

FOR ADOLF GREIFENHAGEN  
on his seventieth birthday  
τεμάχῃ τῶν τοῦ διδασκάλου μεγάλων δείπνων

## Fragments of a Cup by the Triptolemos Painter

*Elfriede R. Knauer*

IN THE SEQUENCE of cups by the Triptolemos Painter, Beazley has placed a sherd in Bryn Mawr next to four fragments in Freiburg with the remark: "Belongs to the Freiburg fr. (no.62)?"<sup>1</sup> This fine sherd has recently been published in the first CV-volume of that collection.<sup>2</sup> The authors followed Beazley's lead and tried to establish what had become of the fragments in Freiburg, only to learn that they were lost.<sup>3</sup> As Beazley had visited Freiburg in 1924 there was reason to expect a photographic record in the archive in Oxford. This was duly found and is here presented for the first time thanks to the generosity of those in charge of that treasure-house.<sup>4</sup>

The judicious analysis of the subject on the interior of the Bryn Mawr fragment (PLATE 3 fig. 2b) can be amended by looking at its back (PLATE 5 fig. 2 a b). The authors take the upright object at the left to be a staff. It is the leg of a stool which joins with one of

<sup>1</sup> J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1963) [henceforth ARV] 365,63.

<sup>2</sup> CVA U.S.A. 13, *The Ella Riegel Memorial Museum, Bryn Mawr College, Attic Red-figured Vases*, fasc.1, Ann Harnwell Ashmead and Kyle Meredith Phillips, Jr. (1971) P-210, pl. 9, 6-7. The diameter of the tondo is estimated at 17.8 cm. I owe the photographs to the generosity of Kyle Phillips, who also let me handle the fragment.

<sup>3</sup> *op.cit.* (*supra* n.2) 14. My inquiries were answered by Dr G. Hiesel, Archäologisches Institut der Universität Freiburg/Breisgau: "Aus der Vorkriegszeit ist in Freiburg weder ein Inventar, noch eine einfache Liste, noch ein Foto vorhanden, der frühere Bestand lässt sich also nicht überprüfen. Beazley besuchte 1924 Freiburg, seine Frau fotografierte damals." (Letter, 13 Dec. 1974). The attempt of reconstructing the vase is being made in the hope that more sherds may prove to join. The Bryn Mawr fragment was acquired by Caroline Ransom from Pollak in Rome. Cf. the preface of the CVA-volume for the three main sources of the collection (E. P. Warren, P. Hartwig, Dr L. Pollak), which has connections with pieces scattered over many other collections, and the authors' appeal to be on the lookout.

<sup>4</sup> Special thanks go to John Boardman in Oxford, who tried to match the 1:1 scale of the Bryn Mawr fragment when supplying enlargements of the Freiburg photos in the Beazley Archive.

the Freiburg fragments (PLATE 4 a). This stool, of the simplest kind, is often met in our and other painters' *oeuvre* as a requisite for the space below the kylix-handles. The legs tend to become slightly thicker below. A mantle is piled on the seat, one of the weighted ends hanging down almost to the floor. Next to a groove from an ancient repair is the curve of the reserved inside of the cup's lost left handle. A pair of elegantly drawn feet (one of the assets of the Triptolemos Painter) just overlaps the stool. They belong to a male in a mantle, facing right, who presumably sits on just such a seat. Two pairs of feet, overlapping and moving in opposite directions on the joining Bryn Mawr sherd, come almost equally close to the handle zone (PLATE 5 fig. 2 b). In spite of the wide stride the soles are firmly planted on the ground. The nearer person puts his right foot forward, the farther his left. The legs must have formed isosceles triangles. The torsos were thus balanced and fairly upright. The arms would have reached out to fill the increasingly wider space towards the rim of the cup.

As only one join can be made with confidence, the position of the remaining sherds is less easy to establish. One of the lost Freiburg fragments (c) shows the remains of another five feet and related bits of legs (PLATES 4, 5 fig. 2): two persons striding and overlapping form the mirror image of the previous group. Yet another piece (d) gives us a left foot moving right and part of a heel (PLATES 4, 5 fig. 2). The left foot might belong to the shin and ankle on the right of fragment c and would make this a right foot.<sup>5</sup> Yet the heel would bring the full figure, whatever its stance, too close to the lost right handle of the cup. I therefore prefer to give it to B, placing it so that the lost right foot of the striding person would come as close to the handle as the comparable figure near the other handle (PLATE 5 fig. 2).

