

HOW AN AEOLIC-SPEAKING PAINTER ENCOURAGES SOMEONE TO DRINK IN ARCHAIC ATHENS*

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This essay discusses some inscriptions, quite exceptional insofar as we are aware, painted on a not previously published cup-skyphos of the Louvre Museum decorated by one of the delightful Athenian Little Masters. The main interest of this vase results from its inscriptions, repeated the same on both sides and painted on the exterior walls of the vase. The figured scene is identical on both sides: two opposing lions, faced in heraldic position, turning their head backwards away from one another, framed by vertical palmettes. Three inscriptions repeating the same letters or words: ΠΙΟ ΠΙΟ [Π]ΙΟ ΠΙΟ [ΠΙΟ Π]ΙΟ are written vertically, one below the other, in a column, askew, surround the felines. Many uncommon features in the inscriptions on the vases reflect phenomena which were also to be audible, sounds which may reflect the dialect or sociolect of Vase painters at Ceramicus, belonging to the pictorial soundscape. I suggest that the Louvre skyphos-cup inscriptions are not “nonsense”, but on the contrary full of meaning, perhaps in connection with its iconography. Their integration was an intentional part of the original aesthetic plan of the vase’s surface.

A closer linguistic examination may lead us to more interesting discoveries. Indeed, if ΠΙΟ represents ΠΙΩ it can have various meanings, including ποῦ (interrogative) = where (LSJ, s.v. πῶ; = doric adverb for ποῦ). It may also be the type of the aorist imperative, in the second person singular πῶ, of the Aeolic verb πῶνω, corresponding to the Ionic Attic πίνω, and the imperative πίε, πῖνε. The Aeolic alphabet used in the inscriptions could be important in deciphering the identity of the people involved and tell much about the dialectical origin of a painter. With the use of the Aeolian dialect, the unknown painter offers to us new precious information, added to what we have already.

This essay discusses some inscriptions, quite exceptional insofar as we are aware, painted on a heretofore unpublished skyphos-cup. The vase inv. Cp. 10271, which is decorated by one of the delightful Athenian Little Masters, has been recently rediscovered in the Louvre reserves¹. It was therefore time to pull it out of the shadow and restore it since it deserves special attention not only for its pioneering shape but also for other reasons, as I would like to demonstrate here. The main interest of this vase results from its inscriptions, repeated the same on both sides and painted on the exterior walls of the vase.

The figured scene, placed in the main frieze at the level of the handles, is identical on both sides: two opposing lions, faced in heraldic position,

turning their head backwards away from one another, rearing, mouth wide open, revealing their teeth, their tails raised forming two curves above their backs (S-shaped) and walking in four paws on the ground. They are framed by vertical palmettes consisting of seven tight incised leaves – the central leaf elongated – alternately black and red, supported by two volutes issued from a sinuous (S-shaped) stem springing out of the handles (fig. 1a-d).

Note the tail ending in a thick dot highlighted with white color.

On both sides three inscriptions repeating the same letters ΠΙΟ ΠΙΟ are painted vertically, one below the other, στοιχηδόν, in a column, somewhat askew, around the felines.

The letters: Π pi (sometimes one leg shorter) and Ο omicron are painted carefully and are of a harmoniously small size, as is often the case with the Little-Masters, but also with some important painters such as Kleitias, Nearchos, Exekias and Amasis².

Condition and appearance - Dimensions and shape: Incomplete, restored from many fragments. Handles and foot are missing. Numerous other missing parts of the bowl and of the rim are filled in with plaster. Surface greatly damaged, especially on one side. Dimensions: H. (preserved) 9 - D. 19.3 cm.

* I am deeply indebted to my dear friends and colleagues Charalampos Kritzas and Pieter Heesen for their valuable comments and Nota Kourou for her corrections of my English.

¹ Acquired in 1863 with the Campana collection, this vase – erroneously grouped in the Museum’s reserves with the cups – has been found in a bad condition of conservation. For this reason it was referred to by Pieter Heesen, who was not able to see it, as a cup (Heesen 2011; Heesen 2016: 91-118, especially 99, no. 38, fig. 9). Recently, Chiarini 2018: 442-443 (also refers to it as a “band cup” and inaccurately assumes that the inscriptions on both sides are partly preserved, see Yatromanolakis 2021).

