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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM STUDIES

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BOEOTIAN ORIENTALIZING LEKANAI

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By ANNIE D. URE

In 1906 the Metropolitan Museum acquired a large black-figured bowl of a comparatively little-known type. It was published, together with other acquisitions, by Gisela M. A. Richter in *The Burlington Magazine*, 1906, volume IX, pages 204-205. I have Miss Richter's kind permission to republish it here in more detail with a number of other vases of the same family.

The New York vase is a large shallow bowl or dish with horizontal ribbon handles (see figs. 6, 7). Vases of this shape are sometimes described as plates, sometimes as cups. They are hardly drinking cups, for the flat projecting top of the rim makes drinking difficult, though the high vertical rim in itself suggests that the vessel was intended to contain fluids. It is apparently a dish for holding semifluid food such as porridge or stewed meat, and most probably it is the ancient lekane or lekanis which is described by the lexicographers as a flat and open dish or pan.¹

The uses of the word lekane and its derivatives (lekanis, lekaniske, lekanion, lekarion) show that the vessels in question served various purposes. In the fourth century B. C. the word lekarion is used for the dishes on the table of the Median king Astyages.² In the fifth Aristophanes speaks of hare served up in a lekanion,³ Telekleides uses a lekaniske for honey cakes,⁴ and (a little later) the comic poet Theopompos serves poultry in a lekane.⁵ According to Pollux,⁶ Aristophanes used the forms lekaniske and lekane also for table dishes. In his extant plays

the latter form occurs three times – for a pot to hold blacking for shoes,⁷ a hod for mortar,⁸ and a bowl to vomit into.⁹ Lekanoi were also used to wash in.¹⁰ Photius, writing in the ninth century A. D., tells us that what was known to his contemporaries as the lekane was called by the ancients a foot bath,¹¹ while they gave the name lekanion or lekanis to “vessels with ears” (perhaps handles projecting like ours) “used to hold food¹² and the like.” For all of the above functions vases like our large shallow bowls would do admirably. Another usage for which our bowls would be appropriate is the practice of lekanomancy. In this rite a lekane (obviously a shallow bowl) is filled with water upon which oil is poured, forming a liquid mirror in which images are seen. Most of the evidence for this rite is Hellenistic or later, but the practice is known to go back to very ancient times.¹³

It is not easy to differentiate between the various forms of the name. One would expect lekaniske, lekanion, and lekarion to be diminutives of lekane or lekanis. But on fifth-century evidence alone the word lekane, though used for a vessel large enough to wash the feet in, was also used for one small enough to be employed at table. From Pollux¹⁴ we infer that Aristophanes used the three forms, lekane, lekaniske, and lekanion, indifferently. That being so, the word lekane can safely be used to indicate a vessel of this kind in any size. There is a further complication caused by the fact that though the majority of the bowls of this shape,

¹ Suidas, Photius, Hesychius, s.v.

² Xenophon *Cyropaedia* I. 3, 4.

³ *Acharnians* 1110.

⁴ Quoted in Athenaios VI. 268c.

⁵ Pollux VI. 86.

⁶ VI. 86.

⁷ *Wasps* 600.

⁸ *Birds* 840, 1143.

⁹ *Clouds* 907.

¹⁰ Athenaios V. 197b; Pollux X. 76.

¹¹ cf. also Pollux X. 77.

¹² ὄψον, i.e., food other than bread.

¹³ For lekanomancy, see Ganszyniec in *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. XII, cols. 1879-1889.

¹⁴ VI. 86.



FIG. 1 (NO. 1). LEKANE IN THE ANTIQUARIUM, BERLIN



FIG. 2 (NO. 1). MEDALLION IN THE INTERIOR OF THE LEKANE SHOWN IN FIGURE 1



FIG. 3 (NO. 2). MEDALLION IN THE INTERIOR OF A LEKANE IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS

including all that are published in this paper, are not intended to have lids, there is a lidded variety, of which comparatively few examples have survived. These lidded bowls would be specially suitable for hot stews and the like, but there is nothing to indicate what was the form of their name. The form lekane was certainly used for the lidless variety. The purposes to which Aristophanes put the lekane in the *Birds* and the *Clouds* would be best met by a lidless vessel, and the lekane used for lekanomancy



FIG. 4 (NO. 3). MEDALLION IN THE INTERIOR OF THE LEKANE SHOWN IN FIGURE 5

does not require a lid. On these grounds, therefore, we will use the form lekane for the lidless table dishes dealt with here.

The best-known examples of this type of lid-

¹⁵ Stais, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1890, vol. XV, pp. 320-329.

¹⁶ For Vourva ware in general, see Pfuhl, vol. I, pp. 124, 126.

¹⁷ A. D. Ure, *J. H. S.*, 1929, vol. XLIX, pp. 160 f.

¹⁸ These lekanai fall within the class II.B³-i.d. of the classification in *Boeotian Pottery of the Geometric and Archaic Styles*, by P. N. Ure, published in connection with the *Corpus vasorum antiquorum*. I have dealt very briefly with them in *Sixth & Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, edited by P. N. Ure, pp. 31 f. The most exhaustive discussion of the fabric is that of Knepovitch, *Isvestia*, 1922, vol. II, pp. 165-176, who publishes the three lekanai in the Hermitage (nos. 6, 14, 25 of our list; cf. below, pp. 23, 24, 28-29) and connects with them Athens, Nicole, 891 (our no. 2). This series of four he assigns, in spite of the Boeotian char-

acter of the clay, to the Vourva style and dates about 580 to 570 B. C. ¹⁹ Holwerda, p. 20, no. 36. ²⁰ Fairbanks, vol. I, p. 193, no. 552. ²¹ Pharmakowski, *Arch. Anz.*, 1911, p. 228; Pfuhl, vol. I, pp. 126, 151. ²² Buschor, *Greek Vase Painting* (English trans.), p. 83. ²³ Furtwängler, no. 1661; Richter, *Burlington Magazine*, 1906, vol. IX, p. 204. ²⁴ Scheurleer, *C. V.*, *Pays-Bas*, fasc. 1, III G, pp. 4 f.; Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*, p. 28, no. D 32; and others. ²⁵ Scheurleer, *loc. cit.*, and Beazley, *J. H. S.*, 1929, vol. XLIX, p. 287 (both with a query).

