A

PROTOKORINTHIAN LEKYTHOS

IN THE

BRITISH MUSEUM

BY

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THE little vase of which a coloured illustration is given on Plates I. and II. has already been laid before the Society with a brief notice in the last number of the *Journal*, p. 253: before that publication appeared, it had already been the subject of articles in the *Classical Review* and the *Times*, so that most people are already aware of the melancholy interest which attaches itself to it. It was presented to the British Museum by Mr. Malcolm Macmillan in the spring of 1889, shortly before he started on the expedition which had so mysterious a termination. It was felt that the surpassing charm of this little Greek masterpiece was well worthy of any pains that could be bestowed on its reproduction; and it is to the generosity of Mr. Macmillan's family that the Society owes the excellent facsimile which accompanies this paper.[1]

In spite of its diminutive proportions—it is only .068 mètre in height—this little lekythos will certainly henceforth rank among the *mirabilia* of our national collection. Its claims to distinction are based, not only upon its intrinsic merit as a *chef d'oeuvre* of art, but also on the fact that, belonging to a highly interesting class of Greek painted pottery, it is beyond all doubt the most beautiful and important specimen of that class which has yet come down to us.

The material is a finely levigated clay of consistent texture and creamy yellow colour, such as we know was used in antiquity at any rate in the Corinthian potteries. On this ground the decoration is laid for the most part in a colour which varies, according to the thickness of the wash, from blackish brown to reddish brown: this is relieved by touches of purple here and there, and the details as well as the outlines of every figure are picked out with delicate incised lines. There is one peculiarity of technique about this vase which, so far as I know, is only found on this class of ware, and at present has only been noted upon one other example of it. In the main band of figures the flesh colour is indicated by a greyish black which in the original is quite distinguishable from the main wash: the only other example of this technique at present known is the little Protokorinthian lekythos in Berlin,[2] which is only second to our vase in point of delicacy and refined

[1] The reproduction issued in the preceding number of the *Journal* was too small to give an adequate impression of the style and colouring. The present plate moreover renders more successfully the modelling of the lion's head, by which the vase is surmounted.

[2] *Berlin Vase Cat.*, No. 336.

execution. Both are marvellous illustrations of that largeness of style, carried out even in the minutest limit of size, which is one of the subtleties that critics of all times have associated with the best works of Greek art. The Greek gem and coin engravers of the best periods have this power in a remarkable degree; so that under their hands the effect of grandeur in composition is attained without any apparent effort. It would not be fair to expect, nor is it even desirable always, that such works should come out successfully under the test of actual mechanical enlargement, when this impression is aimed at: but it is interesting to see from the illustration that in the case before us even this test has been applied with a satisfactory result.

Figs. 1 and 2 give photographic views of the vase in its actual size; the remaining figs. represent details of the decoration, fig. 3 giving the pattern on the handle, fig. 4 that of the shoulder, 5 and 6 the bands which run around the body. All these were traced by Mr. Anderson and enlarged by photography to double their natural size. Fig. 7 represents, also double its natural size, the decoration under the foot, a rosette of eight petals which are coloured alternately purple and black.

Figs. 1 and 2. The form of the body of the vase corresponds with that which was the favourite shape among the Protokorinthian potters, and which was called lekythos, as we are told in the inscription on the vase of Tataie, also in the British Museum. A great number of Protokorinthian lekythi of this form and of almost universally the same size are known, but none, so far as I am aware, has the head and neck modelled otherwise than in the ordinary style, *i.e.* with a broad horizontal lip and vertical handle attached to it. Our vase has the body surmounted by the head of a lion, of which the open mouth forms the spout: the modelling of this head (which seems certainly to be freehand, and not cast in a mould) is wonderfully spirited and lifelike: as a rule in Greek art of a later period the finest lions' heads have a certain conventionality of treatment, brought about no doubt partly from the fact of their tectonic handling in architecture, and also because the artists had probably never seen an actual lion. This head reminds one much more of the animals on the Assyrian friezes of Kouyundjik, the artists of which had no doubt the advantage of study from the life. For a lifelike treatment of this animal in Greek art one must go to the Mykenaean sword with the lion hunt, or later on to the little Protokorinthian lekythos of the Temple collection in the Museum, which must have been about contemporary with our vase: on the Temple vase we have two lions attacking a bull, and the herdsmen advancing to the rescue with spears and arrows: a realistic scene which can hardly have been developed entirely out of the imagination of the artist. In publishing the Temple vase, Furtwaengler (*Arch. Zeitung*, 41, p. 160) called attention to the statement of Herodotos that even in the days in which he wrote lions were still to be found in Macedonia and Northern Greece: but as they died out, the hunt of the Kalydonian boar was substituted for that of the lion as a type in Greek art.

Our lion's head is drawn to the life: the softer skin around the lips, the

distended nostril, and the muscles around the muzzle are all indicated with an almost Chinese exactness: the effect of snarling is admirably conveyed in the puckered up lines of the nose, and in the ears, which instead of standing erect are laid flat back against the neck. The shaggy mane could not well have been modelled without interfering with the handle of the vase, and the artist has shown a wise reserve in merely suggesting the coarse locks of hair by outlines of colour: this scheme prepares one well for the conventional body of the vase and forms a happy medium between it and the realistic head of the lion. The teeth are left in the natural colour of the clay; purple is used for the interior of the lips, the protruding tongue, the forepart of the nose, the pupils of the eyes, and for the exterior surface of the ears. The main portions of the head are separated from one another by bands of hatched lines: and the whole surface between the coarse hair of the mane and the muzzle is stippled with minute brown dots indicating the finer hair.

