

## NEW PICTORIAL CERAMIC FINDS FROM BRAURON, ATTICA: STYLISTIC EVIDENCE FOR LOCAL PRODUCTION

by CONSTANTINOS P. PASCHALIDIS

The Mycenaean cemetery at Lapoutsi, Brauron<sup>1</sup> is known as a result of the rescue excavations<sup>2</sup> at the site. Between November 1972 and May 1973 over thirty tombs were excavated under the direction of P. Themelis. There are two separate ceramic finds, which are of interest. The first is a conical rhyton with pictorial decoration. It was found in chamber tomb no. 20, which contained a large number of artifacts arranged in clusters. The second find consists of two sherds of a closed pictorial vase, which were recovered within the fill of the dromos of chamber tomb no. 12. These two separate ceramic finds are the only examples of pictorial decoration from the entire cemetery. These pieces will be discussed and compared to other already known

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<sup>1</sup> The publication of the cemetery in the series of the Archaeological Society, now in its final phase, is being prepared by Professors A. Papadopoulos and L. Kontorli-Papadopoulou. I would like to express my warmest gratitude to them for entrusting me with the publication of the pictorial finds, as well as the preliminary publication of the second conical rhyton from the cemetery (see *Appendix*). To them, as well as to Professor H. G. Buchholz, I am indebted for their assistance and valuable advice. Special thanks must also be expressed to the tireless Dr. Metaxia Tsipopoulou for her most valuable insights as well as constant support and to my dearest friend Dimitris Bassakos for the long discussions we shared. I would also like to thank Dr. Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki, head of the Prehistoric Collection of the NM, and the archaeologist Dr. Eleni Constantinidi for allowing me access to the store-rooms and for their friendly cooperation. Warmest thanks I owe to Professor D. W. Rupp, to Dr. Heidi Dierckx and to Ilse Van Oijen for correcting the english version of this text. All opinions expressed in this article are, however, my own.

<sup>2</sup> Stais V., Προϊστορικοί συνοικισμοί εν Αττική και εν Αιγίνη, *ArchEph* (1895) 196-199; Papadimitriou I., Ανασκαφαί εν Βραυρώνι, *PAE* (1965) 81-87; Lasaridis D., Ανασκαφή μυκηναϊκών τάφων εις Λαπούτσι Βραυρώνος, *ArchDelt*, 21, (1966) A1, 98-100; Lasaridis D., Βραυρών, Ανασκαφή, *ArchDelt*, 22, (1967) B1, 131-133; Kakavogianni O., Ανασκαφικές εργασίες, Βραυρώνα, *ArchDelt*, 39, (1984) B, 45.

examples. The present paper will also try to shed light on the Attic production of pictorial decoration and the possible existence of a local workshop.

#### DESCRIPTION

Brauron Museum Cat. Number: BE 446 (figs. 1, 2, 3a-b, 4). Conical rhyton with ring shaped rim repaired from many fragments; the raised handle, is slightly chipped and partially restored. Reddish-buff clay, pale slip, brown paint, worn in places. Solid paint on the back of the handle, with only a small triangle left unpainted at its end. Big dots on the rim. Below the rim, between a broad band and a raised band, a narrow zone decorated with N patterns and a small pictorial protome (?). Below this zone, a second broader area is filled with aquatic birds facing to the right as well as papyrus and branch motifs. The rest of the body is covered with six groups of broad

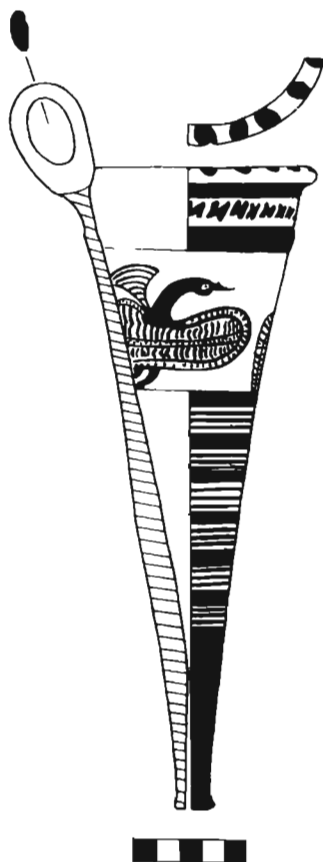


Fig. 1 – The conical rhyton from Brauron.



