

18. REED WORKSHOP: REED PAINTER AND GROUP R

Lekythoi of the Reed Workshop include those by the Reed Painter himself, and those of Group R.¹ The workshop must have been one of the most influential in the last decades of the fifth century—at least a number of *lekythoi* attributed to different hands are connected with it—among them the Anavyssos *lekythoi*. The Reed shoulder palmettes and meander band of the Anavyssos *lekythoi* do not to my knowledge appear on *lekythoi* by the Bird Painter himself. His palmettes have been described; his meander, running or stopt, does not have pattern squares.² I know of one exception, a *lekythos* in a private collection in Basle,³ with broken running meanders alternating with saltire squares; the pattern square is enclosed by the running meander. The same pattern occurs on *lekythoi* by the Carlsberg Painter,⁴ the Woman Painter (and his manner),⁵ at least one *lekythos* of Group R (PLATE 50. 1),⁶ and two *lekythoi* of the Anavyssos Group (Athens 19333 (FIGURE 5g) and 19334). The Achilles Painter had alternated meanders and pattern squares, but in a different scheme: groups of stopt meanders alternately facing right and left and pattern squares depending alternately from the upper and lower horizontal lines bounding the pattern (FIGURE 5d).⁷ The 19333 pattern is, in fact, much nearer the Reed (FIGURE 5h) form than the Achillean, differing principally in the formation of the pattern square, which is not enclosed by the broken running meander: next to the closing vertical of the meander unit comes a vertical line framing one side of the pattern square. All of the Anavyssos *lekythoi* (from the second grave), with the two stated exceptions and 19336 which has been reworked,⁸ reproduce this distinctive Reed pattern. On the basis of patternwork, therefore, the Anavyssos *lekythoi* look as if they were produced in connection with the Reed Workshop. Nor is this unlikely, given the points of similarity between Bird and Reed *lekythoi* and the relationship between these painters and the Woman Painter. The Bird Painter specialized in small *lekythoi* with simple two-figure compositions; the Reed Painter decorated many small two-figure *lekythoi*. The Bird Painter's work is, on the whole, finer and more delicate than that of the Reed Painter's smaller *lekythoi*, but the two are sometimes not far apart in spirit, and somewhere near them stands the Anavyssos Group—more Bird than Reed in figurework, but unquestionably Reed in pattern, with a touch of something grander. Beazley looked to the Achillean following,⁹ but the Woman Painter is nearer in time and he is not without Reed affiliations (see below). We think of the Woman Painter as a painter of large *lekythoi* with

¹ *ARV*¹ 823 ff., 965 ff.; *ARV* 1376 ff., 1692; *Para* 485 f.

² Basle, Hagemann. *ARV* 1232, no. 7 *qu.* Marburg, no number. *ARV* 1233, no. 19 (pattern squares); Harvard, 1925.30.54; *ARV* 1232, no. 2; Minneapolis, no number. *ARV* 1232, no. 8 (running meander); Bowdoin, 23.26. *ARV* 1232, no. 5; Athens, 19357. *ARV* 1232, no. 7; *ARV* 1232, no. 8 *bis*; Philadelphia, L 64.186. *ARV* 1232, no. 10 (stopt meander).

³ Basle, Hagemann. *APV* 1232, no. 4; *Auktion* xvi, pl. 37, no. 150.

⁴ Greifswald, 365. *ARV* 1235, no. 1; Canberra, fr.

ARV 1235, no. 3; Munich (ex Lugano, Schoen, 81). *ARV* 1235, no. 10; Boston, Oddy. *ARV* 1235, no. 1.

⁵ Lyons, no number. *ARV* 1373, no. 24; once Tarporley, Brooks. *ARV* 1374, no. 1, and Stockholm, no number. *ARV* 1374, no. 2 (Revelstoke Group, manner of the Woman Painter).

⁶ Louvre, CA 537. *ARV* 1384, no. 18.

⁷ *JHS* xxxiv. 186 (pattern delta); Beazley, *The Berlin Painter* (Melbourne, 1964), 7 ('ULFA').

⁸ Athens, 19336. *Para* 467.

⁹ *Para* 467.

statuesque figures, but a good number of his *lekythoi* are about the same size as the Reed Painter's¹ and their decoration is not much more impressive.²

Before turning to the patterns, the technique, and iconography of the Reed Workshop, a word about the distribution of its vases. All of the Group R *lekythoi* of known provenience are from Attica or Eretria. Several of the Reed *lekythoi*, on the other hand, have been found elsewhere, one at Gela,³ one at Corinth,⁴ two at Spina, in a single (unpublished) grave,⁵ and others from south-eastern Yugoslavia.⁶ Apart from these Reed *lekythoi*, the only white *lekythoi* of unquestionably funerary iconography which are known to have travelled in any significant numbers are from the Tymbos Workshop—a handful coming from the east (Rhodes),⁷ the west (Italy),⁸ and nearer home (Aegina,⁹ Salamis,¹⁰ and Corinth).¹¹ Both workshops specialized in the mass production of small, cheap funerary *lekythoi* for an indiscriminating public, which cared more about the nature of the offering than its aesthetic quality (proveniences are discussed on pp. 136 ff.).

The Reed Painter's *lekythoi* are mostly small and rather carelessly produced, but some are larger and finer, close enough to the *lekythoi* of Group R for a single workshop to have produced them (cf. PLATE 51. 1): shapes, patterns, and pigments are similar. Although some large Reed *lekythoi* are as good as some of the *lekythoi* of Group R, the quality, on the whole, is markedly lower, and the pigment, although similar, is applied differently. There are also iconographical differences. In short, as Beazley concluded, Group R *lekythoi* are not superior work by the Reed Painter, but are by another, related artist, active in the same workshop.¹²

Matt paint is used exclusively—regularly black for the patterns and red for the figures. Glaze, by now, is limited to the lines, framing the meander band, at the shoulder join; these lines are a characteristic feature of classical white *lekythoi*, regardless of the nature of their outlines, and were presumably applied in the initial stage of the vase's decoration. Both Reed and Group R *lekythoi* have a predominantly red colour scheme. Some have added black, and others have a greater degree of polychromy, with washes of violet, blue, green, and yellow, discreetly applied. Some of the Group R *lekythoi* are no more colourful than some of the Reed *lekythoi*, and there is no noticeable difference in polychromy among Reed *lekythoi* according to size.¹³ Another technical feature should be mentioned

¹ Louvre, MNB 505. *ARV* 1372, no. 15 (29 cm; F ii. 45); Louvre, MNB 613. *ARV* 1372, no. 19 (33 cm; F ii. 140); Louvre, CA 1329. *ARV* 1372, no. 20 (33 cm; F ii. 44); Athens, 1795. *ARV* 1372, no. 22 (26 cm; F ii. 152). Cf. F ii. 136 ff. (Reed average is c. 30 cm).

