has "figure ammantate e palmette", can be compared with the lekythos Athens 371 (depicted in Haspels ABL pl. 12.2 and mentioned p. 35f.) dated to 540–30 B.C. Similar shoulder decorations are, however, also seen later (Haspels p. 67), and it would be too bold to use this lekythos for dating purposes, without a personal inspection or a picture of it.


149. One might ask whether the vases were sold as "genuine Corinthian".

150. Payne p. 104ff., Cook GPP p. 58, Lane, Greek Pottery, 1948, p. 35, date the termination of the style to about 550, L. Banti in EAA II p. 850 towards 540 B.C.

151. F.R. I p. 94 and Ducati p. 7.


153. P. 79.

154. P. 78ff.


157. P. 47.


159. GPP p. 86.

160. Arias-Hirmer op. cit. Taf. 56 and XV.


164. CVA Munich 6, p. 46.

165. P. 47.


170. P. 52.

171. And for that matter also the other Greek vase-schools.

172. They are seen, for instance, on the amphora Louvre E 861 (CVA Louvre 1, III Hds pl. 6,5 and 12), and later in the 6th century the figure scenes on the shoulders of Attic amphorae are very often framed by black panels. The idea is also used on one of the Northampton amphorae, Munich 586 (CVA Munich 6 Taf. 297) which is very strongly inspired by Attic.

173. Especially the stylized ivy in his earlier works is often seen in Attic. A similar rendering is also seen in the Northampton amphorae (e.g. Munich 585, CVA Munich 6 Taf. 299). The more naturalistic form of ivy seen in his later works resembles more the rendering of the motif on Laconian and Chalcidian vases or the Caeretan hydriae.

174. Payne no. 1447 and pl. 43.

175. Payne no. 1446, Pottier, Vases Antiques du Louvre pl. 51.

176. Cf. the passage on the net pattern in the discussion of ornamentation.


178. EVP p. 1.


180. P. 75 ff.

181. P. 131 ff.

182. GPP p. 155.


184. CVA Munich 6 p. 42 ff. with references to earlier literature.


186. Ibid. p. 138 ff.

187. Cf. the passage on Attic influence.

188. See, for instance, the Seattle oinochoe (cat. no. 24).

unpublished hydria in the museum in Cerveteri (from grave 546 in the Monte Abatone necropolis) with the following decoration: neck: a pair of eyes, shoulder: a team of horses and two sphinxes, belly: lotus-palmette frieze, foot: tongues. Furthermore in Monumenti Antichi 42, 1955, (p. 790 no. 21), grave 304 in the Banditaccia necropolis, there is mention of some fragments of a Caeretan hydria with a band of ivy round the belly, while of the figure frieze only the front leg of a horse is extant. Hemelrijk's fragment no. 30 is in Munich (CVA Munich 6 Taf. 296,4).

190. Enumerated by Hemelrijk p. 58ff.

191. Hemelrijk’s division of the hydriai into works of two different masters, the Busiris Painter and the Knee Painter, has not been widely accepted (cf. Friis Johansen, Opuscula Romana 4 p. 62 note 1 and Schauenburg, Antike Kunst 12, 1969, p. 99). Apart from the difference in the rendering of the knee by the two painters, stressed by Hemelrijk, there might be another detail in favour of his classification. Two different ways of rendering the cloaks are involved. On Louvre E 697 (Hemelrijk no. 23) and in the little frieze on the Busiris hydria (Hemelrijk no. 24) both by the Busiris Painter, the hunters wear cloaks which flow behind them, rendered with a clear three-dimensional effect, while the hunters on the hydria in the Metropolitan Museum and the hindmost hunter on Louvre E 698 (Hemelrijk no. 16), both by the Knee Painter, wear cloaks, the rendering of which only makes sense if regarded as an unsuccessful effort to imitate the cloaks of the Busiris Painter.

192. P. 75.

193. BSA 1952 p. 65.

194. E.g. it is seen on an architectonic terracotta frieze from Milas, Å. Åkerström, Die architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens, 1966, Taf. 59,1.

