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Preface

While there is certainly no shortage of introductory handbooks devoted to ancient Greek art, the aims of the current two-volume set are rather new and somewhat different. Some readers may be surprised to learn that the idea for this *Companion* originated not as one of a series of such books covering the various aspects of the Greco-Roman world, its history, religion, literature, and such, but instead as a result of the publication of Blackwell's *A Companion to Contemporary Art Since 1945* (ed. A. Jones, 2006), to which an Art History colleague had contributed a chapter. At the time, the 'companion' phenomenon had not yet found its way to the visual and material cultures of the ancient Mediterranean. Thus, we were delighted with Blackwell's enthusiasm for the idea, and their plans subsequently to publish similarly in the Roman, Egyptian, and Near Eastern areas. Our aim has been first and foremost to lend multiple voices to Greek art in its many manifestations: from the 'nuts and bolts' (sculpture, vases, architecture, etc.), to engagement with the world beyond via colonization and trade, to the themes and interpretations of images, to the history of research and reception. We have encouraged our authors to approach their topics as they have best seen fit and tried as little as possible to insert our own opinions or examples. Some chapters are more purely archaeological, others more art-historical, and most (expectedly) make use of the rich store of textual sources familiar to and at the disposal of all classical archaeologists. The result, we hope, is a pleasing melange suitable for student, scholar, and enthusiast alike.

A few preliminary comments might prove helpful. The abbreviations, unless otherwise noted, follow those listed in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edition. Owing to a great deal of overlap, especially with regard to major publications cited by a number of our authors, a collated bibliography follows on from the book's final chapter. Each chapter concludes with a brief 'Further Reading' section intended to direct the reader to more detailed or specialized aspects of the various topics, as well as those that are most accessible. As in the main text, the full citations are listed in the comprehensive bibliography. The illustrations, which appear throughout the main text, have been chosen to represent a good range of types, materials, and quality. That being said, it has been impossible to include every major work of Greek art or architecture, and our intention has been to include as well some of the less well-known or more 'minor' examples. Where an illustration is lacking, we have attempted to indicate a handy reference to a decent published photograph or drawing. Greek spellings, italics, and the like are always a tricky business, and no particular system has been followed here. Italics have been used sparingly for Greek terms, and avoided for more technical ones (e.g. vase shapes, parts of a temple, etc.). For the sake of clarity, capital letters have been used generally to denote chronological time periods. When quoting from other texts, we have of course retained the original types.

In addition to our many patient contributors, the editors gratefully acknowledge the people and institutions who have aided in the successful completion of this publication: the British School at Athens; the Australian Institute of Athens; the Fiske Kimball Fine Arts Library, University of Virginia; the Visual Resources Collection, University of Virginia; graduate students at the University of Virginia – Katelyn Crawford, Dylan Rogers, Carrie Sulosky, and Anne Williams – who have read drafts of chapters and saved us all from many errors; Dan Weiss (Virginia), who prepared the drawings and assisted in numerous ways with all visual aspects; and Amanda Sharp (Virginia/Oxford), who prepared the bibliography. At Blackwell we thank Al Bertrand, who oversaw the project until it crossed the Atlantic (from Oxford to Boston), where Haze Humbert and Galen Young so brilliantly took over. To each of the museums and collections who have so kindly permitted the publication of material in their holdings we extend our sincere thanks. Funding has been generously provided by: the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Virginia; the McIntire Department of Art (Lindner Endowment), University of Virginia; and an anonymous donor. We are grateful to Wiley-Blackwell for allowing us to make corrections to the text and bibliography in preparation for the release in paperback. Many thanks to Ben Gorham, Tracy Cosgriff, Delaney Mitchell, and Gregory Lewis for their assistance and careful editing, and also to our patience contributors.

Tyler Jo Smith,
Charlottesville/London

Dimitris Plantzos,
Athens, Greece

August 2017

PART I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

The Greeks and their Art

Tyler Jo Smith and Dimitris Plantzos

> We start from the purpose of the Greek artist to produce a statue, or to paint a scene of Greek mythology. Whence this purpose came, we cannot always see. It may have come […] from a commercial demand, or from a desire to exercise talent, or from a wish to honour the gods (Gardner 1914: 2).

1.1 Greek Art and Classical Archaeology

When Percy Gardner was appointed the first Lincoln and Merton Professor of Classical Archaeology at Oxford in 1887, the discipline was still largely in its infancy. His book entitled *The Principles of Greek Art*, written almost 100 years ago, demonstrates that classical archaeology of the day was as much about beautiful objects and matters of style as it was about excavation and data recording. Now, as then, the terms 'Greek art', 'classical art', and indeed 'classical archaeology' are somewhat interchangeable (Walter 2006: 4–7). To many ears the term 'classical' simply equals Greek – especially the visual and material cultures of 5th and 4th c. BC Athens. Yet it should go without saying, in this day and age, that Greek art is no longer as rigidly categorized or as superficially understood as it was in the 18th, 19th, and much of the 20th c. By Gardner's own day, the picture was already starting to change. Classical archaeology, with Greek art at the helm, was coming into its own. The reverence with which all things 'classical' were once held – be they art or architecture, poetry or philosophy – would eventually cease to exist with the same intensity in the modern 21st c. imagination. At the same

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time, there would always be ample space for some old-fashioned formal analysis, and the occasional foray into connoisseurship.

Greek art has been defined in various ways, by various people, at various times. Traditionally, it has been divided into broad time periods (Orientalizing, Archaic, Classical, etc.) dependent on style and somewhat on historical circumstances or perceived cultural shifts. As with most areas of the discipline, this rather basic framework has seen a number of versions and has encouraged further (sometimes mind-numbingly minute) sub-categorization. In fact, no chronology of the subject has been universally accepted or considered to be exact. Some (though by no means all) speak in terms of the Late Archaic, High Classical, or Hellenistic Baroque; others prefer the Early Iron Age or the 8th c. BC (Whitley 2001: ch. 4). Regardless of terminology, within these large chronological divisions the subject has routinely been taught, discussed, and researched according to a triumvirate much loved by the history of art: sculpture, architecture, and painting (normally including vases); and leaving much of the rest relegated to the ill-defined catch-all phrase of 'minor arts' (*Kleinkunst*): terracottas, bronze figurines, gems and jewelry, and so on.

But major versus minor is not the whole story. Some areas of Greek art have proved more difficult to assemble than others. For example, should mosaics be placed under architecture, viewed in relation to wall-painting, or, for lack of a better option, classified as 'minor' art despite their sometimes vast scale? Other objects, such as coins, have not always been considered 'art' per se, in spite of their stylistic and iconographic similarities with other artifacts, and their sometimes critical role in the dating of archaeological contexts. Alas, it is a hierarchy that we have all come to live with for better or worse. It encourages questions of quality, taste, and value, and these days even plays a role in debates over cultural property and the repatriation of antiquities. Did all objects of ancient Greek art have 'equal' value? How might such value be measured? Should we even try? Is it valid to speak of earrings and *fibulae* in the same breath as Skopas and Mnesikles? Is a Boeotian 'bell-idol' as much a 'work of art' as a life-size sculpture, or a mold-made Megarian bowl (Figure 1.1) as worthy of our attention as an Athenian red-figure vase? Where, if at all, shall we draw the line? Do altars, votive reliefs (Figure 1.2), and *perirrhanteria* make the A-list? What about roof tiles and gutters; or, indeed, the 'lost' arts of weaving and basketry? Is it simply the inclusion of figure decoration, both mythological and everyday, on such ritual or utilitarian objects that allows them to join the corpus? Surely, the answer must lie somewhere between design and function, material and process. It is reassuring to think that any of the above might constitute 'Greek art', from the stately, good, and beautiful to the mundane, lewd, and grotesque.

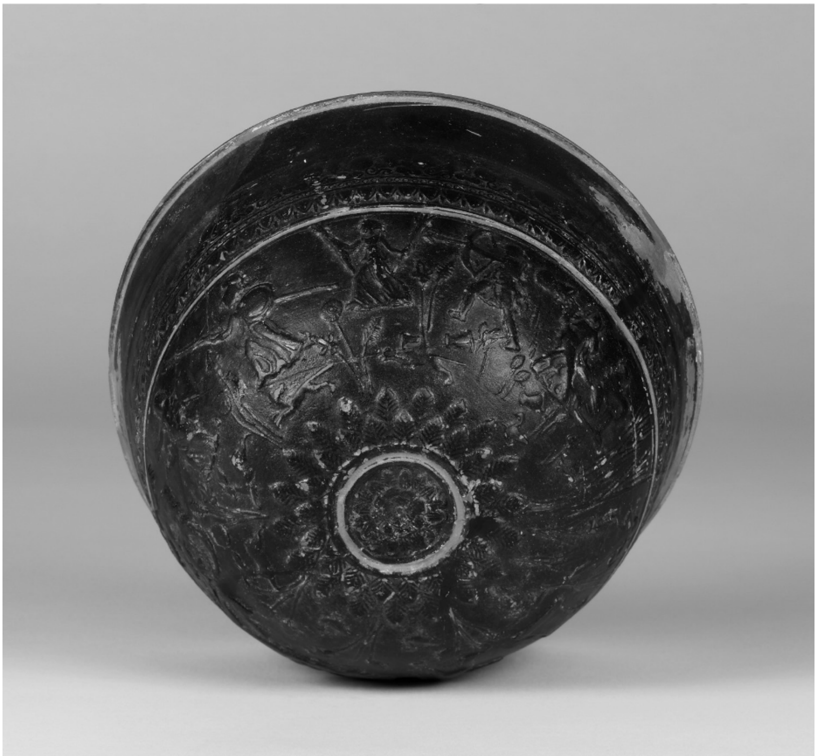

Figure 1.1 Megarian bowl from Thebes. Scenes of the Underworld. c. 200 BC (London, British Museum 1897.0317.3. © The Trustees ofthe British Museum).

The function and context of ancient objects and monuments are crucial elements in the story of Greek art, and they place our subject on firm archaeological footing. The Greeks made little if any 'art for art's sake'. Even their most profound and aesthetically pleasing examples served a utilitarian purpose. Sanctuaries have produced abundant material remains, in some instances resulting from years of excavation. It is also worth noting that at many locations around the Greek world, evidence of the ancient built environment has been (more or less) visible, above ground, since antiquity. Panhellenic sites on the Greek mainland, such as Delphi and Olympia, fall firmly into this category. They have yielded everything from monumental architectural structures to large-scale stone sculptures, to bronze figurines, tripods, armor, and other objects suitable for votive dedication to the divine. Less well-known sanctuaries, such as the Boeotian Ptoon, have contributed a large number of Archaic kouroi. At Lokroi in southern Italy, a unique cache of terracotta votive plaques has been uncovered at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The Heraion on Samos and the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta have preserved rare examples of carving on ivory and bone, and in the case of the latter, thousands

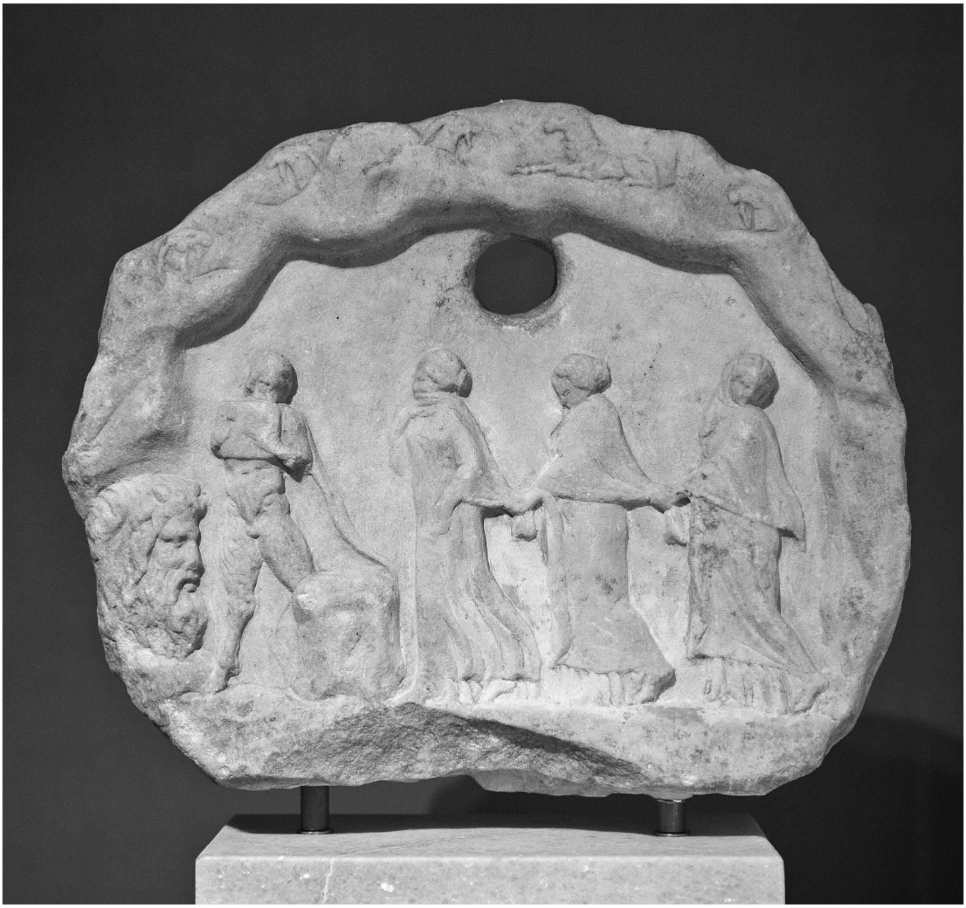

Figure 1.2 Attic marble votive relief from Eleusis. Cave of Pan . 4th c. BC (Athens, National Museum 1445. Photo: Studio Kontos/Photostock).

of tiny lead figurines in the form of gods, goddesses, warriors (Figure 1.3), dancers, musicians, and animals. Cemeteries and tombs located all around the Greek world have been equally important in preserving visual and material culture. In addition to informing us about burial customs, demography, and prestige goods, the *necropoleis* of the Kerameikos in Athens have been the single most important source for Geometric pottery (e.g. Figure 3.2), and the painted tombs at Vergina (Figure 8.4; Plate 8) the best surviving evidence for wall-painting of any period. Arguably, most of our current knowledge about Boeotian black-figure vases (e.g. Figure 4.3) stems from the excavations of the graves at Rhitsona conducted by P.N. and A.D. Ure early in the 20th c. The ongoing exploration of many sites confirms their importance as producers or consumers (or both) of ancient Greek art and architecture, and through this lens continues to advance our knowledge of society, religion, the economy,

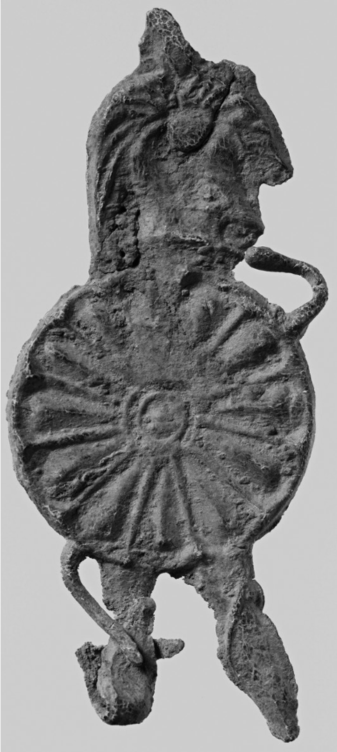

Figure 1.3 Lakonian lead figurine of a warrior, from Sparta. 6th–5th c. BC (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of A.J.B. Wace, 1924 (24.195.64). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence).

and so on. For example, Miletos in Ionia has been confirmed as an important center for the production of East Greek Fikellura vases (Cook and Dupont 1998: 77–89; Figure 4.9); Morgantina in central Sicily gives us the earliest known tessellated mosaic (Bell 2011); and Berezan (ancient Borysthenes), a small island on the north coast of the Black Sea, offers an excellent case study of Greek interaction with the nearby (Scythian) population through a combination of domestic dwellings, pottery styles, and burial methods (Solovyov 1999).