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¹⁹ Holwerda, p. 20, no. 36.

²⁰ Fairbanks, vol. I, p. 193, no. 552.

²¹ Pharmakowski, *Arch. Anz.*, 1911, p. 228; Pfuhl, vol. I, pp. 126, 151.

²² Buschor, *Greek Vase Painting* (English trans.), p. 83.

²³ Furtwängler, no. 1661; Richter, *Burlington Magazine*, 1906, vol. IX, p. 204.

²⁴ Scheurleer, *C. V.*, *Pays-Bas*, fasc. 1, III G, pp. 4 f.; Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*, p. 28, no. D 32; and others.

²⁵ Scheurleer, *loc. cit.*, and Beazley, *J. H. S.*, 1929, vol. XLIX, p. 287 (both with a query).

tion of the entire series can its true nature be seen. The style of the vases is composite, mainly Attic, but with elements derived from Corinthian and Chalcidian, and still more from East Greek ware. This is what we should expect of the Boeotian potters, who lived by borrowing.²⁶ I hope to show that this orientalizing series also is from Boeotia, possibly southern Boeotia, and that its date is probably a little

and bands of large ivy leaves, purple and black. The grouping of the animals is not always symmetrical, and while the central point of a group is generally midway between the handles there are experiments at putting it under the handle (no. 23) or even a quarter of the way round (no. 22; fig. 23). Inside the bowl there is a Black-Figure medallion containing usually a single figure—human, semi-human, or animal.

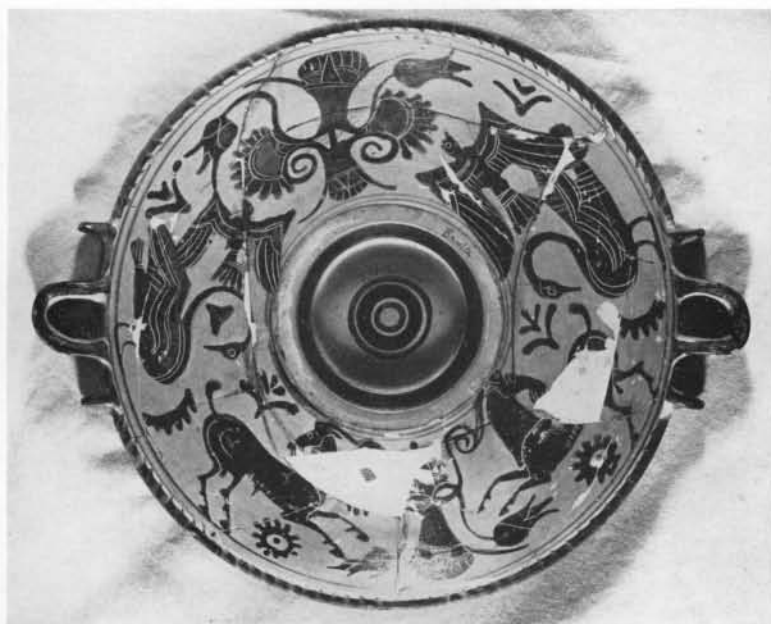


FIG. 5 (NO. 3). LEKANE IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY, HEIDELBERG

later than that of the "geometricizing" vases.²⁷

These Boeotian "orientalizing" lekanai are designed with a view to hanging upon a wall when not in use.²⁸ The decoration on the outside consists of zones of animals in heraldic grouping with their feet to the rim of the vase and their heads to the foot, single or double bands of lotoses and palmettes or of lotoses alone,

Only two vases have mythological scenes. On the first vase (fig. 1) a scene in the realm of Poseidon on one half of the vase balances the usual heraldic animals on the other. A boar hunt, no doubt reminiscent of Kalydon, figures on both sides of a lekanai in Bonn (no. 9; fig. 14), but it is careless and uninteresting, and, apart from an attempt to indicate scenery by a

²⁶ Pfuhl, vol. I, p. 127.

²⁷ In using the term "geometricizing" for the lekanai and other vases published in *J. H. S.*, 1929, vol. XLIX, pp. 160 ff., I followed Pfuhl, vol. I, p. 207, whose account of the subject was the clearest and most comprehensive. But in adopting the term "orientalizing" for the New York vase and its fellows I differ from Pfuhl, who does not include any lekanai in his "Boeotian

Orientalizing Animal-Frieze Style." The animal lekanai of my list are as a matter of fact more Oriental than Pfuhl's "orientalizing" group, so much so that Pfuhl does not regard them as Boeotian but as genuine East Greek work (p. 151, § 145 end).

²⁸ cf. the banquet scene on the shoulder of the Louvre krater, Pottier, *C. V.*, France, fasc. 2, III H d, pl. 21.

few rudely drawn tree trunks, the composition is as heraldic as on some of the purely animal friezes. The style of the whole series is essentially decorative and not descriptive.

The series falls into two groups, the first comprising twenty vases, the second twelve. The first twenty have so many small details in common that they must have been made under the close supervision of a single individual. The inside of the bowl has the reserved medallion framed by one purple circle, and there are two purple circles close together



FIG. 6 (NO. 4). MEDALLION IN THE INTERIOR OF THE LEKANE SHOWN IN FIGURE 7

about midway between the medallion and the rim. On the reserved bottom of the vase within the foot ring there are three circles, the middle circle black and broader than the rest, the inner and the outer circle purple. On the body of the vase immediately above the foot ring there is a broad purple band and above that two fine lines in black glaze, often thinned to brown. This unusual arrangement of black and purple lines is found on every vase of the first group except number 5 (fig. 9) and number 13. Number 13 is only half the normal size: owing to the smallness of the space inside the foot ring the black circle has been reduced to a black spot in the center with two small purple circles round it. Number 5 (figs. 8 and 9) de-

parts from the normal in several respects: inside there are no purple lines except the one immediately round the medallion; outside there are no purple and black bands above the foot ring (where chevrons and dotted crosses reach right down to the foot); and on the bottom there are two fine purple circles outside the normal group of three. With the exception of these two vases, all the members of the series are uniform. They are not all painted by the same hand, but there must have been close collaboration in their manufacture. The outside of the rim is always decorated with vertical bars, generally thicker at the top than at the bottom, and therefore sometimes resembling roughly drawn leaves. The clay is of a yellowish buff tending to pink. The black paint is of varying quality, often brownish and lacking in luster.