Fig. 2 – The conical rhyton.



Fig 3 – a) The pictorial zone from the conical rhyton; b) The 'protome'.

and narrow lines. The lowest part until the slight rim around the libation hole is painted solid. The interior of the vase is left unpainted.

Height with handle: 28,2 cm, Rim diam.: 10,6 cm, Base diam.: 1,5 cm.

Brauron Museum Cat. Number: 531 (figs. 5, 6). Two non joining sherds from the shoulder of a closed vase, probably a jug (FS 109) or, less likely, a hydria (FS 129). Reddish-buff clay, pale slip, brown paint, worn in places. The sherds are decorated with pictorial motifs representing the upper and the lower parts of the bodies of two aquatic birds facing to the right. Behind the neck is part of a solid papyrus accessorial motif and below the beak a trefoil pattern. The legs stand on a band. Unpainted interior surface.

1st sherd length: 6,6 cm, width: 9,3 cm; 2nd sherd length: 8,2 cm, width: 5,4 cm.

## DISCUSSION AND PARALLELS

### *I. Shapes and Motifs*

The conical rhyton<sup>3</sup> from Brauron with its narrow ring-shaped rim, from which the raised oval-shaped handle starts and terminates, can be

<sup>3</sup> A shape of Minoan origin which evolved through Mycenaean ceramic production. See Koehl 1981, 180, 1.



Fig. 4 – The 'protome' on the zone with the N-shape motifs.

dated to LH IIIA:2 in comparison to other Mycenaean rhyta (FS 199)<sup>4</sup>. The closest parallels to the shape of the body, the handle and the banded decoration come from Vourvatsi, Attica<sup>5</sup> and Athens<sup>6</sup>, all with a similarly moulded ring below the rim.

The shape is common in Attica. Seventeen examples are known from sites both within Athens, e.g. the Agora, the Acropolis, as well as from

<sup>4</sup> Furumark 1941, 618; Mountjoy 1986, 82-84 and *ibid.* 1999, 125, cat. nos. 194 and 126, 28 (Mycenae), 337, 114:75 and 338 (Messenia), 382, 132:45 and 383 (Elis), 409, 143:33 and 411 (Achaia), 531, 190:156-8 and 532 (Attica), 1002, 406:44 and 406:45 and 1003 (Rhodes). See also Karantzali 1998, 90-2, 5b and 6 (Pylonas, Rhodes).

<sup>5</sup> Mountjoy 1999, 531, 190: 156 and 532 no. 156; Benzi 1975, 322 no. 499 and pl. 29:499.

<sup>6</sup> Mountjoy 1999, 531, 190: 158 and 532, cat. no. 158.

outside the city: Spata, Vourvatsi, Varkiza and Salamis (see *Appendix*). They belong to the type of rhyta with a raised loop handle and are dated to LH IIIA:2 - LH IIIB<sup>7</sup>. With the exception of the examples from Athens, which were found in filled-in wells or inside rock cavities, all the rest come from tombs<sup>8</sup>. They appear to have been common burial goods during the LH IIIA-B phases, for which a ritual function has been suggested<sup>9</sup>. In a few isolated cases, rhyta have been associated with graves attributed to priests<sup>10</sup>.

The motif of the papyrus plant (FM 11:66) or the schematized seashell (FM 25:4) which stems from the shoulders of the birds is common in the decorative bands of LH IIIA:2<sup>11</sup>. It is found as well in the pictorial compositions of the period as an accessorial motif<sup>12</sup>. The N-shape motif (FM 60:1) is also used between narrow bands, which broaden out towards the end of LH IIIA:2<sup>13</sup>, when the decoration with narrow or thin bands became increasingly popular<sup>14</sup>.

The sherds belong to a close-shaped vessel, probably a jug (FS 109) or, less likely, a hydria (FS 129), which was possibly used at a *nekrodeipnon* after the burial of the dead<sup>15</sup>. More likely, however, they come from the

<sup>7</sup> Benzi 1975, 133-134.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 115 (mainland Greece) and Karageorghis 1998, 1 (Cyprus). For the contexts in which pictorial conical rhyta were found in Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean, see Steel 1999, 808 and 810, pl. 1. For the local preference of the shape in Attica and Rhodes, see Koehl 1981, 186. For comparative evidence on the frequency of ritual vessel finds in tombs in the Argolid, Attica and Achaia, see Cavanagh 1998, 108-9, 7:1 and 7:2.