In recent year there has been a surge of publications designed to address the 'state of the discipline' and, in some cases, to challenge the 'classical' status quo (cf. Dyson 1993; Osborne 2004; Oakley 2009). Others, including articles, books, and conference volumes, have attempted whole-heartedly to thrust Greek art and classical archaeology into the 21st c., bringing in methods and ideas more at home in the (frankly, more progressive) disciplines of anthropology or art history (e.g. Donohue 2005; Stansbury-O'Donnell 2006; Schmidt and Oakley 2009), on the one hand, and cultural history or reception studies on the other (e.g. Beard 2003; Kurtz 2004;

Prettejohn 2006). Their authors have represented various 'schools' or approaches, among them Cambridge, Oxford, continental Europe, and the United States (Meyer and Lendon 2005). Such daring, which is commonplace in most scholarly fields, might be met with suspicion amongst a classics establishment still grappling with issues such as the relationship between art, literature, and history, or the question of 'lost originals' that might unlock the mysteries of the great artistic masters once and for all. It is satisfying to think that we are still quite a long way from having heard the last word about ancient Greek art.

There are two further issues that should be addressed by way of introduction. Though seemingly quite different, they are each related to the study of Greek art and, in turn, to one another: (*classical*) text and (*archaeological*) theory. As a sub-field of classics, classical archaeology and thus the study of Greek art has been forever dependent on a good knowledge of Greek and Latin languages and literature (Morris 1994). Alongside this has come the expectation of using that knowledge to inform the objects and monument themselves, and to read the archaeological record. Thus, we would rarely, if ever, speak of the Athena Parthenos, a gold and ivory cult statue designed by the sculptor Pheidias, without referencing Pliny or Pausanias, or of the Athenian red-figure hydria in Munich portraying the Sack of Troy (*Ilioupersis*) without mentioning Homer or Vergil (Boardman 2001a: fig. 121). Since the time of Heinrich Schliemann and Sir Arthur Evans, such authoritative ancient texts have confirmed the existence and location of ancient places, and inspired the discovery of new ones. But these days the classical texts no longer uphold the unchallenged authority they once did (Stray 1998; Gill 2011), and classical archaeologists are increasingly following the lead of others, albeit slowly, in applying more scientific rigor and theoretical questioning to the process of exploration, recording, and the presentation of information. Theory, the stuff of 'other' disciplines, has not readily been accepted or welcomed, however, by Greek art's 'armchair' archaeologists, who for generations have relied more heavily on their training in classics, and in fact viewed it as both a backdrop and a necessity. Such disconnect between the various parties involved culminated a few years back in a healthy debate between two scholars (both of whom appear in this *Companion*!) regarding the contribution of Sir John Beazley (1885–1970), the renowned expert on Greek vase-painting, initiated by an article entitled, ironically, 'Beazley as Theorist' (Whitley 1997; Oakley 1998). But as the current volume makes perfectly clear, Greek art cannot and should not be tackled in a uniform manner, and there remains ample room for a number of approaches, both old and new. There is legitimate space for multiple views. Indeed, a *Companion* such as this one combines the state of our knowledge with the state of our interests.

1.2 Greek Art after the Greeks

What then is ‘Greek’ about Greek art? And how much of it is ‘art’? For the Greeks, ‘art’ (*techne*) was craft and artists (*demiourgoi*) were by and large thought of as artisans: good with their hands and not much else (though famous ones, like Pheidias, came to be respected for their political power and the money that it made them). As many of the contributors to this publication explain (chiefly in Chapters 31–35 and 37), much of what we appreciate as ‘Greek art’ today, or have done so in the past, has been elaborated, embellished, and reinvented. In short, it has been *translated* by the crucial intervention of Rome and the Middle Ages, not to mention the systematic efforts of Western European elites in early modernity.

Not that this makes Greek art less ‘authentic’ or less ‘significant’ than it ought to be. As a cultural phenomenon, the arts of ancient Greece deserve our attention today perhaps more than ever, since we now know that an Archaic kouros or a scrap of the Parthenon marbles can carry much more than the sensibilities of their own era. As the Renaissance was gradually discovering the thrills of classical antiquity (Trigger 1989: 27–72; Shanks 1996), and as German intellectuals and Victorian aesthetes were struggling to decipher ‘the glory that was Greece’ (Jenkyns 1980; Eisner 1993; Marchand 1996), new cultural strategies regarding the conquest of the past were beginning to unfold. Familiarizing oneself with Greek and Roman art meant appropriating classical culture at large and, for the Western privileged class, this proved a commodity they could not resist. Bringing the Parthenon marbles ‘home’ to England in the early 19th c., for example, was much more than a case of treasure hunting (though Lord Elgin may have hoped for a good return on his investment when he sold the marbles to the British Museum in 1817). Turning the ‘Parthenon’ marbles into the world-renowned ‘Elgin’ marbles brought Western artists and intellectuals face to face with what original Greek art really looked like, an honor some of classical archaeology’s eminent forefathers had not lived long enough to know. The idea that, in a matter of years, a copy of the Parthenon frieze would adorn Hyde Park Gate in London (Figure 1.4), complete with a true-to-form Ionic colonnade, suggested that the ‘Greek revival’ was more than a feeble whim of the upper classes, wishing to embellish their country estates with quasi-Grecian charm. It was a strong intellectual movement. In effect, Greek art was becoming the *modern* signature of the West.

Meanwhile, back in Greece, a tempestuous War of Independence (beginning in 1821), fueled by the ideological and material support of Romantic Philhellenism (as Decimus Burton was putting the final touches to Hyde Park Gate, Lord Byron lay dying in Missolonghi), gave birth to a fledgling

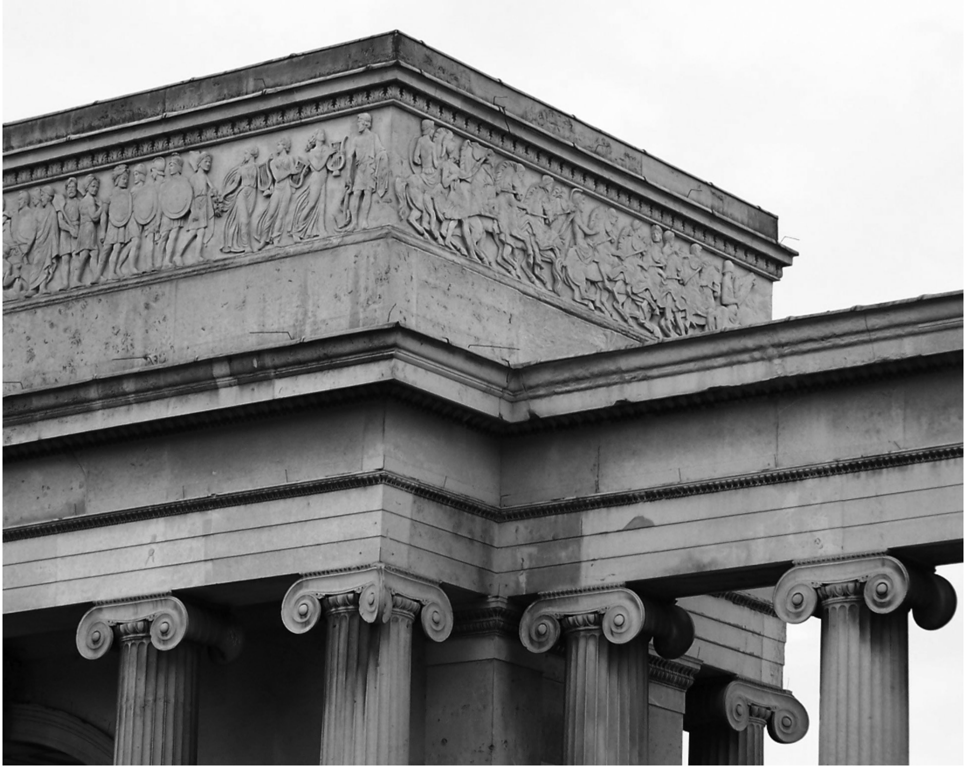

Figure 1.4 London, Hyde Park Gate, designed by Decimus Burton with a free version of the Parthenon frieze designed by John Henning, 1825 (photo: D. Plantzos).

nation-state, modeled on an imagined ancient Greek paradigm. The Bavarian aristocracy which was called in to supply the new state's elite brought Neoclassicism in its luggage, albeit a rather academic, sterile version of a once vibrant movement. Public buildings were designed *à la grecque* as a matter of course and soon enough local versions of this 'traditional' architecture would follow, to such an extent that today Neoclassicism is thought of as 'typically Athenian' (Figure 1.5). As the Greek economy became increasingly tourist-based during the 20th c., a heritage industry, catering primarily for the country's dollar-bearing visitors, created colloquial versions of 'Greek art'. The world was being reminded of an old debt – one that multiculturalism and globalization threatened to erase as we reached the beginning of the 21st c. (Figure 1.6). Classical archaeology, then, has been a product of modernity's systematic attempt to colonize 'its' Greco-Roman past, as well as one of this effort's most able agents (Dyson 2006; Damaskos and Plantzos 2008). Greek art comes to us burdened by its own afterlife. Its 'decolonization' cannot mean a utopian return to an idealized 'authentic' state, sadly comprehensible only to the Greeks themselves. This *Companion*, thus, is an attempt to outline the ways

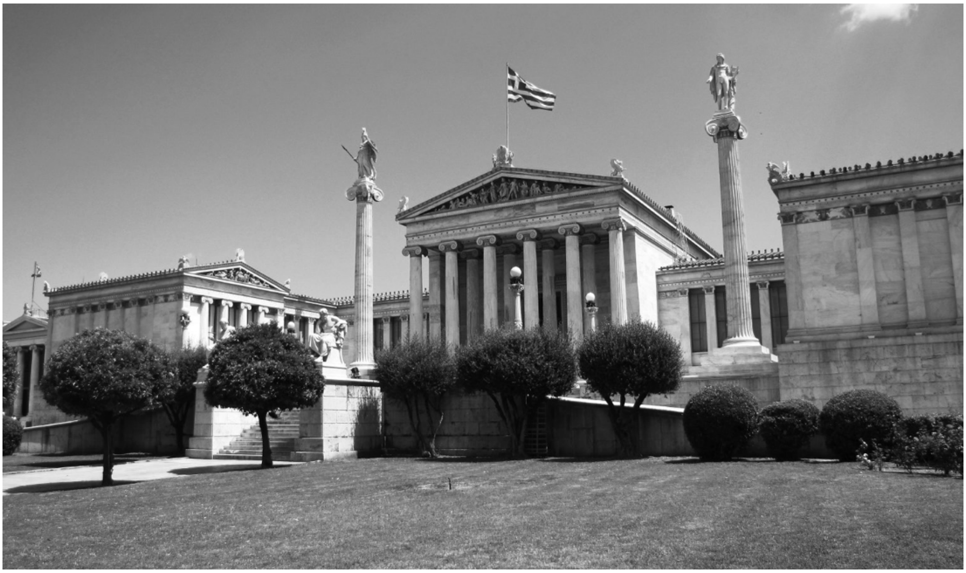

Figure 1.5 Athens, the building of the Academy designed by Theophile Hansen, with free-standing statues of Athena and Apollo by Leonidas Drosis, 1859–1887 (photo: D. Plantzos).

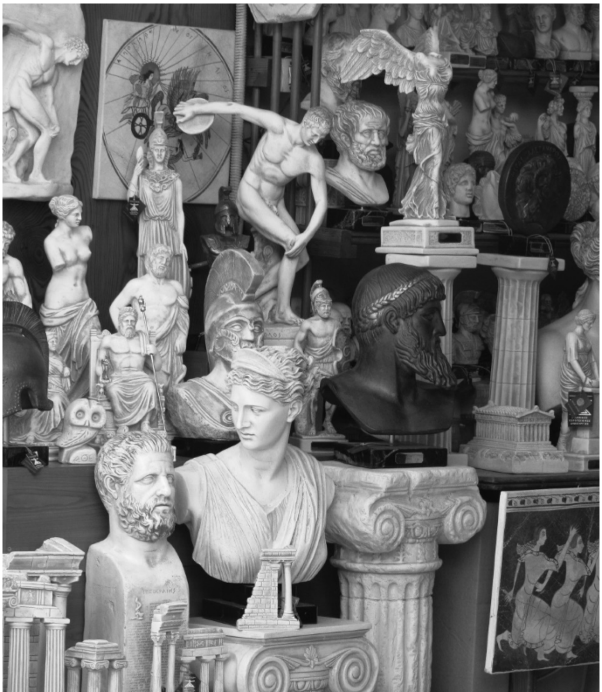

Figure 1.6 Athens, 'Greek art' replicas on sale in one of the city's souvenir shops, 2011 (photo: D. Plantzos).

Greek art may be assessed, through its traditional categories imposed by the Enlightenment's analytical vigor, as well as through presenting more recent attempts to understand both its content and its significance in the present.

1.3 A Companion to Greek Art

The current publication, a collaborative effort joining scholars of various nationalities, career stages, and specializations, is designed with a variety of aims in mind. Its division into several parts is intended to guide readers through a narrative that is, on the one hand, factually oriented and technically detailed, and, on the other, thematic, contextual, and historiographical. The authors have been selected to represent not only their various areas of expertise, but also for their different perspectives and approaches. The main agenda is neither to replace the accepted handbooks of Greek art and archaeology (on which so many have been lovingly reared), nor to present a unified voice or visual vocabulary of the classical past. Rather, the aim is to provide an updated account of a subject which has, in many respects, become too large for a single author to tackle. The combination of ongoing archaeological discoveries in the Greek world – the Riace bronzes from the sea off the coast of southern Italy (Plate 4); the heroon at Lefkandi on the island of Euboea (Figure 6.1); the Polyxene sarcophagus found near Troy (Pedley 2007: fig. 6.70), each readily spring to mind – *and* of the plethora of updated methods applied to both field and library research necessitates a team of master-builders. The popular view of Greek art, and of the 'classical world' in general, continues to be influenced by the media (both print and visual) through coverage of everything from the Athens Olympics in 2004 to the opening of the New Acropolis Museum in 2009. In this vein comes a seemingly unbridled enthusiasm for stories concerned with the 'return' of antiquities, from the more serious legal aspects to mere common-room gossip. At the same time, the massive discovery of archaeological material (including vases, votives, sculpture, etc.) beneath the modern city of Athens during the extension of the city's underground metro, starting in the early 1990s, necessitated large-scale 'rescue' excavations and confirmed that there is more than enough yet to be unearthed from Greek soil itself (Parlama and Stampolidis 2001). Advances in archaeological science and experimental archaeology, relevant to dating, material, and technology, also find their place in modern discourses about Greek art. An important breakthrough occurred a little over a decade ago, when the expertise of palaeontology was applied to the visual and material remains of ancient Greece, causing us all to rethink the origins of Greek myth and the creation of fantastical creatures in the visual arts (Mayor 2000).