The list of these Boeotian "orientalizing" lekanoi²⁹ is as follows:

(1) Berlin, Antiquarium, Vas. Inv. 3390.³⁰ Figs. 1 and 2. Diam. .315m. Exterior: (A) Triton, Poseidon, dolphin, and dog between pegasoi; (B) siren between lions. Interior: silen running to left.

(2) Athens, Nicole, 891.³¹ Nicole, *Catalogue*

²⁹ My thanks are due to the directors of museums and others who have very kindly allowed me to publish photographs of vases in their collections: in particular to Professor Delbrueck (for figs. 14, 15, 23, 24), Mr. Karouzos (for figs. 12, 13, 30), Professor Koch (for figs. 18, 19), Professor Mayence (for figs. 27, 29), Dr. A. Preyss (for fig. 28), Mr. Rhomaios (for figs. 21, 22), and Professor von Salis (for figs. 4, 5, 10, 11, 25, 26). I am also indebted for information and other help to Miss Brants, Dr. Herbig, Dr. Koethe, Dr. Scheurleer, Professor Waldhauer, and Professor Watzinger. To Professor Zahn I am specially indebted, not only for the photographs reproduced in figures 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 16, and 17, but also for much valuable information concerning unpublished material.

³⁰ Kekule von Stradonitz, *Jahrbuch d. königl. preuss. Kunstsamml.*, 1898, vol. XIX, p. XXIV; Nilsson, *Jahrbuch des deutschen arch. Inst.*, 1903, vol. XVIII, p. 130, note 11.

³¹ Pfuhl, vol. I, pp. 126, 151, vol. III, fig. 128; Buschor, *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1915, vol. 35, col. 315; Knepovitch, *Isvestia*, 1922, vol. II, pp. 169 f.; Perrot and Chipiez, vol. X, p. 795.

des vases peints: Supplément, pl. X. Fig. 3. Diam. .38m. Ext.: (A) lions facing; (B) panthers facing; beneath each handle a pegasos. Int.: rider on lion.

(3) Heidelberg University, I, 45. Figs. 4 and 5. Diam. .24m. Ext.: (A) palmette-lotos ornament, and on each side of it a goat; (B) palmette-lotos ornament, and on each side of it a flying bird; beneath each handle (approximately) a swan. Int.: goat.

ther facing goat; (B) panther facing boar; beneath one handle a panther. Int.: man running to left.

(7) Heidelberg University, VI, 25. Figs. 10 and 11. Diam. .263m. Ext.: (A) panther facing bull; (B) panther facing boar; beneath one handle a lion. Int.: silen running to right.

(8) Thebes. Figs. 12 and 13. Diam. .195m. Ext.: (A) palmette-lotos ornament between lion and panther; (B) bull between lion and pan-



FIG. 7 (NO. 4). LEKANE IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

(4) New York, Metropolitan Museum, 06.1021.16.³² Figs. 6 and 7. Diam. .305m. Ext.: (A) goat between lions; (B) panther attacking retreating bull and lion pulling down bull; by one handle a swan. Int.: dolphin.

(5) Berlin, Antiquarium, Vas. Inv. 5845. Figs. 8 and 9. Diam. .295m. Ext.: (A) palmette-lotos ornament between lions; (B) horse between panthers. Int.: youth on horseback.

(6) Leningrad, Hermitage, 13908.³³ *Isvestia*, 1922, vol. II, pl. X. Diam. .265m. Ext.: (A) pan-

ther. Int.: silen running to right.

(9) Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 303. Figs. 14 and 15. Diam. .18m. Ext.: (A and B) boar hunt. Int.: warrior with Boeotian shield.

(10) London, British Museum, 1914, 4-13.3.³⁴ Smith and Pryce, *C. V., Great Britain*, fasc. 2, III H e, pl. 7, 2a and b. Diam. .318m. Ext.: double palmette-lotos band. Int.: crouching warrior with Boeotian shield.

(11) Berlin, Antiquarium, Furtwängler, 1661. Figs. 16 and 17. Diam. .36m. Ext.: double pal-

³² Sambon, p. 56, no. 213, pl. XIII; Richter, *Burlington Magazine*, 1906, vol. IX, pp. 204-205.

³³ Knepovitch, *Isvestia*, 1922, vol. II, pp. 165 f., pl. X;

Waldhauer, p. 60; Pharmakowski, *Arch. Anz.*, 1904, p. 106; Pfuhl, vol. I, p. 126.

³⁴ Beazley, *J. H. S.*, 1929, vol. XLIX, p. 287.

mette-lotos band. Int.: horse.

(12) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 552.³⁵ Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases*, vol. I, pl. LXII. Diam. .272m. Ext.: single palmette-lotos band. Int.: bearded head.

(13) In a private collection. Diam. .145m. Ext.: double palmette-lotos band. Int.: woman's head drawn in outline.

(14) Leningrad, Hermitage, 17454.³⁶ *Isvestia*, 1922, vol. II, pl. XII; *Arch. Anz.*, 1911, pp. 231 f., figs. 38-40. Diam. .275m. Ext.: lotos band. Int.:



FIG. 8 (NO. 5). MEDALLION IN THE INTERIOR OF THE LEKANE SHOWN IN FIGURE 9

fore part of lion.

(15) Madrid, Leroux, no. 23. Mérida, *C. V., Espagne*, fasc. 1, III H d, pl. 1, no. 1, a, b, and c. Diam. .27m. Ext.: lotos band. Int.: fore part of lion.

(16) Leyden. Brants, *Description of the Ancient Pottery in Leiden*, part II, pl. XVI, no. 11. Diam. .31m. Ext.: (above) lotos band; (below) tongue pattern. Int.: lion.

(17) Leipzig University, T 2332. Figs. 18 and 19. Diam. .269m. Ext.: (above) band of tongue pattern; (below) ivy leaves. Int.: panther.

(18) Leyden, Holwerda, III. 36. Brants, *De-*

scription of the Ancient Pottery in Leiden, part II, pl. XVI, nos. 10, 10a. Diam. .31m. Ext.: same as number 17. Int.: centaur hurling stone.