<sup>9</sup> Furumark 1941, 71; Stubbings 1947, 55. On the ritual use of conical rhyta in burial customs see Karantzali 1998, 94, 96; Koehl 1981, 179, 186; Hägg 1990, 183 n. 40. The recent analysis of the organic remains in two LH IIA:2-B:1 conical rhyta from the Argolid indicated that they were probably used as drinking cups; see Tzedakis and Martlew 1999, 166, 171.

<sup>10</sup> See, e.g., the two chamber tombs XXVI in the Agora and XLIV in the Heraion of Argos, Immerwahr 1971, 227-8 and Blegen 1937, 213-4. See Koehl 1996, 403 in favour of the interpretation of conical rhyta as the *insigniae* of priests' burials. Soles 1999, 790 identifies chamber tomb XV at Mochlos in Crete as a 'telesta' priest burial, and makes a distinction between the conical rhyta found in the tomb: the 'killed' type is interpreted as a burial good and *insignium* of the buried priest, and the two complete libation vessels were used for the funeral ceremony.

<sup>11</sup> Mountjoy 1986, 69; cf. the rhyton from Vourvatsi: Mountjoy 1999, 531, 190: 156.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, III.17, III.18 and IV.1 (Enkomi), XII.7 (possibly from Rhodes) and Åkerström 1987, pl. 24:1c (Berbati).

<sup>13</sup> Stubbings 1947, 36 and 15:1 for the N-shape motif in Attic pottery.

<sup>14</sup> Mountjoy 1986, 67, 69.

<sup>15</sup> This involves the ritual consumption of food/drink in the dromos of the Mycenaean tomb. For the ritual 'breaking' of vessels – primarily kylikes – and their deposition in the

sweeping up and disposal of older burial goods in the area of the dromos in preparation for a new burial.

The lack of stratigraphical evidence and the fragmentary state of the pictorial sherds from the dromos of Tomb no. 12 prevent exact dating. The dating is based mainly on the decorative style, which is characteristic of the later LH IIIA:2 period. Moreover, the subsidiary decoration of the compact papyrus (FM 11:20) on the shoulder of the bird and the trefoil decoration (FM 29:8) beneath the beak support this date.

## *II. Pictorial decoration*

The birds depicted on the Brauron vessel belong to the folded wing type. The rendering of the wing is conventional, decorated in vertical zones, containing, in each case, a different decorative motif<sup>16</sup>. The birds have little resemblance with the naturalistic prototype, as regards the decorative elements which fill the body. This represents a 'Mycenaean' development of the type from a Minoan prototype<sup>17</sup>, which is characterized by frontality and axial symmetry<sup>18</sup>. The latter is obvious both from the geometry of the composition concerning the Brauron rhyton and from the manner of representing the bodies of the birds. The bodies are divided lengthwise into an upper and a lower part by a horizontal dotted or dashed internal band<sup>19</sup>. At the same time, the neck and feet indent the body to create a double-contoured, figure 8-shaped outline, making a distinction between the front and the back sections of the bird<sup>20</sup>. This shape of the body, and the separate addition of the neck are, according to Furumark, characteristics of the LH IIIB:1 examples<sup>21</sup>. As often occurs in the pictorial style, there is great variation in the way details are rendered, even among the birds on the same vessel<sup>22</sup>. Thus, on this rhyton, there are two different versions of the wing, one with vertical and one with horizontal dashes arranged in columns.

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fill of the dromos, see Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 76, 115; Soles 1999, 787; Cavanagh 1998, 106-7.

<sup>16</sup> Furumark 1941, 195-6, 251: FM 7:2, 4-8, 10-11; Crouwel 1991, 22.

<sup>17</sup> Furumark 1941, 462 and Åkerström 1987, 65, 73-6, 115-6, 121-122 for the 'Mycenaean' bird; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 6-7, 178; Crouwel and Morris 1995, 176.