In **Part II**: 'Forms, Times, and Places', readers are provided, first and foremost, with an overview of art types, including the materials and techniques used in their manufacture. The periods of focus span from the Geometric through to Hellenistic times. Inevitably, some authors make mention of earlier artistic developments of Greek prehistory and the Bronze Age (c. 3000–1100 BC), as well as the later ones of the Romans. Here, as throughout, the book covers the expansive geographical scope of ancient Greece, its mainland and islands, and its areas of trade and settlement beyond: from Magna Graecia in the west, Cyprus, Anatolia, and Syria in the east (and much farther beyond by Hellenistic times), the Black Sea in the north, to Egypt and Africa in the south. In the opening chapter (2) by Waugh, the chronology of Greek art, including how it has changed and developed over time, as well as the topographical realities of the region, including its climate, are presented in an effort to set the stage for what follows. The subsequent cluster of chapters (3–12) takes, in turn, the larger categories of Greek art, from decorated pottery (Mannack, Paspalas), through sculpture (Damaskos), architecture (Yeroulanou) and its sculpture (Palagia), painting (Plantzos) and mosaics (Westgate), luxury arts (Boardman/Wagner), and terracottas (Burn), to coins (Callataÿ). Although most authors provide us with an updated introduction, an overview more formal than thematic, and mostly chronological, there is no particular 'corpus' being presented or addressed here. It should become immediately clear that style and description retain a place in the history of Greek art, and that mastering the basics remains a critical step. This section concludes with two chapters intended to demonstrate that the objects and monuments of ancient Greece did not exist in a vacuum; they were made by people, used by people, and sometimes even discussed by them. Thus, Hasaki (Chapter 13) summarizes some of the better-understood details of the working conditions of the artisans and the tools at their disposal. Such a vital element both shapes and supports our current familiarity with the discipline, and informs our future discoveries. Lapatin (Chapter 14) concludes this part of the book with an exploration of the ancient authors, and how their opinions and observations continue to be relevant to our studies today.

Having introduced the main types, styles, and materials of Greek art, the authors of **Part III**: 'Contacts and Colonies' establish the complex links between the Greeks and their neighbors. The chapters (15–19) span the world outside Greece proper, and are thus divided into geographical units: Egypt and North Africa (Weber), Cyprus and the Near East (Hodos), Asia Minor (Köse), the Black Sea (Bouzek), and Sicily and South Italy (Marconi). Each contributor deals with the material and visual evidence for Greek art produced or discovered in their respective region from the Archaic through the Hellenistic periods. Other issues, such as important centers of trade and contact, colonization and settlement, and non-Greek influences on Greek objects and images, are also discussed. Inevitably, these chapters have a stronger archaeological perspective than some others, and several authors use an overtly material culture approach. It is not surprising that the topics of hybridity and ethnicity factor in here, as does a more obvious historical framework than in other sections of the *Companion* (i.e. who colonized where, when, and why). Also strongly felt throughout this part is the importance of context (religious, domestic, funerary) over style or quality. There is more than one mention by these authors of unfinished imports, raw materials, and itinerant craftsmen.

Part IV: 'Images and Meanings' dwells on classical archaeology's time-honored tradition of dealing with Greek art as if it were a *language*, a codified system of signs available to our reading skills. The sub-disciplines of 'iconography' and 'iconology' – the study of the ways images are conceived in order to communicate with their audience and the content of that communication – have long been employed in order to help modern viewers understand crucial aspects of Greek life through their supposed reflection on to art: religion and politics (Lissarrague; Manakidou), war and peace (Shapiro), work and play (Lynch; T.J Smith), sex and gender (McNiven), age and death (Neils; Oakley), sameness and otherness (A. Smith; Cohen). Using the wide variety of available evidence, Chapters 20–29 explore such fields based on the traditional linguistic approach. The large amount of emphasis placed by several of these authors on Athenian black- and red-figure vases should be justified from the outset as a product of the diversity of the images, on the one hand, and the vast quantity of surviving examples (the result of both ancient demand and modern state of preservation) on the other. As is apparent throughout, ancient textual sources are especially appealing to iconographers as well. Chapter 30 (Whitley) adds a cautionary note, reminding us that the Greeks may not have seen their 'art' as a language in the first place. Readers, then, are given the tools they may need in order to work their way through Greek culture's visual and material remains in order to make sense of them.

The final section of this *Companion*, **Part V**: 'Greek Art: Ancient to Antique', explores the histories and mechanisms of classical reception, and the way Greek art was reshaped through the agency of later cultures, from Rome and Byzantium (Squire; Kaldellis) to the Renaissance, Enlightenment, and beyond (Deupi; Blundell). Museum exhibitions in the 20th c. (Tzortaki) and the microcosm of universities (Dyson) are each explored regarding their endorsement of Greek art as a global cultural paradigm. The cultural property debate is also allotted space in this section (Lekakis), being one of the most pertinent concerns facing the discipline at present. A final chapter (Stylianopoulos) awakens us to exactly how far Greek art research has come in an age of data portals and 'webliographies', without yet surrendering printed excavation reports, travel accounts, or archival resources. At the end of this journey, it is hoped that every student of Greek art may be encouraged to describe and to draw (two of archaeology's most fundamental skills), to read and translate both ancient and modern languages (without the aid of Google Translate or the like), to become familiar with scientific methods and theoretical models, to engage with social and cultural history, and indeed to navigate with an equal share of ease and pleasure the archaeological site, the museum, the library, and the *apotheke*.

PART II

FORMS, TIMES, AND PLACES

CHAPTER 2

Chronology and Topography

Nicki Waugh

2.1 Chronology

Ancient Greek art changed over time, and as technologies advanced and human concerns altered. Any study of the art of ancient Greece therefore needs to have an understanding of these contexts. Chronology is the ordering of things, be they events, people or material culture, according to their date. This chapter will thus review the ways in which people have sought to arrange Greek art: from the ancients to Enlightenment theories, to modern dating methodologies and the ongoing difficulties associated with building a chronology for ancient art.

The ancient Greeks themselves used numerous methods for creating chronological records. Some, such as Herodotos, who used a generation-based system, are perhaps a little too open to varying interpretations to be of practical use, while others, such as civic or religious calendars or the foundation dates for colonies, were localized in use. In the 5th c. BC, Hellanikos of Lesbos compiled a chronological table based on the lists of priestesses of Hera at Argos, while Athens and Sparta used the civic roles of eponymous ('name-bearing') *archon* and *ephor* respectively to create annual chronologies for their cities. Thucydides used all three of these lists in identifying the date for the start of the Peloponnesian War (2.2.1), as well as noting the time of year (at the beginning of spring) to bring a greater precision to his historical dating (he even rationalizes his dating methodology: 5.20).

Recurring events, such as the Olympic Games, which took place every four years, could provide a more universal basis for chronological calculation. A list of Olympic victors was compiled in the 4th c. BC by Hippias of Elis – although

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the veracity of his list was questioned as early as the 2nd c. AD by Plutarch (*Numa Populius* 1.4). Timaios of Tauromenion (c. 356–260 BC) synchronized the Olympic victors with lists of Athenian *archons*, Spartan kings and *ephors*, and Argive priestesses. In the Hellenistic period, Eratosthenes standardized dating by Olympiad and provided a synchronized chronology for ancient events. The Parian Marble, an inscription of a chronological list dating historical events from the year of writing (299/8 BC), provides a record that is independent of the Olympiads (Austin 1981: 8 [1]).

Greek art is traditionally divided into three periods – Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic. All three are modern constructs and all three have differing meanings and associations depending on their context. A traditional chronology has been established in modern times using a combination of methods, and while still generally followed, it is not without its difficulties or controversies.

Johann Joachim Winkelmann supplied us with the terms ‘Archaic’ and ‘Classical’ in his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, published in 1764 (with revisions in 1776), where they formed part of his stylistic and evolutionary model for ancient Greek sculpture. Archaic sculpture was ‘straight and hard’, while the acme was achieved in the Early Classical phase, associated with the works of Pheidias, being ‘grand and square’. Late Classical sculpture, being the works of Lysippos and Praxiteles, was not quite so wonderful but was still ‘beautiful and flowing’. Later works were merely ‘imitative and decadent’ (Potts 1994: 67–112; Shanks 1996: 56–58; Whitley 2001: 20).

Winckelmann was not the first to propose a chronology for ancient Greek art. Pliny (AD 23/4–79), in his *Natural History*, provides a chronological development which was influential on later writers of Greek art history, especially with regards to the privileging of works which could be tied to ‘master’ artists. Pliny’s work outlined a stylistic progression of Greek art from crude beginnings to the achievement of naturalism and after this simply reflected the characteristic styles of the artists themselves (Potts 1994: 72; Isager 2003: 54–57).

Prior to Winckelmann, French antiquarians, most notably the Comte de Caylus, had moved away from Pliny’s ‘life of artists’ model and utilized style to propose a chronological development of ancient art: from Egyptian to Etruscan, then Greek, and finally Roman art. However, Roman art, according to Caylus, was not really worthy of mention as it was undertaken by slaves and therefore could never reach appropriate levels of artistic genius, for which political freedom was required (Potts 1994: 76–81). Winckelmann was likewise influenced by this Enlightenment belief that great art could only develop in times of political freedom. For this reason he ranked Early Classical work, when the Persians had been comprehensively repulsed from Greek shores, over the Late Classical period, when Greece was threatened by a Macedonian despotism (Potts 1994: 81; Whitley 2001: 21; Tanner 2006: 5).

This moralistic aspect was not the only element of Winckelmann's chronology which could be fairly questioned. His stylistic analysis was more theoretical than empirical. For example, his analysis of the sculpture for the Archaic period was based on coin evidence, for, as Whitley notes, 'no actual examples of Archaic sculpture had yet been found' (Whitley 2001: 22; see also Tanner 2006: 3–7). Furthermore, the pieces he spent the most time discussing, such as the Apollo Belvedere (Boardman 1995: fig. 64) and the Laokoon (Smith 1991: fig. 143), were not Greek sculptures at all but rather Roman copies or independent creations.

While scholars of ancient Greek art and archaeology may no longer support all of Winckelmann's assertions or all aspects of his model, the terms 'Archaic' and 'Classical' are still in use as chronological descriptions. These traditional periods have been provided with absolute dates based on historical events. Thus the Archaic period begins with the founding of the Olympic Games in 776 BC and ends with the Persian Wars in 480/79 BC. The Classical period then runs until the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC. The Hellenistic period covers the period after Alexander's death until the Battle of Actium in 31 BC.

While the majority of classical scholars continue to use BC (Before Christ) and AD (*Anno Domini*) to indicate the years, BCE (Before Common/Current/Christian Era) and CE (Common/Current/Christian Era) may also be used. Dating from the birth of Christ was standardized by Dionysius Exiguus in AD 525, and revised by Bede in AD 725, before a final reformation in 1582 with the introduction of the Gregorian calendar (Bickerman 1980: 81).

Modern attempts to provide a chronology of ancient material culture have utilized scientific methods such as radiocarbon dating, dendrochronology, and thermoluminescence to provide absolute dates (Aiken 1990; Gowlett 2004: 197–199), but these have serious limitations for classical archaeology.

Radiocarbon dating measures the rate of decay of the isotope carbon-14. All living matter absorbs this isotope from the atmosphere, which breaks down (decays) over time, emitting a weak level of radiation. While a plant or animal is living, the rate of decay is matched by the level taken in from the atmosphere. Upon death, the level of carbon-14 will drop and, as the rate of decay follows a regular pattern, it is possible to use this to calculate the date of the organic material (Renfrew and Bahn 2000: 138–139). While the use of accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS) has decreased the amount of sample required, calibration with dendrochronology has highlighted that levels of carbon-14 in the atmosphere are not always constant, which affects the accuracy of any calculations. This difficulty is particularly true for samples before 1000 BC. Even with calibration of the timescale, the curve of decay can be so limited that it is not possible to distinguish between 400 calendar years, as is the case for the period from 800 to 400 BC (Renfrew and Bahn 2000: 142).

Thermoluminescence is also a radioactive decay methodology, but rather than the level of emission of radiation, it measures the level of radiation absorbed by the object, which provides a measurable date (Renfrew and Bahn 2000: 150). The method can be used to date pottery (from the date it was last fired). However, the precision is less than that of radiocarbon dating; while it is useful to authenticate whether pottery is ancient or not, its use in providing an accurate absolute date is severely limited for Greek pottery (Biers 1992: 76; Renfrew and Bahn 2000: 151).

Dendrochronology provides a chronology based on the annual growth of tree rings. This can either be used as an independent means of absolute dating or as a calibration for other dating methods such as radiocarbon dating. Again there are limitations: first, that a well-preserved section of wood which is long enough to provide a unique match (and which includes the outer edge to date the felling) is required for analysis, and second, that the Aegean is yet to gain an absolute tree-ring chronology to match samples for dating purposes (Biers 1992: 75; Renfrew and Bahn 2000: 137).

Ancient chronological methodologies can assist with absolute dating by providing fixed historical points, such as ancient observations of celestial phenomena. Thucydides's reference (2.28.1) to a solar eclipse which took place at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War has been dated to 3 August 431 BC (Bickermann 1980: 87), for example. However, as Biers notes, these sorts of dates provide historical fixed points rather than dating for material culture (1992: 63).

Excavation of sites with fixed historical points, such as the destruction of Olynthos by Philip II of Macedon in 349 BC, or the burial mound at Marathon in 490 BC, can provide the missing link between ancient chronologies and modern absolute dating for the material record (Biers 1992: 85; Whitley 2001: 70). Relative dating methodologies, such as stratigraphy and stylistic analysis, provide discrete chronological sequences that may be cross-referenced with each other and with other means of dating (for example, the fixed historical dates) to provide an overall chronology for ancient Greek art and material culture.