The skill which the artist has shown in the fashioning of this head proves that he was modeller no less than painter. This need not surprise us when we recollect the close connection that is everywhere found to have existed between the early schools of sculpture and of painting. This was especially the case at Korinth and Sikyon, as we see from the legends which surround the Daedalidae[1]; the legendary inventor of painting was according to one account the daughter of a potter of Sikyon working at Korinth, and on the Korinthian painted votive pinakes[2] we have the arts of the potter, the painter, the sculptor, and possibly also the bronze-worker, all represented, as if these had been bound up, as it were, in one art-community.

The representation of the lion in Greek art seems most naturally to suggest Mesopotamia: the idea suggests itself of the lion hunts on the friezes of Kouyundjik, of the groups of a king stabbing a lion in Persian sculpture, and so by way of the Phrygian monuments to the lion gate of Mykenae and the Mykenaean swords. At the same time it must be remembered that the technique of the swords is only paralleled as yet in Egypt, and that the lion was a favourite subject in Egyptian sculpture. In this connection it is worth recalling the little Egyptian draughtsmen surmounted by lions' heads carved in ivory, which are much about the size, though they have nothing like the spirit, of the head of our vase.

The idea of surmounting a vase with the head of an animal or the upper part of a human figure was one which came into Greek art from the East. In Egypt of course this custom had obtained from a very early period for sepulchral purposes: the mummified cat or bull was deposited in wrappings of which the lower part conveyed no idea of the body of the animal preserved in them, but the upper part was modelled and coloured to represent the head of the animal. To a people accustomed to burning the bodies of their dead the idea naturally transferred itself to the vessels intended for holding the ashes: and so we find the early Etruscan cinerary urns often surmounted by

[1] See Klein in *Arch.-Epig. Mittheil.* vol. xi. 205.
[2] *Antike Denkmäler*, i. pll. 7 and 8.

a head which is more or less a portrait of the personage whose remains they contain. An intermediate stage is that of the alabastra, the long cylindrical vases of alabaster which were imported into Greece and Italy in early times as we know from Egypt; and of which the upper part is frequently carved in the human form. The anthropomorphic, and if I may borrow a word, the zoomorphic form, once fixed in Hellenic pottery, recurs with more or less frequency through all its stages of development: it had come in originally with the pottery of the Hissarlik type: it is scarcely found amongst the types of Mykenae[1] and Dipylon; but now in this Protokorinthian style it is coming in again; and in the class of Korinthian aryballi which follows the Protokorinthian in point of date, it is exceedingly prevalent: these aryballi are in the form of helmeted heads, lions, deer, Gorgon's heads, human figures: but there again the Egyptian influence is manifested in the Egyptising forms which recur in these shapes, such as the god Bes, and also in the fact that vases of this class, frequently found in Greek tombs, are made in a faience which is purely Egyptian or Graeco-Egyptian.

I may note here that a terracotta vase of the form before us can never have been intended for practical use. The original intention of the lekythos form was of course that of holding ointment or oil, for the extraction of which a perfectly clear channel was essential. The Greek potters were above all things practical, and no Greek would have put so impracticable a neck on a vase if it had really been intended for such a purpose. Our lekythos was made expressly for dedication in the temple or the tomb, and it is in keeping with the Greek idea of piety towards the dead that this and so many other painted vases received the wealth of ornament which so humble a material as terracotta seems otherwise hardly to deserve.

There is in the British Museum a jug from Santorin which was published in the *Mon. Incd.* IX. 5, fig. 1, and which illustrates the form of our vase, inasmuch as it has the neck and spout modelled in the form of the head of a Gryphon: the Gryphon is of course a specially Oriental conception, and is of frequent occurrence in the Korinthian vases: it occurs also on a little Protokorinthian lekythos from Kamiros which now stands under the same glass shade with the Macmillan and Temple vases. Now this Gryphon-headed jug is of a class which has most relation to the Phaleron class: that is to say, with a technique and design which in the main are Geometric, it shows decidedly the influence of new ideas: it may be that the vase belongs to an island fabric where the painters, accustomed to work in the Geometric style, were beginning to be influenced, if not by Protokorinthian pottery, at any rate by the same ideas as the Protokorinthian artists: the wide area over which tombs with Protokorinthian pottery are found shows how favourite this class was in antiquity and consequently argues for its having exercised an extensive influence. In the 'Phaleron' style there is a great deal in the character of the ornament which connects that class with the Protokorinthian: to take

[1] See the bull's head in gold and silver, Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, pp. 216, 217, figs. 327, 328, and the very similar vase of terra-cotta, *Hellenic Journal*, vol. viii. pl. 83, fig. 9.

only two examples, if we compare the Phaleron vase published in Boehlau's article on that ware,[1] fig. 8, we see a procession of four hounds to the right, headed by a hare which runs up hill, an obvious parallel to one of the scenes on the lekythos before us: while a still more striking parallel is found in a Protokorinthian lekythos recently acquired by the Berlin Museum (*Arch. Jahrb.* 1888 p. 247), in which the hare is drawn in the same peculiar attitude without the line underneath, which in the case of the Phaleron scene gives the explanation. And the same hare is found on one of the very early Korinthian pinakes now in Berlin (*Ant. Denkm.* i. pl. 7, fig. 27). In all these cases the same kind of pothook ornament occurs. Fig. 14 in Boehlau's article is a Phaleron jug of which the main field of decoration is filled with a lion's head in character not unlike the moulded head of the vase before us, and it would be easy to multiply instances which show the close connection between the Protokorinthian and Phaleron classes.

I will first give a brief description of the painted decorations of the vase, and reserve for a general statement the few remarks which these suggest.