So far only the Bryn Mawr sherd supplied data for the quite large tondo (PLATE 3 fig. 2). It is enclosed by a border of interlocked 'stopped' maeanders.<sup>6</sup> A youth, a mantle draped round his hips, one of its ends hanging down between the nearer legs of his stool, faces right. His left arm is extended, just a bit upward, his right one bent,

<sup>5</sup> Beazley, *ARV* 365,62, apparently assigns it to A.

<sup>6</sup> Fairly frequent with the Triptolemos Painter: *ARV* 364,42; 364,45; 364,46; 365,64; 366,90; 366,91; 367,92; 367,93; 367,95. J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford 1971) [henceforth *Para*] 365 "Cup-fragments not far from the Triptolemos Painter," Oslo Blindheim and Copenhagen inv.1213 (not 1913). Also on a cup, Basle market, warrior arming and groom.

its lower arm also slightly up. His head is noticeably inclined. He must have gazed at something near his knees. The authors suggested that he might be a young vase painter at work and cite the cup in the manner of the Antiphon Painter in Boston and the craftsmen on the splendid hydria by the Leningrad Painter in Milan.<sup>7</sup> The persons so occupied teach us that the Bryn Mawr youth cannot have engaged in this activity. The upward bend of his right arm would have to be sharper, the hand would stand almost at a right angle to the arm. On the fragment we could then expect remains of this hand gripping the tool with which he would draw in that unmistakable 'far eastern' manner, so different from the European way.<sup>8</sup> At Bothmer's suggestion the authors offer the alternative of his being merely a seated youth who might be holding out a fillet to a standing boy. They rightly assume that some object or person must have occupied the space at the right.<sup>9</sup>

The only other fragment of the tondo preserved is the lower part of the Freiburg sherd c, but we lack a photo of the interior of this very fragment. Instead we have Beazley's tracing (PLATES 3 fig. 2; 4). It shows "one seated and a male standing (1, toes to right, 2, legs of a male in a himation, standing with left leg frontal)" (ARV 365,62). The toes of the seated figure are those of a left foot; the tip of the big toe of the right foot is also preserved. Just above those toes runs a horizontal line, the remains of a small exergue with the heel of the

<sup>7</sup> J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, III (Boston 1963) no.146, pl. LXXXI, text pp.43f, cup no.01.8073 (ARV 342,19), cf. title page of *Antike Welt* 7.2 (1976) and ARV 571,73; see now CVA Italia 51, Milano, *Collezione "H.A."* (II) III,1 (1972) C 278, pl. 1, 1-3. See also ARV 1064,3 (Komaris Painter). Cf. J. Ziomecki, *Les représentations d'artisans sur les vases attiques* (Bibliotheca Antica XIII, Wrocław 1975) pls. 10, 13, 18.

<sup>8</sup> The stylus when writing is held in the 'western' manner, e.g. ARV 428,6; 431,48 (cf. 1653); 443,220 (Douris); ARV 455,11 (Ashby Painter). For a BF example see the 'phormiskos' Brussels A 1013, RA 1972, p.100 fig. 10. The Triptolemos Painter's writing Athena, ARV 362,14, pauses to reflect. So will the schoolmaster on the cup in the Antikenmuseum in Basle, BS 465, which K. Schefold, *Antike Kunst* 17 (1974) 137, pl.39,1, places in the Apollodoros Group. I prefer to see this cup in the vicinity of the early Douris.

<sup>9</sup> When complete the left arm seems to have come up quite high. A staff held in the manner suggested by our drawing (PLATE 3 fig. 1) seems the answer. For a parallel see ARV 365,64. For other ways to grip a staff, e.g. ARV 364,49; 366,77 and Berlin 1970,5 (E. R. Knauer, *Ein Skyphos des Triptolemosmalers* [125. *Berliner Winkelmannsprogramm*, Berlin 1973] fig. 11). All are ruled out because of the pronounced upward direction of the upper arm on Bryn Mawr P-210. We can establish only the direction of the youth's right arm, not its activity. As he gazes downward, I don't think he would have held out a fillet as e.g. on ARV 462,49 (Makron).

standing male resting on it.<sup>10</sup> Beazley has traced but one of the meander units, enough to prove that the border matches the Bryn Mawr one. The space to be filled by the standing male in the tondo is considerable. The direction of the himation folds suggests that his left arm was akimbo. The stance is that of confidence, a grown-up male or a youth being the most likely candidates (PLATE 3 fig. 1).<sup>11</sup>