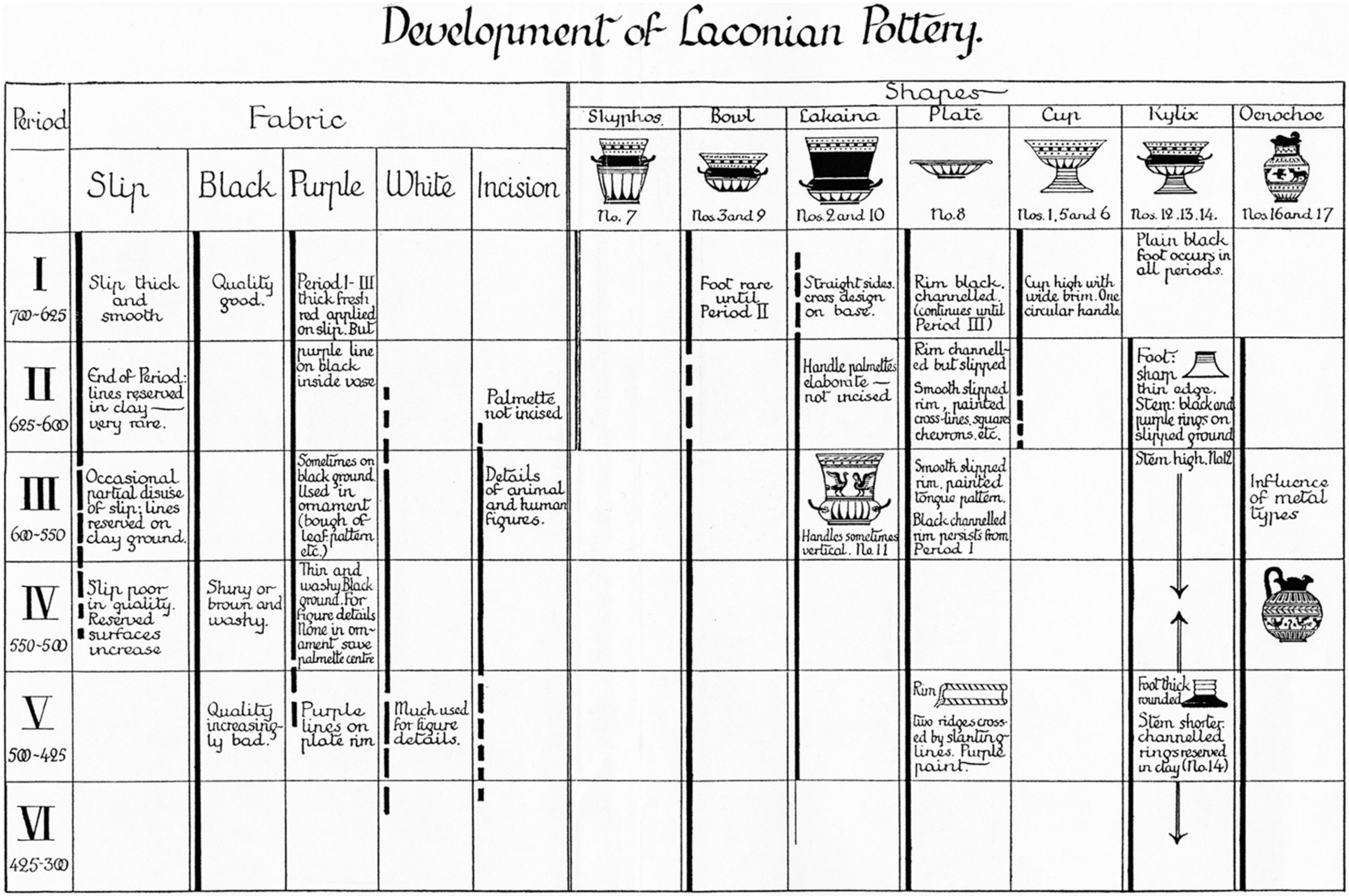
Stratigraphy is based on the layering of deposits in a site, where the earliest material is at the bottom of the site and later material accumulates in layers above. These layers can then be identified through excavation and the materials found in each placed in a chronological sequence. However, interpretation may be complicated by disturbance of the strata. This could be due to intrusions by animals (burrows, etc.), humans (burials, post holes, dumps), natural forces such as flooding, or simply heavier objects sinking into the ground. Finally, the element of human decision needs to be taken into account: the date of the strata, while indicating the date the item was deposited, may not be a direct reflection of the age of the piece itself.

Sealed deposits (that is, layers without intrusions) and closed deposits (for example, by a clearly defined destruction layer or building foundations) can provide useful *terminus post quem* (date after which) or *terminus ante quem* (date before which) information. The historical destruction of Olynthos therefore provides the site with a clear *terminus ante quem* for the material excavated there. However, as Biers notes, 'historical dates have a seductive way of acting like magnets, attracting objects and remains to them' (1992: 62) and sites that may seem to be sealed by historical events such as the Persian destruction of the Athenian Acropolis are generally more complicated than they appear (Whitley 2001: 69; Stewart 2008a).

Some forms of archaeological material can independently provide dating information, such as coins that have the head of a ruler who can be dated historically, or amphorae with stamps of annually appointed civic officials (Biers 1992: 69–70). Inscriptions can include dates as part of their content (although this is more common with Roman inscriptions than Greek), or can be dated by the style of their letters. Similarly sculpture, pottery or other 'artistic' materials such as jewelry or terracotta figurines can be dated through the use of relative stylistic chronologies.

Sculpture formed the basis for Winckelmann's stylistic analysis and his evolutionary model, influenced by both Pliny and the Renaissance artist and biographer Vasari. He identified stylistic developments through an increasing realism, particularly in representations of the human form. This remains the general basis for stylistic dating of sculpture – more or less explicitly depending on the scholar. Richter explicitly used this as the basis for her important studies on Archaic sculptures of female (korai) and male (kouroi) figures in the Archaic period (Richter 1968b; 1970); for example, on the contents page of her book *Kouroi*, she notes the 'development of naturalism' (Richter 1970: i).

It is the stylistic analysis of pottery remains, however, that have proved most useful in establishing relative chronologies for Greek art and archaeology. Sherds from pots survive well in the archaeological record and are generally the most common type of remains to be excavated. It has therefore been possible to build up a 'database' of Greek pottery with which to study stylistic changes and also compare material from various sites. Initial stylistic sequencing is possible using the stratification of the site. For example, Figure 2.1 shows the development of Lakonian pottery related to the stratigraphy identified at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia excavated by the British School at Athens in 1906–1910 (Dawkins 1929: plate XIX; Boardman 1963). But the chronology for Lakonian pottery has itself been reviewed several times (e.g. Cavanagh and Laxton 1984; Boardman 1998: 186, 271; Gill and Vickers 2001). Such sequencing allows an understanding of the changes in style for discrete pottery collections. Where there is sufficient data, the sequencing can be further stylistically refined through attribution to either potters or painters (more rarely to



Development of Laconian Pottery.

Period	Fabric					Shapes						
	Slip	Black	Purple	White	Incision	Skyphos.	Bowl	Lakaina	Plate	Cup	Kylix	Oenochoe
						No. 7	Nos. 3 and 9	Nos. 2 and 10	No. 8	Nos. 1, 5 and 6	Nos. 12. 13. 14.	Nos 16 and 17
I 700-625	Slip thick and smooth	Quality good.	Period I- III thick fresh red applied on slip. But				Foot rare until Period II	Straight sides. cross design on base.	Rim black. channelled. (continues until Period III)	Cup high with wide brim. One circular handle	Plain black foot occurs in all periods.	
II 625-600	End of Period: lines reserved in clay — very rare.		purple line on black inside vase		Palmette not incised			Handle palmettes elaborate — not incised	Rim channelled but slipped Smooth slipped rim, painted cross-lines, squares chevrons, etc.		Foot: sharp thin edge. Stem: black and purple rings on slipped ground	
III 600-550	Occasional partial disuse of slip; lines reserved on clay ground.		Sometimes on black ground. Used in ornament (bough of leaf pattern etc.)		Details of animal and human figures.			Handles sometimes vertical. No. 11	Smooth slipped rim, painted tongue pattern. Black channelled rim persists from Period I		Stem high. No. 12	Influence of metal types
IV 550-500	Slip poor in quality. Reserved surfaces increase	Shiny or brown and washy.	Thin and washy Black ground. For figure details None in ornament save palmette centre									
V 500-425		Quality increasingly bad.	Purple lines on plate rim	Much used for figure details.					Rim two ridges crossed by slanting lines. Purple paint.		Foot thick rounded Stem shorter. channelled rings reserved in clay (No. 14)	
VI 425-300												

Figure 2.1 Development of Lakonian Pottery (after Dawkins 1929: pl. 19).

both) and a relative chronological dating created based on estimates of a potter/painter's working life. Such chronologies have been established for Attic black-figure and red-figure vases by Beazley (1956, 1963, 1971), for Corinthian decorated pottery by Payne (1926) and for South Italian pottery by Trendall (1989) and Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978, 1982, 1983, 1991, 1992). When differing styles of pottery are found in the same layer, links can be identified between the discrete pottery chronologies based on either general stylistic similarities or stratigraphy.

The stylistic chronologies can be tied to absolute dating using fixed points within the chronological sequence (cf. Figure 2.2). As noted above, these can be historical dates providing a *terminus ante quem* or *terminus post quem* for the archaeological material. Examples of this sort of dating include the destruction of Olynthos and the battle mound for the Athenian dead at the Battle of Marathon already noted. However, death and destruction are not the only examples; the structuring of cultural events can also mark a fixed point for material evidence, such as the start of the Panathenaic Games in 566 BC as the *terminus post quem* for Panathenaic amphorae, or the foundation of a colony. The foundation dates of the colonies at Syracuse (732 BC) and Megara Hyblaia (728 BC), as provided by Thucydides (6.3–5), have been used as fixed points for early Corinthian pottery excavated at the sites (Biers 1992: 64–65; Whitley 2001: 66).

Literary sources can also assist with absolute dating by recording inscriptions. The inscriptions can provide a *terminus ante quem*, such as Pausanias's note (5.10.4) of an inscription on a shield commemorating a Battle of the Athenians at Tanagra in 547 BC, which was dedicated in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (Whitley 2001: 69). Where the inscriptions survive, they can also act as a fixed point. The Delphi Charioteer (Boardman 1985: fig. 34) was excavated near the Temple of Apollo along with two inscriptions – one of which records the dedication of the statue as by Polyzalos, who has been identified as the son of Deinomenes, the tyrant of Gela. By cross-referencing the date of Deinomenes's rule (Diod. Sic. 11.48.3–6; 8) with the four-yearly cycle of Pythian Games held at Delphi, for which the bronze figure is the sole remnant of a chariot group victory dedication, the statue (and therefore also its style) has been provided with a possible absolute date rate of 478–470 BC (Whitley 2001: 7–9).

These fixed dates are not always uncontroversial or universally accepted. The fixed point of the Delphi Charioteer has recently been questioned, as it would appear that the base with the inscription and the statue itself do not belong together and that the sculpture in fact dates to c. 470–450 BC (Adornato 2008; Stewart 2008b: 206 n. 116). Francis and Vickers have proposed several challenges to the traditional chronology, including a general down-dating of the chronology of the Late Archaic period by 60 years (for a summary of their

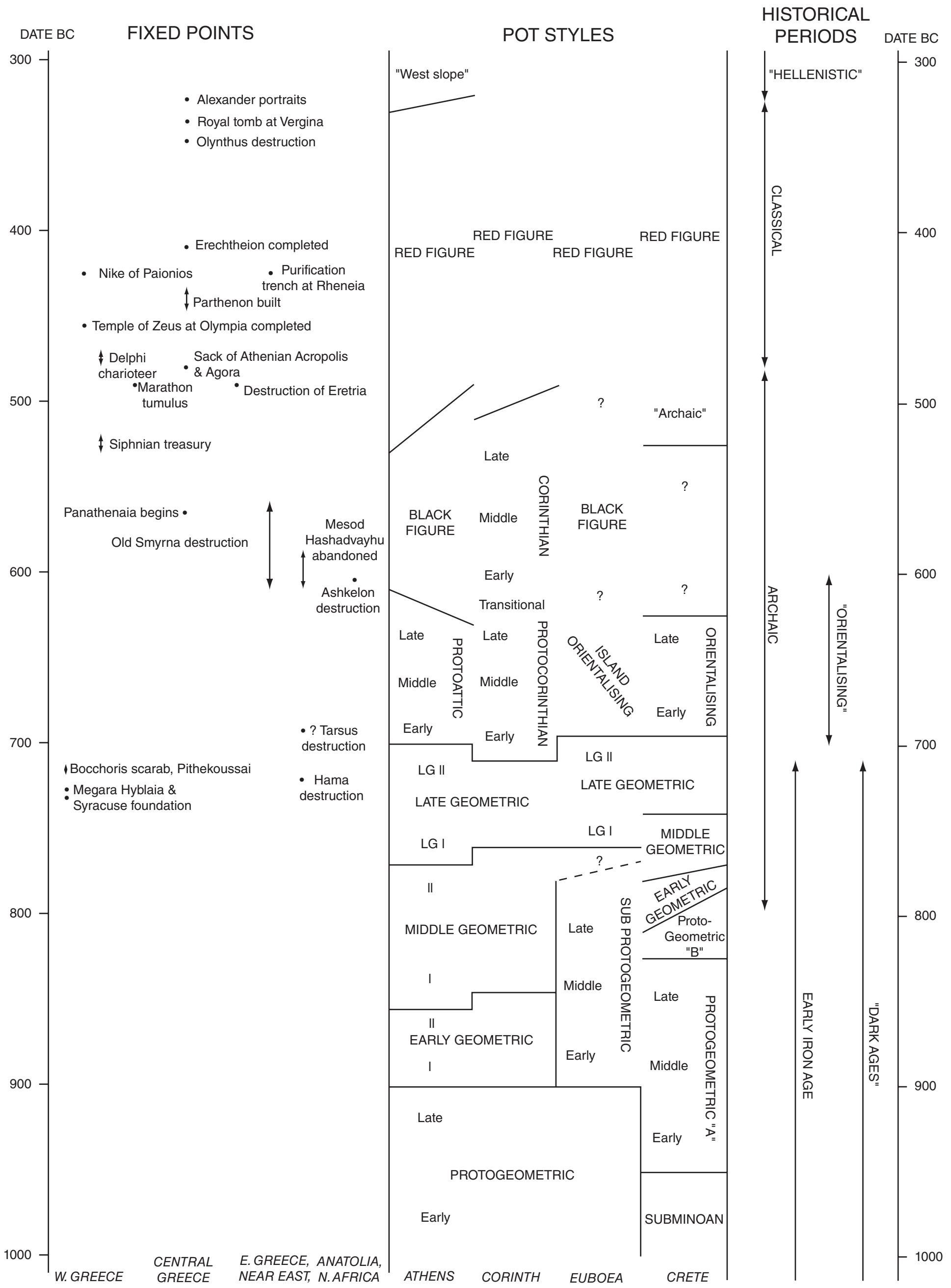


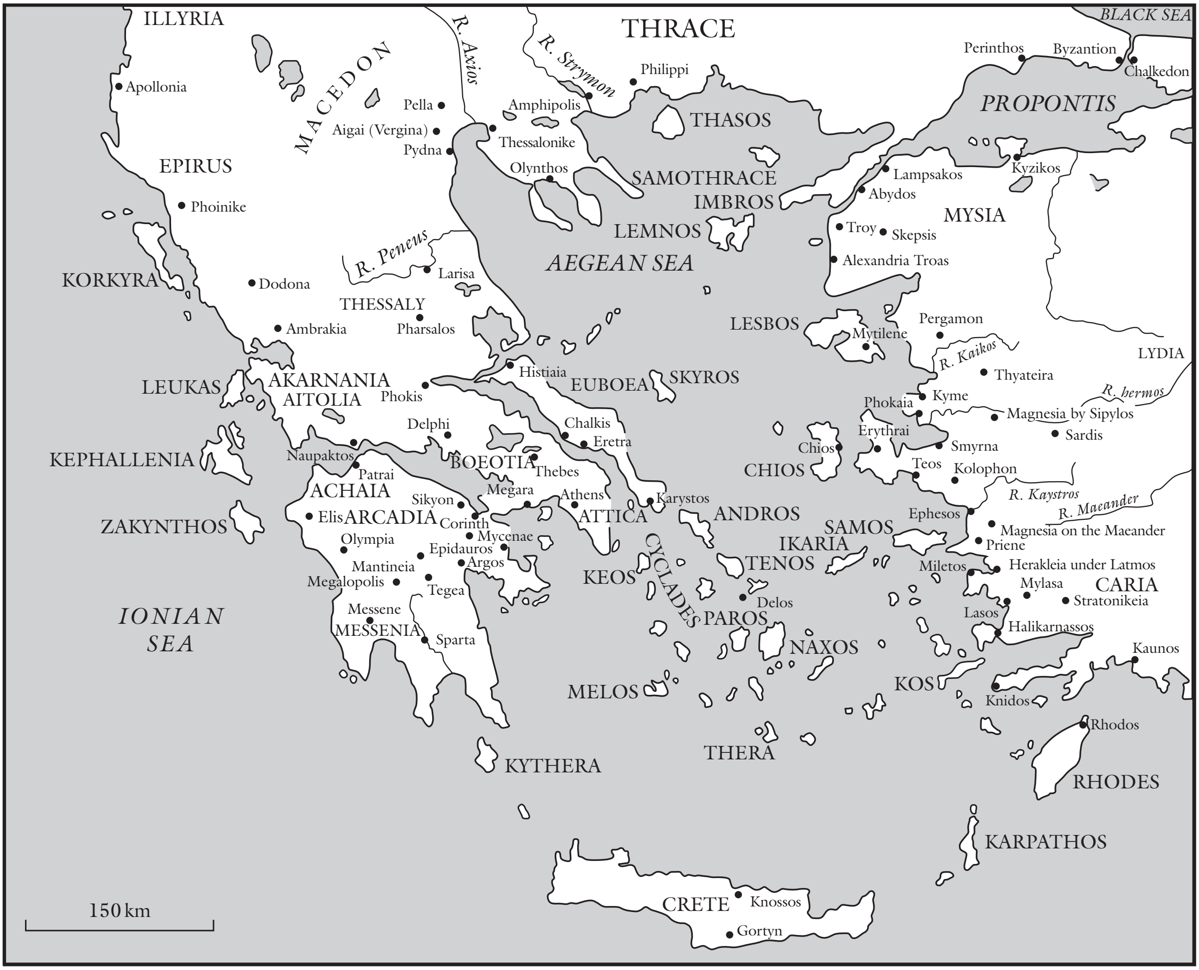
Figure 2.2 Chronological table of overlapping terminologies, historical, cultural, and artistic events (after Whitley 2001: 62, fig. 4.1).