(19) Yale University, Stoddard Collection, 186. Baur, *Catalogue*, figs. 16 and 43. Handles modern. Diam. .292m. Ext.: two rows of ivy leaves separated by a zone of S-pattern. Int.: panther.

(20) Reading University, 27.iv.8. Fig. 20. Fragmentary. Diam. as preserved .16m. Ext.: ivy leaves as on no. 17 (fig. 18). Int.: lion.

The vases are grouped here in accordance with the character of the decoration on the outside—animal friezes, palmette-lotos, lotos, and ivy bands. Of the first eight animal vases, numbers 1 to 3 (figs. 1 to 5) fall together, being less coarsely drawn than the others. Particularly noticeable are the presence of winged creatures and the rows of fine white dots which decorate wings³⁷ and drapery. The animals do not walk but stand with one forefoot—or both—raised. The field ornament includes, besides the common dotted circles, groups of leaves placed chevronwise, a cross with its angles filled with parallel angles, familiar on Klazomenian sarcophagi and Rhodian “Wild-Goat” pottery, an object shaped like a detached antler, and black triangles. Numbers 6 to 8 (figs. 10-13) are coarser and more monotonous. Winged creatures are absent. The animals walk, the panthers of number 7 (fig. 10), like those of number 5 (fig. 9), with an impossible gait. There are fewer leaves and more dots. The backs of the quadrupeds are bordered by rows of dots when the space is not occupied by their tails; their legs also have parallel rows of dots, which on one side of number 8 (fig. 12) are elongated into dashes. The small and carelessly painted Bonn vase (no. 9; fig. 14) has little in the field but dashes and dots, some purple, some black. The New York vase (no. 4; figs. 6, 7) is transi-

³⁵ Beazley, *J. H. S.*, 1929, vol. XLIX, p. 287.

³⁶ Knepovitch, *Isvestia*, 1922, vol. II, pp. 167 f.; Pharmakowski, *Arch. Anz.*, 1911, p. 228, figs. 38-40; Pfuhl, vol. I, p. 192.

³⁷ Present, though scarcely visible on the photographs, on the wings of the pegasoi and siren of no. 1 and of the flying birds and the swans of no. 3.

tional between these two groups. The comparative carefulness of the drawing connects it with the finer group, while its field ornament, which includes the abundant leaves and black triangles of numbers 1 to 3 (figs. 1, 5) and the rows of dots and dashes of numbers 6 to 9 (figs. 10, 12, 14), combines the characteristics of both groups. The abnormal Berlin vase (no. 5; fig. 9) goes with number 4 (fig. 7).

lions of the animal bowls (see below). The same lion, complete with body, occurs on the lotos bowl in Leyden (no. 16) and on the ivy-band bowl in Reading (no. 20). Further, the human parts of the centaur in the ivy-band bowl in Leyden are in every respect like the corresponding parts of the silens in the animal bowls numbers 7 and 8 (figs. 11, 13). The leaves arranged chevronwise which occur as field or-



FIG. 9 (NO. 5). LEKANE IN THE ANTIQUARIUM, BERLIN

The bowls with bands of palmettes and lotoses are connected with the animal bowls by the warrior in the medallion of number 10 who is almost identical with that in the medallion of number 9 (fig. 15). The lotos frieze of number 14 repeats the half-open lotos found between the palmettes of number 11 (fig. 16), and the tiny ivy leaves in the spaces formed by the intersecting stems are also found on a larger scale on number 11. Further, the lotos bowls numbers 14 and 15 are connected with the animal bowls by the fact that the lotos bowls have in the medallion the fore part of a lion with the peculiar type of head invariably found on the

element on all the animal bowls are found also on the ivy bowls in Leyden, Reading, and Yale. There are thus a considerable number of connecting links between the bowls with animal friezes, the palmette and lotos bowls, and the ivy bowls.

The lekanoi of the second subdivision do not form such a compact group as the first twenty. They differ from the preceding group in having two purple circles instead of one immediately round the medallion and two more distinctly nearer to the rim than the corresponding pair in the first group. There is no uniformity in the circles painted on the bottom. Except



FIG. 10 (NO. 7). LEKANE IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
OF THE UNIVERSITY, HEIDELBERG



FIG. 11 (NO. 7). MEDALLION IN THE INTERIOR
OF THE LEKANE SHOWN IN FIGURE 10



FIG. 12 (NO. 8). LEKANE IN THE
MUSEUM, THEBES



FIG. 13 (NO. 8). INTERIOR OF THE LEKANE
SHOWN IN FIGURE 12



FIG. 14 (NO. 9). LEKANE IN THE
AKADEMISCHES KUNSTMUSEUM, BONN



FIG. 15 (NO. 9). INTERIOR OF THE LEKANE
SHOWN IN FIGURE 14

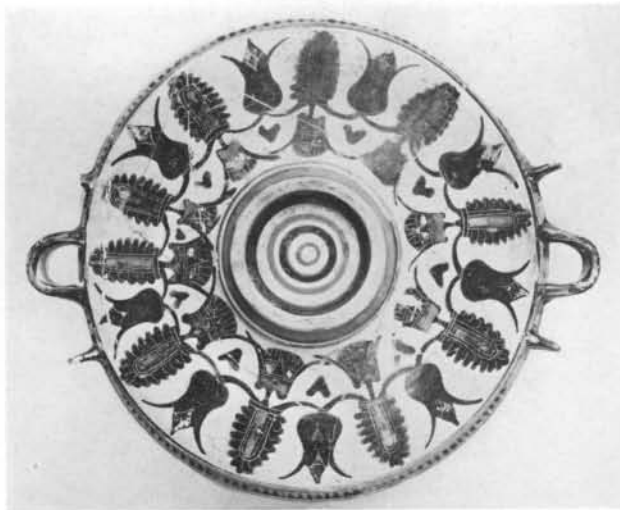


FIG. 16 (NO. 11). LEKANE IN THE ANTIQUARIUM, BERLIN



FIG. 17 (NO. 11). MEDALLION IN THE INTERIOR
OF THE LEKANE SHOWN IN FIGURE 16

where otherwise stated there are the usual vertical bars on the rim. Numbers 21 to 25 (figs. 21, 23, 26) have around the foot radiating bars and above them two fine lines, one purple, one black. The commonest field ornament is a small smudgy black rosette. Plain circles appear in the field and rows of dots are common. The Ionic field ornament is disappearing.