195. E.g. British Museum 96.6–15.1, CVA British Museum 8 pl. 610.

196. Andrén, Arch. Terr., 1940, pl. 127.


198. It is seen, for instance, in architectonic terracottas from Olympia (E. Van Buren, Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period, 1926, fig. 118) and Syracuse (E. Van Buren, Archaic Greek Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia, 1923, fig. 38).


200. L. Banti, in her article on the Chalcidian vases in EAA (vol. II p. 264), emphasizes the minimal influence of Chalcidian ware on the local schools in Etruria.

201. The best pictures in Giglioli op. cit. Tav. CXVIII–CXIX.


204. Opuscula Romana 1 p. 226ff.

205. Dohrn p. 79.

206. Professor P. J. Riis has kindly pointed out to me a fact which seems to invalidate my early dating, namely that fragments of friezes of the same type as those from Velletri have been found on the Capitol in Rome and therefore might come from the Capitoline Jupiter temple, which was inaugurated in 509 B.C. (see also Riis’ remarks in Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt 13,
1966, p. 86). However, even if friezes of this type were used as late as 509, I still find that their style goes back to the third quarter of the 6th century, so that they must have seemed old-fashioned in 509.

208. Roncalli op. cit. p. 28ff. and tav. XII–XV.
210. E.g. the Bucchero jug in Bruxelles (CVA Belgium 2 pl. 94 no. 15), the Red-ware dish in Braunschweig (CVA pl. 31, 5–7) although here every fourth animal turns the opposite way, a similar dish in the Castellani Collection in Villa Giulia (Mingazzini no. 281, tav. XII,4 and XIV,2–3), and an urn in Gotha (CVA 1 Taf. 16, 1–2).
211. As mentioned in the passage on Attic influence, animals which are not seen in Greek animal friezes.
212. E.g. Tomba dei Tritoni (Moretti, Nuovi Monumenti della Pittura Etrusca, 1966, p. 64ff.), Tomba Bartoccini (Moretti op. cit. p. 8ff.), and Tomba del Barone (Weege, Etruskische Malerei, 1921, pl. 77).
214. Moretti op. cit. p. 72ff.
216. Dohrn’s theory (StEtr. 12, 1938, p. 283) of Tarquinia as the place of manufacture has not been widely accepted, and in his comment on the amphora in the Vatican (cat. no. 3) in Helbig, Führer I, 1963, p. 647, he himself writes that he believes that the vases were probably made in Vulci.
217. This must be taken with great reservation as long as the finding place is only known for about half of the vases.
218. Cf. Andrén, Arch. Terr. p. CLI and 409. Riis, Acta Arch. 1941 p. 78, believes that their style does not correspond to what is otherwise known from Veii, but rather with the style known from Cerveteri and Latium. In “Den etruskiske Kunst”, 1962, p. 105, however, he writes that there is a strong indication that the friezes originated in Veii.
219. Preserved are mostly stone sculpture and the many bronzes which have been assigned to the town.
220. Note especially Riis, Tyrrhenika, 1941, p. 77ff.
222. Dohrn p. 60.
223. Cf. Thieme, Die Dreifüsse der Sammlung J. Loeb im Museum für Antike Kleinkunst, 1967, p. 96, on the difficulties of clearly distinguishing between the workshops in Cerveteri and Vulci. The Pontic vases on the whole have much in common with the Loeb tripods both in motifs and style. The tripods were found near Perugia, but were probably manufactured in one of the larger cities to the south. Banti (Tyrrenica, 1957, p. 89ff.) believes that they should be assigned to Cerveteri, a solution to which also Thieme inclines, but Riis (Tyrrenika p. 132) thinks that they cannot have been manufactured without influence from Central Etruria (Vulci). In an effort to locate the Pontic vases the Loeb tripods are without significance.
224. Cf. Hemelrijk’s remarks, p. 104, on the Caeretan hydriae as opposed to Etruscan art.
Catalogue

(A question mark before a sale’s catalogue or the like indicates that the present whereabouts of the vase are unknown to the writer. A question mark before the type of vase indicates that the finding-place is unknown.)

1. Munich, Die staatlichen Antikensammlungen inv. no. 837 WAF. 
Vulci (Coll. Candelori). Amphora. Height 33 cm. 
Ducati pl. 1–2. Hampe–Simon Taf. 16,1 and 17,1. Pl. 1–2.