Fig. 3 represents the handle of the vase: the broad handle of the ordinary lekythos cannot here as usual be carried into the lip: it is therefore made to terminate between the ears with a raised semicircular edge which suggests at once the crest of the lion's mane and also gives the artist the cue for the decoration: the space is admirably adapted for the Gorgon's head, which at the same time gives the necessary finish to the handle which would otherwise seem to terminate somewhat abruptly here. The Gorgoneion is of the usual archaic type[2], with the protruding tongue and interior of the mouth coloured purple: as a survival of the slightly earlier method of drawing the head, it is here treated in outline. From this point downwards the handle is moulded as if to represent metal, with raised edges and a raised rib running down the centre: this is covered with a triple plait pattern running vertically, which is separated however from the Gorgoneion by a horizontal piece of double plait pattern of even smaller dimensions: each of these plaits is enclosed within a three line border: the triple plait is brown, the double plait purple.

Not the minutest portion of the vase is to be left without decoration, and so the entire edge of this handle, which is about 2 millimeters thick, is decorated with a countless number of zigzags like the four-limbed sigma, a pattern which is favourite throughout the Protokorinthian class.

Fig. 4 gives the decoration of the neck, an extremely elaborate and beautiful palmette ornament, in which the purple colour has been employed as much as the black with an excellent effect of clearness. The ground space is decorated here and there with minute pothooks, crosses, and Maltese crosses.[3] Both of these last are survivals from the range of Mykenae ornament.

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[1] *Arch. Jahrb.* 1887, p. 33.

[2] See Roscher's *Lexicon*, s.v. *Gorgon*, p. 1713.

[3] See *Arch. Jahrb.* 1886, p. 134, fig. 2948; and on a Kamiros pinax, Rayet, *Céramique*, p. 47, fig. 27.

I may remark by the way that, just as we have in these Protokorinthian lekythi of the seventh century B.C. the prototypes of the white Athenian lekythi of the fifth and fourth centuries, so in this elaborate palmette ornament on the shoulder we have the tradition which is kept up in the beautiful anthemion on the shoulder of the Athenian vases: the elements of the later development are absolutely to be recognized here—a curious instance of the conservatism of art traditions.

Fig. 5 represents the main band of decoration, a frieze ·02 m. wide. Although this frieze is at its broadest part only 11½ cm. (4½ in.) long, it contains no less than eighteen warriors in combat. The scene has no natural beginning or ending; it divides itself best at the place where it is divided in our illustration, there being a small space left empty between the figures which stand on the extreme right and left of the band as there given: the composition is so arranged that the centre of interest comes nearly beneath the front view of the lion's face. All the warriors are armed with low crested helmets, circular shields, greaves and spears: six out of their number are kneeling, and in this position are speared in the neck by the opponents behind them, so that the blood spurts out over the shields of the kneeling figures: all the figures with one exception are turned to the left, and the scene is possibly thus intended to suggest the surprise of an ambuscade by an enemy coming from behind: the kneeling warriors certainly have the appearance of being taken unawares. Each of the shields has a different device, beautifully drawn: they run from left to right as follows: bird flying, swan, mask of bull, four quarters with flying bird in each, mask of bull, Gryphon's head, bird flying, head of bull, hen, cock, Catherine wheel, ram's head, Gryphon (?) with open jaws and wings spread,[1] swan, bird flying, mask of bull, owl, bird flying. It is curious that each of the attacking warriors is armed with two spears, while the attacked, with a single exception, have only one. Purple is used for the crests of the helmets, for the greaves, details of the shield devices, and the blood.

The second frieze (exactly ·01 m wide) represents a horse-race. Six horses gallop at full speed to the left, ridden by boys who ply the goad freely. Beneath one of the horses is seated a swan, beneath another a crouching figure; whether this last is intended for a human figure or an ape it is difficult to say. If the former, it may be inserted as representing a spectator, which would correspond with the attitude of the right arm: diminutive spectators are found in similar scenes of early Corinthian ware (Inghirami *Vasi Fitt.* CCCVII., Salzmann, *Nécropole*, Pl. II.: and see also the urchins in various attitudes crouching under the grand stand in the Corneto wall-painting, of which a copy is in the British Museum): and the habit of putting in animals or other figures to fill space in a scene of this kind is a regular practice of the early Korinthian artist. In the Salzmann vase a small figure using a hoe is drawn under the horse, which takes part in the show. If on the other hand, as is more probable, it is an ape, it recalls the little vases in

[1] Cf. the types of running or flying Gryphon in Egyptian and Mykenaean art, Roscher's *Lexicon*, s.v. *Gryps*, p. 1745.

the form of a squatting ape which are of frequent occurrence among the Korinthian aryballi, and is only another added to the list of the many new animals which the artists of this cycle are learning to represent. The horses have enormous bits, and the manes and tails coloured purple: the manes are further indicated in the Korinthian manner by a series of wavy lines incised on the purple.

The third frieze, perhaps the most surprising of all, is only four millimetres wide, and yet the artist has not only put eight figures in it, but has been able to bestow on them all the spirit and elaborate finish which he has displayed throughout the wider spaces: nearly all the figures have the outlines engraved around the paint. Behind a net, represented by a triskeles of spirals, crouch a huntsman and his dog; the huntsman swings over his head his knotted stick ready to strike the hare which two hounds are chasing into the net on the left. On the right is a fox or jackal (?) which has just been caught by the foremost of two other hounds.

Below this scene is a band of alternate purple and black vertical rays and then two brown lines surrounding the foot. Each of the friezes is bounded by a triple row of the thinnest brown lines.

This little vase was acquired by Mr. Macmillan at Thebes and no doubt has come from one of those early Theban tombs which lie to the west of the town on both sides of the old road to Lebadea: they have been opened at haphazard from time to time during the years 1886–8: and while regretting that a scientific excavation has not been made of this site, we may congratulate ourselves on the fact that by far the most beautiful object among their contents has come to us. A series of Protokorinthian lekythi from these tombs were obtained in 1887 by the Berlin Museum; one of them (*Arch. Jahrb.* 1888 p. 247) closely recalls the style of ours, and might be the work of the same artist.