(21) Athens, 13919. Figs. 21 and 22. Diam. .31m. Ext.: (A and B) palmette-lotos orna-

(b) sphinx and swan. Int.: fore part of horse. On bottom: a purple circle at the center, another at the outer edge, between them a black circle.

(23) Jean Sauphar Collection. *Sale Catalogue*, no. 55, pl. V. Diam. .32m. Ext.: (A) boar between two panthers; (B) panther between two bulls. The central figure of each group comes not in the middle of each side but roughly under the handle. Int.: centaur.³⁸

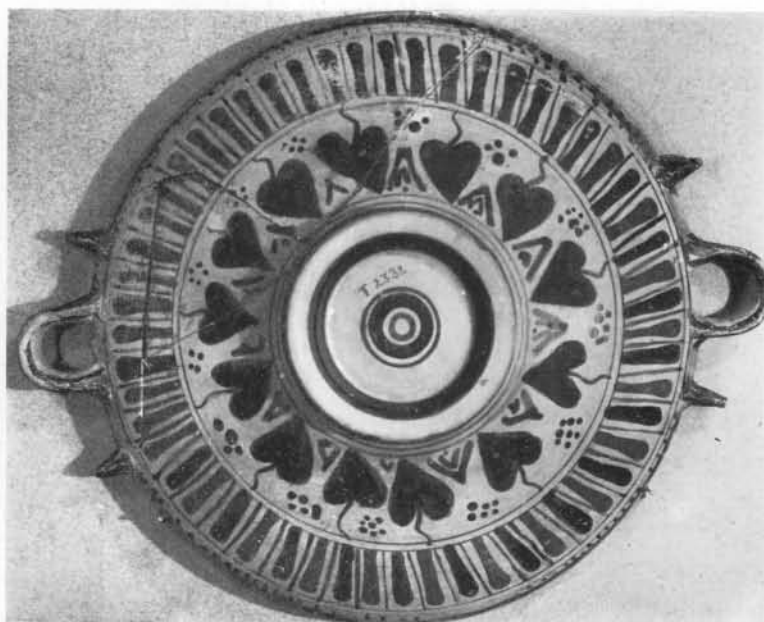


FIG. 18 (NO. 17). LEKANE IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY, LEIPZIG

ment between sphinx and panther; by one handle a stork (?). Int.: Minotaur running to right with a stone in each hand. On bottom: a broad black circle between two purple circles, as in the first group.

(22) Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 337. Figs. 23 and 24. Diam. .308m. The decoration, both inside and out, is planned not in relation to the axis of the handles but to a line drawn horizontally through the middle of the vase when it rests on its rim and the right handle projection. Ext.: (A and B) panther and sphinx facing; between them a small lotos ornament; dividing the groups, (a) panther,

(24) Heidelberg University, VI, 26. Figs. 25 and 26. Diam. .305m. Ext.: (A and B) palmette-lotos ornament between a pair of sirens. The central point of each group comes under the handle. Int.: cock (?) with lotos bud springing from its back. The pair of purple circles usually found near the rim are lacking. On bottom: a large black central dot, a black circle, and (near the foot ring) one purple circle.

(25) Leningrad, Hermitage, 13833.³⁹ Diam.

³⁸ I have not seen this vase and know it only from the illustration of the exterior in the sale catalogue. Beyond a doubt it is very closely related to nos. 21 and 22.

³⁹ *Otchet Archeologicheskoi Kommissii*, 1903, pp. 152f.

.31m. *Isvestia*, 1922, vol. II, pl. XI. Ext.: palmettes-lotos band. Int.: gorgoneion. On bottom: a broad black circle between two purple circles, the outer one very close to the foot ring.

(26) Brussels, Cinquantenaire, A1389. Figs. 27 and 29. Diam. .298m. Ext.: palmette-lotos band, very much worn. Int.: *aigalektryon*. Above foot ring: two black circles. On bottom: central dot and one black circle. On outside of rim: zigzags.

VIII. Diam. .265m. Ext.: band of lotos flowers and buds alternately. Int.: horse to right led by bearded man. Above foot ring: a row of dotted crosses, and above them two black circles. On bottom: central purple dot and black circle. On outside of rim: chevrons similar to those over the back of the grazing horse of number 5 (fig. 9).

(29) Thebes, Rhitsona grave 102, no. 33. P. N. Ure, *Sixth & Fifth Century Pottery from*



FIG. 19 (NO. 17). INTERIOR OF THE LEKANE SHOWN IN FIGURE 18

(27) Munich, Dr. A. Prey's collection. Fig. 28. Diam. .25m. Ext.: alternate palmettes and lotos buds. Int.: bearded head to right. Above foot ring: row of black dots, and above them a black circle. On bottom: central dot and two black circles.

(28) Cairo, 26.177.⁴⁰ Edgar, *Greek Vases* (*Catalogue général du Musée du Caire*), pl.

fig. 304 a, b; Knepovitch, *Isvestia*, 1922, vol. II, pp. 166 f.

⁴⁰ Watzinger, *Arch. Anz.*, 1902, p. 156; Pfuhl, vol. I, p. 192; Buschor, *Greek Vase Painting* (English trans.), p. 83. For additional information about this vase, which I have not seen, I am indebted to Hamza Effendi.

Rhitsona, pl. XII, pp. 31 f., 86. Diam. .275m. Ext.: band of crosses, the angles and the spaces in the field filled with chevrons; below this, band of purple ivy leaves pointing downwards, also with chevrons in the field. Int.: two purple circles in the normal position near the rim; within these the surface is entirely worn away. On bottom: central dot and one black circle. On outside of rim: chevrons.

The two following vases stand by themselves. They are exceptionally large. Inside there are no purple lines. All is black except for a reserved band 1 cm. broad in the position where the edge of a medallion would normally come.

(30) Thebes. Fig. 30. Diam. .405m. Ext.: (A and B) palmette-lotos ornament between a pair of sphinxes; beneath each handle, the fore part of a lion in a panel marked off by double rows of dots. Above foot ring: pointed rays, and above them two black lines. On bottom: central dot and three circles in black. On outside of rim: zigzags.