² Immerwahr 1990: 153-154.



Fig. 1a-d. Skyphos-cup, Paris, Louvre inv. Cp 10271 (© 2019 Musée du Louvre/Hervé Lewandowski).

Conical deep body. The rim, slightly inclined towards the outside, is covered by a wide band of lustrous black glaze. The lower part of the bowl is covered by black glaze except for a reserved stripe. Interior, black. Incisions for details of the lions' bodies and on the palmettes (the core bordered by double incisions). Added colors: highlights of white (teeth, details on the bodies, point on the tail) and red (manes, mouths, paintbrush strokes and marks to render details on the lions' bodies, core and palmette's leaves). Interior of the bowl is in black glaze except for a reserved fillet around the rim.

On sides A and B, next to and between the lions, there are vertical dipinti, one letter placed under the other, in column.

On the best-preserved side (A), they are fragmentary ΠΟ ΠΟ [Π]Ο ΠΟ [ΠΟ Π] Ο. The first letter pi is missing from the one between the lions, [Π]ΟΠΟ, while from the other, behind the lion on the right, only the final O remains [ΠΟ Π] Ο. Missing is the neighboring palmette (fig. 5a).

On side B the inscriptions although complete, are barely visible due to poor preservation, while a large part of the lion on the right and the palmette on the left are missing (fig. 5b). Thus, of the four palmettes, only those surrounding the left handle are entirely preserved, while of those of the right handle there are only remains.

Focus on the shape: The Louvre vase, mentioned erroneously as band-cup by Pieter Heesen due to the museum's wrong cataloging, is, nevertheless, a skyphos-cup (fig. 2).

Dated around 540 BCE, it is one of the oldest attempts by someone of the Little Masters to create the shape of the band skyphos-cup, a variance of the skyphos-cup, the third type of Attic skyphoi³.

The shape is similar as that of the Louvre's CA 3083 skyphos-cup (fig. 3), which Beazley already called a band-skyphos and which he attributed to Elbows Out Painter⁴.

Its shape can be paralleled to the skyphoi-cups G. Puhze Gallery (Freiburg i. Br.)⁵, Sellada, necropolis (Thera)⁶ and St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum inv. B 100⁷.

Perhaps its missing foot was like the foot of the band skyphos-cup Louvre inv. Cp 10294⁸ (fig. 4).

³ On the typology of Attic Skyphoi see now Malagardis 2017: 95-116, 101-110.

⁴ *ABV* 251, 40. For the shape see *ABV* 252; Malagardis 2017: 107-108, notes 592 and 595.

⁵ Malagardis 2017: 102, pl. 18c, note 549.

⁶ Malagardis 2017: 102.

⁷ Malagardis 2017: 104, pl. 19d, note 564.

⁸ Malagardis 2017: 141; Malagardis, *CVA*, Louvre: *Skyphoi* (forthcoming).

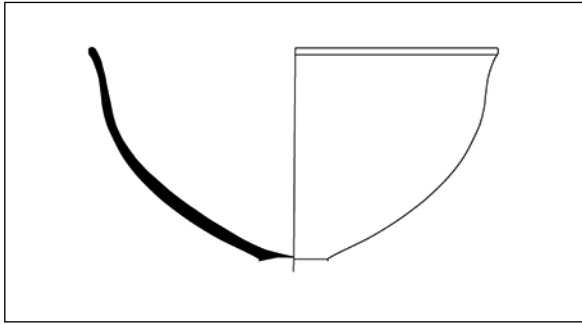


Fig. 2. Profile of the Cp 10271 (drawing by Andras Marton).



Fig. 3. Skyphos-cup, Louvre inv. Cp 10294 (© 2019 RMN-Grand Palais, Musée du Louvre/Tony Querrec).

Some cups with a very low flaring foot and a relatively deep bowl, named by Beazley “variety of type A” – see, for instance, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum inv. 3484⁹ – could give an idea of the lost foot of our Louvre vase.