The question as to the origin of these vases is a very difficult one: the term Protokorinthian was invented for the class by Furtwaengler,[1] as a provisional title, not because it is proved that the vases were made at Korinth, but because the class is in general older than the Korinthian ware and is closely bound up with it by numerous transitional stages. Helbig [2] saw in them an early stage of Chalkidian, and more recently Dümmler [3] has adduced further reason for attributing them to Chalkis. I am inclined to think that Furtwaengler is right: in any case we know very little at present of the early Chalkidian art: and there are certainly very strong points of connection with the early art of Korinth. I will briefly indicate a few points in which our vase affords evidence either way.

The early bronze work of the Korinthians was celebrated in antiquity: and Furtwaengler has endeavoured to show that the style of these gaily coloured friezes is due to a survival of the influence of inlaid work in various metals which we see on the Mykenaean swords. I have remarked on the

[1] *Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, pp. 46, 51; and cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 41, p. 154.

[2] *Italiker in der Poebene*, pp. 84 foll.; *Annali*, 1877, p. 406.

[3] *Arch. Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 18.

metallic character of the handle of our vase, which terminates at the top in very much the same way as the handle of the bronze vases of all Greek times: the pattern with which it is covered is moreover the same as that which Loeschcke so happily illustrated from the description of Homeric shield, *Il.* 18, 479, *περὶ δ' ἄντυγα βάλλε φαεινὴν, τρίπλακα, μαρμαρέην*—'around it he set a threefold border, bright and dazzling.' The careful use of engraved lines for outlines and details throughout is another hint in the same direction.

The subjects represented are all such as may be paralleled from early Corinthian art and from early metal work. Loeschcke has traced the history of the hare hunt to beaten metal through the shield of Hesiod: we may find further parallels in Hesiod to our vase, *e.g.* the frieze of warriors, *Scut. Her.* 237:—

> *οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτέων*
> *ἄνδρες ἐμαρνάσθην, πολεμήια τεύχε' ἔχοντες,*
> *τοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ σφετέρης πόλιος σφετέρων τε τοκήων*
> *λοιγὸν ἀμύνοντες, τοὶ δὲ πραθέειν μεμαῶτες.*

the frieze of horse-racing, *ibid.* l. 305—

> *πὰρ δ' αὐτοῖς ἵππῆες ἔχον πόνον, ἀμφὶ δ' ἀέθλοις*
> *δῆριν ἔχον καὶ μόχθον,*

and (l. 314) around the whole ran the Ocean, with many swans swimming on the surface of the water.

For both the combats and the horse-racing we may quote Pausanias' description of the chest of Kypselos, V. 18, 6, *στρατιωτικὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τρίτῃ χώρᾳ τῆς λάρνακος· τὸ μὲν πολύ εἰσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ πεζοὶ, πεποίηνται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ συνωρίδων ἱππεῖς.* As to the horse-racing, Krause tells us that it was not introduced at Olympia until the 33rd Ol. (648), and that the growth of this sport in the sacred games went *pari passu* with the use of horse in war. In any case, the races of boys on horseback are rare; where they do occur, it is usually on the early vases of Korinthian manufacture, such as the 'Amphiaraus' vase in Berlin (*Mon. Ined.* X, pll. 4–5).[1] The form of net on our vase is strongly suggestive of metal representation. It is curious that the Oikopheles vase (*Burlington Fine Arts Cat.* pl. 1), which is certainly an early Attic work strongly under the influence of Korinthian models, gives a form of net which is a combination of the type here shown and of another Korinthian form (that given in Loeschcke's *Dreifussvase*, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 pl. 4).

[1] *Berlin Cat. of Vases*, No. 1655; cf. also *ibid* (early Attic), No. 1712; *Annali* 1855, Tav. 20. The representation of *κελητίζοντες* pueri was popular among the early bronze workers of the Korinthian-Sikyonian school (Overbeck, *Schriftq.* Nos. 406, 456); and on one of the painted Korinthian pinakes (*Ant. Denkm.* i. pl. 8, fig. 20) a sculptor is shown modelling the group of a boy on horseback. Loeschcke in *Arch. Jahrb.* 1887, p. 277 raises the question as to whether the vase-painters originally had in view the association of the rider with the art-type of the dead person as a horseman. Where however as here the type is distinctly agonistic, it seems much more natural to connect it with the notion of funeral games, as in the Amphiaraus vase also.

In short, it seems extremely probable that our designs have been inspired by some metal work of early Greek workmanship, and that this was probably Korinthian.

The main result of the above remarks is to show that this vase seems to offer traces which are most nearly allied to early Korinthian metal work. Unfortunately, we know as yet very little of the pottery of Korinth previous to the time when this can be identified by inscriptions painted on the vases. The art of Mykenae seems to have become merged at its last stage into that of the Geometric invaders, whoever these were. But the Argive preeminence in art descended as an heritage to the great art-centres of Korinth and Sikyon. We should therefore expect to find traces of Geometric style in early Korinthian pottery; but this is at present not forthcoming. We have in the tomb of Menekrates from the Korinthian Corcyra (most of the contents of which are in the British Museum), among a quantity of fairly developed Korinthian pottery, one oinochoe which is Dipylon in form, technique, and ornament. This would seem to be an importation. What we now want is to find vases of Korinthian technique with Geometric decoration; but as yet I only know of one such definite instance. This is an oinochoe in the British Museum of a form which is rare in pottery, but which occurs again in late Roman glass. It has a conical body, a long cylindrical neck, and trefoil lip, from which a long broad handle descends to the body. (B.M. *Cat. of Vases*, form no. cxviii). This vase is described in the British Museum *Catalogue* no. 392, and is figured in Birch's *Pottery* (1873) p. 186 fig. 127, and thence in Dennis' *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (1878 edition) vol. I. p. cxxvi. fig. 80. The Gamedes oinochoe (*Wiener Vorlegebl.* 1888, pl. I. fig. 2) appears to be an adaptation of the same form.