(31) The Hague, Musée Scheurleer, inv. 887.⁴¹ Scheurleer, *C. V., Pays-Bas*, fasc. 1, III G, pl. 2, no. 5. Diam. .378m. Ext.: (A and B) pair of sphinxes facing; beneath each handle pal-



FIG. 20 (NO. 20). INTERIOR OF A FRAGMENTARY LEKYTHOS IN THE UNIVERSITY COLLECTION, READING

mette-lotos ornament. Above foot ring: two black circles. On bottom: central dot and three circles in black.

Finally there is one curious lekythos in Tübingen. The outside is an exuberant and incompetent imitation of the animal friezes of the first group, while the inside has the same scheme as the second.

(32) Tübingen, D32. Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*, pl. 13. Diam. .275m. Ext.: animal frieze—panthers, ducks, grazing deer, long-legged bird. Int.: man and woman. Immediately round the medallion there are two purple circles; two more close to the rim. On bottom: a large black central spot surrounded by two black circles.

It can hardly be doubted that the second group (numbers 21-32; figs. 21-30) was made in conscious dependence upon the first group (numbers 1-20; figs. 1-20). The range of subjects is the same—animal friezes, palmette-lotos, lotos, and ivy bands. Numbers 21 to 23 (figs. 21, 23) have the Ionic crosses so frequent on the vases of the first group. The circles on the bottom of number 21 (fig. 21) are those characteristic of the first group. The Minotaur of number 21 (fig. 22) is akin to the centaur and silens of the first group, and the horse *protome* of number 22 (fig. 24) has the same abundant mane as the horse of number 11 (fig. 17), the hair of each rising over the forehead into a cushion-like tuft similar to that on the heads of the lions. On the palmette-lotos bands we find similar combinations of palmettes with both the full-blown and the half-opened lotos. We even find the same incapacity to make a satisfactory join where the ends of the band meet, for on number 25 the join is made with an irregular double palmette, just as on number 11 (fig. 16) there is a reduplication of a palmette-lotos and on numbers 10, 12, and 14 an unsightly overlapping. Further, the ivy leaf and chevron lekane from Rhitsona is hardly likely to have evolved quite independently of numbers 17 (fig. 18) to 20. On the other hand there are many differences. The rich filling ornament dwindles to nothing but smudgy rosettes and rows of dots. The animal scenes become duller and duller, consisting mainly of heraldic sphinxes and sirens with conventional ornament. What the duller vases lack in interest they endeavor to make up for in size: number 30 (fig. 30) measures over forty centimeters and number 31 is not much smaller. There are several details of drawing that are foreign to the first group. All the subjects in the medallions except the bearded head of number 27 (fig. 28) and the centaur of number 23 are new.

For the dating of this ware there is no external evidence. ⁴¹ Vente Dubois, Paris, 1910, no. 28, cited in Scheurleer, *C. V., Pays-Bas*, fasc. 1, III G, p. 4, pl. 2, no. 5.



FIG. 21 (NO. 21). LEKANE IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS



FIG. 22 (NO. 21). INTERIOR OF THE LEKANE SHOWN IN FIGURE 21



FIG. 23 (NO. 22). LEKANE IN THE AKADEMISCHES KUNSTMUSEUM, BONN



FIG. 24 (NO. 22). INTERIOR OF THE LEKANE SHOWN IN FIGURE 23

nal evidence except that of grave 102 at Rhitsona where lekane number 29 was found in a single-interment grave in company with one hundred and six other vases⁴² which date the burial about 530 B. C. One may assume that the compact group of numbers 1 to 20 (figs. 1 to 20), which is more original and more homogeneous than the other group, is rather earlier than the vases for which it served to some extent as a pattern. There is nothing in the style of any of the vases to suggest a date very much



FIG. 25 (NO. 24). MEDALLION IN THE INTERIOR OF THE LEKANE SHOWN IN FIGURE 26

earlier than 530 B. C. The drawing of the bull on the New York vase (no. 4; fig. 7) and the triangular white patches on his coat show that this vase at least cannot be dated much before then.⁴³ The ten years between 540 and 530 B. C. probably represent the vogue of the style.

It is now time to consider what influences were at work in the making of this rather nondescript ware. The shape of the bowls is Attic, being that of the Vourva bowls. The animal friezes are in origin Corinthian, though here it is the Attic animal style rather than its Corinthian model that is followed. The orientalizing appearance of the bowls of the first group is due to the field ornament, which is pure East Greek. Every element of it can be found in the

"Wild-Goat Oinochoe" style of pottery⁴⁴ or on Klazomenian sarcophagi. The bands of lotos buds and flowers (nos. 14, 15, 16, 28) and the lateral lotoses that curl out from the palmette-lotos ornament (nos. 3, 5, 8, 21, 24, 30, 31; figs. 5, 9, 12, 21, 26, 30) suggest Chalcidian influence, though the absence of the little swelling just below the blossom that characterizes the Chalcidian lotos implies that the influence proceeded through Attic channels. The full-blown lotos is of the Attic type with three large petals, as distinct from the Corinthian and the Chalcidian with only two.⁴⁵ No two palmette-lotos bands are alike, but all in the first group have an unusually elongated palmette, while the middle zone of the full-blown lotos beneath the three large petals is painted white (see fig. 16). The type of palmette-lotos band found in the second group (nos. 25, 26; fig. 29) is the one commonly used by Attic painters. That on number 26 can be exactly paralleled on Tyrrhenian amphorae, e.g., Louvre, *C. V., France*, fascicle 1, III H d, plate 2. The drawing of the animals also approximates to the Attic as seen in the Tyrrhenian amphorae. Necks are painted purple and there are the usual purple patches on the bodies. Panthers have white brows and noses in the first group, purple in the second. But while most of the animals have no very distinctive features, the heads of the lions of the first group are rendered in a peculiar way. The hair immediately round the face is represented by a white frill, which is continued beyond the ear into a cushion-shaped tuft on top of the head. I know of no close parallel to this. The nearest occurs on a fragment of a lekane lid from Gela,⁴⁶ now

⁴² For catalogue of the grave see P. N. Ure, *Sixth & Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, pp. 85 f.

⁴³ Compare the bulls with which Herakles or Theseus wrestles so often on Attic lekythoi of about 530 to 490 B. C.