arguments, see Whitley 2001: 72–74; Biers 1992: 82–85). More recently, Stewart has suggested a down-dating of the Early Classical ‘Severe Style’ of sculpture to after the Persian Wars (Stewart 2008a, 2008b). Radiocarbon dating and dendrochronology have also highlighted difficulties with the traditional dating for the Early Iron Age/Geometric periods (Tsetskhladze 2006: xxxiv–iii; Newton et al. 2005). While the traditional chronology is still the generally accepted model, these challenges highlight definite weaknesses and students (and scholars!) should not accept the chronologies as set in stone.

Stylistic chronologies are such a strong tool for classical archaeology that their terminology is often used to provide alternative titles for periods and so can cause some confusion for the uninitiated or unwary. For example, the period from 1100 to 700 BC can be referred to as the Dark Ages (reflecting a period of illiteracy, etc.) or the Early Iron Age (reflecting the use of iron and following the patterns of the preceding Stone and Bronze Ages). Alternatively, within this period, c. 900–700 BC may be called Geometric, based on the style of pottery, and the 7th c. may also be referred to as the Orientalizing period, reflecting the use of imagery and motifs in Greek art which were previously visible in Near Eastern work. Sculpture also has its own chronological terminology, with the term ‘Dedalic’ being used to describe a style of sculpture in the Early Archaic period and ‘baroque’ being used anachronistically to describe a style of Hellenistic sculpture. Scholars of Greek art deal with these variations in different manners; some, such as Robertson (1975), combine stylistic terminology with absolute dating, while others, such as Richter (1959), avoid any confusion by discussing art by the media with reference only to absolute dating. Many introductory accounts provide a chronological table to assist with the overlapping terminologies; these can focus on historical events (Pedley 2007: 388) or a combination of historical, cultural, and artistic events (Boardman 1996: 296–297; Beard and Henderson 2001: 260; Whitley 2001: 62, fig. 4.1; cf. Figure 2.2).

2.2 Topography

Greece’s physical landscape has developed as a consequence of the country’s active geological history, climate, and, to a lesser extent, the effects of human activity. Geologically, the Greek mainland, Aegean islands and Ionian coast are the result of the movement of three plates: the sedimentary Aegean plate is being forced north into the Eurasian plate by the subduction of the African plate. The dipping under the Aegean of the African plate has caused not just the distortion of the geological strata of Greece, but also the high level of volcanic activity and earthquakes (Sauerwein 1998: 3). It is also responsible for the mountainous nature of the Greek mainland, and the numerous islands.


ILLYRIA
THRACE
BLACK SEA
MACEDON
R. Axios
R. Strymon
Philippi
Perinthos
Byzantion
Chalkedon
Apollonia
Pella
Amphipolis
PROPONTIS
Aigai (Vergina)
Pydna
Thessalonike
THASOS
EPIRUS
Olynthos
SAMOTHRACE
IMBROS
Lampsakos
Abydos
Kyzikos
Phoinike
MYSIA
LEMNOS
Troy
Skepsis
R. Peneus
AEGEAN SEA
Alexandria Troas
KORKYRA
Larisa
Dodona
THESSALY
Pharsalos
LESBOS
Pergamon
Ambrakia
Mytilene
R. Kaikos
LYDIA
Histiaia
Thyateira
AKARNANIA
AITOLIA
LEUKAS
Phokis
EUBOEA
SKYROS
Kyme
Phokaia
R. hermos
Magnesia by Sipylos
Delphi
Chalkis
Eretra
Erythrai
Sardis
KEPHALLENIA
Naupaktos
BOEOTIA
Thebes
Chios
Smyrna
CHIOS
Teos
Kolophon
Patrai
ACHAIA
Megara
Athens
Karystos
R. Kaystros
Sikyon
ATTICA
ANDROS
Ephesos
R. Maeander
ZAKYNTHOS
Elis
ARCADIA
Corinth
SAMOS
Magnesia on the Maeander
Mycenae
IKARIA
Priene
Olympia
Epidauros
CYCLADES
Mantineia
Argos
TENOS
Miletos
Herakleia under Latmos
Megalopolis
KEOS
Mylasa
CARIA
Tegea
Delos
Stratonikeia
IONIAN SEA
Messene
PAROS
Lasos
MESSENIA
Sparta
NAXOS
Halikarnassos
Kaunos
MELOS
KOS
Knidos
Rhodos
THERA
KYTHERA
RHODES
KARPATHOS
CRETE
Knossos
Gortyn
150 km

Map 1 Greece and the Aegean (source: Erskine, *Companion to Ancient History*, map 1; adapted by D. Weiss).

The Aegean plate formed from chalky deposits, which have become sedimentary rock, primarily limestone. Chemical reactions between water and the limestone have created a *karst* landscape, typified by limited surface water, but lots of subterranean caves, depressions, and underground lakes, which can bubble to the surface as springs. Heavy rainfall can strip soil from the highest levels and lead to floods, but also leaves rich alluvial plains, which at times can become marshy, or act to silt up previously useful harbors such as at Pella (Sauerwein 1998: 11).

This physical geography of mountains surrounding patches of fertile land, along with the numerous islands, meant that it was generally easier to travel by sea than to negotiate the mountain passes. On account of the climate, travel was only really possible in summer, when the seas were calm enough and the mountain passes clear of snow. These factors encouraged a fragmentation into small, easily defended communities (Map 1; Stewart 1990: 1; Sauerwein 1998: 7).

The landscape we see today is thought to be a fair approximation of what the ancient Greeks would have experienced (Osborne 1996: 57). Equally, it is generally agreed that the climate of Greece has not materially changed since ancient times (current global warming notwithstanding) (Salmon 1984: 7 n. 19; Foxhall et al. 2007: 89–90; Descoeudres 2008: 301–302). It is characterized by intense heat in the summer, interrupted by brief squalls and stormy winters with heavy rain. There are general regional variations: the west-facing regions are usually wetter than those facing east, and the northern areas (Macedonia, Thrace, etc.) are more like the continent in climate, with less snow in winter but much lower temperatures (Hammond 1972: 5; Sauerwein 1998: 13). The terrain of mountains enclosing fertile basins, or alluvial plains, also lends itself to the creation of localized microclimates.

The unpredictability of rain and the summer heat contributes to diverse but generally drought-resistant vegetation, ranging from evergreens at the highest levels (pine, fir, etc.) to deciduous trees such as oak, beech, maple, and cypress, and at lower levels a maquis landscape which can include box-tree, broom, hazel, juniper, laurel, myrtle, oleander, and wild olive (Descoeudres 2008: 302–304). Outside of the northern regions, rivers can seldom be relied upon to last throughout the year, but the extra water can support trees such as willow, poplar, linden, wild cherry, and elder (Descoeudres 2008: 303).

Human activity has modified this vegetative landscape, through deforestation, pastoral agriculture (e.g. with grazing stimulating a *phrygana* landscape of shrubs and herbs), arboreal agriculture (e.g. with the olive tree and vines), and possibly agricultural techniques such as terracing (Osborne 1996: 57; Foxhall et al. 2007: 95).

Ancient sources such as Pausanias (2nd c. AD traveler-writer) and Theophrastos (4th c. BC botanist and philosopher) have left us with indications of the use of wood in ancient art. Theophrastos provided a list of woods considered suitable for sculpting (*Caus. pl.* 5.3.9), but based on the examples provided by Pausanias, Theophrastos's list would not appear to be exhaustive. Wood could be used for figural and decorative sculptures such as the Chest of Kypselos (Paus. 5.17.5), cult images such as the Athena Polias held in the Erechtheion (Paus. 1.26.6) or as the core for gilded statues or acroliths, which had for example marble hands, feet, and faces (such as the statues in the Temple of Demeter at Onkion in Arcadia) (Paus. 8.25.6). Not all statues were made from local timber, with wood such as ebony and possibly cedar being imported (Meiggs 1982: 309).

Vegetation also had an impact on the decoration of Greek art, for example with leaf motifs such as ivy and palm leaves. A ubiquitous decorative motif on Athenian pottery, what is generally described as a lotus flower, may actually have been inspired by the large bindweed (Baumann 1993: 179). The ancients recognized the importance of their borrowings from the plant world; the Roman architect Vitruvius noted that the sculptural patterning on the Corinthian capital was based on the acanthus (*De. arch.* 4.1.9). The volute of the Ionic capital may also owe its origins to the plant world, such as the furled fronds of bracken, while the Doric column fluting may reflect the stem of the wild angelica (Baumann 1993: 183, 186).

Within the soil, the mineral resources of the clay affected the colors available to potters/painters, primarily through the level of iron content, which can yield colors ranging from umber to red to black through judicious firing (Maish et al. 2006: 9). The deep orange-red of Attic vases is due to the high iron-oxide content of the clay, most commonly in the form of the mineral hematite (Newman 2008: 105). By contrast, Corinthian clay has a higher content of calcium, which produces pots of a paler, yellow color (Clark et al. 2002: 77). Chemical analysis has identified that the glossy black glaze on Attic pots and cups comes from different clay to that used for the body and had to have specific qualities (an illitic clay with a high iron content, consistently low level of calcium oxide, no mica and a low organic content) in order to achieve the high sheen gloss (Aloupi-Siotis 2008: 113–128).

Below the surface of the soil, Greece's geography contains numerous natural resources. When the sedimentary limestone which makes up the Aegean plate is exposed to extreme heat and pressure, it can develop into the metamorphic rock marble. This stone was generally preferred in ancient times for building and sculpting to limestone, with famous quarries on the islands of Naxos and Paros, and with Attic marble from Mounts Pentelikon and Hymettos. Other quarries include the grey marble from Sparta's Mount Taygetos, only used in the 7th c. BC, the Doliana marble found in Arcadia, used in the 4th c. to build the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, and marble from Thasos, which was only used locally (Palagia 2006a: xiii).

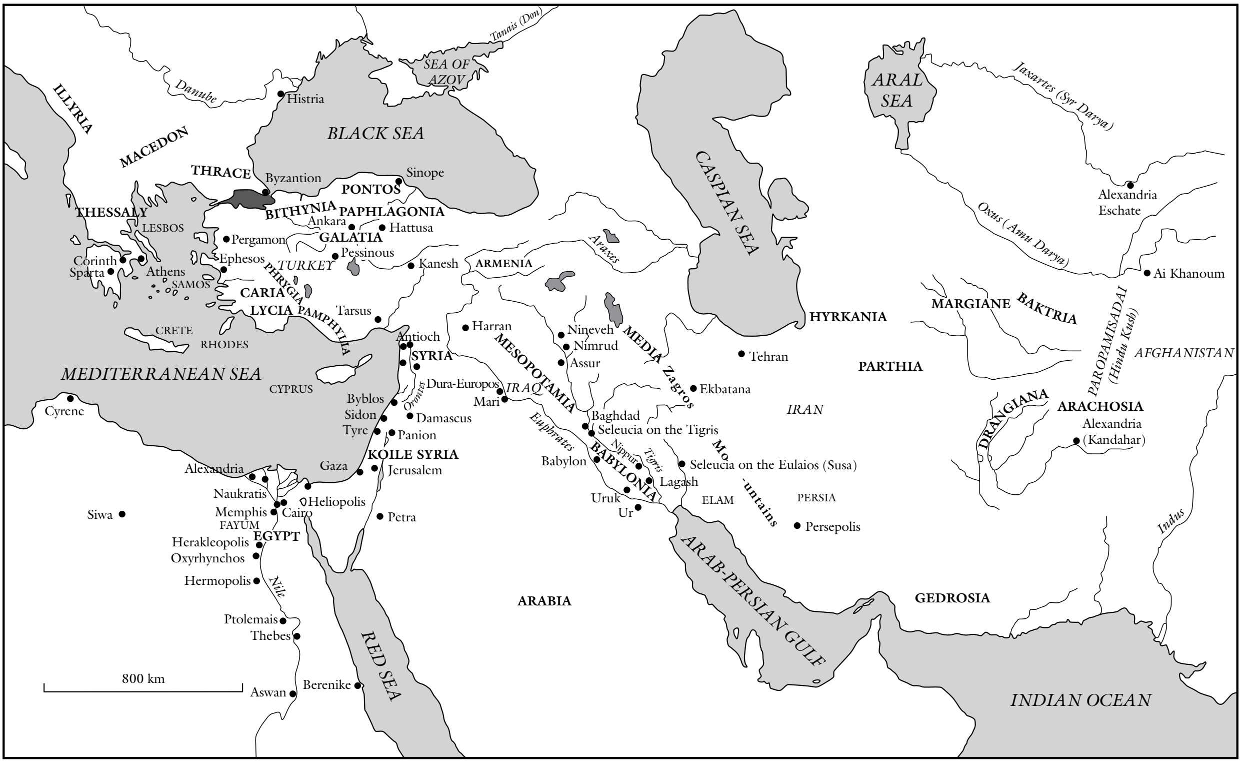
Descoeudres has recently highlighted that Greece was also well endowed with mineral resources, only lacking the tin required to be worked with copper to make bronze (2008: 339). Tin had to be imported, with sources identified in Spain, central France, Brittany, and Cornwall (Stewart 1990: 2). Copper could be brought in from Cyprus, or from mineral-rich areas such as the islands of Thasos, Seriphos, and Siphnos, or the Laurion mines in Attica. Laurion is perhaps most famous for its silver mines, which were used by Athens in the 5th c. (Hdt. 4.144), and possibly earlier if Gill and Vickers's suggestion that the lead used for Archaic Spartan votive figurines came from the Laurion mines is correct (2001: 229–236). Lead was usually worked for its silver content, rather than for itself (Descouedres 2008: 306). Thasos and Siphnos also had silver and gold mines – Siphnos famously losing hers due to flooding (Hdt. 3.57). Sources of iron were and still are widespread across Greece, with Boeotia and Euboea particularly rich. It has been suggested that its availability was one factor in the move from bronze to iron technology (Descoeudres 2008: 304–305). Macedonia is especially mineral-rich, with gold, silver, lead, copper, and iron resources (Hammond 1972: 12–13). Thrace also yielded much gold for the Macedonians in the 4th c. BC (Descoeudres 2008: 307).