At the time when it was catalogued and drawn, it was entirely covered with a misleading restoration in modern paint; the whole of this has now been cleaned away, and the animals and rosettes, which were a modern addition, have entirely disappeared. On the neck is a frieze of the usual Geometric waterbirds among dots, the handle is decorated with one long wavy snake[1] with seven 'swastikas' beside it, and the remainder of the decoration consists of bands of horizontal lines and of diaper pattern.

Since this vase is undoubtedly of Korinthian fabric, I would suggest that this really represents the true type of Korinthian Geometric pottery: it will correspond with the specimens which Dümmler published in *Arch. Jahrb.* 1887 pl. 2. and possibly with a series of vases in the British Museum, which are only different from the usual Dipylon in that the clay resembles that of Korinth, and is sometimes covered with a whitish slip. Probably the Geometric style never held long sway in Korinth[2], and hence the comparative rarity of such specimens as this. If we may, as I believe, attribute the Protokorinthian class to Korinth, and if we consider the early date of the

[1] Cf. the Dipylon Oinochoe from Rhodes in *Arch. Jahrb.* 1886, p. 135, which has the same snake moulded on the handle.

[2] The Korinthian gold band with reliefs (*Arch. Zeit.* vol. 42, pl. 8) gives us further evidence of the Geometric system at Korinth.

class, we can understand that the old Geometric style, with its constrained types of form and decoration, soon gave place to the freer methods of the new class.

That the Protokorinthian ware was manufactured at a very early date has been abundantly proved; Dümmler has shown (*loc. cit.*) that it was contemporary with at least a late stage of Mykenaean art; and we have seen that in this ware certain Mykenaean elements still survive. Helbig says that in the tombs of Latium they follow immediately upon the hut urns and the primitive Italian ware. Henceforward, they are found more widespread than any other class throughout the tombs of Greece and Italy. At Thebes we find the most advanced specimens, such as our vase and the specimen figured in *Arch. Jahrb.* 1888, p. 247, in company with a local fabric which is still decorated in the Geometric principle; and at Athens their importation may very likely have given the impetus which resulted in the creation of the Phaleron type.

Towards the end of the seventh century the supply seems to fail; probably because of the introduction (from Egypt?) of the new type of aryballos, which from this time takes a prominent place among Korinthian fabrics as well. It is therefore not strange to find that at Naukratis there has been discovered no example of Protokorinthian ware, although specimens have been found there of Korinthian aryballi and other Korinthian ware. At Naukratis the earliest pottery dates from the end of the seventh century; and most of the fabrics known to have been in vogue at that date are found represented there; including a good deal of what we know, from the inscriptions painted on them, to be of Korinthian origin. If the Protokorinthian pottery had been as popular in the market at the end of the seventh century as it was half a century earlier, it is probable that some of it would have found its way to Naukratis. I think then that we may fairly presume that by the end of the seventh century the Protokorinthian fabric was dying out.

The introduction of the incised line evidently gave facility for the development of a new style, that of miniature drawing, which had been impossible earlier, when details had to be indicated by leaving portions unpainted or in outline. The desire for such miniature work had been seen in the early Protokorinthian vases (*e.g. Annali* 1877 Tav. C.D.) with friezes in silhouette: and such vases as ours (largely exported, as their varied provenance shows) would doubtless have reached Athens early in the sixth century and prepare the way for such works as the François vase and the *figuras omnis imitari ausum* of Pliny. It is a period of inventions, and the growing desire is felt for a nearer approach to realistic treatment; Pliny says Eumarus of Athens first distinguished in colour the figures of men and women; yes, but already in this Protokorinthian ware, in the wares of Melos and the white-faced ware of Naukratis, in the Euphorbos plate, and the Caere paintings on terracotta, we have the same thing; that is to say, a local colour is given to the flesh of the men, while that of the women is left in outline. When painting began upon a red clay it became necessary to adopt white for the flesh of women: and it is curious to note that at an advanced stage of the Naukratite white-faced ware, an additional white

upon white is used for women and Sphinxes. Probably these vases mark a stage contemporary with the paintings on red clay imported into Naukratis, and the Naukratite painters were simply imitating what they saw on these imported pieces.

The class of ware which bears most analogy to the Protokorinthian, both in the obvious connection with Korinthian metal work and also in the choice and treatment of subject, is the class of stamped red ware plates, which Loeschcke has referred, I think rightly, to a Korinthian original inspiration (*Arch. Zeit.* 39, p. 40 foll.). Loeschcke remarks that the combat of Lapiths and Centaurs on Hesiod's Shield of Herakles is described in terms which point to a general *melée* of the opposing forces, l. 178 :

ἐν δ' ἦν ὑσμίνη Λαπιθάων αἰχμητάων

. . . . . .

Κένταυροι δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐναντίοι ἠγερέθοντο.

Now in early Chalcidian and Rhodian vases, he says, scenes of combat are almost universally split up into pairs of opposing combatants : and this practice is adopted in the François vase. On the red ware relief vases on the other hand, and on the early Korinthian vases[1], the impression aimed at is that of two groups opposing each other in closed ranks, a *ὑσμίνη* in the Hesiodic sense : and such is clearly the intention of our fig. 5.