⁴⁴ See Price, p. 11. Specially close are plates of the Wild-Goat style, e.g., Salzmann, pls. L, LIV. cf. also Fairbanks, vol. I, pl. XXXIV *passim*.

⁴⁵ Thiersch, p. 70.

⁴⁶ Orsi, *Mon. Ant.*, vol. XVII, p. 431, fig. 309.

in Syracuse, where white is used in the same way; but the tuft on top of the head is lower and less cushion-like than ours, there are incisions over the white, and the purple mane ends at the bottom in the familiar Attic "flame" border. This lekane lid belongs to a peculiar series of vases made in the first half of the sixth century by an Attic potter⁴⁷ and with him this rendering of a lion's head is rare. His normal

spotted necks of the panthers of number 22 (fig. 23) (two with tiny incised circles and one with purple spots) recall the bowl and lid fragments of the same vase in Leipzig on which the panthers have necks spotted with white. The only lion-heads of the second group, the *protomai* of number 30 (fig. 30), are of a totally different type from those of the first group. This is also an Attic type with the hair on the head and



FIG. 26 (NO. 24). LEKANE IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY, HEIDELBERG

type (with both the mane and the hair round the face represented by incisions on the black glaze) is seen on another fragment from the same lid now in Leipzig.⁴⁸ The partial resemblance to our lions of this isolated example in Syracuse is probably fortuitous, although the

round the face incised over black and a purple mane ending at the bottom in a "flame" border. The mixed animal forms, the animal *protomai* and the human heads, are Eastern in origin, but it is a question whether they were derived directly from Ionia or came by way of Attica. Parallels can be found in the contemporary Attic "Little-Master" cups. Compare for example the medallion of number 22 (fig. 24) with the horse *protome* and rider in a cup by Xenokles in Boston,⁴⁹ or the *aigalektryon* of number 26 (fig. 27) with the *hippalektryon* of another cup by the same potter in Baltimore.⁵⁰ The woman's head in outline of number 13 recalls the ladies of Eucheiros, Hermogenes, and Sa-

⁴⁷ This series though Attic shows unusually strong Corinthian influence; cf. Thiersch, p. 142 f., and Pfuhl, vol. I, § 254. To their list I would add, as well as the fragmentary lidded lekane from Gela, a large lidded lekane in Palermo and a black-bodied amphora in Naples (2623).

⁴⁸ Nilsson, *Jahrbuch des deutschen arch. Inst.*, 1903, vol. XVIII, pl. IX.

⁴⁹ Hoppin, p. 418.

⁵⁰ *Idem*, p. 410.

konides.⁵¹ It is, however, much coarser and heavier and faces, like our bearded heads, to the right, while the "Little-Master" heads turn normally to the left.

A peculiar feature is the treatment of the drapery of both Triton and Poseidon on number 1 (fig. 1). Not only does the himation hang strangely but the rows of dots which normally form the borders of garments here decorate the folds, running vertically up the chiton of Triton and obliquely across the himation of Po-



FIG. 27 (NO. 26). MEDALLION IN THE INTERIOR OF THE LEKANE SHOWN IN FIGURE 29

seidon. This seems to be an isolated experiment, but it recalls the habit of the Boeotian potter Gamedes, who used rows of white dots to excess, even to the point of decorating the horns and shoulders of animals with them.⁵²

The decoration as a whole, then, consists of a mixture of foreign elements, amongst which Attic predominates, together with a certain number of local peculiarities. This accords well

⁵¹ Hoppin, pp. 85, 121 f., 320 f.

⁵² *Idem*, p. 19.

⁵³ e.g., Edgar, pl. XIII, nos. 26218, 26219; cf. P. N. Ure, *Sixth & Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, pl. X, 123.7, 114a.12, and *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona*, pl. IX, 76.6 and 76.21.

⁵⁴ Professor Waldhauer tells me that dealers have been known to travel widely to procure "antiquities from South Russia."

with the character of Boeotian vase painters, who seem to have been possessed of an exuberance of spirits that shrank from nothing in the way of either plagiarism or experiment.

For determining the place of origin it is of the first importance to know where the vases were found. Unfortunately in the case of most of ours we have not this information. Such evidence as there is tells in favor of Boeotia. Not one is reported to have been found in Italy or



FIG. 28 (NO. 27). LEKANE IN THE COLLECTION OF DR. A. PREYSS, MUNICH

in any of the western colonies. The solitary example in Cairo has no known provenance. It may have been imported into Egypt in modern times. There are with it in the Cairo Museum a number of other vases of undoubtedly Boeotian manufacture.⁵³ Three of our lekanai (nos. 6, 14, 25) are stated to have been found in South Russia, number 6 in Olbia and numbers 14 and 25 in the island of Berezan; but none of them came from controlled excavations, and the statements are open to suspicion.⁵⁴ One example (no. 23) is reputed to have been found in Knossos, and another (no. 16) in Asia Minor. Against all this we must set the fact that five were certainly found in Boeotia. Number 29 comes from a grave in the cemetery of Rhitsona



FIG. 29 (NO. 26). LEKANE IN THE MUSÉES DU CINQUANTENAIRE, BRUSSELS



FIG. 30 (NO. 30). LEKANE IN THE MUSEUM, THEBES

(Mykalessos), number 13 is from the Kopaic district, probably from Karditsa, while numbers 3, 7, and 24 (figs. 4, 5, 10, 11, 25, 26) are known to be of Boeotian provenance.⁵⁵ The other two examples in the Thebes Museum (nos. 8, 30; figs. 12, 13, 30) are in all likelihood from the locality.