² Cf. Louvre, CA 1329. *ARV* 1372, no. 20. See note above. ³ London, D 63. *ARV* 1378, no. 34.

⁴ Athens, 1811. *ARV* 1379, no. 54.

⁵ Ferrara, T 136 C VP. *ARV* 1382, no. 123; Ferrara, T 136 C VP. *ARV* 1382, no. 124.

⁶ *RA* 1973, 43 f.

⁷ London, D 45. *ARV* 759, no. 7; London, D 44. *ARV* 762, no. 29.

⁸ Munich, 2772. *ARV* 754, no. 5; Munich, 2771. *ARV* 757, no. 74; New York, 06.1021.127. *ARV* 757, no. 90 (? Cerveteri); Munich, 2770. *ARV* 759, no. 13.

⁹ Cab. Méd. 501. *ARV* 759, no. 5.

¹⁰ Athens, 1808. *ARV* 759, no. 14.

¹¹ Corinth, MP 91. *ARV* 759, no. 1.

¹² *ARV* 1376; *AWL* 24.

¹³ Reed Painter (small): Athens, 1759. *ARV* 1376, no. 1 (F ii. 137); Athens, 1999. *ARV* 1376, no. 2 (F ii. 136); Athens, 2000. *ARV* 1376, no. 3 (F ii. 136); Athens, 2028. *ARV* 1376, no. 4 (F ii. 137); Athens, 1910. *ARV* 1379, no. 72 (F ii. 141); London, D 74. *ARV* 1380, no. 80 (F ii. 142); London, D 83. *ARV* 1380, no. 94 (F ii. 142). Reed Painter (large): Athens, 2011. *ARV* 1381, no. 112 (F ii. 184); Brussels, A 124. *ARV* 1381, no. 113 (F ii. 170). Group R: Louvre, CA 536. *ARV* 1383, no. 4 (F ii. 176); Athens, 1817. *ARV* 1383, no. 11 (F ii. 167); Athens, 1816. *ARV* 1383, no. 12 (F ii. 167); London, D 71. *ARV* 1384, no. 15 (F ii. 174).

—preliminary sketch.¹ Preliminary sketches have been detected both on the larger, grander *lekythoi* of Group R² and on Reed *lekythoi*, sometimes hastily painted.³ The presence of a preliminary sketch on a hastily painted *lekythos* indicates that preliminary sketch is not of necessity a sign of careful workmanship. Conversely, its presence on some of the Group R *lekythoi* indicates that the vases were not painted 'spontaneously', as has been assumed from the impressionistic character of their lines.

Although both the Reed Painter and the artist or artists of Group R use matt paint for figurework, their method of expression is different: the Reed Painter's *lekythoi*, large and small, have broader even lines (cf. PLATES 47, 48. 1), those of Group R have thinner, broken lines, which give the effect of a sketch, spontaneously produced (cf. PLATES 49, 50). Where the Reed Painter paints a line, the Group R artist paints several. In doing this he achieves volume without the use of shading. The visual impression of weight is sometimes enforced by an almost oppressive atmosphere of brooding thought (PLATE 49. 1). On these *lekythoi* we have a glimpse of the troubled, introspective mood of the later war years, of which the light, pretty art of the Meidias Painter and his red-figure colleagues gives little indication. The ponderous large-limbed seated youths on the two best-known *lekythoi* of Group R command our attention by the expression on their faces.⁴ Even though these two *lekythoi* are not truly representative their monumentality and mood are acknowledged hallmarks of Group R. The Reed Painter's people sometimes look spineless and spiritless, those of his colleagues look oppressed in body and soul.

According to Pliny,⁵ volume through line, without the use of shadow, was the principal achievement of the great painter Parrhasios, who was active in Athens during the Peloponnesian War. Although none of his work survives, it is not unreasonable to look for some reflection of it, however slight, on those Athenian vases whose white-slipped surfaces most nearly approximate to the neutral ground of panel and wall. Modern historians of art have been quick to associate the *lekythoi* of Group R with Parrhasios;⁶ Rumpf's juxtaposition of a Group R *lekythos* and a Raphael sketch illustrated simply the grander quality of these vases.⁷ Pliny also tells us, taking his information from Hellenistic sources,⁸ that Parrhasios was especially interested in the representation of the face, the hair, and the mouth. This seems equally true of the artist (or artists) of Group R who tilts the face in three-quarter view, paints the hair nearly strand by strand, and purses the mouth in a thoughtful expression. Great care, too, is given to hands. In Group R the hands are as valid a vehicle of expression as the face: compare the sensitively drawn, prominently featured hands (PLATE 50. 3),⁹ with the boneless expressionless hands of the Reed Painter's people.

¹ Beazley, *Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens* (1946), 38 f.; *ABL* 156; *JHS* lxxxv (1965), 16 ff. (Corbett).

² Cleveland, 28.859. *ARV* 1383, no. 10 (= Hirsch *lekythos* described in *AWL* 25); Louvre, CA 537. *ARV* 1384, no. 18 (F ii. 162); Louvre, CA 1264. *ARV* 1384, no. 19 (*MonPiot* xxii (1916), 37 f.).

³ Athens, 1759. *ARV* 1376, no. 1 (F ii. 137); Athens, 2028. *ARV* 1376, no. 4 (F ii. 137); London, D 61. *ARV* 1377, no. 15 (F ii. 137).

⁴ Athens, 1817. *ARV* 1383, no. 11 (*TWL* pl. 9); Athens, 1816. *ARV* 1383, no. 12 (*TWL* pl. 10).