Again, it is noticeable that neither the frieze of warriors on our vase, nor the frieze of horse-racing[2], have a definite beginning or ending : that is to say, they would be peculiarly appropriate for the decoration of a concentric circular band such as those on the red ware, on a metal shield, or the interior of a metal cup. The hare hunt of our vase is clearly an elongation of the usual form with huntsman, net, hare, and hounds : a scheme which Loeschcke has shown (*loc. cit.*) is directly traceable to the Phoenician bronze cups. One bronze cup found at Nimrud has on the innermost circle running hares, on the outermost, running dogs ; on another such vase we have the hound and hare alternately. On a Kyrenian cup from Naukratis in the British Museum (as yet unpublished) we have the early scheme of the Greek type ; the band which runs round the interior of this cup is occupied with three figures only, two dogs and a hare : neither huntsman nor net appears. Puchstein (*Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 227) has already pointed out that the ornament and composition of the Kyrenian and Rhodian vases are imitated from a metal industry, which had its nearest relation in the Cypriot-Phoenician workshops.

By 'Rhodian' he here means the circular pinakes with paintings on a whitish slip, of which several have come from Rhodian 'tombs,' but many more from Naukratis : I am inclined to think that this was not a Rhodian

[1] See *e.g.* a Korinthian oinochoe of 'Oriental' style in the British Museum.

[2] Cf. the similar frieze stamped from a cylinder on the vase in *Mus. Greg.* ii. 99, fig. 6 ; beneath the horses are represented plants and lotos buds, a metal bowl from Dali has a frieze of boys on horseback with whips, and birds flying beside them in the field (Perrot et Chipiez, iii. p. 779, fig. 548).

fabric, but imported; for these reasons; (i) from Biliotti's *Diary of Excavations in Rhodes* it appears that the pinakes are invariably found there in tombs which contain glass and porcelain objects, and no other form of vases except bucchero (Polledrara ware); (ii) the one inscription which we have on a 'Rhodian' pinax (the Euphorbos plate) is in an alphabet which is certainly other than Rhodian; (iii) we have in the British Museum a series of pinakes from Rhodes which are quite easily distinguishable as local imitations of this very fabric.[1] Whether it came originally to Rhodes and Asia Minor from Naukratis, or not, is another question; certainly a great deal of exactly similar ware was found at Naukratis: and it is worth noting that here the arrangement of the design in concentric circles is particularly frequent (e.g. *Naukratis* II. xi. 2). We have in the British Museum the fragment of one such Naukratite pinax which is here given in order to illustrate this concentric arrangement, and also because it is the only parallel instance I can find of the peculiar treatment of the horse's bit in our fig. 6.

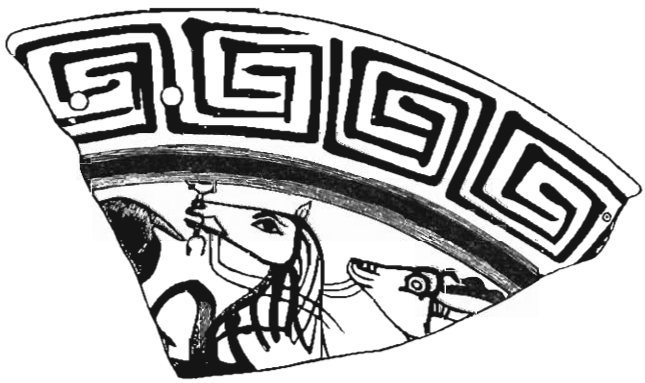

FIG. 1.

To resume then, it would seem that both the pinakes, the fabrics of Naukratis and Daphnae, and the fabric of Kyrene share in common with the Protokorinthian ware certain relations to the metal bowls of Phoenician origin. The strong bodies, the feeling for naturalistic treatment, the flowing blood,[2] the human legged centaurs, the stippled surface, the filling in of the field with individual animals, the preference for representations of genre and heroic scenes—these are common to all. I may here add two points suggested by our vase: first the swan swimming, in the horse-racing scene fig. 6: an

[1] Amongst the pottery found in Rhodian tombs previous to the time of Attic importations almost all the known fabrics are represented by corresponding local imitations. I am inclined to think that there was no independent painted ware made in the island (except perhaps the 'Fikellura' ware) which was not thus imitated; as a rule these local imitations were executed only in two colours (blackish brown on reddish clay) and without incising.

[2] Hesiod, *Scut. Her.* 173.

κατὰ δέ σφι κελαινὸν
αἷμ' ἀπελείβετ' ἔραζε.

obvious parallel to Hesiod *Scut. Her.* l. 316[1]; and, through it, to the Phoenician-Cyprian bowl (Cesnola Stern 56, 4: 69, 4). Secondly, the ape in our fig. 6 (the prognathous character of the head and the characteristic attitude seem to mark it as such here): we have the early Korinthian aryballi in form of a squatting ape: it occurs on the Kyrene Arkesilaos vase, and frequently on the Egyptian book of the dead, and possibly from Egypt it came into Phoenician metal work as we see it in Perrot and Chipiez iii. p. 759, fig. 543.[2] Similar points of resemblance might no doubt be multiplied; I will only add two which here occur to me. In Perrot and Chipiez iii. p. 759, fig. 543 we have, in the central scene on a Phoenician bowl, the figure of a man chained to a column by his arms which are tied behind his back; in the Kyrene vase (Baumeister *Denkmäler*, p. 1411) this identical figure is used for Prometheus; and again in the Attic amphora 'a colonnette' in Berlin (*Cat.* no. 1722) which, as the form shows, is borrowed from a Korinthian original; lastly, in the Amathous metal cup (Perrot and Chipiez iii. p. 775, fig. 547), we have a naturalistic scene of warriors very similar to that on the Macmillan vase; they carry shields with devices (one such device being the 'Catherine wheel' of our vase); and these shields are represented, as here, without the broad rim which is usual in Chalcidian and later Korinthian representations.