There is one piece of internal evidence that may have some bearing on the question of the place of origin of this fabric. It has been said above that the painted decoration is in the main conventional and that there are only two scenes from mythology in the whole series. Of these the boar hunt (no. 9; fig. 14) is mechanical and apparently without significance, but the Poseidon scene of number 1 (fig. 1), thrust unexpectedly into the midst of groups of heraldic animals, is arresting and unusual. A fish-tailed sea god, the upper part of his body clothed in a short chiton, is seen swimming towards Poseidon, who sits upon a stool, wearing a long chiton and himation and holding his trident in his hand. Between them swims a dolphin and behind Poseidon is a dog. The whole scene is framed by a pair of pegasoi. The fish-tailed god is probably Triton, who is always thus represented.⁵⁶ Triton was at home in Boeotia and figures much in local legends. The first reference to him in literature is found in the *Theogony* of the Boeotian poet Hesiod:⁵⁷

ἐκ δ' Ἀμφιρύτης καὶ Ἐρικτύπου Ἐννοσιγαίου
 Τρίτων εὐρυβίης γένητο μέγας, ὅσπερ θαλάσσης
 πυθμέν' ἔχων παρὰ μητρὶ φίλη καὶ πατρὶ
 ἄνακτι
 ναίει χρύσεια δῶ, δεινὸς θεός.

⁵⁵ From information kindly supplied by Professor Zahn.

⁵⁶ cf. Dressler, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, vol. V, col. 1164.

⁵⁷ Lines 930 ff.; cf. also Apollodorus I. iv. 5.

⁵⁸ Pausanias IX. 33.5; Strabo IX. 407.

⁵⁹ cf. Escher, p. 32.

⁶⁰ IX. 20.4.

⁶¹ Heuzey, pl. 17.1.

⁶² e.g., Rhitsona graves 40, 49, 51. Burrows and Ure, *B. S. A.*, 1907-1908, vol. XIV, p. 255, nos. 426-430; *J. H. S.*, 1909, vol. XXIX, p. 314, no. 129, fig. 4.

⁶³ Babelon, pl. CCIV.

To these lines, were it not for the absence of the *μήτηρ φίλη*, the Berlin vase would form an apt illustration. The regions of Boeotia with which Triton was particularly associated were Alalkomenai and Tanagra. There was a river Triton⁵⁸ at Alalkomenai where Athena was worshiped under the name of Tritogeneia. The dolphin, however, shows that our Triton was no fresh-water god, and the fact that another large dolphin fills the medallion of the New York vase emphasizes the connection with the sea. Now the Euripos region was the home of Triton legends,⁵⁹ two of which are recorded by Pausanias.⁶⁰ The older story tells how the women of Tanagra went down to the sea to bathe before the orgies of Dionysos. While they were swimming about they were attacked by Triton, but they called upon Dionysos for aid and he fought with Triton and vanquished him. Among the treasure laid up in the temple of Dionysos at Tanagra was a "Triton"—probably a mummified fish which was regarded by the credulous as the true body of Triton. It was conveniently headless, and another story was invented to account for its headlessness. Pausanias's mummy and the story attached to it are no doubt later than the vase that we are concerned with, but the hoary antiquity he claims for his first story may well have been sufficient to take the connection of Triton with the shores of the Euripos back as far as the sixth century B. C. There is in fact material proof that it was so. There is in the Louvre⁶¹ an archaic terracotta of the "pappas" type which has painted upon the breast the very unusual decoration of two Tritons facing each other. The "pappas" is of a kind frequently found in mid-sixth-century graves in the Tanagra district.⁶² On the coins of Tanagra Triton does not appear till the second century A. D. We may notice, however, that in the fifth century B. C. a common coin type is the fore part of a horse,⁶³ the motive in the medallion of our vase number 22 (fig. 24).

It is possible that one other figure has local

interest. In the medallion of one of the lekanoi in Athens (no. 2; fig. 3) there is a curious goblin-like creature riding upon a prancing lion. The head, torso, and arms are human; the legs are goat's legs. I know of no explanation of this extraordinary figure nor any parallel to it. An Attic lekane in Athens (CC687) has in the medallion a monkey riding on the fore part of a horse, and figurines of monkeys on horseback are fairly frequent in sixth-century Boeotian graves. This, however, is no monkey. All about him is human except his goat legs. If the creature is anything more than the product of idle fancy may this not be an early attempt to portray Pan, who in Boeotia was worshiped in conjunction with the Magna Mater, riding her attendant beast? Pindar greets him as *Ματρὸς μεγάλας ὄπαδέ*⁶⁴ and *ὦ μάκαρ, ὄντε μεγάλας θεοῦ κύνα παντοδαπὸν καλέουσιν Ὀλύμπιοι*.⁶⁵ Pindar himself dedicated a shrine to Rhea and Pan next to his own house in Thebes, as we are told by the scholiast on the lines:

ἀλλ' ἐπέψασθαι μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλω

Ματρί, τὰν κούραι παρ' ἐμὸν πρόθυρον σὺν

Πανὶ μέλπονται θαμὰ

σεμνὰν θεὸν ἐννύχια.⁶⁶

The shrine was still standing and functioning when Pausanias visited Thebes.⁶⁷ The association of Pan and Rhea is unusual outside Boeotia.⁶⁸ A number of figurines of Pan have been found both at the Kabeirion and at Tanagra,⁶⁹ and Nonnus⁷⁰ speaks of a Pan Tanagraios. We have no certain representations of Pan in art earlier than the fifth century, when his services

to Athens at the time of Marathon⁷¹ had roused a new enthusiasm for his worship; but it does not follow that no earlier attempts were made to portray him or that the Magna Mater and Pan were not known in Thebes and its neighborhood many years before Pindar built his shrine to them. If they were, the idea of depicting the attendant of the goddess mounted upon the beast that draws her car is one that is not unlikely to have occurred to our Boeotian pot painter, who was possibly still living in Pindar's early days.

To return from fancy to fact. We have a series of thirty-two lekanoi, of which twenty hang so closely together that they must have been produced by workers in close collaboration. Twelve others with similar decoration have a more or less close connection with these and were very likely made by colleagues or successors of the makers of the first group. The whole series belongs to the third quarter of the sixth century B. C. Fabric, style, and provenance, where certainly known, all point to Boeotia as the place of origin of the ware. Finally, it is possible to find a motive for the subjects of the decoration, where not purely conventional and pan-Hellenic, in the local cult and legend of the southern (Thebes-Tanagra) region of Boeotia.

⁶⁴ Frag. 63. ⁶⁵ Frag. 66. ⁶⁶ *Pythian Odes* III. 77.

⁶⁷ Pausanias IX. 25. 3.

⁶⁸ Wernicke, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, vol. III, part 1, col. 1364.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, col. 1363.

⁷⁰ *Dionysiaca* 44. 5.

⁷¹ Herodotos VI. 105.

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