⁵ Pliny, *N.H.* 35. 67.

⁶ *AJA* lv (1951), 1 ff. (Rumpf); *Antike und Abendland* v (1956), 71 ff. (Karouzou); *GP* 148 ff.

⁷ *AJA* lv. 5.

⁸ Pliny, *N.H.* 35. 60.

⁹ Athens, 1817; Athens, 19280, fr. *ARV* 1384, no. 14; Athens, 17276. *ARV* 1384, no. 16.

Patternwork. Reed patternwork varies little and is easily recognized. The IIA shoulder palmettes (FIGURE 24c), beneath a line or two or, rarely, an egg band,¹ differ from those of the Anavyssos *lekythoi* only in the tendency towards broken lines: tendrils, executed in more than one stroke, often do not 'join';² heart-volutes, composed of two little arcspirals, often do not 'join'. This tendency towards broken lines in the shoulder decoration of Group R *lekythoi* is complemented by a broken, impressionistic line in the picture panel. The meander, running (broken), alternating at two, three, or more unit intervals with saltire squares, scarcely differs from that on *lekythoi* by the Reed Painter.³ The *lekythoi* of Group R admit somewhat more variety: the Reed meander is most common,⁴ but there are also long thin running meanders,⁵ squared stopt meanders,⁶ a running meander enclosing a pattern square,⁷ and once a 'false meander' (line terminating in the centre of the meander, instead of coming out again) alternates with a pattern square,⁸ rather like the Quadrate Painter's favourite square.⁹ On several *lekythoi* of Group R the patternwork has largely disappeared.¹⁰

Iconography. The elements of Reed and Group R iconography are more similar than disparate but there are notable differences: the Reed Painter prefers a simple two-figure composition, even for many of his large *lekythoi*;¹¹ Group R *lekythoi*, with few exceptions, have three¹² or four¹³ figures. By far the commonest Reed scene is the visit to the tomb; the commonest tomb is a broad, rather low monument, crowned by a pediment or acanthus leaves.¹⁴ Mounds¹⁵ are more common than shaft *stelai*,¹⁶ but neither is prominent in the painter's *œuvre*. A characteristic feature of these Reed tomb scenes is the illusion of several monuments behind the principal one (cf. PLATE 52. 2).¹⁷ Visits to the tomb are the commonest scene on Group R *lekythoi*, but on these 'shadow monuments' do not appear (PLATE 49). (The 'shadow monuments' are presumably nothing more than a labour-saving version of the cemetery view, several monuments being kaleidoscoped.) The figures at the tomb on Reed *lekythoi* are reproduced with monotonous regularity: seated youth and standing woman, seated woman and standing youth, standing woman and leaning youth, etc. Seated figures on the smaller *lekythoi* more often than not sit beside the tomb; on the larger Reed *lekythoi* they tend to sit at the tomb, as do the people of Group R. Standing men hold spears or lean on a staff; women hold fillets or other offerings. A curious detail found on Reed *lekythoi*,¹⁸ large and small, is the rolled fillet,

¹ Würzburg, 564. *ARV* 1383, no. 2.

² Athens, 1816. Cf. Athens, 1848. *ARV* 1379, no. 74.

³ Leipsic, no number. *ARV* 1381, no. 109; cf. Würzburg, 564.

⁴ Cf. Vienna, 143. *ARV* 1383, no. 1; New York, 07.286.45. *ARV* 1383, no. 3; London, D 71. *ARV* 1384, no. 15; New York, 41.162.11. *ARV* 1384, no. 2.

⁵ Würzburg, 564.

⁶ Louvre, CA 1264.

⁷ Louvre, CA 537.

⁸ Athens, 19280. *Athens Annals of Archaeology* ii (1969), cover (colour).

⁹ *ARV* 1236.

¹⁰ Cleveland, 28.859; Athens, 17276 (*CV* ii, p. 14).

¹¹ *ARV* 1382, no. 115 *qu.* and nos. 121-8 (*ARV* 1382, no. 136, has a third figure).

¹² *ARV* 1383, nos. 1-5, 8-12; 1384, nos. 15-17.

¹³ *Ibid.* 1383, no. 7.

¹⁴ *ADelt* viii (1923), 122, fig. 2.

¹⁵ Athens, 1767. *ARV* 1378, no. 31; once Vienna. *ARV* 1378, no. 38.

¹⁶ Athens, 1852. *ARV* 1379, no. 73.

¹⁷ Bologna, PU 367. *ARV* 1377, no. 23; Heidelberg, L 41. *ARV* 1380, no. 78.

¹⁸ Possible representations on *lekythoi* by other painters: Athens, 1761. *ARV* 1229, no. 17 (Riezler, 107, 'eine zusammengerollte Binde mit Fransen'); Athens 16422, unattributed (PLATE 28. 3). The shoulder is white with lotuses and palmettes in the manner of the Sabouroff and Thanatos Painters. See above, p. 35, FIGURE 16c. London, D 38 (*ARV* 757, no. 71) and

held by a woman, high behind the head (PLATE 46. 2). Much has been written about these fillets, largely because they have been taken to be 'tablets' and connected by some with 'Orphic' beliefs in an afterlife.¹ Orphism or Pythagoreanism is scarcely in question at this place and time. Fillets are important in Athenian funerary rites²—and in the art of the Reed Painter. In vase-painting³ and in sculpture (PLATE 46. 3)⁴ they are sometimes represented rolled, and the ribbons streaming from several Reed 'tablets'⁵ establish their significance beyond reasonable doubt.