The exact iconographic motif of the two opposing lions, looking back, is very rare on lip-cups and only six examples are known so far. One of them is Florence inv. 95075, with an imitation inscription and palmettes in the handle-zone, recently published¹⁰ (fig. 5).

Also, it is seldom seen on band-cups, while in one case, on the fragmentary Munich inv. 9450¹¹ (fig. 6) where the lions are surrounded by human figures (judges, athletes).

The same motif, but with the tails forming a single curve above their back, occurs on three lip-

cups: Berlin inv. F 1763, signed by Tlempolemos as potter and “possibly” by Sakonides¹² (near the Taleides Painter according to Immerwahr¹³) (fig. 7); Dallas 1972.33¹⁴ and on one side of the Louvre lip-cup inv. Cp 10256, with a nonsense inscription on the handle area inspired by *epoiesen* type inscriptions or drinking formulas¹⁵. We would add the case of the same lions – with small differences on the tails – on a “stemless band-cup”, of hybrid form, San Francisco inv. 713¹⁶.

A variant of the motif shows two opposing lions raising an anterior paw, as on the lip-cup Leipzig inv. T 51¹⁷ (fig. 8) or a single lion identical – as that Vatican inv. 39546, attributed by Beazley to the Taleides Painter¹⁸ – a very rare case, not found as yet on other lip-cups. Heesen gives some other examples of single lions looking straight, or lions the four paws on the ground, or raising a paw (as on the lip-cup Munich inv. 2150, signed by Tléson¹⁹) or even jumping with the front paws in the air²⁰.

One should also mention the fragments of Florence (S.N.)/Rome, VG 79659²¹ band-cup with two antithetical lions turning their head away from one another with a floral motif between them.

Opposing lions appear on band-cups without accompanying figures, sometimes all around a floral motif, as on St. Petersburg inv. B.79.102²² and Geneva inv. MF 241²³.

However, like the lip-cup Leipzig inv. T 51 mentioned above, our skyphos-cup stands out because of the antithetic pose of the lions, turning their head away from one another.

The painter is not yet identified – note his characteristic incisions for the ears – but he is master of his brush, his drawing is rapid but competent. His colors are warm, as befits an artist with a spontaneous temperament, as his inscriptions may also suggest. Let us look again at the inscriptions²⁴.

¹² Heesen 2011: 117f, note 697, 277, nr. 167, pl. 49c.

¹³ Immerwahr 2006: 136-172, 139, note 16, 159.

¹⁴ Heesen 2011: note 588; Heesen 2020.

¹⁵ Heesen 2016: 95, nr. 3, fig. 3a.

¹⁶ *CVA*, San Francisco (1): pl. 4, 2a-d. *Para*: 100, 6.

¹⁷ Heesen 2011: 274, nr. 125, pl. 41a-b.

¹⁸ *ABV* 175: 15; Heesen 2011: 99, nr. 126, n. 590, pl. 41c-d.

¹⁹ *CVA*, München (10): pl. 13, 8 and pl. 14, 2.

²⁰ Heesen 2011: 192, notes 1180-1181.

²¹ Heesen, Iozzo 2019: 116, no. 270.

²² *CVA*, Hermitage (8): pl. 13.2.

²³ *CVA*, Genève (2): pl. 64, 3-4.

²⁴ Thousands of inscribed vases are catalogued in Immerwahr’s *Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions (CAVI)*, now integrated, updated and expanded by Rudolf Wachter in the Attic Vase Inscriptions (AVI) project (www.avi.unibas.ch).

⁹ *Para*: 81-82; *CVA*, Amsterdam (2): 110, pl. 123-124, fig. 49.

¹⁰ Heesen, Iozzo 2019: 53, nr. 50, note 110 (Munich market).

¹¹ Fellmann, *CVA*, München (11): pl. 47, 3-4. For other examples of the same motif on band-cups, see Heesen 2011: 99, note 588.