<sup>18</sup> Furumark 1941, 178. See Stubbings 1947, 69 on Mycenaean pottery in general.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, VIII.15 (Koukounara, Pylos, LH IIIA:2), IX.89 (Attica, LH III:B).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, VIII.16 (Koukounara, Pylos, LH IIIA:2); Sakellarakis 1992, 71-72. cat. no. 127 (Spata LH IIIA:2) and Slenczka 1974, pl. 23:1 (Tiryns LH IIIB).

<sup>21</sup> Furumark 1941, 251.

<sup>22</sup> Morris 1993, 48-49; Crouwel and Morris, 1995, 172.

As a possible reconstruction for the pictorial composition of the two sherds, I suggest the representation of continuous – so called – ‘swans’<sup>23</sup>. The trace of a line to the right of the bird may belong to the outline of the body of a second bird. In this case, the trefoil is in the stereotypical accessororial position.

The double outline of the body appears in both the Brauron examples, as well as on craters at Ialysos<sup>24</sup> and at Tell Atchana (Alalakh)<sup>25</sup>. The horizontal dashes organized in columns on the birds indicate a vertical division of the wings. The closest parallels to the bird on the sherds from Brauron are found on sherds from Berbati<sup>26</sup>, on the crater from Klavdhia in Cyprus and on a jug also from Cyprus<sup>27</sup>.

The subsidiary motifs of a single seashell or papyrus plant (FM 25:4 and FM 11:66 respectively) and compact papyrus (FM 11:20) on the shoulder, near the base of the necks of the birds from Brauron, may represent the development or variation of the short lines. These short lines are observable on the type of bird with the folded wings and derive from the development of the prototypes on the LH IIB Argos vessel<sup>28</sup>. The motifs could thus be interpreted as wings, as with other examples in the same position<sup>29</sup>. As such, the compact papyrus on the bird of the sherd finds an exact parallel on a kylix from Ialysos<sup>30</sup>. These accessororial elements may also indicate a landscape, as vegetation motifs, covering *horror vacui* in general, and are often found in this position on representations of birds<sup>31</sup>, horses<sup>32</sup> and bulls<sup>33</sup>.

The birds on the Brauron rhyton and sherds are painted within a

<sup>23</sup> Mentioned as such in Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, IV.40, IV.41, IV.45 (LH IIIA:2).

<sup>24</sup> Benzi 1992, 348, cat. no. T54/6 and pls. 84c and 158b (LH IIIA2: Early).

<sup>25</sup> Crouwel and Morris 1985, 91-92, cat. no. 13; 95, 4:13; 97 for Argolid import (LH IIIA:2 Early).

<sup>26</sup> Åkerström 1987, pl. 38:4, cat. no. 219 and pl. 43:3 cat. no. 240 (LH IIIA/B).

<sup>27</sup> Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, V.62 (FM 7:11) and V.71 respectively (LH IIIB:1).

<sup>28</sup> Deshayes 1966, pls. XXII:3, LXII:1-2 and Furumark 1941, 196, 250. For examples of the deteriorated type, see *ibid.* FM 7:1c, d, f, h and FM 7:10.

<sup>29</sup> Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 199, cat. nos. IV.41, IV.44; 83 cat. no. VIII.16. See also Åkerström 1987, 64 and pl. 37:1, 37:3, Crouwel and Morris 1985, 92 n. 41.

<sup>30</sup> Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 153-154, cat. no. XII.13 (LH IIIA:2).

<sup>31</sup> Complementary type II features, Furumark 1941, 432. Cf. *inter alios*: MacGillivray *et al.* 1998, 226, 235, 12:3 and pl. 48:b; Benzi 1992, 348 T 54/6, pl. 84:c, 158:b; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, IV.40, VIII.14.

<sup>32</sup> Accessorial elements of type II, Furumark 1941, 434. Cf. *inter alios*: Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, IV.15, IV.16; Åkerström 1987, pls. 2:3, 4:5.

<sup>33</sup> Accessorial elements of type II, Furumark 1941, 439. Cf. *inter alios*: Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, IV.4, IV.36, VIII.12.

schematized wetland, as indicated by the branches<sup>34</sup> at the point of the 'seam' of the pictorial zone (figs. 3a, 4) and the trefoil decoration below the beak of the bird (figs. 5, 6). All the birds face to the right, which is the most common and practical way for right-handed artists to render them<sup>35</sup>.