Probably Vulci (Coll. Feoli). Amphora. Height 36.5 cm. 
Shoulder Motif: A and B walking centaurs. 

Vulci. Amphora. Height 34.8 cm. 
Shoulder motif: A and B horsemen. 

4. Rome, Musei Capitolini inv. no. 95 (nero). 
Cerveteri. Amphora. Height 33.5 cm. 
Shoulder motif: A and B walking men. 

5. Rome, Musei Capitolini inv. no. 91 (nero). 
Cerveteri. Amphora. Height 33 cm. 
Shoulder motif: A running women, B running mermen. 
   Amphora. Height 35 cm.
   Shoulder motif: A and B two cocks flanking a lotus-palmette ornament.
   Depicted in the auction catalogue.

7. ? (Ars Antiqua A.G. Auktion III no. 113).
   Amphora. Height 34.8 cm.
   Shoulder motif: A and B horsemen.
   Depicted in the auction catalogue.

8. ? (Münzen und Medaillen A.G. Auktion XXII no. 192).
   Amphora. Height 34 cm.
   Shoulder motif: A and B horsemen.
   Depicted in the auction catalogue.

   Amphora. Height 35.3 cm.
   Shoulder motif: A and B walking centaurs.

10. New York, Metropolitan Museum inv. no. 55.7.
    Amphora. Height 35.1 cm.
    Shoulder motif: A, women lying on couches, B, walking men and centaur.

    The provenance is uncertain. The Museum inventory gives no information. The catalogue from 1851 says Cerveteri, Gerhard says Vulci. Birch (Archaeologia XXX, 1843) states that the place of finding is Cerveteri or Agylla. Amphora. Height 30.9 cm.
    Shoulder motif: A Heracles and Juno Sospita, B fighting warriors.

12. Copenhagen, Danish National Museum inv. no. 14066.
    Amphora. Height 32.8 cm.
Shoulder motif: A and B fighting warriors.


Vulci. Amphora. Height 30.5 cm.
Shoulder motif: A centaur fight, B warriors fighting a giant.
CVA Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum I, IVB, pl. IX, 1a–b. Pl. 11.

Tarquinia (Coll. Doria). Amphora. Height 33.5 cm.
Shoulder motif: A and B walking centaurs.
A. Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium 1, 1885, p. 218 no. 1675. J. Endt, Beiträge zur joni­schen Vasenmalerei, 1899, Abb. 22. Pl. 12.

22. Cerveteri?
Cerveteri, grave 106 in the necropolis of Banditaccia. Amphora. Height 35.5 cm.
Shoulder motif: A and B walking centaurs.
Monumenti Antichi 42, 1955, p. 538 and fig. 130.

? Oinochoe. Height 29.3 cm.
Shoulder motif: Animal frieze.

? (Coll. Norman Davis). Oinochoe. Height 30.2 cm.
Shoulder motif: Horsemen.
Amyx p. 121 ff. and figs. 1–7.

? Amphora. Height 35 cm.
Shoulder motif: A and B animal frieze.

? Amphora. Height ?
Shoulder motif: A and B animal frieze.
Dohrn p. 40 no. 88. Pl. 15.

Cerveteri. Stemmed kyathos. Height 33.5 cm.
Animal frieze.
Dohrn p. 40 no. 90. *Pl. 16.*

28. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 146a.
? Amphora. Height 34 cm.
Shoulder motif: A and B walking men.

Shoulder motif: A warrior’s departure, B warriors in battle.
E. Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, 1897, p. 67 and pl. 53. *Pl. 20–21 a.*

30. Orvieto, Museo dell’Opera del Duomo inv. no. 463.
Orvieto, graves 20–25 in the old excavations at Crocefisso del Tufo. Amphora. Height ?
Shoulder motif: A and B comasts.
NSc 1887 p. 365 and pl. XIII fig. 56. Ducati pl. 3. *Pl. 7 c.*

31. Orvieto, Museo Faina. Dohrn gives the inventory number 43, on the vase, however, is the number 2665.
Shoulder motif: A and B walking men.

32. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. no. 3952.
Shoulder motif: A and B comasts.