The Reed Painter is excessive in his representation of fillets. They hang in profusion, not only on tombstones, but on trees and reeds, even on the air (PLATES 47, 48). Fillets appear on Group R *lekythoi*, but they are not so prominent.⁶ Fillets in profusion are a characteristic feature of two groups of *lekythoi* which on the basis of other details can be shown to be related to the Reed Workshop—the *lekythoi* of the Painters of Berlin 2464 and of London D 72. The Painter of Berlin 2464⁷ is connected with the Reed Workshop by pattern and pigment.⁸ His scenes of visits to the tomb are very like the Reed Painter's, and the monuments are similar, but the 'shadow' monuments do not appear. Some of his women wear their hair high in a chignon, like the Reed Painter's,⁹ but others wear a *sphendone*,¹⁰ like the Woman Painter's, and in their graceful line, too, they come quite close to the Woman Painter's model. The relation between the Woman Painter and the Reed Workshop is best illustrated by the Painter of London D 72 (PLATE 46. 1)¹¹—unquestionably working in the Woman Painter's manner, but also under the influence of the Reed Workshop. Patternwork looks more Woman than Reed: beneath an egg band at the neck, the shoulder palmettes, with alternately coloured leaves, are enclosed by tendrils which flow in full, round curves.¹² The meander also assumes a form different from the Reed Painter's—neat and unbroken, not unlike the Woman Painter's. The tombs represented on the vases are characteristically Reed, without the 'shadows'; low, rather broad monuments with acanthus leaves are rare on *lekythoi* by the Woman Painter (cf. PLATE 44. 3).¹³ Fillets hang around them and in the air, in the Reed manner. Like the *lekythoi* of the Painter of Berlin 2464, these are near the Reed Painter's, but better; in delicacy of line and feeling they come close to some of the less monumental *lekythoi* of Group R.¹⁴

Boston, oo.359 (ARV 1229, no. 23) should perhaps be added.

¹ BSA lv (1960), 155 and nn. 8–15 (Kardara).

² Kurtz and Boardman, 104 ff., 123 f., 148, 167.

³ Exeter, University. ARV 1516, no. 80. GPP, pl. 50.

⁴ AM lxxix (1964), *Beilage* 48. 1, and p. 94; *Jb xxiv* (1909), pl. 5.

⁵ Copenhagen, 2789. ARV 1377, no. 12; Louvre, MNB 616. ARV 1378, no. 44; London, D 74. ARV 1380, no. 80.

⁶ Meggen, Käppeli. ARV 1383, no. 6; Louvre, CA 1264. ARV 1384, no. 19.

⁷ ARV¹ 822; ARV 1243 f.; Berlin, 2463. ARV 1244 (Reed-type tomb and hair-style).

⁸ ARV 1243.

⁹ Louvre, MNB 617. ARV 1244, no. 2 (cf. ARV¹ 822, 'No. 2 recalls the Woman Painter'). For the

basket of offerings, cf. Athens 1956 (ARV 1372, no. 3); Louvre, MNB 618. ARV 1244, no. 3; Athens, no number. ARV 1244, no. 4. For the pose of the seated woman cf. Athens, 1907 (ARV 1382, no. 119), Athens, 1755 (ARV 1385, no. 17); Athens, 1908 (ARV 1385, no. 19). For the necklace, cf. London, D 71 (ARV 1384, no. 15).

¹⁰ Berlin, 2464. ARV 1244, no. 1; Athens, no number. ARV 1244, no. 4.

¹¹ ARV¹ 821; ARV 1375.

¹² London, D 72. ARV 1375, no. 1 (F ii, pl. 25. 1); Louvre, MNB 619. ARV 1375, no. 2 (Riezler 6, fig. 5, left).

¹³ New York, 06.1169. ARV 1372, no. 6; Athens, 14517. ARV 1374, no. 18 (manner).

¹⁴ With Athens, no number (ARV 1244, no. 4) cf. London, D 71 (Group R), Athens, 1907 (Reed Painter). With Athens, 17276 (ARV 1384, no. 16)

The Reed Painter takes his name from the reeds which are almost as much a signature of his hand as the profusion of fillets and the illusion of kaleidoscoped monuments. Reeds are landscape elements in Charon scenes (PLATE 47. 2, 3);¹ the Sabouroff Painter had used them earlier.² Among later painters of *lekythoi* Charon is not popular,³ and the Reed Painter is one of the few to devote much attention to him. Charon appears on a number of small Reed *lekythoi*⁴—with monotonous regularity: he draws his boat over the water, which is sometimes indicated,⁵ towards a centrally placed reed-tree, in whose 'branches' a fillet is regularly festooned. From the other side a woman approaches, bearing an offering or holding her cloak—looking very much as if she had been lifted from one of the painter's many tomb scenes. Half of Charon's boat is represented, as is usual on white *lekythoi* (cf. PLATE 23. 2);⁶ the missing part is filled in with stylized reeds. The same boat comes over the same water, to the same centrally placed reed-tree on one of the Reed Painter's larger *lekythoi*,⁷ but on this vase the Charon scene has been conflated with the visit to the tomb (PLATE 47. 1).⁸ The one Charon *lekythos* of Group R has a similarly conflated iconography:⁹ a woman bearing *alabastron* and basket (like other visitors to the grave) approaches a tomb, on which a large *lekythos* has been placed (PLATE 50. 1). From the other side a hastily transformed Charon (still looking rather like a visitor to the tomb—note the benign expression of the face) draws up his boat, the 'back' of which is filled in with stylized reeds. This is the only Group R *lekythos* on which reeds appear; it is also, in the opinion of Beazley, the closest of Group R *lekythoi* to the Reed Painter himself.¹⁰ The figures are substantial; their hair is carefully rendered and their faces mirror some emotion; the lines are rather sketchy—all in the manner of Group R. The composition, however, is very close to one of the Reed Painter's *lekythoi* in London (PLATE 47. 3).¹¹

Mythological ministers of Death appear on one other *lekythos* of Group R: Thanatos pursues a woman in the presence of Hermes; the figure of Hermes is largely effaced (PLATE 50. 2).¹² The Thanatos-Hypnos theme does not appear on Reed *lekythoi*.¹³ It was used by the Triglyph Painter,¹⁴ and was popular with the Quadrante Painter,¹⁵ who at least once placed the brothers at a reed-tree.¹⁶ (Among the large, late *lekythoi* by the Quadrante Painter Beazley noted the influence of Group R.)¹⁷ The Group R *lekythos* is cf. London, D 72 (ARV 1375, no. 1. Name-vase of the Painter of London D 72).