These natural resources also meant that materials for wall-painting were available at a local level (Kakoulli 2009: 75, 85). A lime-rich plaster was colored with mineral pigments such as lead white, red ochre and malachite, along with organic colorants such as charcoal and bone white.

Colonization by the Greeks, from the 8th c. into the Hellenistic period, provided access to further resources. The colder and wetter climate of the Black Sea region (Maps 2 and 5) meant that colonies here could support the more water-dependent bread wheat, which was subsequently imported into Greece (Osborne 1996: 62). Other colonies, such as Cyrene in North Africa, Sybaris, Kroton in Southern Italy, and Sicilian Syracuse (see Map 6, Chapter 19) were all established on fertile lands (Tsetskhladze 2006: lxii). However, this is unlikely to have been the determining factor behind the Archaic move to colonize, for as Descoeudres has recently argued, Greece at the time was more likely to have been producing and trading agricultural surpluses than seeking them (2008: 317). Areas which had once been focuses for trade, such as Spain, Egypt, and the East, could be accessed by colonies bringing in mineral, agricultural, and (not least) human resources.

Topography is not simply the physical landscape but also includes human definitions of their surroundings: what is public, private, central or beyond boundaries and so on. These definitions and the extent of formalization of this topography changed over time.

Evidence for the Early Iron Age represents a Greece of few settlements, leading archaeologists to interpret a low level of population and predominance of pastoral agriculture (Alcock 2007: 130; Whitley 2001: 89–90).


Tanais (Don)
SEA OF AZOV
Danube
Histria
ILLYRIA
MACEDON
BLACK SEA
THRACE
Byzantion
Sinope
PONTOS
THESSALY
BITHYNIA
PAPHLAGONIA
Ankara
Hattusa
LESBOS
Pergamon
GALATIA
Pessinous
Corinth
Sparta
Athens
Ephesos
TURKEY
Kanesh
ARMENIA
SAMOS
PHRYGIA
CARIA
LYCIA
PAMPHYLIA
Tarsus
CRETE
RHODES
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CYPRUS
Antioch
SYRIA
Harran
Nineveh
Nimrud
Assur
MEDIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Araxes
CASPIAN SEA
ARAL SEA
Jaxartes (Syr Darya)
Alexandria Eschate
Oxus (Amu Darya)
Ai Khanoum
HYRKANIA
MARGIANE
BAKTRIA
PAROPAMISADAI (Hindu Kush)
AFGHANISTAN
Tehran
PARTHIA
Cyrene
Byblos
Sidon
Tyre
Orontes
Dura-Europos
Mari
IRAQ
Damascus
Panion
Zagros
Ekbatana
IRAN
DRANGIANA
ARACHOSIA
Alexandria (Kandahar)
Baghdad
Seleucia on the Tigris
Euphrates
Alexandria
Gaza
KOILE SYRIA
Jerusalem
Babylon
BABYLONIA
Nippur
Tigris
Seleucia on the Eulaios (Susa)
Lagash
Mountains
Naukratis
Heliopolis
Siwa
Memphis
Cairo
FAYUM
EGYPT
Uruk
Ur
ELAM
PERSIA
Persepolis
Petra
Herakleopolis
Oxyrhynchos
Hermopolis
Nile
ARAB-PERSIAN GULF
ARABIA
GEDROSIA
Indus
Ptolemais
Thebes
RED SEA
800 km
Berenike
Aswan
INDIAN OCEAN

Map 2 Greece and the East (source: Erskine, *Companion to Ancient History*, map 2; adapted by D. Weiss).

Settlements appear to have been small (in comparison to later sites) and to fall into two basic types. The first was made up of a scattering of detached apsidal houses without a discernable center of the community, as was visible at Nichoria in the southwest of the Peloponnese, Lefkandi on Euboea, and Emporio on Chios (Whitley 2001: 84–90; Lang 2007: 183). The second type, of agglomerated rectangular buildings on irregular streets following the contours of the land, was found at Zagora on Andros and at Vrokastro on Crete (Lang 2007: 138).

Human activity from the 8th c. BC going into the Archaic period becomes vastly more visible in the archaeological record, through burial, cult sites, and an increase in the number and size of settlements (Osborne 1996: 70–104; Whitley 2001: 98–101; Alcock 2007: 130–131). While Hansen and Nielsen consider that the creation of the *polis* can be dated to this time (2004: 10), the general consensus seems to be that the *polis* in the sense of 'city-state' did not exist before the Classical period (see Whitley 2001: 165–174 for the orthodox view).

Larger settlements formed either from the merging of several closely sited villages or from small settlements based on raised land expanding down the hill (Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 139). Within these settlements there was a gradual formalization of human spaces and the landscape in which they existed: many (Hansen and Nielsen would argue most) settlements gained walls, separate burial grounds, and defined sacred and public spaces (2004: 135–137; Hölscher 2007: 166). The apsidal form of house was generally abandoned or remodeled (although it could be retained to form temples, such as the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea) in favor of the rectilinear layout of still haphazardly shaped houses on crooked streets (Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 139; Lang 2007: 190). Colonization appears to have played a role in helping to define urban space, as it is here that the first grid layouts of streets and equal parceling of land can be identified, for example at Megara Hyblaia in Sicily, founded c. 728 BC (Hölscher 2007: 167).

It is in the Archaic period that we begin to see sacred space aggrandized by the monumentalization of temples, both within and outside of the settlement. The use of sacred space, in the form of sanctuaries, tombs, and hero cults, provided markers in the landscape. These could act as statements of territorial ownership (de Polignac 1995) or as symbols of the territorial division of space between humanity and the divine (Malkin 1996). Other functions include route markers, to highlight where resources exist (as with the sanctuary at Mavriki near Tegea in Arcadia, which is close to the Doliana marble quarries) or even where settlements had once existed (Forsén 2008). The sanctuaries themselves could also act over time as indications of where borders should be (Malkin 1996: 81; Forsén 2008: 256).

Hansen and Nielsen have identified what they believe to be two basic regional types of settlement dating from the Archaic into the Classical period

(2004: 78). The first is typified by a fairly small number of larger *poleis* accompanied by a large number of 'second-order' settlements (i.e. *komai* or villages) and occurs on the eastern mainland, where the *polis* appeared early, such as Euboea, Boeotia, Attica, the Isthmus, and the Argolid, and also in western areas where the *polis* developed later in the Classical period, such as Epeiros, Akarnania, and Aitolia. The second type included a high number of small *poleis* with very few villages, or had none at all, and it was this type that was the norm for most of Greece and the Aegean islands. Hansen and Nielsen note that it was rare for the rural population to outnumber the urban and that Athens, where most of our information comes from, is actually an exception to the general picture (2004: 78).

There was a basic division of conceptual space which seems to have developed in the Classical period between the urban city (the *polis* or *astu*), the rural cultivated land countryside (the *khora*), and the wilderness beyond (the *eschatia*) (Orrieux and Patel 1999: 3–4). The wilderness may not be as visibly valued in artistic representation or as a Greek literary *topos*, but it had a place in the human landscape as somewhere to hunt (Lane Fox 1996), to yield resources (timber, herbs, honey, etc.) (Shipley 1996), and to have adventures or encounters with the divine (e.g. as in Euripides's *Bacchae* or Callimachos's *Hymn to Artemis*).

An overview such as this can sometimes favor the general consensus rather than specific characteristics. Two of the most powerful Greek cities of the Classical period, Athens and Sparta, were in themselves atypical. Sparta did not have city walls until the Hellenistic period. Sparta's little villages never really completely combined, as Amyklai was always outside the boundaries of the city's urban center. Athens, as noted above, was unique in having a rural population which outnumbered its urban one. It is therefore important to realize that these generalizations are simply that – generalizations; and an understanding of the specific contexts for the human topography for each city is necessary to any interpretation.

The Classical period also saw further definitions of public space. These could be subtle, as with the interior spatial divisions within private homes, or quite literally marked out. Boundary stones (*horoi*) could be used as spatial markers around the agora, or to indicate the edges where the city ended and the *khora* began (Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 138, 140; Lang 2007: 190; Osborne 2007a: 198; see also Knigge 1991: figs. 1, 2 for boundary stones marking out the Kerameikos). In Athens the boundary stones could take the semi-figural form of the Herm (a block topped with the bearded head of the god Hermes, with rudimentary 'arms' and an erect phallus – see Figure 2.3). From the 6th c. BC these were set up at the entrances of private homes and temples and used as halfway markers on the roads between Athens and her demes (Thuc. 6.27.1; Ar. *Plut.* 1153; for dating, see Siebert 1990: 374–378; Parker 1996: 80–83).

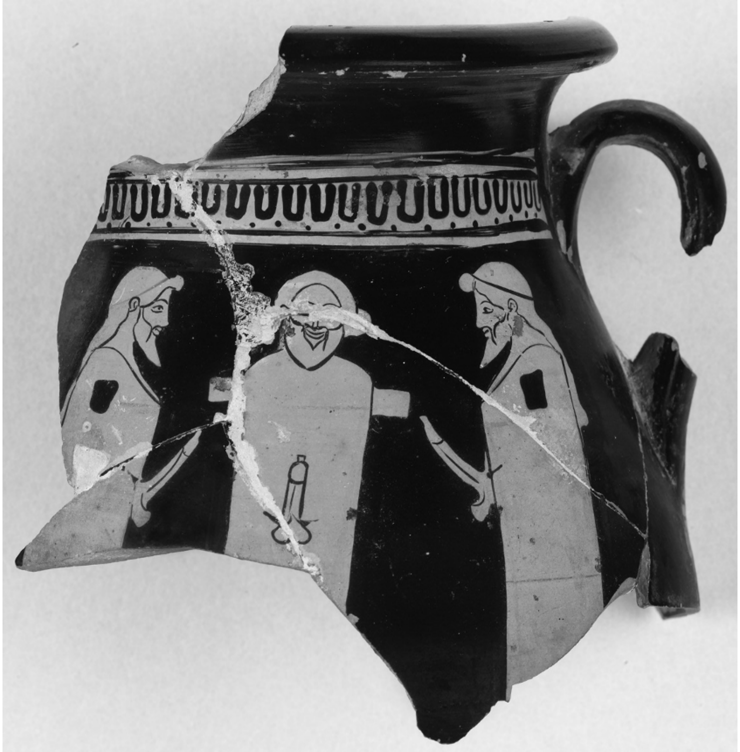


Figure 2.3 Athenian red-figure pelike fragment. Hermaic stelai. c. 480–470 BC (Paris, Louvre C 10793 © RMN/Hervé Lewandowski).

Herms became popular in the Athenian Agora, particularly the northwest corner. It has been suggested that this area, referred to as *Hermai*, could have been the main entrance to the city prior to the establishment of the Themistoklean walls in the early 5th c. BC (Furley 1996: 13–18).

The physical landscape, along with human choice, made for variations in a general pattern of city planning. The sacred center of the city could be on the high ground, such as Athens's Acropolis, with the Agora at the foot acting as a focus for roads into (and of course, out of) the city. Or an agora could be near the city's harbor at a distance from the main urban sanctuary, as was the case at Miletos and Thasos (Hölscher 2007: 169). Where physical topography did not suggest a layout, human choice had greater scope. The agora could be situated in the urban center with the sanctuaries on the edges of the city; for example, overlooking the city wall toward a coastal plain at Akragas in southern Sicily. Or the sanctuaries and agora could be placed next to each other, either in the center of the city as on the island of Ortygia at Syracuse and Poseidonia, or by the city entrance as at Himera (Hölscher 2007: 170–171).

Public amenities were provided; as water was a perennial concern, it is perhaps not surprising that public fountains were one of the features which appeared as early as the Archaic period, for example in the Athenian Agora. The agora was a multifunctional space which again varied from city to city. Hansen and Nielsen have suggested that in the Archaic period it was a focus for political activity, with meetings of the assembly and the like, but that in the Classical period it took on more of the role of a market place (2004: 140; Camp 2001: 257). But this does not appear to have been the case in Athens, where it has been argued that the Archaic political center was at the *prytaneion* to the northeast of the Acropolis, and that following the democratic reforms of the 5th c. BC, the Agora became something of a 'show-home' for classical democracy, with new political buildings (the new *bouleuterion*, additions to the Royal Stoa, buildings for court meetings) as well as the placement of inscriptions and statues and dedications honoring the democracy (Osborne 2007a; Shear 2007). Such embellishments also reflected the change in patronage from work commissioned by aristocratic tyrants during the Archaic period (such as the Altar of the Twelve Gods and the fountain house by the Athenian Peisistratids) to the Periklean building program, which included the central sacred space of the Acropolis.

The public buildings in and around the agora demonstrate the multiple functions for which the space could be used, as well as the city's emphasis on the central community. Stoas (covered porticoes), which appear as early as the 7th c. BC (e.g. at Megara Hyblaia and Samos) on the edges of the agora, epitomize this multifunctionality. They could be used as meeting places for magistrates, as displays of the city's military prowess (as with the Painted Stoa on the northern edge of the Athenian Agora, dating to c. 475–450 BC, which was decorated with panels of heroic battles including the Battle at Marathon; Paus. 1.15), as shops, and also as lovely shady spots for the discussion of philosophy. The Archaic agora could include wooden stands to be used as assembly places, as at Metapontum, or for theatrical performances, as for example in Athens (Gebhard 1973: xiii; Hölscher 2007: 174). The Classical period saw the monumentalization of such theaters outside of the agora; to the side of the agora at Metapontum, and to the southern slope of the Acropolis in Athens.

Private space in the Classical period also underwent topographical changes. Grid patterns for streets were adopted, which assisted in a greater uniformity in house design. Rather than a series of rooms that were passed through sequentially, entrances were now into a central courtyard that was partially or fully colonnaded. This central courtyard can be interpreted as a 'distributive space', directing communication between various rooms in the house which opened out into it (Nevett 2005: 4), or as a transitional or neutral space in which newcomers into the house could interact with the family (Lang 2007: 188). While the majority of rooms continued to be multifunctional, it is possible to identify specific functions within some, such as the *andron* with mosaic floor decoration and an off-center door to accommodate couches for reclining at *symposia*, or kitchen areas with adjacent bathrooms identifiable by their waterproof plastering (Nevett 2005: 4).

There were further changes to public and private topography in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. On a broad scale, rural survey has identified the Late Classical period as reaching a peak in rural activity, which dropped away sharply in the Hellenistic period (Shipley 2002; Alcock 2007: 135–136). There is considerable regional variation within this trend and the reasons are not entirely clear; it may, however, indicate a move in ownership of land into fewer, more prosperous hands.

It is in this period that we also see a greater elaboration in house design and decoration (for those able to afford it). Double-courtyard houses, such as the House of the Mosaics on Eretria and the House of Dionysos in Pella in Macedonia, develop over the course of the 4th c. These houses have numerous rooms with mosaic decoration, which indicates a greater level of investment in entertaining within the home, while at the same time enabling a segregation between more public and private areas (Nevett 1999: 107–116, 162–166).