As to the object the two men may have busied themselves with, a look at fragment e on B (PLATE 5 figs. 1 and 2) may help. It cannot be joined, but being large it clearly belongs to B, "males as if in procession, (two of them holding lyres)."<sup>12</sup> It consists of two adjoining pieces and preserves what seems to have been seven males quietly walking to the right, two by two. Of the figure farthest to the right only part of one calf remains. The first pair proceeds at modest stride, firmly wrapped in their mantles. The farther male of the following pair holds a lyre in his left hand. The nearer is empty-handed; he seems to have slung the mantle over his left shoulder, thus also wrapping up his right arm. The nearer male of the third pair held a lyre in his left hand, the red loop of the plektron-string hanging down.<sup>13</sup> Besides the seated male left of the handle (a) there were either eight or nine males on B. The fall of the folds of this group converges towards the ideal centre of the cup. The fragment will have occupied the middle of B.

We found remains of five persons on A. In the gap between sherds b and c there is room for at least one more figure. This would bring the overall number on both sides close to fifteen<sup>14</sup>—certainly an unusual number compared to the average population of such a kylix, which would be about ten. But there are parallels. First of all in the *oeuvre* of our painter himself is his ambitious cup from Python's

<sup>10</sup> For feet stepping down from the exergue see ARV 364,45; 364,46; 364,49; 365,61 and the cup on the Basle market mentioned in n.6.

<sup>11</sup> See e.g. ARV 364,42. A boy standing in front of a seated youth or man would normally have his feet side by side, e.g. ARV 365,64 (Triptolemos Painter); for Douris see ARV 431,48. Dietrich von Bothmer doubts that the youth's knees overlapped the right leg of the standing male as suggested in our reconstruction. Yet the same occurs in the tondo of ARV 364,49.

<sup>12</sup> ARV 365,62.

<sup>13</sup> It is not the sling for the left hand, both ends of which would be tied to the lower end of the right arm of the lyre. The plektron can either be fixed to the arm or to the box-like implement on which the strings are fastened at the lower end of the lyre.

<sup>14</sup> Depending on whether one person or two headed the triple group of the walking pairs. The heel on the following sherd (d) could belong to the right foot of the near male of the last pair.