The direct connection of the Protokorinthian fabric with the mixed Egypto-Assyrian art which we associate with Phoenicia is admirably illustrated in the accompanying woodcut.

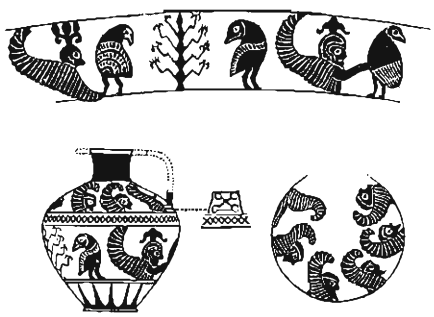

Fig. 2.

This is a Protokorinthian lekythos of exactly the same form as that given in *Arch. Zeit.* 41, p. 161, except that it wants most of the lip and the upper part of the handle: it was lately in a private collection in England. Its present height is .045 metre. On the neck is a frieze composed of the upper part of a winged figure repeated five times, and the wing and foreleg of what seems to be intended for a winged quadruped. On the body is a quaint representation of the sacred tree between two eagles (?) which look over their

[1] Hesiod, *Scut. Her.* 316.
κύκνοι ἀερσιπόται μεγάλ' ἤπυον, οἵ ῥά τε πολλοὶ
νῆχον ἐπ' ἄκρον ὕδωρ.

[2] A similar figure occurs on an early coin of uncertain (Asia Minor?) locality, see *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1890, pl. ii. 8.

backs towards it: on the left, the upper part of a winged figure with an Egyptian headdress, and a bird; on the right part of a similar figure. Below, a band of rays. On the handle has been a net pattern very similar to that which is frequent upon the ware of Kyrene (e.g. *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, Taf. 10, 3). Each of the figures has the outlines and details engraved, but so far as I can see there is no trace of the use of purple.

The analogy of this vase to the ware of Kyrene is obvious at first sight; and yet there is no question but that it belongs to the Protokorinthian class. Here we have, so far as I know, the first instance in Greek pottery where the elements appear directly inspired by Phoenician metal work. The sacred tree[1] points to Assyria; the pairs of heraldic birds to the tectonic sculptures of Asia Minor; while the two winged figures in the main frieze show decided Egyptian influence.[2] At the same time, the whole design is treated in a manner as though copied without understanding; so much so, that in the upper band we have a wing and foreleg of an animal (cf. the horse in fig. 1 on p. 178), but no head.

Studniczka (*Kyrene*, pp. 7—8) has shown that the material of Kyrenian paintings may be traced through Thera to Argos, and remarks the close connection which may be established between the art of Kyrene and Korinthian-Sikyonian art. The same connection is obvious for the early art of Naukratis and the situla vases of Daphnae. To sum up then, we have the following result:—

(i) The Protokorinthian ware, following shortly after Mykenae, is closely connected with the old Greek Korinthian metal industry and so influenced by the Cypriot-Phoenician metal bowls.[3]

(ii) The fabrics of Naukratis, Kyrene, and Daphnae were subject to this Cypriot-Phoenician influence at a later date, probably in two ways: directly, through communication with the neighbouring island of Cyprus: indirectly, through Korinthian importations, as the types of myths there represented show us.

CECIL SMITH.

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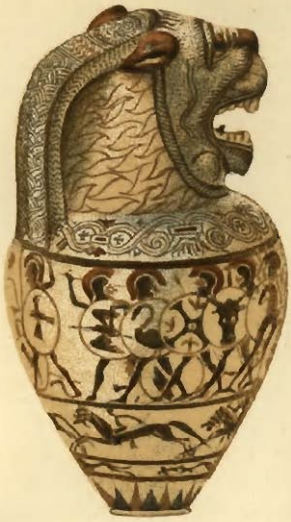
[1] The same tree occurs in another Protokorinthian lekythos (in the British Museum), from Kamiros in Rhodes; but in that case it is of much more developed and complicated form.

[2] Cf. the figures of the Boreades in the Kyrene cup, *Naukratis*, part i. pl. viii.

[3] According to Biliotti's *Diary of Excavations in Rhodes*, two Protokorinthian lekythi were found 'between the walls D and E' of the Akropolis at Kamiros, together with the following objects (marked C 10 and C 12): 'various porcelain statuettes and fragments; a bronze camel kneeling, with a man on its back: Archaic terra-cotta statuette; an iron spear and undulated blade; fragments of stone statuettes and animals; a sea-shell covered with incised ornaments, Egyptian style.'



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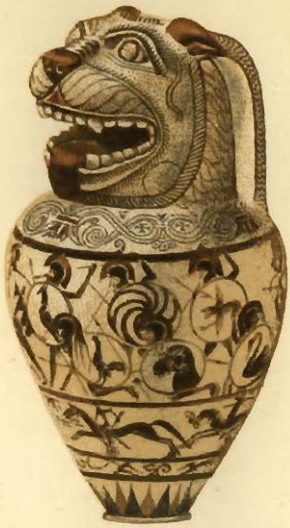

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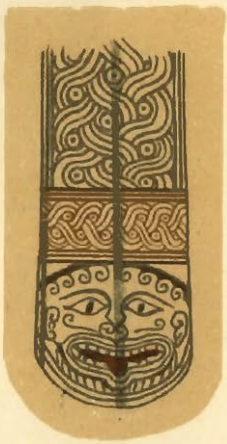