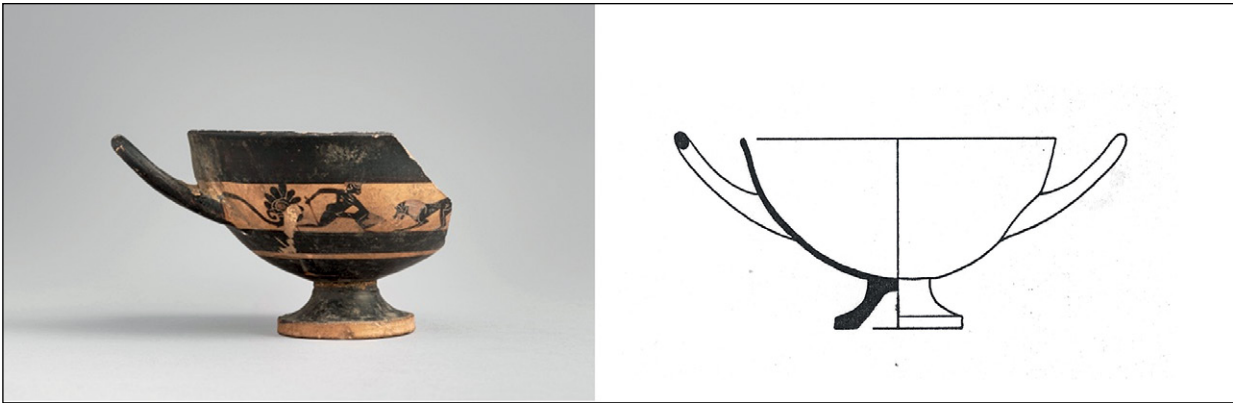


Fig. 4a. Louvre Cp 10294 (© 2019 RMN-Grand Palais, Musée du Louvre/Tony Querrec); 4b. Louvre Cp 10294 (drawing by Adras Marton).



Fig. 5. Lip-cup Fragments, Firenze, Museo Archeologico inv. 95075.



Fig. 6. Band-Cup Fragment, Munich inv. 9450 (after CVA, München (11), pl. 47, 3-4).



Fig. 7. Lip-Cup, Berlin inv. F 1763 (after Heesen 2011).

Heesen²⁵ groups them in the general category of those that repeat combinations of simple letters, copied on both sides of a vase (fig. 9a-b).

The words ΠΟ ΠΟ, as such, do not appear in other inscriptions on cups, as Heesen notes, and so far, no exact parallels have been identified.

The only somewhat similar case is the vertical inscription ΟΠΟ ΟΠΟ surrounding a horseman on the fragmentary band-cup Philadelphia (PA) inv.

MS 4858, found in Orvieto²⁶. In my opinion, the inscriptions on the Philadelphia cup are onomatopoeic, similar to “hop hop” it is rather an onomatopoeia, they are sounds deriving from the verb ποπτόζω, used to call to horses (*LSJ*: *s.v.* ποπτόζω = call to horses but the verb does not only refer to horses). Many uncommon features in the inscriptions on the vases reflect phenomena which were also to be audible, sounds which may reflect the

ch). For types of nonsense, see Immerwahr 1990: 44-48; Wachter 2001: 282-283; Immerwahr 2006: 136-172; Immerwahr 2007: 153-198.

²⁵ Heesen 2016: 96-100.

²⁶ *CAVI* 6805; Immerwahr 1990: 48, note 46; Heesen 2016: 99, nr. 39; Chiarini 2018: 466.

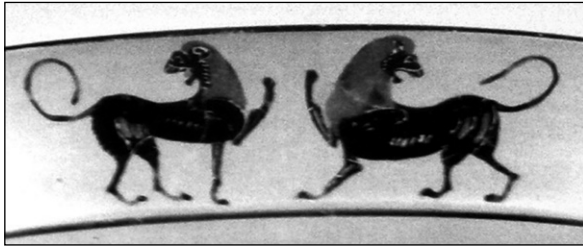


Fig. 8. Lip-Cup, Leipzig inv. T 51 (after Heesen 2011).



Fig. 9a-b. Skyphos-cup Louvre Cp 10271 (details).

dialect or sociolect of Vase painters at Ceramicus, belonging to the pictorial soundscape²⁷.

Similarly the Painter of the Athens National Archaeological Museum's skyphos inv. Per. 3637, found in Perachora, has attempted to render with his dipinti the sound of ὀλολυγμός in the Greek alphabet phonetically, his inscription being repeated lexicalized sounds²⁸.