Figure 1. Suggested reconstruction of tondo

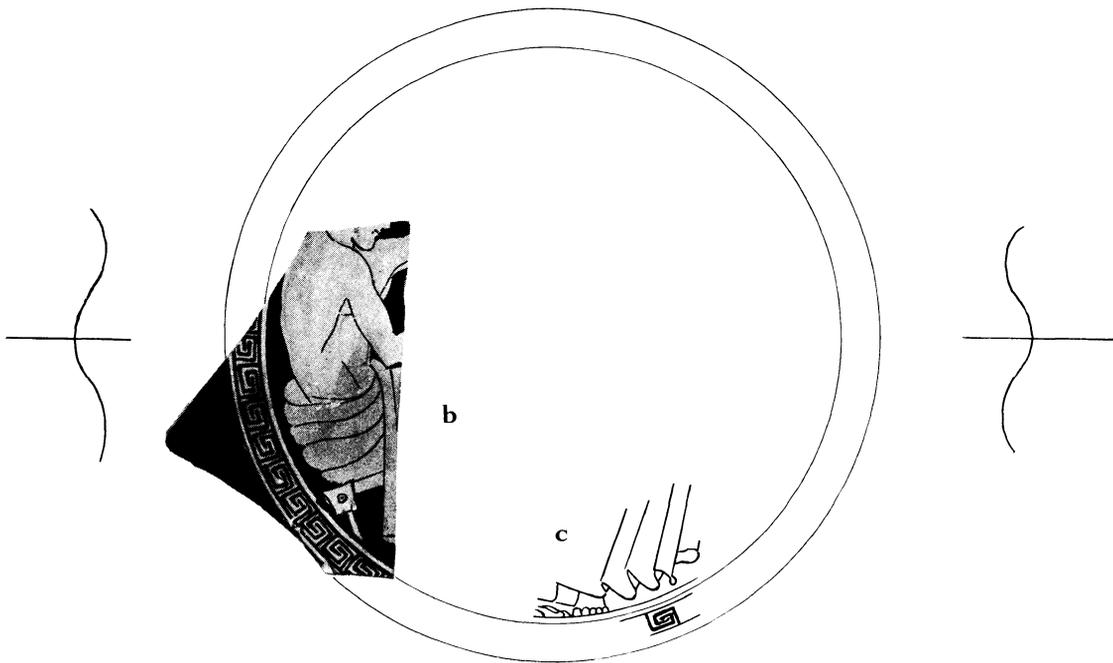
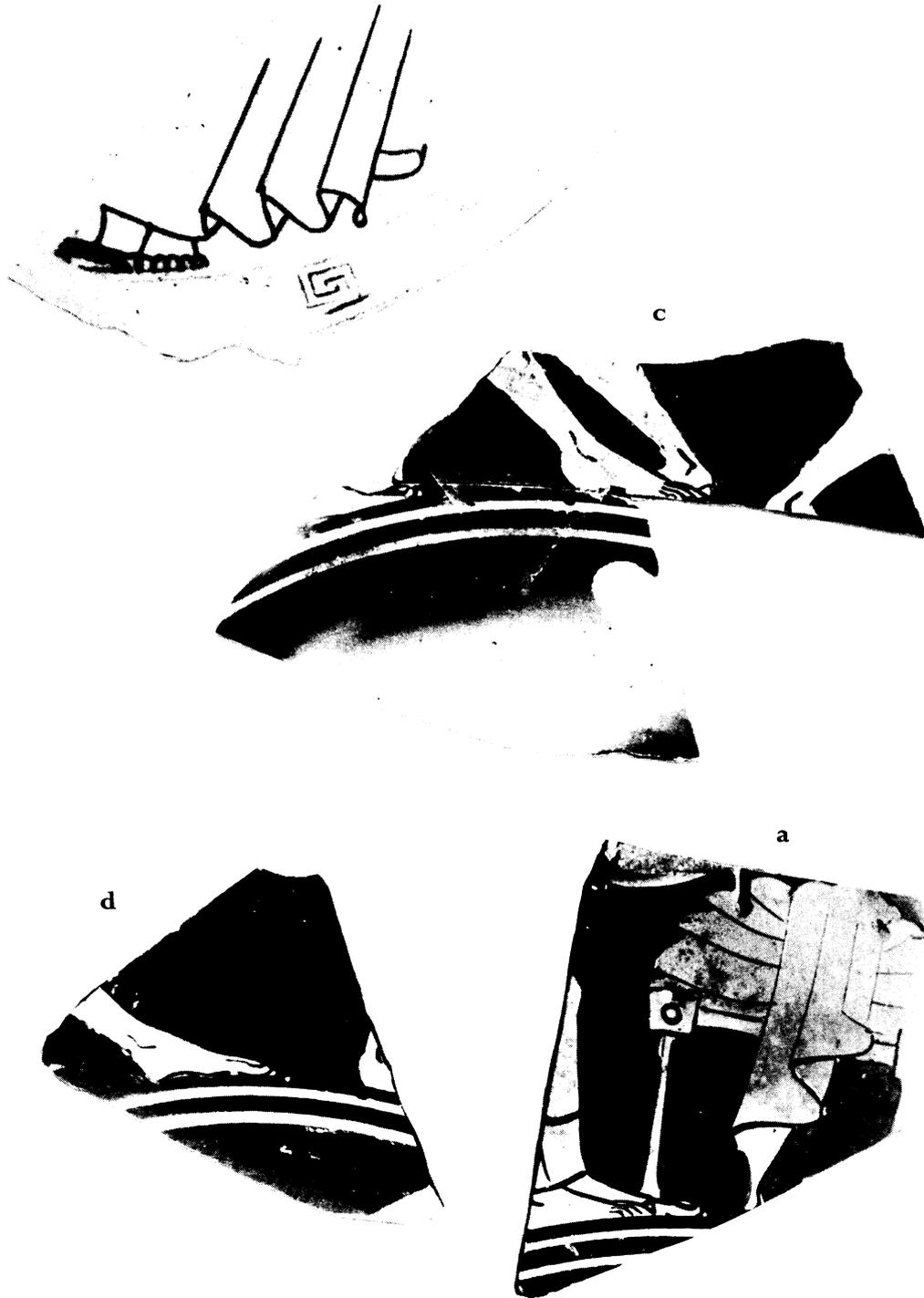


Figure 2. Bryn Mawr sherd P-210 with Beazley's tracing of Freiburg sherd  
TONDO OF FREIBURG/BRYN MAWR CUP BY THE TRIPTOLEMOS PAINTER