¹ Pausanias, 10.28.1 (*Nekyia* of Polygnotos).
² Athens, 1926. ARV 846, no. 193. Cf. Boston, 95.47. ARV 670, no. 17 (near the Painter of London E 342); Tübingen, E 60. ARV 744, no. 9 (Timokrates Painter).
³ *MadMitt* x. 167 ff.
⁴ ARV 1376, nos. 1-8; 1377, nos. 9-15.
⁵ Athens, 1759. ARV 1376, no. 1 (F ii. 137).
⁶ But cf. Carlsruhe, B2663. ARV 756, no. 63; Oxford, 547. ARV 756, no. 64.
⁷ Hamburg, 1917.817. ARV 1381, no. 111.
⁸ Cf. the conflated Charon scenes by the Triglyph Painter: Berlin, 2680. ARV 1385, no. 1; Berlin, 2681. ARV 1385, no. 2; Athens Market. ARV

1385, no. 3.
⁹ Louvre, CA 537. ARV 1383, no. 18. For the woman with the offerings, cf. London, D 71.
¹⁰ ARV 1384.
¹¹ London, D 61. ARV 1377, no. 15. Note the pose of Charon and the blurred outline of his cap protruding into the pattern band, also the pose of the woman, her ponderation, dress, and offering basket.
¹² Louvre, CA 1264. ARV 1384, no. 19.
¹³ *MadMitt* x. 164 ff.
¹⁴ Athens, 1796. ARV 1385, no. 7.
¹⁵ Athens, 1928. ARV 1237, no. 3; Athens, 12783. ARV 1237, no. 11; Athens, 1939. ARV 1237, no. 12; Athens, no number. ARV 1237, no. 13.
¹⁶ Athens, 12783.
¹⁷ London, 1928.2-13.3. ARV 1240, no. 64. Other Reed-isms in the work of the Quadrante Painter include:))) *Quadrante*

Caronte

))) *Quadrante*

unusual in its iconography: Thanatos is represented without his brother, and instead of looking placid or sympathetic, he looks frighteningly menacing. We are reminded of the Thanatos of the *Alkestis*;¹ this Thanatos, in pose as well as countenance, would make a much better Charon. The object of his mission—a woman—seems to recoil in horror, but her countenance is serene, and her pose may be paralleled on Reed *lekythoi* with Charon scenes² and visits to the tomb.³ A woman in the presence of Charon assumes nearly the same pose on one of the *lekythoi* from Anavyssos;⁴ the scene is like the Reed Painter's and provides possible evidence for 'borrowing' in figure as well as patternwork.

Apart from visits to the tomb and mythological representations of the coming of Death, there are two other types of scene which, at this time, seem peculiar to the Reed Workshop, if not to the Reed Painter:⁵ scenes of horsemen and scenes of battle (PLATE 48. 1, 2). Horsemen on smaller Reed *lekythoi* ride towards a reed-tree,⁶ lead their horse from reeds to reed-tree,⁷ ride it to the tomb,⁸ or sit at the tomb,⁹ leaving it tethered to a nearby reed-tree. On one of the larger Reed *lekythoi* man, woman, and horse gather at the tomb.¹⁰ The Reed Painter especially liked horses—or at least he painted them with much more feeling than he did their masters. On red-figure *lekythoi* by the Achilles Painter (cf. PLATE 34. 3),¹¹ and on a small, but rather fine, red-figure *loutrophoros* by the Kleophon Painter (PLATE 45. 1),¹² horsemen come to the tomb. The appearance of horsemen on *loutrophoroi* is perhaps significant, for it is on these vases that scenes of combat become popular from the middle of the fifth century.¹³ The earliest battle *loutrophoros* which we have is by Hermonax;¹⁴ the Achilles Painter's *loutrophoros* in Philadelphia,¹⁵ on which he collaborated with the Saboureff Painter, is not much later. Funerary scenes on *loutrophoroi* are not new,¹⁶ but scenes of combat are. It has been conjectured that these *loutrophoroi* were commissioned to commemorate the death of those fallen in battle.¹⁷ Some are certainly fine enough and the recent discovery of a marble *loutrophoros* with battle-scenes in relief in the Diocharian Gate cemetery in Athens¹⁸ tends to support this interpretation. Scenes of combat were inevitably popular during war years and suitable to grave monuments, public¹⁹ and private.²⁰ The Reed Painter may have had such models

partly open buds on the shoulder of London, 1928.2-13.3, and the reed-tree on Athens, 12783.

ARV 211, no. 190.

¹² Athens, 1700. ARV 1146, no. 50.

¹³ *MusJ* xxiii (1932), 5 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 15 (Tübingen, E 90. ARV 488, no. 81). Cf. also the Berlin Painter's *loutrophoros* in Erlangen (526, fr. ARV 204, no. 108) with a fight between warriors and negroes.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 15 (Philadelphia, 30.4.1. ARV 990, no. 45).

¹⁶ *MusJ* xxiii. 14 f.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 15.

¹⁸ *Athens Annals of Archaeology* iii (1969), 331 ff.

¹⁹ Pausanias 1.29.6; *MusJ* xxiii. 21 n. 20; Conze, 253 ff.; *AM* xxxv (1910), 191 ff., and pls. 11-12; H. von Roques de Maumont, *Antike Reiterstandbilder* (1958), 14 ff. Especially relevant are the following monuments: Nike Temple frieze, Lippold, 193, and pl. 69.3; Albani relief, Lippold, 195, and pl. 72.3.

²⁰ Monument of Dexileos: Conze, no. 1158, pl. 248; Lippold, 229, and pl. 80.1.

¹ Euripides, *Alkestis*, 24 ff., 261, 843.

² Cf. Arlesheim, Schweizer. ARV 1376, no. 8.

³ Bologna, PU 367. ARV 1377, no. 23.

⁴ Athens, 19342. ARV 1688, no. 4.

⁵ Berlin, 2677 (Riezler, pl. 95); New York, 53.107.

⁶ Athens, 12275. ARV 1377, no. 16.

⁷ Athens, 14521. ARV 1377, no. 18.

⁸ Oxford, 263. ARV 1377, no. 17.

⁹ London, D 63. ARV 1377, no. 34. *BMCat* iii. 406.

¹⁰ Munich, 7620. ARV 1382, no. 129.