Cerveteri? Amphora. Height 24 cm, imperfectly preserved.
Shoulder motif: A and B pederastic scenes.
Mingazzini tav. 35,3.
34. Fiesole, Museo degli Scavi inv. no. 1132.
   ? Hydria. Height ?
   Shoulder motif: Man flanked by lions and two silens.
   E. Galli, Fiesole, i scavi, il museo civico, 1914, p. 98 fig. 81.

   ? Hydria. Height 40 cm.
   Belly motif: Cocks flanking lotus-palmette ornament.
   E. Fölzer, Die Hydria, 1906, p. 56 no. 61 and Taf. IV. Payne
   p. 327 no. 1444 and fig. 21 c. Pls. 24–25 and 7 b.

36. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung inv. no. 135 (incorrectly given as no. 20 in Fölzer and Payne).
   ? Hydria. Height 40 cm.
   Belly motif: Cocks flanking lotus-palmette ornament.
   E. Fölzer, Die Hydria, 1906, p. 56 no. 62 and Taf. V. Payne
   p. 328 no. 1445. The vase will be published in a coming CVA
   volume from Dresden.

37. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F 1885.
   ? (Bought in Naples). Height 24.5 cm, imperfectly preserved.
   Belly motif: Groups of fighting animals.

   Vulci. Plate. Diameter 20.8 cm.
   Hunting scenes.

39. Boulogne-sur-Mer, Musée des Beaux Arts et d'Archeologie inv. no. 158.
   ? Oinochoe. Height ?
   Shoulder motif: Horsemen.
   R. de Lasteyrie, Album d'Archeologie des Musées de province
List of Illustrations and Photographic Sources
(The catalogue number of each vase is given below the figure).

Pl. 1. Munich, die staatlichen Antiken sammlungen inv. no. 837 WAF (cat. no. 1). Photo: die staatlichen Antikensammlungen, Munich.
Pl. 2. Munich, die staatlichen Antiken sammlungen inv. no. 837 WAF (cat. no. 1). Photo: die staatlichen Antikensammlungen, Munich.
Pl. 3 a and b. Copenhagen, Danish National Museum inv. no. 14066 (cat. no. 12). Photo: Danish National Museum, Department of Orient. and Class. Ant.
Pl. 4 a and b. Copenhagen, Danish National Museum inv. no. 14066 (cat. no. 12). Photo: Danish National Museum, Department of Orient. and Class. Ant.
Pl. 5 a and b. Copenhagen, Danish National Museum inv. no. 14066 (cat. no. 12). Photo: Danish National Museum, Department of Orient. and Class. Ant.
Pl. 6. Copenhagen, Danish National Museum inv. no. 14066 (cat. no. 12). Photo: Danish National Museum, Department of Orient. and Class. Ant.
Pl. 7 a. Copenhagen, Danish National Museum inv. no. 14066 (cat. no. 12). Photo: Danish National Museum, Department of Orient. and Class. Ant.
Pl. 7 b. Paris, Louvre E 695 (cat. no. 35). Photo: Musée du Louvre.
Pl. 7 c. Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo inv. no. 463 (cat. no. 30). Photo: DAI, Rome, inst. neg. 71.1146.
Pl. 8. London, British Museum B 57 (cat. no. 11). Photo: British Museum (courtesy of the Trustees).
Pl. 13. London, British Museum B 54 (cat. no. 23). Photo: British Museum (courtesy of the Trustees).


Pl. 18 a and b. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 146a (cat. no. 28). Photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.


Pl. 20 a and b. Paris, Louvre E 704 (cat. no. 29). Photo: Chuzeville (courtesy of the Musée du Louvre).


Pl. 21 b. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. no. 3952 (cat. no. 32). Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Pl. 22. Orvieto, Museo Faina inv. no. 2665 (cat. no. 31). Photo: DAI, Rome, inst. neg. 35.797.

Pl. 23. Orvieto, Museo Faina inv. no. 2665 (cat. no. 31). Photo: DAI, Rome, inst. neg. 35.798.


Pl. 26 a and b. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum inv. no. ? On the shoulder dancing silens and maenads, on the belly a frieze of animals. Photo: Akademisches Kunstmuseum.


Pl. 34. Tarquina, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniense RC 1051. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale no. 91432.
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