Could the inscriptions be exclamations and interjections expressing emotion?

Anyway, these cases are not inscriptions representing foreign languages, as it has sometimes been assumed²⁹.

The inscriptions on the Louvre skyphos-cup are not of the same nature as those on the Philadelphia and Athens vases. I suggest that the Louvre skyphos-cup inscriptions are not “nonsense”, but on the contrary full of meaning, perhaps in connection with its iconography. Their integra-

tion was an intentional part of the original aesthetic plan of the vase's surface.

A closer linguistic examination may lead us to more interesting discoveries.

Indeed, if ΠΙΟ represents ΠΙΩ it can have various meanings, including ποῦ (interrogative) = where (*LSJ*: *s.v.* πῶ; = doric adverb for ποῦ). It may also be the type of the aorist imperative, in the second person singular πῶ, of the Aeolic verb πῶνω³⁰, corresponding to the Ionic Attic πίνω, and the imperative πῖε, πῖνε. Cf. the Aeolic Cypriot imperative πῶθι³¹.

According to *Etym. Magn.* *s.v.* Πῶ καὶ πῶμαλα 698, 51 Ἔστι καὶ ῥῆμα προστακτικὸν παρὰ Αἰολέουσιν οἶον χαῖρε καὶ πῶ³².

The πο form could also exist in certain vase inscriptions of *uncertain type* according to Wachter – such as [Χα]ῖρε καὶ π. in the handles area on a cup inv. K 349 (old number R 67) in the Göttingen University³³, or Χαῖρε καὶ π. on the Manisa Museum cup inv. 2137, from Sardis³⁴, and Χαῖρε καὶ π on a fragment of a Little-Master cup Villa Giulia inv. 42048³⁵, where the letter which followed π is not preserved.

Could we see on the Louvre skyphos the imperative πῶ repeated twice as a pressing imperative to drink? The imperative incitement to the second person πῖνε drink, appears, moreover, on the side B of the Oltos cup Madrid inv. 11267³⁶, where in front of the woman playing the aulos we read πῖνε καὶ σῦ, drink you too, and on the St. Petersburg lip-cup inv. 1412³⁷, πῖνε κ <α> ἰ χα<ῖ>ρε, α and i omitted as “Abbreviated Writing”³⁸.

³⁰ See Lobel, Page 1955: 330 (but cf. p. 311) and especially fr. 401a L.-P.; Voigt 1971: 409 and fr.401a V. See also Page 1955: 238, 300, 307, 314. On Aeolic, Lesbian, and the language of Lesbian poetry, see Blümel 1982; Hodot 1990; Hamm 1957; Hooker 1977; Bowie 1981; Yatromanolakis 2008.

³¹ See *LSJ*: *s.v.* πῶ and πίνω and *LSJ*, Suppl.: *s.v.* πίνω. See also Chantraine 1968: 904-905, *s.v.* πίνω. Many thanks to my friend Ch. Kritzas for drawing this to my attention and for all his valuable advice.

³² Χαῖρε καὶ πῶ τάνδε is usually attributed to Alcaeus, fr. 401a (Berg, fr 54 A). For this formula on the cups see Wachter 2003: 155-159.

³³ *CVA*, Göttingen (3): pl. 67, 2; Wachter 2003: 141-188, 166, kat. nr. 110, pl. 187.

³⁴ Ramage 1983: 453-460, pl. 63-5: 453-460, pl. 63-5; Wachter 2003: 166, nr. 114; Immerwahr, *CAVI* 5061.

³⁵ Wachter 2003: 167, nr. 116. Immerwahr, *CAVI* 7162.

³⁶ *CVA* (2): pl. 1.3, 2.2, 4.1 and 5.7; Add² 164; Immerwahr *CAVI* 4903; Filser 2017; Abb. 54.

³⁷ *ABV* 669; Add² 148; Beazley 1932: 168, note 10. *CAVI* 4, 7391. *CVA*, Hermitage (3): pl. 10, 1-4, pl. 11, 1-4 (A. Petrakova, 2005).