¹¹ Philadelphia, 30.51.2. ARV 993, no. 95; Athens, 1293. ARV 993, no. 96. Cf. also the Nolan amphorae, ARV 998, nos. 15-16, and an early red-figure *lekythos* near the painter featuring a fight (Athens, 12893. ARV 1002, no. 12). There is a horseman *lekythos* by the Berlin Painter (Athens, 1274.

in mind when he reproduced fights (foot and horse at a fillet-festooned reed-tree) on a small number of his larger *lekythoi* (PLATE 48. 1).¹

There are no horsemen and no warriors on Group R *lekythoi*, but one of two *lekythoi* from the Reed Painter's Workshop, '... inferior work, but hardly to be separated from Group R...', now in New York and previously in the Gallatin Collection, features a fight—foot and horse (PLATE 48. 2).² The action takes place at a fillet-festooned reed-tree; the combatants look like Group R people. The second Gallatin *lekythos* (PLATE 48. 3)³ (youth seated at tomb, with youth and woman) presents similar difficulties of attribution. The seated youth, head lowered in thought, arm raised to hold a spear (which 'disappears' into the pediment of the tomb), appears on other *lekythoi* of Group R (PLATE 49. 2)⁴ (once with spears 'disappearing' into the pediment),⁵ but the man and woman, who join the youth, look enough like Reed people to have come from the Reed Painter's own hand.

Battle-scenes on *loutrophoroi* sometimes take place in the presence of a tomb;⁶ battle-scenes of the Reed Workshop do not take place at the tomb. I know of one white *lekythos* with a combat at the tomb—a *lekythos* in Athens, attributed by Beazley to the manner of the Woman Painter (PLATE 44. 3).⁷ The matt outlines are fine and now much faded; the patternwork has entirely disappeared. The encounter between two warriors on foot takes place in the presence of a low, broad, acanthus-crowned monument—a rather unusual monument for the Woman Painter. The combatants are fully armed. This vase has long been considered a visual record of the funeral games,⁸ but at present we have no evidence for games being performed at the grave in classical Athens.⁹

An iconographical detail found on two *lekythoi* of Group R remains to be described: large *lekythoi* at the tomb. *Lekythoi* stand at the tomb on earlier vases, but they are small. The one certain representation of a large *lekythos* earlier than the Group R is an unattributed and iconographically unparalleled white *lekythos* in Ithaca, New York, which shows a seated and a standing youth at a large *lekythos* (nearly three-quarter life-size) standing on a low stepped base (PLATE 53. 1).¹⁰ The shape of the *lekythos*, its technique (glaze outline), and patternwork suggest a date near the middle of the fifth century, although the shape of the '*lekythos* monument' with trumpet mouth and distinctive handle looks later (see below). The *lekythoi* represented on Group R vases are smaller,¹¹ judging from the height of the human figures (c. 30 to 40 cm), and actually stand on the base of the tomb (PLATES 49. 4, 50. 1). Black paint added to the mouth, neck, and lower body suggests that a painted clay *lekythos* is intended. On *lekythoi* painted on *lekythoi*

¹ Louvre, S 1161. *ARV* 1382, no. 134; Hobart, 30a. *ARV* 1382, no. 135, and *Para* 486; Hobart, 30b. *ARV* 1382, no. 136, and *Para* 486.

² New York, 41.162.11. *ARV* 1384, no. 2.

³ New York, 41.162.12. *ARV* 1384, no. 1.

⁴ Louvre, CA 536. *ARV* 1383, no. 4.

⁵ Cleveland, 28.859. *ARV* 1383, no. 10.

⁶ *AK* xiv (1971), 74 ff.

⁷ Athens, 14517. *ARV* 1374, no. 18; *AM* xxxv. 206 f. and 207 n. 1. The following may be added: Athens, 1834. *ARV* 1388, no. 2, 'fight, tomb', but neither Collignon and Couve (i. 583, CC 1842) nor

Fairbanks (ii. 192) mentions a tomb.

⁸ *AM* xxxv. 100 ff.; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (1932), 230 f.

⁹ Kurtz and Boardman, 121; *BCH* cxv (1971), 602 ff., 614 ff. (bibliography for the *epitaphios agon* is given by Amandry in note 73 on page 614); *ADelt* xxiv (1969), 1 ff. (Vanderpool).

¹⁰ Ithaca, New York. F i. 209. B. Schmaltz, *Untersuchungen zu den attischen Marmorlekythen* (1970), 112 ff.

¹¹ London, D 71. *ARV* 1384, no. 15; Louvre, CA 537. *ARV* 1384, no. 18.

figure decoration is rare.¹ The two vases comprising the Revelstoke Group (in the manner of the Woman Painter) feature large *lekythoi* at the tomb,² with painted details, including figure decoration.³ Both of the Revelstoke *lekythoi* are large, one is just under 50 cm,⁴ the other is just over.⁵ The shoulder palmettes are in the manner of the Woman Painter, but the meander band is the running Reed type, enclosing saltire squares, described above, in connection with the Anavyssos *lekythoi* and their relation to the Reed and Woman Painters. Iconographically the Revelstoke *lekythoi* have elements in common with the Woman Painter and the Reed Workshop. The women recall the Woman Painter as does the *eidolon*. The tombs are like those of the Painter of Berlin 2464, himself related in style to the Woman Painter, in pattern to the Reed Painter. The woman bearing an *alabastron* and an offering basket, who appears on both of the Revelstoke *lekythoi*, is similar to the offering-bearing woman on the one *lekythos* of Group R with the enclosed-saltire meander,⁶ and the seated youth who appears on both of the *lekythoi* is a popular figure in the Reed Workshop.⁷

Representations of large *lekythoi* are otherwise known only from vases by the Triglyph Painter (PLATE 51. 3, 4), who is also in some way connected with the Reed Workshop. His *lekythoi* are large, some nearly 60 cm.⁸ Their decoration consists of two figures simply composed, three at most. Tomb scenes predominate, although there are also scenes of *prothesis*,⁹ Charon,¹⁰ Thanatos and Hypnos.¹¹ The tombs are broad, and crowned with acanthus plants whose leaves are sometimes partly coloured.¹² A few tombs have palmette *anthemia*.¹³ Pedimented monuments and shadow monuments do not appear.

¹ Compare the fragmentary *loutrophoros*, Athens, 17283.