The enigmatic figure between the N-patterns on the rhyton (figs. 3b, 4) cannot be interpreted as a 'baby bird' on the basis of Mycenaean pictorial ceramics, since 'baby birds' are usually depicted as miniature adults<sup>36</sup>. Possibly it represents a free and schematic human 'protome'<sup>37</sup>.

Birds, along with fish, are the most common subject, both as primary or secondary motifs, during all the phases of the Mycenaean pictorial style and are represented on different types of vessels<sup>38</sup>. The bird motif is common on conical rhyta with a pictorial decoration<sup>39</sup>, since it is found on at least two examples from Attica<sup>40</sup>, which perhaps is not a coincidence. Another five LH IIIA-B examples are known from Cyprus<sup>41</sup> and from Knossos on Crete<sup>42</sup>, where the birds are the primary subject. Birds among other decorative features come from Palaikastro in Crete<sup>43</sup> and from Kalavarda on Rhodes<sup>44</sup>, where they form part of a scene with religious overtones. At Ugarit<sup>45</sup> birds occur in combination with an octopus. The combination of the bird motif and conical rhyta cannot be accidental, since the birds, apart from their

<sup>34</sup> Accessorial elements of type II, Furumark 1941, 432.

<sup>35</sup> Furumark 1941, 197.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 76, cat. no. VII.6, IV.38, VIII.15, XI.83, XI.91, XI.141, XI.150.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Åkerström 1987, pls. 6:1, 6:5, 16:1, 19, 21:1, 21:2, 21:7. This may be another example of the 'wild style', see Vermeule 1964, 209-210 and 313, 50. Unskilled or rushed renderings of human forms are common in the iconography of vessels from Attica which are contemporary or later than the 'protome' of Brauron; see Mountjoy 1995, 206, cat. no. 63 and n. 58; 207, 6:63. The suggestion that the 'protome' was placed within an N-shape on the now non-visible side, beneath the stem of the handle as the 'signature' of the painter is attractive, but it is more likely accountable to the simple rendering of the form.

<sup>38</sup> Zaouri 1987, 146; Åkerström 1987, 64 and Steel 1999, 808, 810 pl. 1.

<sup>39</sup> This is a relatively small category of pictorial vessels; see Crouwel 1991, 9; Steel 1999, 805 and n. 20; 807-808, 810 pl. 1.

<sup>40</sup> For the opposite view, see Benzi 1975, 134. Another rhyton, possibly with an Attic provenance, is known in addition to the rhyton from Brauron: Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 214, no. IX.89 (LH IIIB).

<sup>41</sup> Karageorghis, V., *CVA Cyprus 1* (1963) 9, pl. 9:6.

<sup>42</sup> Popham 1970, 78, pl. 48a right; Crouwel and Morris 1995, 158 nos. 12; 168.

<sup>43</sup> Bosanquet and Dawkins 1923, 104-5, 88; Betancourt 1985, pl. 30:O.

<sup>44</sup> Karantzali 1998, 96.

<sup>45</sup> Karageorghis 1998, 1-3.