Also at this time, human control over urban topography is visible with the extension of the concept of grids for street planning to rigidly orthogonal layouts, such as at Olynthos, Kassope on the gulf of Arta, and Goritsa in Thessaly, and as taken to extremes at Priene, where some of the streets were actually flights of stairs (Shipley 2000: 90–91, figs. 3.6, 3.7).

Urban planning also altered to reflect the changing political structures of the Hellenistic period: where once the city itself had been the patron of building programs, this role now fell to Hellenistic kings or external benefactors, as is visible with the stoas in Athens bestowed by the Pergamene Attalid dynasty. City plans now incorporated palaces or grand mansions for these new patrons. Pella, as the 3rd c. capital for Macedonian rulers, balanced the new palace on a hill above the city, with the residential district (orthogonally laid, of course) on the other side of the central agora (Hölscher 2007: 178). Egypt's new capital at Alexandria was also laid out based on the orthogonal grid pattern, dominated by a central main road from which two perpendicular roads led off: one to the harbor and lighthouse, and one to the palace quarter. The center of the city was still the agora, which lay in between the two perpendicular roads, but also had the added Hellenistic element of a public park, which included an artificial hill with a sanctuary to the god Pan (see Figure 2.4). The palace quarter included public elements with a monumental peristyle reception area and the famous Mouseion (Hölscher 2007: 180; see Austin 1981: 388–392 for a translation of Strabo's description of the city).

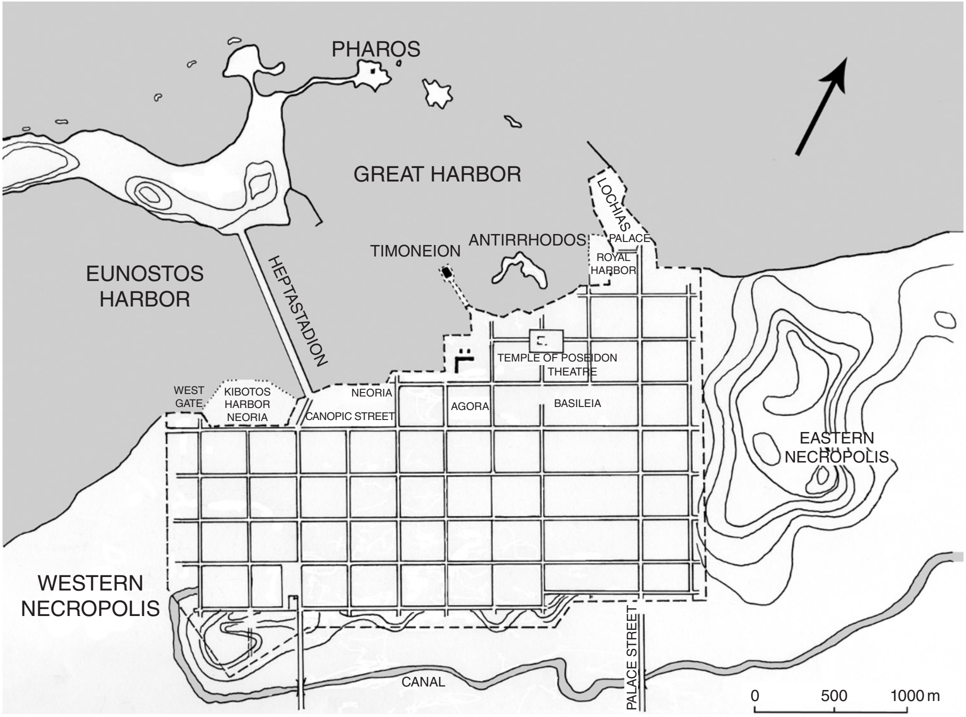

PHAROS
GREAT HARBOR
EUNOSTOS HARBOR
HEPTASTADION
TIMONEION
ANTIRRHODOS
LOCHIAS
PALACE
ROYAL HARBOR
TEMPLE OF POSEIDON
THEATRE
WEST GATE
KIBOTOS HARBOR NEORIA
NEORIA
CANOPIC STREET
AGORA
BASILEIA
EASTERN NECROPOLIS
WESTERN NECROPOLIS
CANAL
PALACE STREET
0
500
1000 m

Figure 2.4 Plan of Alexandria (after Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994: fig. 225).

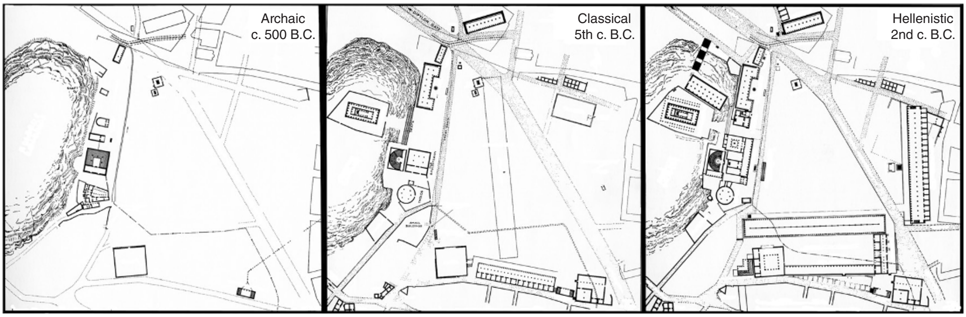

Archaic
c. 500 B.C.
Classical
5th c. B.C.
Hellenistic
2nd c. B.C.

Figure 2.5 Athens, the Agora. Planning development from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period (after Camp 1986: figs. 21, 66 and 139).

The urban topography was also prettified with the use of uniform facades and a uniformity of design for specific building types, such as the theater, *gymnasion*, sanctuaries, and even the city gates (Stewart 2006: 162–163; Hölscher 2007: 178). Perhaps the best example of the changes to urban space are viewed through the Athenian Agora: an open, malleable space in the Archaic period, a display of the power of democracy in the Classical period, and a decorative memory to the city's (past) glory in the Hellenistic period (Figure 2.5).

2.3 Conclusion

This general overview provides a starting point for contextualizing ancient Greek art. The material culture of ancient Greece found its meaning in the physical (natural and human) landscapes, which influenced the materials and at times provided inspiration. The social and political landscape also affected the artistic choices, through, for example, the subject matter, location, and the meaning(s) ascribed to the pieces. Understanding the development of Greek art requires that we place it in some kind of order. However, it should be kept in mind that this order can be a construct in itself, and it is wise to remain aware of the traditions, assumptions, and potential pitfalls associated with providing material or visual culture with a temporal context.

FURTHER READING

Chronology

Biers (1992) is a small but perfect summary of ancient chronology, covering clearly and concisely how ancient materials may be used, along with modern scientific methods and associated complications. Bickermann (1980) is an updated version first published in 1968 but is still useful. For more detail on archaeological techniques of dating, Renfrew and Bahn (2000) is an invaluable textbook. For more detail on ancient methods of dating, Hannah (2009) is extremely readable while being scholarly rigorous. With regards to the problems of early Greek chronology, Shaw (2003) discusses the issues with using the Olympiads as a source for modern chronologies (basically not everyone started from the same point to number them); this has recently been reexamined by Christesen (2007). Whitley (2001) provides a clear summary of the current issues with the traditional fixed points used for artistic chronology; both he and Biers provide excellent summaries and critiques of the challenges to the chronology brought by Frances and Vickers.

Topography

The *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Talbert 2000) is excellent but not easily portable and unlikely to be allowed out of any library. The *Atlas of the Greek World* (Levi 1980) is rather easier to handle and contains numerous maps on varying themes. On the Internet there is Google Earth (home page: http://earth.google.com). For a detailed description of the geological history of Greece, see Higgins and Higgins (1996). A broad view of the impact of geography on Greek history is provided in Horden and Purcell (2000), a fascinating book. If your interest is more in general studies of Greek landscape, both natural and human, then the edited volumes referred to in the text, especially Salmon and Shipley (1996) and Alcock and Osborne (2007), will be of use.

CHAPTER 3

Greek Decorated Pottery I: Athenian Vase-painting

Thomas Mannack

3.1 Introduction

The decorated pottery of ancient Athens, also referred to as 'Attic', is among the most substantial and well-preserved art forms of the Greek world. Often termed 'vases' by scholars, as will largely be the case here, these beautifully and sometimes elaborately decorated vessels have captured the imagination of excavators, collectors, and historians for well over two centuries. This chapter presents a chronological summary, from the Mycenaean phase of the Late Bronze Age, through the Geometric styles, and finally to the black-figure and red-figure potters and painters, whose names and artistic personalities are the best known. Although mention is made throughout of techniques, artists, shapes, and decorative subjects, some of these areas will be treated in more detail towards the end, along with trade and distribution, and chronology.

3.2 Late Bronze Age and Sub-Mycenaean

Between c. 1650 and 1100 BC the Greek mainland was dominated by the Bronze Age Mycenaean culture. Mycenaean artisans constructed monumental buildings, produced sculpture, exquisite jewelry and large-scale paintings on walls, and decorated pottery. Potter-painters of this time period, referred to as Late Helladic, decorated vases such as the stemmed cup (kylix), 'stirrup' jars, and mixing bowls (kraters) with intricate animal and human figure-scenes. Among these are pictures of bulls, goats, chariots, and the marching warriors

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on the so-called ‘Warrior Vase’ from Mycenae, representing the Pictorial Style (Mannack 2002: fig. 23). With the collapse of Mycenaean culture around 1100 BC, the population shrank drastically, and most of the arts were lost. However, pottery production continued, albeit on a much smaller scale. Sub-Mycenaean potters made the same shapes as those of the later Bronze Age, but the quality of the fabric was inferior, and decoration consisted of simple wavy lines on the widest or most prominent part of the body of the vessel.

3.3 Protogeometric

The Protogeometric style of painting (c. 1050–900 BC) evolved seamlessly from Sub-Mycenaean around 950 BC and is best represented in the graves of the Athenian cemetery in the Kerameikos district. Protogeometric vases were turned on the wheel and fired at higher temperatures than their Sub-Mycenaean predecessors. Early Protogeometric vases continued to be decorated with wavy bands. Other typical ornaments are sets of oblique strokes; concentric circles and semicircles, which have double-axe or hourglass patterns in the center on Late Protogeometric vases; checkerboard, hatched and cross-hatched triangles; and cross-hatched panels on the most prominent parts of the vase. There are no human figures, but a few painters at least placed horses in unobtrusive places (Boardman 1998: fig. 13). Two main groups of pots can be distinguished: light ground, with ornaments painted using black-glaze paint on the orange-red clay, and dark-ground vases coated with black clay-paint save for a reserved band that received the ornament. Favorite shapes of this period included neck- and belly-handled amphorae, hydriai (water jars), oinochoai (lit. wine jug), lekythoi, and skyphoi (stemless cups) (see Figure 3.1 for shapes).

3.4 Geometric

The Geometric style evolved from the Protogeometric, but painters of the Geometric period stressed the constituting parts; therefore the neck and the body received separate bands of ornaments. The style is characterized by linear, rectilinear, and circular ornaments such as key patterns, battlements, meanders, and concentric circles placed in panels or encircling friezes. The Geometric period, based on pottery shapes and styles, is subdivided into Early (900–850 BC), Middle (850–750 BC), and Late (750–700 BC) (Boardman 1998: 23–24; Coldstream 1977: 385, fig. 116). The style was widespread outside of Athens and Attica, with prolific workshops recognized in Euboea, Boeotia, the region of Argos, the Cyclades, and East Greece (see Chapter 4).

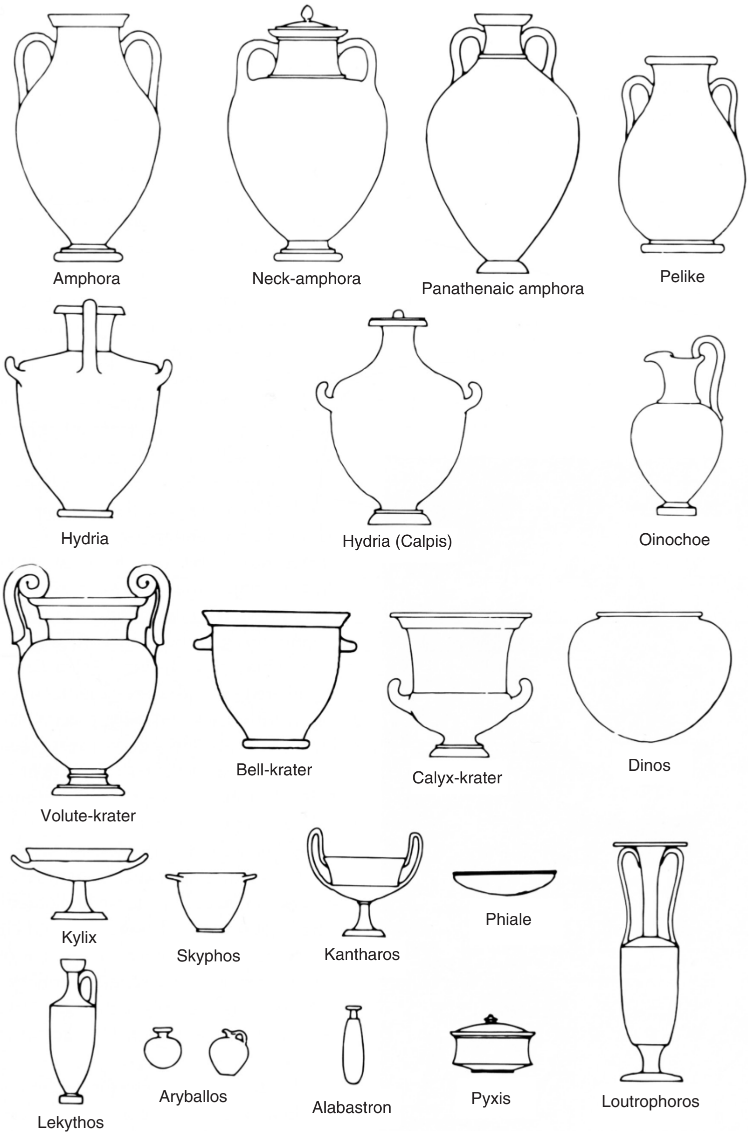
Amphora
Neck-amphora
Panathenaic amphora
Pelike
Hydria
Hydria (Calpis)
Oinochoe
Volute-krater
Bell-krater
Calyx-krater
Dinos
Kylix
Skyphos
Kantharos
Phiale
Lekythos
Aryballos
Alabastron
Pyxis
Loutrophoros

Figure 3.1 Chart of main Greek pottery shapes (after Pedley 2007: fig. 6.72).

Early Geometric vase forms evolved from their Protogeometric predecessors. Early Geometric painters continued to decorate shoulder- and neck-handled amphorae; the lekythoi of the period were largely replaced with a hybrid version with trefoil mouth, the lekythos-oinochoe; hydriai disappeared altogether; and deep skyphoi became rare. In the second half of the period, potters introduced the flat-bottomed oinochoe and shallow skyphoi with offset lips. Artists favored austerely black vases with narrow bands of ornament. With time, these bands widened, and painters added further encircling bands on the body, lightening the vases. There are no human or animal figures among the extant examples.