² Once Tarporley, Brooks. *ARV* 1374, no. 1 (= *Cat. Sotheby*, 27 May 1929, 24 f., no. 136); Stockholm. *ARV* 1374, no. 2 (= *Cat. Sotheby*, 27 May 1929, 26 f., no. 137).

³ The Revelstoke vases are not without modern restoration.

⁴ *Cat. Sotheby*, 27 May 1929, 26. ⁵ *Ibid.* 24.

⁶ Cf. Louvre, CA 537. Riezler, pl. 89.

⁷ Cf. Munich (ex Lugano, Schoen, 83). R. Lullies, *Eine Sammlung griechischer Kleinkunst* (1955), pl. 45; Cleveland, 28.859. *CV* i, pl. 36.

⁸ Triglyph Painter: Athens, 1908. *ARV* 1385, no. 19 (60 cm; F ii. 180); Brussels, A 1022. *ARV* 1385, no. 15 (57.5 cm; F ii. 181); Athens, 1755. *ARV* 1385, no. 17 (57.5 cm; F ii. 177); Group R: London, D 71. *ARV* 1384, no. 15 (51 cm; F ii. 174); Athens, 1833. *ARV* 1384, no. 17 (52 cm; F ii. 169); Athens, 1817. *ARV* 1383, no. 11 (49 cm; F ii. 167); Louvre, CA 467. *ARV* 1384, no. 20 (49.5 cm; F ii. 172); Reed Painter: Athens, 1907. *ARV* 1382, no. 119 (55 cm; F ii. 180); Louvre, S 1161. *ARV* 1382, no. 134 (55 cm; F ii. 166); Brussels, A 124. *ARV* 1381, no. 52 (52 cm; F ii. 170). Smaller *lekythoi* by the Triglyph Painter: Athens, 1770. *ARV* 1386, no. 27 (18 cm (to the shoulder); F ii. 152); Athens, 1777. *ARV* 1387, no. 47 (25 cm; F ii. 197); Athens, Acropolis, the following five un-

numbered *lekythoi*: *ARV* 1385, no. 29 (29 cm; *AE* 1958, 77, and pl. 11); *ARV* 1385, no. 25 (20.5 cm; *AE* 1958, 80, and pl. 12); *ARV* 1387, no. 1 (25 cm; *AE* 1958, 100, and pl. 14 right); *ARV* 1387, no. 2 (25 cm; *AE* 1958, 100, and pl. 14 left); *ARV* 1387, no. 3 (22 cm; *AE* 1958, 100, and pl. 15 left). Stuttgart, KAS 140. *Para* 487, 'related to the Triglyph Painter'. *CV* i, p. 39 (24.9 cm). The *lekythos* has Bird-type palmettes and meander; the composition may be compared with Athens, 1944, by the Carlsberg Painter (*ARV* 1235, no. 19).

⁹ Athens, 1756. *ARV* 1385, no. 4; Lyons, no number. *ARV* 1385, no. 5; Paris, Musée Rodin. *ARV* 1385, no. 6.

¹⁰ Berlin, 2680. *ARV* 1385, no. 1; Berlin, 2681. *ARV* 1385, no. 2; Athens Market. *ARV* 1385, no. 3.

¹¹ Athens, 1796. *ARV* 1385, no. 7.

¹² Cf. Madrid, 11193. *ARV* 1375, no. 9; Market. *ARV* 1382, no. 122. Representative tomb types may be found on the following: Athens, 16461. *ARV* 1387, no. 43 (*BSA* iv, pl. 41b); Athens, 19273. *ARV* 1382, no. 127 (*BSA* iv, pl. 40b); Mannheim, 14. *ARV* 1372, no. 12 (*CV* i, p. 45).

¹³ Berlin, 2680; Athens, 2038. *ARV* 1386, no. 31. The decoration of the shaft of the tomb may be compared with that on Würzburg, 564 (*ARV* 1383, no. 2), which is said to have been repainted (Langlotz, 114), and Toronto, 920.68.24 (*ARV* 1381, no. 199).

The Triglyph Painter's style and iconography are not far from the Reed Workshop: note especially the rubbery arms held awkwardly beside the head, the boneless fingers holding up a garment¹ (or nothing at all),² the pose of the figures seated at the tomb,³ and the shrubbery growing about them.⁴ Thanks to the Triglyph Painter's passion for eccentric details, his work is easily recognizable: tombs with triglyphs,⁵ dresses with ivy-berry patterns,⁶ biers and graves with ducks⁷ and huge *lekythoi*.⁸ Some of the *lekythoi* represented by the Triglyph Painter are very large. They differ from those represented on *lekythoi* of Group R and the Revelstoke Group in the formation of the mouth, which is decidedly trumpet shape. Some have painted details in black, and are, therefore, perhaps made of clay,⁹ but others are without added details and are perhaps of stone.¹⁰ The trumpet mouth can be found on several *lekythoi* decorated by the Triglyph Painter.¹¹ Neither the trumpet mouth nor the round moulding at the neck occurs on *lekythoi* from the Reed Workshop, with one exception—a large *lekythos* by the Reed Painter (man seated at tomb, with man and woman) in Chicago (PLATE 51. 1).¹² Both the pose of the seated man and the structure of the tomb can be paralleled on a *lekythos* by the Triglyph Painter.¹³ Not so close, but unquestionably comparable, is the composition on a very large *lekythos* in Copenhagen (PLATE 52. 1), one of two members of the Class of Copenhagen 4986, connected not in style of drawing, but in shape: trumpet mouth, slender neck, strongly sloping shoulder (with moulded neck-ring), and somewhat ovoid body, tapering sharply towards a substantial disc foot.¹⁴ The second *lekythos*, in New York, although essentially the same shape, is small (27.6 cm) (PLATE 52. 2).¹⁵ The patterns are not characteristically Reed, but the style of figure decoration is: note especially the 'shadow monument' behind the principal acanthus-crowned tomb. Beazley thought that the New York vase had something in common with Berlin 2463,¹⁶ itself close to the Painter of Berlin 2464 (see p. 62).¹⁷

A third large (48.3 cm) *lekythos* with Reed elements and a similar shape is unattributed, one of several offerings in an adult's tile-covered grave in the Kerameikos (PLATE 51. 2).¹⁸ The scene is the visit to the tomb—a broad shaft with horizontal finial. On one side stands a woman (rather badly effaced), on the other sits a man, one hand on a shield, the

¹ Lidings, Millesgården, 94. *ARV* 1385, no. 14. Cf. Paris Market. *ARV* 1382, no. 118; Basle, Geigy. *ARV* 1386, no. 32; once Athens, private. *ARV* 1385, no. 12.