³⁸ Immerwahr 2007: 183; *CAVI* 7391.

²⁷ Yatromanolakis 2016b; Wachter 2016b.

²⁸ Yatromanolakis, *supra*: 20-40. On *skyphos* EAM inv. Per. 3637, see Malagardis 2008.

²⁹ Mayor; Colarusso, Saunders 2014.

But this reading of $\pi\omicron$ is confirmed by at least one example, the only one, for the moment. Indeed, the same word appears in an inscription on the British Museums black figure, type A, amphora inv. 99.7-21.3, found in Vulci, attributed to the Priam Painter³⁹.

On the side B (fig. 10) are depicted five mounted Amazons moving to the right, two in armor, three attired as archers; behind the last one, is inscribed $+\text{ΑΙΡΕΠΙΟ, Χαῖρεπο}$. Beazley⁴⁰ considering the inscription is complete reads: Χαῖρεπο , Hail (and) drink. He admits that $\pi\omicron$ is not Attic but mentions dialect transfers in inscriptions relating to wine and discusses the assumed omission of $\kappa\alpha\iota$.

Having the reading of these inscriptions in mind, we might turn to the lions, giving that their integration was an intentional part of the original aesthetic plan of the vase's surface, to see if it is possible to interpret the inscriptions in their context, in relation with the two lions. The direction, $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\iota\delta\omicron\nu$, in which the letters are written could reinforce the sense of the command, of the power, while at the same time making clear that decorative and strict imperative incitement elements of writing were regularly as important as, or more important than, issues of content.

By considering the inscriptions as a repetition of the imperative form of the verb $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$, to drink, repeated six times on each side, we could consider the two roaring lions as a kind of peril and therefore interpret the whole as exclamations expressing emotion, fear in front of the wild beast or an incentive to drink under the menace. Thus, the timeless threat made, especially to children, «drink, otherwise the monster (the wolf and other wild animals) will come» would be perpetuated here with humor.

More probably, could this repeated incitation be a wise advice to drink to become strong like a lion. This association of wine with the strength of the lion appears in the 6th Isthmionic of Pindar (vers. 42 sqq.) when Heracles makes a libation of wine to Zeus to allow Ajax the strength of the animal whose hide, he will wear⁴¹.

One would even perceive here a repetition of allusions, exactly like the repetition of the same



Fig. 10. Amphora, London, British Mus. inv. 1899.0721.3, Priam Painter (© courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum).

word in the inscriptions on our vase. Firstly, the fear or the threat, always known under all skies, is perpetuated in Archaic Athens. This should not surprise us, if we consider similar cases, we discover perpetuated from high archaism to the present day. Besides, in the case of the threat, the equivalence child=*symposiaste*, could leave a hint of irony or affectionate *bonhomie* between colleagues.

Writing was a tool that could be used in various ways. The appearance of the writing was always important, and the effect of the writing on the user of the vase calculated⁴².

We know, however, we have seen it on other occasions that all these feelings, allusions or insinuations were not lacking in the universe of Athenian symposiastes in the 6th century and that in Ceramicus the painters did not hesitate to manifest them through their inscriptions.

But we could try to go one step further and see on the images of this skyphos-cup a facet of the lifestyle of the elite: the symposium, for it constituted the center of the Greek elites' social life⁴³. A symposium is, first of all, a wine-drinking competition conducted according to fixed rules, by a small, exclusive group of men dominated by an egalitarian and at the same time competitive spirit of the aristocratic participants⁴⁴. It is in the context of agonal competition that we should understand the additional value and the cultural function of images. The aggressivity of the roaring lions and the imperative form of the verbe, $\rho\eta\mu\alpha$ $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$, could insinuate the idea of agon, competitive be-

³⁹ *CVA*, British Museum (3): III H e pl. 36, 1a-d; Kretschmer 1894: 146, nr. 11; Beazley 1931: 301; *ABV* 330, 2; *Para* 146; *Add*² 89; Hammond, Moon 1978: 379, fig. 9 (A); De Angelis 1996: 227, figs. 5-6 (A, B); Recke 2002: pl. 52A; Voss, Rowlandson 2013: 26, fig. 2.3 (A).