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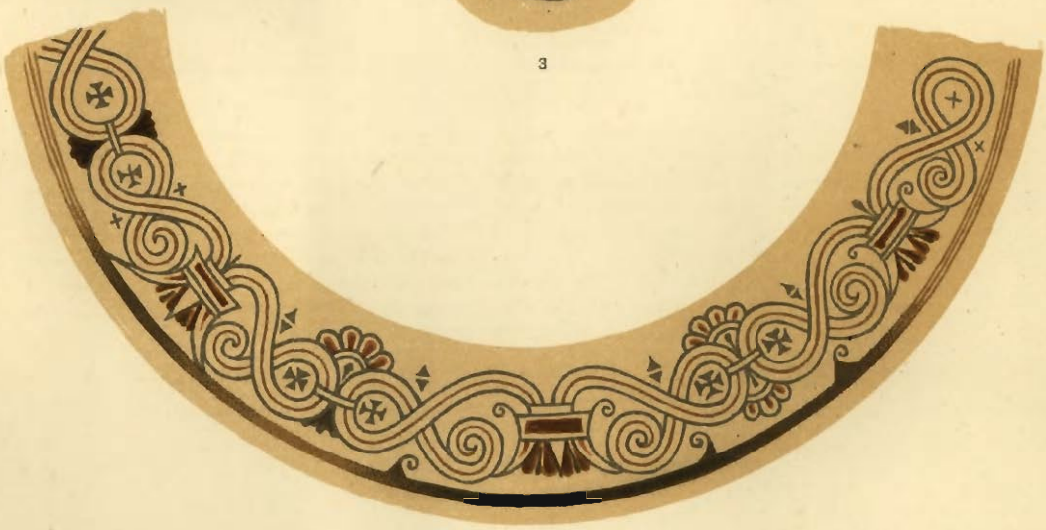

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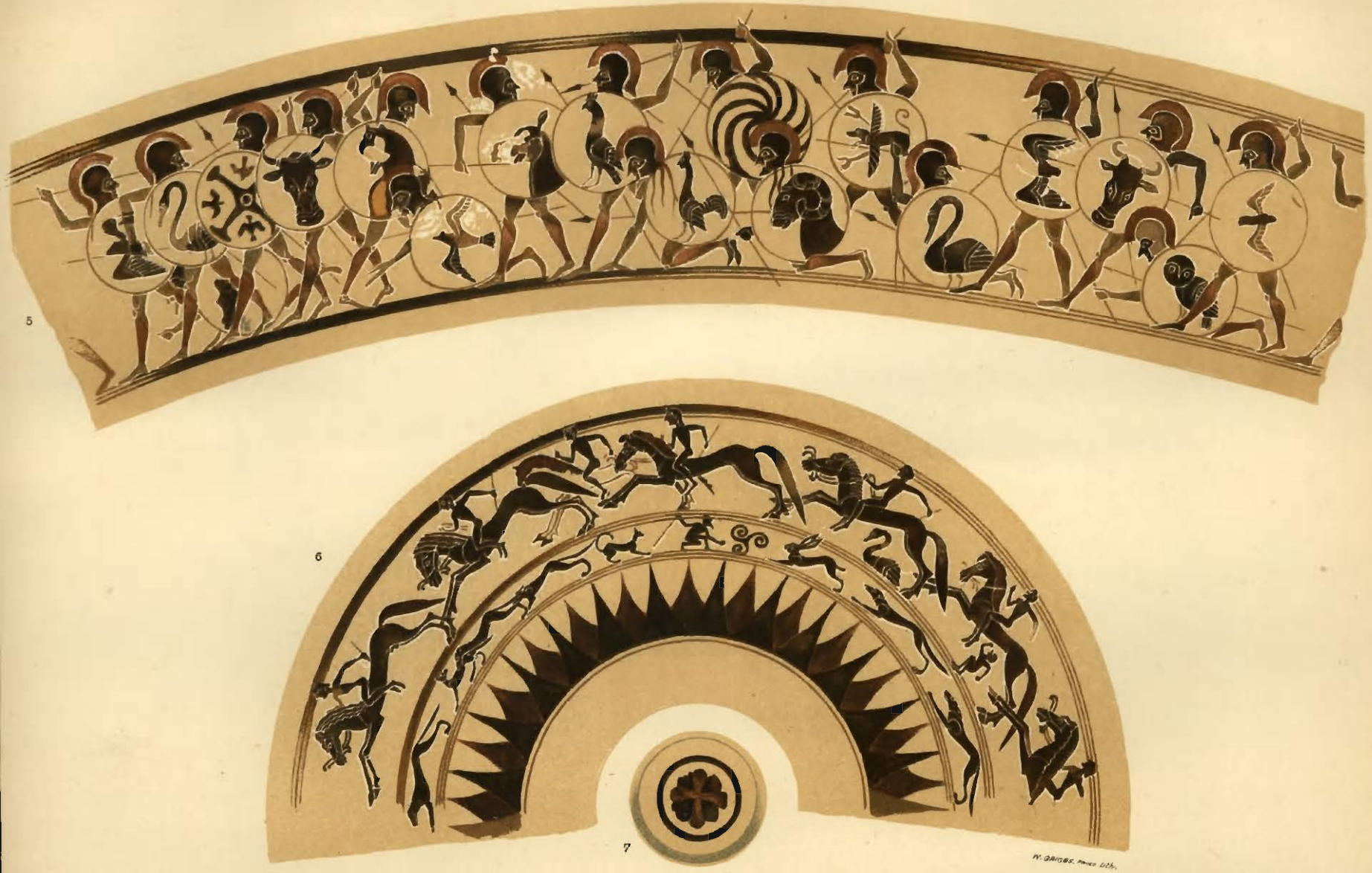
CORINTHIAN LEKYTHOS.



CORINTHIAN LEKYTHOS.