PLATE 4 KNAUER



BEAZLEY'S TRACING FROM TONDO AND FREIBURG FRAGMENTS OF A AND B  
(actual size)



Figure 1. Freiburg fragment e (actual size)

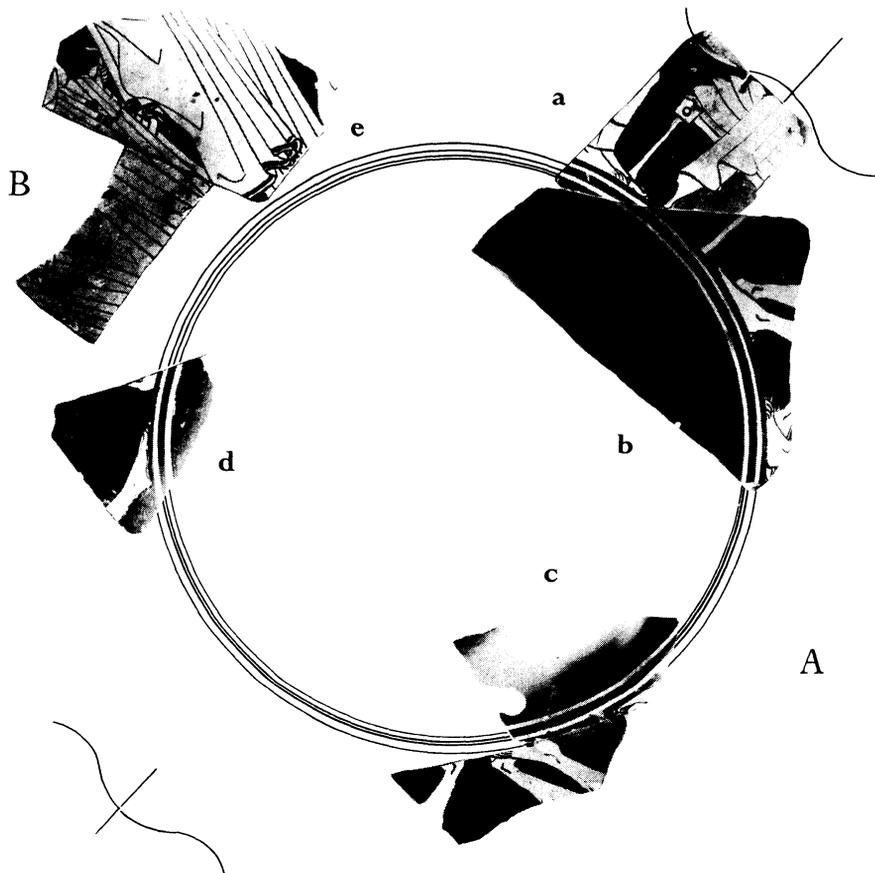


Figure 2. Freiburg and Bryn Mawr fragments assembled

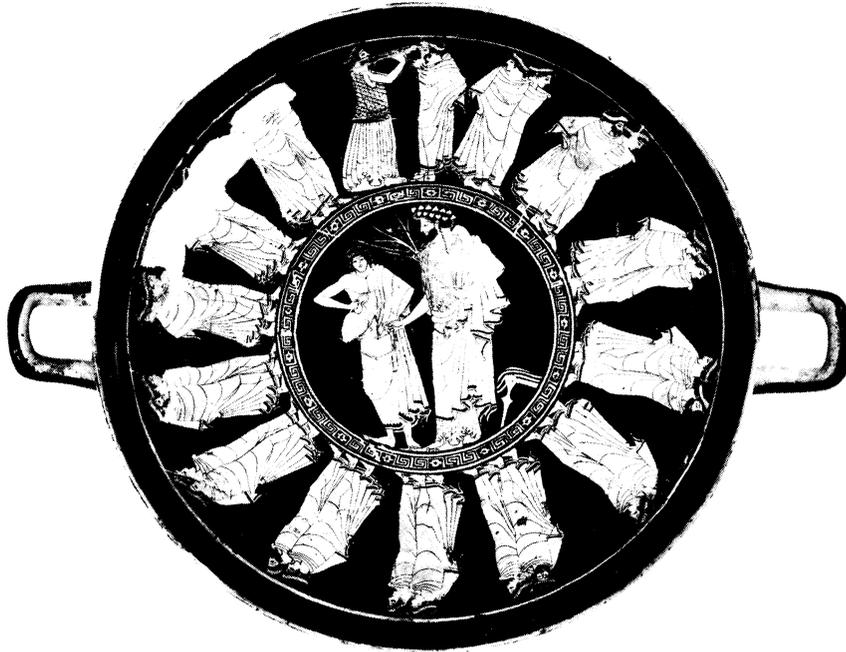


Figure 1. Interior of cup Louvre G 138 by the Triptolemos Painter



Figure 2. Interior of cup Louvre G 121 by Douris

workshop (Louvre G 138). Apart from Dionysos and Oinopion within the tondo, twenty-six males headed by an aulete and a marshal walk in a procession in a zone round the tondo (PLATE 6 fig. 1). There are fourteen males on A plus B, partly in procession, partly watching it.<sup>15</sup>

This cup should be compared with the pair also turned on Python's wheel (Louvre G 121 and C 11386) and painted by Douris in his middle period: a seated youth with a hare in his lap occupies the tondo, the zone round it shows ten groups of standing men and seated youths and three similar groups on each A and B (PLATE 6 fig. 2). Douris' association with Python began early (ARV 426), whereas we have but two cups fashioned by Python and painted by the Triptolemos Painter. One is the Louvre kylix with the procession mentioned above, the other the cup in Berlin with the puzzling Douris signature (ARV 365,59). Beazley places the Louvre cup early in our painter's career. It certainly precedes the Louvre pair by Douris. The Freiburg/Bryn Mawr cup, however, could be contemporary with the Douris parallels. It belongs to the period of the Triptolemos Painter's maturity when he is at his most personal, the decade between 480–470 B.C. It is less ambitious in its composition since it lacks the figured zone around the tondo. Yet on B the painter takes

<sup>15</sup> ARV 365,61. This cup will be discussed in detail in a projected monograph on the Triptolemos Painter. The wealth of ascribed names—fourteen on the interior zone and four on the exterior—could make this a 'special order', probably fashioned for members of a 'class' ('Class of ca 490 B.C.'). The spectators of the procession on B lack inscriptions. There may once have been a companion piece, now lost, with the remaining fourteen names of the 28 males in the interior. The marshal instead of the aulete may have appeared on A. Besides this cup in the Louvre there seem to be only seven zoned cups extant from the first two decades of the fifth century. Two parallel pieces, potted by Kleophrades and painted by Douris, in Berlin (2283, 2284), ARV 429,21 and 22; Douris makes the chariots on the zones go clockwise on one cup, counterclockwise on the other. Two cups in the Louvre (G 121 and fr. C 11386) potted by Python and painted by Douris, ARV 434,78 and 79. Here again Douris displays subtle variations. For ARV 434,78 see PLATE 6 fig. 2. I have not seen the sherds of ARV 434,79 myself, but D. von Bothmer informs me that there are five sherds belonging to Cp 11386, all of them fragments of the zone. As one of the boys sits with a cock on his lap, it is clear that the cup is not an exact replica of ARV 434,78. My count has been generously supplemented by Diana Buitron and Dietrich von Bothmer, who add as the earliest RF example, 'near the Painter of the Vatican Horseman', the fr. London E 134,2, ARV 159,2; the cup by the Kleophrades Painter, London E 73, ARV 192,106 and a fr. in Athens, from Marathon Street, by the Brygos Painter (J. J. Maffre, RA 1972, pp.221–32 figs. 1–2; the maeander is not far from that on Douris' Berlin pair). Both drew my attention to such cups listed by K. Schauenburg, *Antike Kunst Beihefte* 7 (1970) 36 n.44, in his article on BF zoned cups, and they supplied a list of examples later in the fifth century. We thus have three zoned cups each by the potters Kleophrades and Python. Two of each are companion pieces.

up the theme of his youthful caprice: males walking two by two in procession. The mirror-image congruence of the neatly overlapping figures on A also betrays a persisting predilection for an arrangement *εἰς δύο*.

At first sight his Paris cup (PLATE 6 fig. 1) conveys the impression of almost too regular and unimaginative a design. The pairs resemble spokes of a wheel round the hub of the tondo. Closer inspection reveals the subtleties. The couples walk in equal step, the farther male slightly ahead to let us see his features.<sup>16</sup> Except for the flutist the participants are tightly wrapped in their himatia, left arm akimbo, the hand grasping the material in the back, the covered right hand hooked into it just below the chin.<sup>17</sup> All wear wreaths, yet there is variation. The aulete is followed by two couples, men and youths; once a man is the farther, once a youth. They in turn are followed by alternating pairs of youths and by pairs of a man and a youth. The rhythm continues: in every second group the man is once the nearer, once the farther. Heads turned back or towards the spectator enliven the sequence considerably.