⁴⁰ Beazley 1943; Immerwahr, *CAVI* 4705.

⁴¹ I thank again Ch. Kritzas for having indicated to me the verse of Pindar.

⁴² Osborn, Pappas 2007.

⁴³ Donlan 1980.

⁴⁴ Murray 1993; see also Murray 1990b: 5-11; Murray 2009.

havior, identified by Jacob Burckhardt, together with the striving for freedom, as the fundamental driving force, *treibende kraft*, of Greek culture. In this respect the Greeks are unique. In Burckhardt's view, «only small free aristocracies could express the will to self-distinction among equals»⁴⁵. Dexter-ity games, poetic performances, and more or less sophisticated table-talks were all executed in a competitive manner in a series of sympotic contests.

As Immerwahr⁴⁶ and others have remarked, writing in antiquity could have other purpose besides conveying meaning through words. Vase inscriptions were addressed to an audience; the words stimulated discussion and competitive spirit among the users and the viewers⁴⁷.

The alphabet used in the inscriptions could be important in deciphering the identity of the people involved and tell much about the dialectical origin of a painter.

Thus, the two inscriptions engraved after firing: EXEKIAS EPOIESEN in Attic letters and EPAINETOS gave me to Charops in Sicyonian letters on the Exekias dinos of the Villa Giulia inv. 50559⁴⁸, both by the hand of Exekias, could mean: Epainetos, a Sicyonian in Athens (sponsor of the vase?) for Charops?

Besides the fact that the vase was found in Cerveteri could mean that Charops was the Greek man living in Etruria or the mediator-merchant?

Similarly, an inscription ΦΙΝΤΙΑΣ ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΟΕΙ painted in red on the mouth of a late fifth century acorn lekythos Frankfurt inv. Li 538 with letters imitating sixth century letter-forms, claimed as genuine, gives us the confirmation of the Athenian origin of Phintias, once challenged⁴⁹.

It is obvious that the dipinti are not painted here either for the Beauty of Grammata nor for the Prestige of Writing. With the use of the Aeolian dialect, the unknown painter offers to us new precious information, added to what we have al-

ready. We know indeed that many strangers were active in the workshops of the Ceramicus. But were they all non-Greeks? Certainly, they were non-Athenian but amongst them we could find certainly Greeks from other regions of the Greek world. I have suggested long ago⁵⁰ that Amasis could be a Greek of Egypt.

Our Aeolic speaking painter could be a Greek originated from North East Greece. Just like the Doric dialect speaking Eumaros who wrote the incised inscription, a Praise for the hetaira Myrina, on a fragment, the basis, of a mid-5th century BC lekythos⁵¹ could be an Aiginetan.

So, this vase of the Louvre sheds significant light on one of the aspects of the Athenian pottery in the 6th century BC and of the connection with the craftsmen of other Greek regions. Soon after the beginning of the 6th century we know much more about the movements of craftsmen from Corinth into Athens. Since Payne's lékanis, published by T.J. Dunbabin⁵², dated circa 620-615 BC, made of Athenian clay, and presumably by an Athenian potter, was clearly decorated by a Corinthian painter, other cases have been added.

I will add another new example, which I am publishing: an Attic skyphos of the Corinthian type, from an enchytrismos found during the old excavations of 1964 in Athens, Academia Platonos, not previously published, clearly decorated by a Corinthian painter working in Athens⁵³.

The move of these painters might have been motivated by any number of personal reasons, but it is perhaps an interesting reflection on circumstances in Athens at the time of the Solonic reforms, which offered citizenship to foreign craftsmen. For, one could argue that economic crisis led to a wave of immigration, a sort of craft-drain that Solon sought to reverse with his laws.

Such a migration no doubt was instrumental in the growing Corinthianisation of Attic vase-painting which was to last into the second quarter of the 6th century BC. The same phenomenon is observed in Etruria at the third quarter of the 7th century BC and had result in the rise of Etrusco-Corinthian pottery, provoked perhaps by a second "Demaratan" wave of Corinthian craftsmen. During the last quarter of the 7th century BC, an East Greek Middle Wild Goat Painter called the Swal-

⁴⁵ On the concept of agon see Burckhardt 1955-1957, 8: 84-85.