² Athens, 1756.

³ Athens, 1754. *ARV* 1385, no. 17; Sydney, 41.03. *ARV* 1386, no. 33; cf. also Athens, 1907. *ARV* 1382, no. 119.

⁴ Brussels, A 1022; Munich (ex Lugano, Schoen, 82); Athens, 1756; Louvre, S 3893. *ARV* 1382, no. 115 *qu.*; Market. *ARV* 1382, no. 122; Athens, 16423 and 1832 (both unattributed).

⁵ Karlsruhe (B2689). *ARV* 1386, no. 20; Louvre, MNB 440. *ARV* 1386, no. 21; *ARV* 1384.

⁶ Zürich, University, 2568. *ARV* 1386, no. 38; Berlin, 2680 and 2681.

⁷ Athens, 1756 (bier); Louvre, MNB 440 (grave); Warsaw 142406. *ARV* 1385, no. 8 (grave).

⁸ Athens, 1756 (bier); Athens, 1908. *ARV* 1385, no. 19 (grave; see *AE* 1906, 16); Zürich, University, 2568 (grave).

⁹ Athens, 1908; Zürich, University, 2568 (fillet around neck).

¹⁰ Athens, 1756.

¹¹ Athens, 1755. *ARV* 1385, no. 17; Athens, Acropolis, no number. *ARV* 1385, no. 11 (*AE* 1958, pl. 6 left; cf. also *AE* 1958, pls. 6 right and 13).

¹² Chicago, Art Institute, 07.18. *ARV* 1381, no. 114.

¹³ Lidings, Millesgården, 94.

¹⁴ Copenhagen, 4986. *ARV* 1389, no. 1; *CV* iv, pl. 173. 1 and p. 134 (55.4 cm).

¹⁵ New York, 07.1. *ARV* 1389, no. 2; F ii. 196.

¹⁶ This note is in the Beazley Archive.

¹⁷ Berlin, 2463. *ARV* 1244.

¹⁸ *AM* lxxxix (1966), 44 f. (90, hS 95).

other raised, holding spears. The pose of the seated man may be paralleled on the Reed Painter's large *lekythos* in Chicago (PLATE 51. 1) and on a *lekythos* by the Triglyph Painter.¹ Less close, but comparable, are the seated youths on Copenhagen 4986 (PLATE 52. 1) and on the Huge *Lekythoi* in Madrid (PLATE 54. 1) and Berlin (PLATE 54. 2). The patternwork of the Kerameikos vase is neither characteristically Reed, nor clearly anyone else's: the egg pattern at the neck-ring is carefully executed, as are the shoulder palmettes and the running meander without pattern squares. Great care, too, is given to a few details of figurework—the man's face, his hair, and his eyes. The heads of both figures are strictly profile, as are those on the Huge *Lekythoi*. There is a second 'shadow' monument and a sketchy indication of terrain.² Both details suggest a Reed affiliation. The type of tomb, although not very common on Reed *lekythoi*, does appear.³

The shape of the Kerameikos *lekythos* is very like Copenhagen 4986: trumpet mouth, moulded neck-ring, strongly sloping shoulder, high thin handle, and narrow base meeting a substantial (rilled) foot. The body is, however, more nearly cylindrical, nearer the shape of the Huge *Lekythoi*. The neck of the Kerameikos *lekythos* was white, apparently with some sort of red painted decoration,⁴ a characteristic feature of the Huge *Lekythoi*, not found on other white *lekythoi*;⁵ the mouth and foot, instead of being painted black in the usual manner, are red;⁶ compare the treatment of the Huge *Lekythoi* (see below). Lastly, and most importantly, there is a limited use of shading—*skiagraphia*;⁷ on white *lekythoi* shading only occurs on Huge *Lekythoi*.⁸ The Kerameikos *lekythos*, therefore, in shape and technique stands between the Reed Workshop⁹ and the Huge *Lekythoi*.

19. HUGE LEKYTHOI

The Huge *Lekythoi*,¹⁰ five in number, share a common shape, technique, and style of decoration. They look like the work of one man in the last decade of the fifth century. Three of the five are approximately one metre high;¹¹ two are just under 70 cm,¹² not much larger than the Triglyph Painter's largest, or Copenhagen 4986. The shape of the best-preserved examples is a nearly straight-sided cylinder, with trumpet mouth, moulded neck-ring, and substantial foot (PLATE 54).¹³ The proveniences of two are known: the two Huge *Lekythoi* in Berlin were found at Alopeke¹⁴ (modern Ambelokepoi)¹⁵ in 1872. The proveniences of the other three are unknown, but between the 1870s and very early

¹ Lidingo, Millesgården, 94.

² *AM* lxxx. 44.

³ *ADelt* viii (1923), 122, fig. 2 (zeta).

⁴ *AM* lxxx. 44.

⁵ Cf. *MadMitt* x. 156 f.

⁶ *AM* lxxx. 44.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ The Copenhagen *lekythos* may perhaps be compared: *CV* iv, pp. 134 f.

⁹ *ARV* 1390. Beazley placed the Huge *Lekythoi* closest to Group R.

¹⁰ *ARV* 1390; *MadMitt* x. 155 ff. (Brommer).

¹¹ *MadMitt* x. 155 n. 2 (Madrid, Paris, 'Erbach').

¹² *Ibid.* 155 n. 2 (Berlin).

¹³ *Ibid.*, colour plate 1; *MonPiot* xii (1905), 32, fig. 1 (without mouth).

¹⁴ Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, ii (1885), 768 f. Berlin, 2684. *ARV* 1390, no. 3; Berlin, 2685. *ARV* 1390, no. 4.

¹⁵ W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (1905), 158, 162; C. W. J. Eliot, *Coastal Demes of Attica* (1962), 148.