A similar rhythm occurs on B of the Freiburg/Bryn Mawr kylix (e, PLATE 5 figs. 1 and 2). Once the farther carries the lyre, once the nearer. As to the subject of A and B on this cup we seem to be in the realm of school and gymnasium. On B the youngsters may be on their way to the music lesson. Aristophanes (*Nub.* 964ff) amusingly describes what it used to be like in the olden times: an orderly procession of boys on their way to the kitharist, even if it is raining cats and dogs. His next point—no crossing of legs when seated at work—seems to be duly observed by the one on a stool (a), be he either model pupil or teacher.<sup>18</sup> On A youths must have busied themselves

<sup>16</sup> For the 'rule of the same step' see M. Emmanuel, *The Antique Greek Dance* (New York 1916, transl. of a thesis of 1895) 269. G. Prudhommeau, *La danse grecque antique I* (Paris 1965) §200.

<sup>17</sup> It is the garb of decency, mostly of schoolboys, sometimes of mourners, very frequent with contemporaries of the Triptolemos Painter. There are variations with the mantle also covering the back of the head, e.g. ARV 340,65 (Antiphon Painter); ARV 374/5,62 (*Para* 375); 375,68 (Brygos Painter); ARV 431,48 (1653); *Para* 375,51 bis (BMMA June 1969, frontispiece) (Douris); ARV 471,193 and 196; 472,200 (Makron; with him the selvage often forms a characteristic frill round the shoulders). Before they degenerate into the 'mantle youths' of late Attic and South Italian vase painting, they are standard with the Penthesilea Painter. He is the last to find school scenes worth representing, which were so much at the centre of the vase painters' interest in the first quarter of the fifth century.

<sup>18</sup> The lyre is the educational instrument *κατ' ἐξοχήν*; see Douris' school-cups ARV 431,48; 434,78 and *Para* 375,51 bis (cf. *supra* n.17). It stands in contrast to the 'frivolous'

on the playing field. The interlocking stance of the two pairs is not easy to explain. We find boxers aligned this way, yet not quite as close to one another and unvariably with one heel lifted from the ground. Boxers should thus be ruled out. So must be any activity involving violent movement, running, throwing of javelins or diskoi. They may be getting ready, some lifting helmet and shield for the *hoplitodromos*, some jumping-weights or diskoi, steadying themselves before their turn comes.<sup>19</sup> We could be surer if we had either the remains of a mantled male, the *paidotribes*, at least of his typical rod, or of the long gown of the aulete who sometimes accompanied the contests.<sup>20</sup>

A final look at the tondo (PLATE 3 figs. 1 and 2). The scenes on the back of the cup may suggest a scholarly activity—as physical and intellectual education frequently took place on the same premises. But, as we saw, the position of the youth's arms does not allow for writing, lyre playing or tuning, holding out a fillet or reading from a

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barbiton for the accompaniment of the *komos*, the lovesong and the Dionysiac dithyramb. The boys on the Freiburg fr. carry the instruments in the 'proper' way at the upper end of the near arm (for the carrying of instruments see Prudhommeau, *op.cit.* [supra n.16] §§901–08). The 'looser' barbiton is often amusingly shown with objects tied to the far arm: a fillet, ARV 373,36 (Brygos Painter); a flute-case, BF eyecup, Brussels R269, ABV 210, foot of page, and ARV 427,1 (Douris); a food-basket, ARV 372,32 (Brygos Painter), ARV 473,213 (Makron); an oinochoe, ARV 285,6 (Geras Painter). A barbiton carried over the back and held by the plektron-string, ARV 775,2 (Painter of the Brussels oinochoe). For both instruments see M. Wegner, *Griechenland (Musikgeschichte in Bildern II.4, Leipzig 1963) 44ff.* Very thorough with rich bibliography and indices: B. Aign, *Die Geschichte der Musikinstrumente des ägäischen Raumes bis um 700 vor Chr.* (Kassel 1963); rec. H. Hickmann, *Gnomon* 38 (1966) 804–09. See also J. M. Snyder, *AJA* 80 (1976) 189f. For classical education in general see H. I. Marrou, *Geschichte der Erziehung im klassischen Altertum* (Freiburg/München 1957) 61–73, 198–203 (music and dance). The most recent edition, *L'histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1971) was not accessible to me. For classical music-education and its unglorious end see I. Henderson, "Ancient Greek Music," in *The New Oxford History of Music I* (London 1957 [1966]) ch. x, 336–404.