⁴⁶ Immerwahr 2010: 119-121.

⁴⁷ In some cases, such as competitions in heavy drinking (called *polyposia* or *kōthōnismos*), there might be several cups in circulation at the same time. In Xenophon's *Symposion* (2. 23-27), we hear of two possible modalities of "sport drinking". Whereas Socrates opts for the simultaneous use of numerous small cups, refilled as fast as possible, circulating in the dining room; usually there was just one.

⁴⁸ Rome, Villa Giulia 50.599; *ABV* 146.20, 686; *Add*² 61; *BAD* 310402; *AVI* 7202.

⁴⁹ Liebieghaus inv. Li 538; *ARV*² 1317.1; *Para* 477; *Add*² 362; *CVA*, Frankfurt (2): 33, pl. 81; *Lezzi-Hafter* 1976: pl. 170a-b; Immerwahr 1990: 68, 398; *Frel* 1997: 107-108.

⁵⁰ Malagardis, Iozzo 1995: 185-208, pl. 47-54, esp. 206.

⁵¹ The fragment inv. IIA 2500 is now deposited in the storeroom of the Library of Hadrian: Sourlas 2014.

⁵² Dunbabin 1950.

⁵³ Malagardis forthcoming.

low Painter came in Etruria, perhaps from Miletos, who influenced the Etrusco-Corinthian group.

Likewise, given Greek colonial history, it is not surprising that Greek potters should find a home in Magna Graecia and Sicily. Although, we should note, in passing, that despite the early examples of the apparent and indisputable mobility of ancient Greek potters/painters, we cannot claim⁵⁴ that the Analatos Painter went to southern Italy and painted only a single vase, the known dinos with stand found in the zone of Incoronata, Metaponto, without leaving any other trace. It is more likely that a local gifted *élève* of Analatos Painter was the author of this *oeuvre*, as the competent Italian colleagues have already convincingly argued⁵⁵.

Back to the world of black-figured drinking cups, concerning the sources of influences that led to the creation of the various types of 6th century BC Athenian cups, the complexity of the situation is evident. This general issue has provoked a great deal of discussion over the years⁵⁶.

As far as I am concerned, I have proposed at the congress *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext* in Kiel some years ago (24-28 september 2001), that the influences had their sources both in East and in West and the movement was coming from both directions. Sometimes both influences occur on one and the same vase, as on the published in the congress acta skyphos from the Nearchos workshop from the Nymph's sanctuary near the Acropolis⁵⁷ or the Copenhagen plate⁵⁸, where we observe that the East Greek frieze of crescents co-exist with the star-rosette of Athenian origin, first found in the circle of the Gorgon Painter.

According to this brief presentation we can also see some of the potential for archaeological fashions and prejudices—whether Panionism (or lastly added Milesionism), Corinthianism or Athenocentricity. After all, we should not forget that Attica was the oldest land of Ionia «πρεσβυτάτην ἔσσορων γαίαν Ἰαονίης», according to Solon⁵⁹. Nevertheless, who could claim to grasp the exact

meaning of these inscriptions traced very carefully by a miniaturist around the 540's, with the intention of strongly encouraging a symposiast to drink in the competitive atmosphere of the symposium, in addition to the Aeolic dialect⁶⁰ – which would suggest clearly his origin.

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⁵⁴ Attributed to the Analatos Painter by Orlandini 1983: fig. 287, 289; and Denoyelle 1996: 71-87.

⁵⁵ But attributed to the Checke Painter or to a pupil of this by Giuliano 2005: 64-72; considered a colonial product and included in the Group of the Thebe Louterion by Rocco 2008: 117-119, lt. 8.

⁵⁶ For all these questions see the excellent analysis by Williams 2009.

⁵⁷ Malagardis 2003.

⁵⁸ Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. inv. ABc 1017; *CVA*, Copenhagen (2): pl. 92, 2; Malagardis, *ibid.*: 32, note 29, pl. 3, 4.

⁵⁹ Solon fr. 4a.2 W (= West 1989-1992).

⁶⁰ Immerwahr 2007: 153-198.

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