Middle Geometric potters introduced flat pyxides (lidded boxes) and pedestal kraters, and the elegant high-handled kantharos later in the period. Vase-painters achieved a perfect balance of light and dark areas, introduced new ornaments such as the double-axe, lozenge-chain, leaf-cross, and false spiral, and added small panels with stars or short zigzags on the shoulders of closed shapes. Early in the period, an artist painted a mourning woman and a horse on a large krater, which served as the marker of a rich grave (Coldstream 2008: 21). Thereafter, painters appear to have stopped drawing humans until the end of the period, but pictures of horses, frequently placed in metope-like panels, became increasingly popular. The clay-paint of the period is less glossy than that of the Proto- and Early Geometric phases, a detail discernable with the naked eye. Two remarkable vases mark the beginning of true figure-painting in Athens: a skyphos from Eleusis depicting battles on land and sea (Boardman 1998: fig. 41), and a monumental krater in New York with similar iconography (Mannack 2002: 74), once used as a grave marker.

The beginning of Late Geometric is marked by the conventionally named Dipylon Painter's monumental (1.62 m) belly-handled neck-amphora in Athens, dated around 760/750 BC. The impressive vase served as the grave marker of an aristocratic woman in the prestigious Dipylon cemetery, a section of the Kerameikos. The figure-scene, depicting the lying-in-state (*prothesis*) of a woman, is placed in a panel between the handles (Boardman 1998: fig. 44). The remainder of the vase is embellished with delicately balanced light and dark patterns, among them the multiple left-running meander thought to have been invented by the Dipylon Master. The Late Geometric was a time of prosperity, and contact with the Near East is attested by the first known animal friezes of kneeling goats looking backwards at the bottom of the neck, and grazing deer two-thirds up the Dipylon amphora. Monumental kraters (Figure 3.2) and neck-handled amphorae served as markers for the graves of men, and belly-handled amphorae for those of women (see Chapter 24). Smaller vases with and without figure-decoration were often placed in graves. Vases are covered with a tapestry of fine dark ornaments, resulting in what can only be termed *horror vacui*.

With the onset of figure-painting, vases can be attributed, on stylistic grounds, to particular painters if there are two (or better yet, more) by the same hand. The Dipylon Painter's figures are characteristic: the arms and chest of mourning figures form an isosceles triangle; the outline of the chest is slightly concave; and chins are prominent. This artist specialized in large funerary vases, introducing giant oinochoai, high-rimmed bowls, pitchers, and decorated standard oinochoai and tankards.

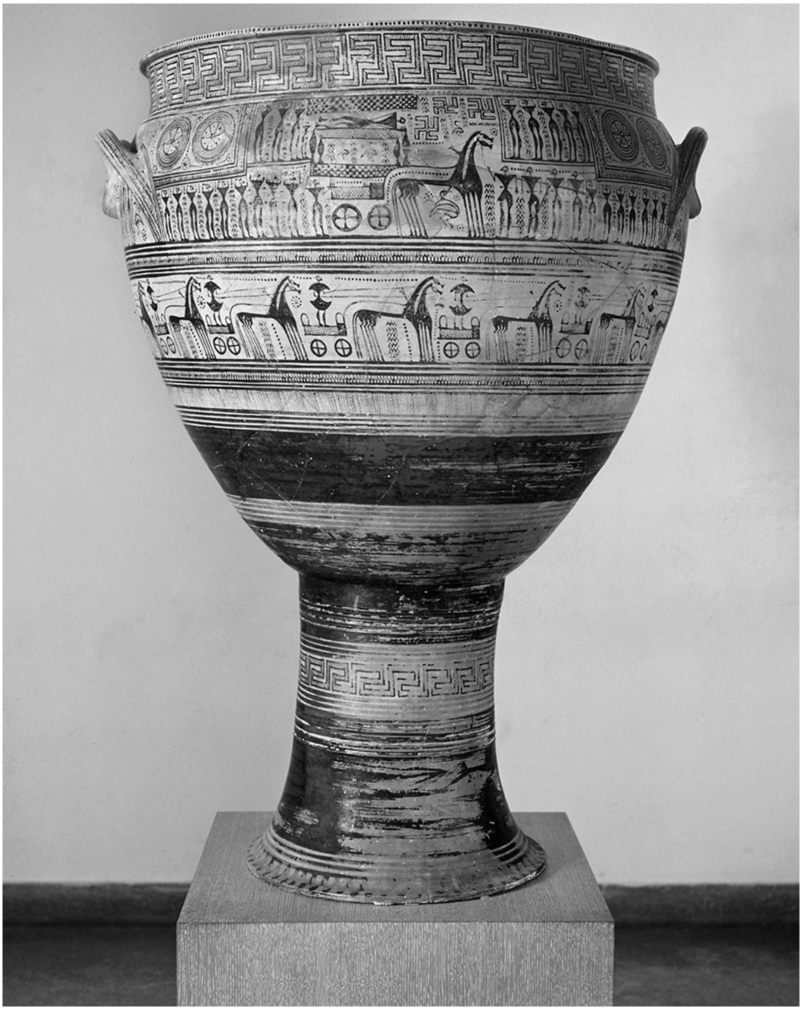

Figure 3.2 Athenian Late Geometric krater. Funeral procession. c. 745–740 BC (Athens, National Archaeological Museum A 990. Photo: akg-images/Erich Lessing).

These vases illustrate the main concerns of Geometric vase-painters: aristocratic funerals, represented by pictures of the *prothesis* – the most common theme, as seen above; funeral processions (*ekphora*), which are less frequently shown; and fighting on land and sea. Fighting scenes, it seems, ended with the Dipylon Workshop.

The second great painter of the Late Geometric period has been named the Hirschfeld Painter, after a monumental krater once in the Hirschfeld collection and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Boardman 1998: figs. 45, 47). His style differs in several regards from the Dipylon Master. For example, the arms of his mourners form rectangles, the eyes of his figures are a single black dot in the middle of an outlined face or head, and the gender of his subjects is more clearly articulated on the basis of attributes or anatomy (Coldstream 1977: 114).

In the course of the period, decoration ceases to harmonize with shape, and human and animal friezes are broadened beyond the handle zone and placed on the neck and body. Two strands of workshops can be discerned: painters working in the tradition of the Dipylon Master's workshop, and numerous others developing their own styles and subjects, among them the Workshop of Athens 897 (Davison 1961: 45–48). Towards the end of Late Geometric, vases could be adorned by four friezes on the body, shoulder, and neck, and by modeled snakes on the lip, handles, and shoulder, the latter again indicating a funerary function (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 78).

The themes and meanings of Geometric figure-scenes are contested. Human life, Homeric epics, and generic myths have been suggested, but in spite of large numbers of figures, the absence of identifying attributes and narrative often makes identification impossible. There are only a few likely candidates for mythological scenes, among them shipwrecked Odysseus and a hero (perhaps Theseus or Menelaus) abducting a woman (perhaps Ariadne or Helen). The theme of a double figure identified as the Siamese twins, Aktorione or Molione (cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.709–10; Boardman 1998: fig. 59), occurs on a number of vases but disappears with the end of Geometric painting conventions (Coldstream 1991).

3.5 Protoattic

The Orientalizing style of Athens is called Protoattic, and its dates are c. 700–600 BC. Subdivided in Early, Middle, and Late phases, it evolved naturally from the Geometric, but not without outside influences. Protoattic vases are large, occasionally even monumental. In the second half of the 8th c. BC, contact with the Near East and Egypt acquainted Greek artisans with new styles, techniques, and motifs, which vase-painters adapted and combined with the Geometric style of painting. In Athens, orientalizing inspiration may not have been direct, but arrived via Corinth. Around 700 BC, orientalizing features such as painting in outline, spiral hooks, cable-pattern, florals, and Eastern motifs such as griffins and lions began to outweigh the characteristics of the Geometric style. Among finds from Aigina, an island near Athens off the Attic coast, are vases of the period associated with the Black and White Style (see below). Notable for their imagery are a pedestal krater with Orestes killing Aigisthos (cf. Boardman 1998: fig. 209), a neck-amphora displaying Peleus and the infant Achilles on one side and the centaur Chiron on the other, and a jug, the shoulder of which is decorated with Odysseus's escape from the cave of Polyphemos, the 'name vase' of the Ram Jug Painter (Boardman 1998: figs. 206, 209). The period saw a decline in numbers of vases produced, and a further deterioration in quality: surfaces are softer, the paint less glossy and flaky.

Early Protoattic (700–675 BC) vases are characterized by outline painting and homogenous figures that move organically and have lost the stiffness of their Geometric predecessors. Charioteers are in correct proportion with their vehicles, which now have proper side rails. Incision is rare. Neck-amphorae are more slender than Geometric containers and are often adorned with modeled snakes and latticed (or fenestrated) handles; the angle between neck and body is less sharp. In Protoattic, tall and slender hydriai, often with plastic snake attachments, came back into fashion. The first painter of the new style is known as the Analatos Painter, named after the archaeological find spot of Analatos in Attica. His neck-amphora in the Louvre is the finest representative of the new style (Boardman 1998: fig. 189).

In the Middle Protoattic (675–650 BC) potters introduced ovoid kraters with fenestrated stands, and slender oinochoai termed 'Phaleron' jugs; around 650 BC, painters began to use added red paint. The Middle Protoattic Black and White Style takes its name from the combination of black clay paint with added white, and the use of black-and-white cable-pattern. While there are no certain mythological paintings from the Geometric and Early Protoattic periods, artists using the Black and White Style created a wealth of narrative paintings. Perhaps the earliest depicts Herakles fighting the centaur Nessos (*CVA* Berlin 1: pl. 11, A 21), a theme that was also chosen by the New York Nessos Painter (Boardman 1998: fig. 210), who placed the main protagonists off-center, and in the Late Protoattic by the Nettos Painter (Boardman 1974: fig. 5). An amphora excavated in Eleusis, attributed to the Polyphemos Painter, is decorated with Perseus fleeing imaginative cauldron-headed gorgons on the body, and Odysseus and his companions blinding the cyclops Polyphemos on the neck (Boardman 1998: fig. 208). The large vessel (1.42 m), which served as the final resting place for a deceased child, reveals an increasing interest in recognizable mythological narratives.

Late Protoattic (c. 650–600) potters continued to decorate large skyphos-kraters and introduced new shapes, among them the belly-amphora. Their painters used the black-figure technique consistently for figures and ornament. The earliest recognizable painters are the Painter of Berlin A 34 and the Chimaira-Nettos Painter. A fragmentary vase in Leipzig attributed to the Nettos Painter (Beazley 1986: pl. II.1) was excavated in Cerveteri and is the earliest known to have been exported to Etruria; his name-vase was the last to serve as a grave marker for more than a century (Boardman 1974: fig. 5). The Nettos Painter's animal friezes were influenced by Corinthian models, but in contrast to their single lines, he used double and triple incisions for anatomical details. Such use of incision to articulate details of anatomy, musculature, and so on represents both direct knowledge and adoption by Athenian painters of black-figure, a technique whose invention is credited to Corinth.

3.6 Painters and Techniques

Athenian black- and red-figure painters were defined by John Davidson Beazley (1885–1970), an Oxford-based scholar. In contrast to earlier – mostly German – vase scholars, Beazley did not only study pieces with signatures and of high quality, but all figure-decorated vases available to him (Mannack 2002: 18–19). He differentiated around 500 vase-painters, potters, groups, and workshops, scrutinizing shape, ornament, and style of painting. In most instances, the painters' real names are unknown. Beazley, therefore, named them after personal idiosyncrasies (Elbows Out, Worst Painter), the location of their special work (Berlin Painter), the potter they worked for (Amasis Painter, Kleophrades Painter), or a noteworthy subject (Pan Painter). Many scholars have continued this trend of naming new painters, or incorporating them into the framework established by Beazley in his legendary 'lists' of Attic black-figure (1956) and red-figure (1963) vase-painters.

The Attic pottery associated with black- and red-figure vases was made of iron-rich clay which fired to red-orange in the kiln. The paint was made of the same clay diluted with water. Clay-paint of varying thickness produces relief-lines standing proud off the surface and catching the light, applied either with a single hair (Seiterle 1976) or an icing bag (Noble 1988), and black to yellow paint. Black-figure painters sketched the figure-scene, filled the figures in with clay-paint, and incised details with a sharp instrument; red-figure painters surrounded their sketches with an eighth-of-an-inch-wide outline, added interior lines, and filled in the background. Details could be added in white (kaolinite), red (miltos), and purple clays. The final coloring developed in a three-stage firing process in which the thinner clay-paint melted and prevented the enclosed iron from being oxidized; therefore, the paint remained black, while the clay body turned orange (Cook 1997: 231–240, 259–262; see Chapter 13).

3.7 Black-figure

The full black-figure technique begins with the work of the Gorgon Painter (600–580 BC), named after a dinos showing the gorgons pursuing Perseus and warriors fighting between chariots (Boardman 1974: fig. 11), continuing the tradition of the Nettos Painter. The technique may be defined as follows: figures, both human and animal, painted in black silhouette, with their details incised, and in some cases added red or white paint. Sustained Corinthian influence is attested in the work of the Gorgon Painter by animal-style friezes below the main scenes, and the animals on his other vases, among them standed kraters, belly-amphorae, plates, and oinochoai. Also at this time, the painters of the Horse-Head Amphorae (600–550 BC), named after their preferred subject, the head of a bridled horse (Boardman 1974: fig. 18), introduced a new scheme of decoration for belly-amphorae which became canonical. Figure-scenes were placed in reserved panels, and the body was painted black. Around 100 such amphorae are known, which interestingly foreshadow Panathenaic prize amphorae (see below); one of the earliest examples was found with a vase assigned to the Nettos Painter.

The first Athenian painter to sign his name is Sophilos, active c. 580–570 BC. His name as painter is inscribed on three dinoi with narrative scenes and on one as maker, '*poietes*', probably meaning 'potter' (*CVA* Athens 1: pl. 1.1–2). He preferred large vases such as dinoi, and amphorae, and decorated the earliest known funerary plaques and lebetes gamikoi (ritual wedding vessels), as well as one of the earliest Athenian column-kraters, copying Corinthian prototypes. A signed dinos from Pharsalos (Boardman 1974: fig. 26) bears a new type of inscription: the (misspelled) caption, *Patroqlus atla*, 'the games in honor of Patroklos', appears next to a stand with spectators and the name of Achilles. Two dinoi, one in Athens and another in London (Figure 3.3), display the earliest known encircling figure friezes: the procession of gods at the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, in which each of the figures is named by inscriptions.

The same subject adorns the main frieze of the earliest Athenian volute-krater, the François Vase, made around 570 BC and signed twice by Kleitias as painter and Ergotimos as *poietes* (Figure 30.1; Boardman 1974: figs. 46.1–7). It was found in an Etruscan grave near Chiusi and is the first large Greek container to be decorated almost entirely with narrative scenes. Five of the six friezes, including one on the foot, are given over to humans, heroes, and gods. Many are innovative: the earliest known Centauromachy with Theseus and the death of Kaineus in vase-painting; the earliest Ajax carrying the body of Achilles; the only ship with an adjustable mast; and the first city walls. There are artistic innovations too: seated figures place one foot behind the other, and the chariot horses lift one front hoof. Some archaeologists have proposed that the scenes – including: the Hunt of the Kalydonian Boar; the funeral games for Patroklos; Achilles and Troilos; Theseus and his companions celebrating their escape from the Cretan labyrinth; the Return of Hephaistos; and the fight between the Pygmies and cranes – have a common theme and that the krater may have been commissioned for a wedding feast