<sup>19</sup> e.g. ARV 149,20 (Manner of the Epeleios Painter); ARV 381,173 (Brygos Painter); ARV 414,1 (near the Dokimasia Painter); ARV 430,31 (Douris); and the cups by the Trip- tolemos Painter ARV 364,42 and 1648,36 bis. For the stance of boxers see A. Bruckner, *Palästradarstellungen auf frührotfigurigen attischen Vasen* (Hannover 1954) 23–30. For the various athletic disciplines see now R. Patrucco, *Lo sport nella Grecia antica* (Firenze 1972). For the requirements and social implications M. I. Finley/H. W. Pleket, *The Olympic Games: the First Thousand Years* (London 1976) (some of the plate captions are misleading).

<sup>20</sup> Revellers are out of question as neither their dancing step nor the unsteady stance of the inebriate are depicted. For the flutist at contests see e.g. ARV 72,15 (Epiktetos) and ARV 861,12 and 1672, (Pistoxenos Painter).

scroll.<sup>21</sup> Instead, the left could have clutched the crutch of a staff while the right may have cuddled an animal on his lap, as the direction of his intent gaze suggests. It might have been a hare, one of the favorite love gifts, for which our painter and his contemporaries had a predilection.<sup>22</sup> Douris outdoes them all: hares abound on his lavish school kylix in Paris (PLATE 6 fig. 2).<sup>23</sup> The youth in the tondo props up his staff and looks down on a timid leveret in his lap, turning to the beholder just a little more and thus filling the tondo alone. The Bryn Mawr youth had to share the circle with a mantled male, perhaps the donor of the animal.<sup>24</sup>

Again, in the case of our fragmentary cup we can only be sure of which activities the position of the young man's arm does not allow for, and our reconstruction is bound to remain tentative. Yet it seems tempting to see our painter in this work of his maturity once more competing with Douris.<sup>25</sup> Had the cup survived intact, we might have preferred the assured and generous draughtsmanship of the Triptolemos Painter to the angular and slightly gauche grace of Douris' composition.

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<sup>21</sup> For the position of arms when tuning a lyre, ARV 23,7 (Phintias); when playing, ARV 362,23 (Triptolemos Painter). For reading see Th. Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der antiken Kunst* (Leipzig 1907) 135–71; H. R. Immerwahr, in *Classical Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies in Honor of B. L. Ullman I* (Roma 1964) 17–48, and *Antike Kunst* 16 (1973) 143–47.

<sup>22</sup> It is frequently held by the ears, ARV 362,21; *Para* 364,21 bis; ARV 365,60. See also the delightful cup ARV 348,4 (Cage Painter) and ARV 471,198; 473,213. A hare at leash: ARV 459,4 (Makron). A hare being kept in a suspended cage: ARV 20 (The Gotha cup). Hare-coursing: about to, ARV 213,242 (Berlin Painter), putting the animal down, ARV 333,2 (the Oinophile Painter), letting it go, ARV 1593,40 (Leagros Group), following the animal, ARV 315,1 (Proto-Panaetian Group). For the convincing suggestion that hares were used for the training of runners (with reference to Philostr. *De arte gymn.* 43) see H. A. G. Brijder, *BABesch* 50.2 (1975) 161 nn.37 and 37b and figs. 13a and 13b. This would make a hare a most pertinent love gift. It would also explain the live hare (taut hind legs!) hanging from the arm of the victorious athlete on the Panathenaic amphora ARV 183,9 (Kleophrades Painter).

<sup>23</sup> See also his cups ARV 428,10 and 11; 430,33; 444,239; *Para* 375,51 bis (see *supra* n.17).

<sup>24</sup> In its *horror vacui* the cup's tondo must have come close to the cups in the Vatican ARV 364,49 and in Berlin ARV 365,59 (125. *Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm* [see *supra* n.9] figs. 14, 23) linked by the same 'dourisizing' border and the subdued movement typical of this decade. There are crowded tondi in the earlier work of the Triptolemos Painter too—cf. ARV 364,45 and 46—but their furious motion separates them clearly from the works of the post-Persian period.

<sup>25</sup> For this problem, including the 'false' signature on ARV 365,59, see Knauer (*supra* n.9) 17.