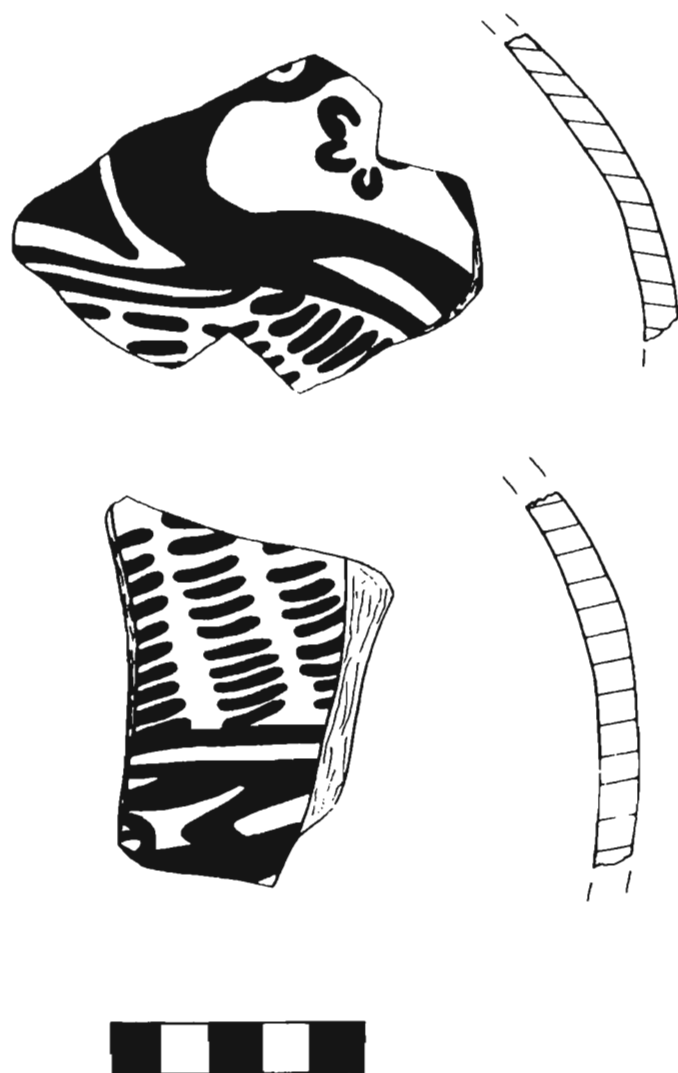


Fig. 5 – The pictorial sherds from the dromos of tomb 12.

obvious decorative function, in many cases represent a divine epiphany or have other religious meanings<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> In general, see Nilsson 1950, 330 ff. For the symbolism of birds in Pictorial Style, see Benson 1970, 29, 64 and pl. 18:2; Karageorghis 1958, 386; Crouwel and Morris 1995, 176 n. 61 with relevant bibliography. For larnakes: Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1999, 140. On the



Fig. 6 – The pictorial sherds from Brauron.

The pictorial representations from Brauron do not have a narrative function. Their role is purely decorative and are as such successful. The birds can be identified as aquatic birds on the basis of their long necks, the large beak and the physical landscape<sup>47</sup>. They have the typical features of – so called – ‘swans’, known also from examples of Cyprus and the Peloponnese<sup>48</sup>. If the origin of aquatic birds on pictorial vases and other media is the Nilotic landscape<sup>49</sup>, then the Mycenaean variation of the subject, schematic and formalistic, developed into its own particular version. The landscapes of Greece during the Late Bronze Age may have altered the original inspiration with a new direct and visible version,

“cultic or ceremonial function” of pictorial vases in tombs and societies in general, see Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 7, Steel 1999, 805.

<sup>47</sup> Benton 1961, 44, on what she terms a ‘marsh bird’. See also Alexiou 1951, 407 n. 27 and Zaouri 1987, 146.

<sup>48</sup> Benton 1961, 50, pl. IV:1 (Maroni, Cyprus); Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 82-83, nos. VIII.14 (Mycenae) and VIII.16 (Koukounara, Pylos).

<sup>49</sup> Furumark 1941, 195; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 6; Alexiou 1951, 407 n. 27; Crouwel and Morris 1995, 176.

preferred by both artists and buyers<sup>50</sup>. It is notable that one of the very few wetlands of Attica still exists in Brauron.

#### THE MATTER OF 'IDENTITY'

In comparison with other areas, aside from the Argolid and Cyprus, the group of Attic pictorial pottery is relatively rich<sup>51</sup>. Over sixty examples (vessels and sherds) are known from ten settlements and cemeteries, the distribution of which is fairly representative: Eleusis, Salamis, Athens, Aliko, Spata, Brauron, Thorikos, Kopreza, Perati, Varkiza.

It has been argued<sup>52</sup> that, from the beginning of pictorial pottery production on the mainland, in LHIIIA:1, Attica constituted the location for a distinct workshop, with a preference for bird and fish pictorial motifs on pots, which were distributed as far as Cyprus. Recent studies concerning the possible production of pictorial vases at Salamis<sup>53</sup> and the identification of the 'Agora Painter'<sup>54</sup>, have attempted to throw light on this subject. In addition to the above mentioned 'workshops', I suggest the existence of a new stylistic group of pictorial decorated vessels, referred to in this text as the 'Brauron Painter'<sup>55</sup>.

Within the context of recent discussions about identifying works by the same artist, I believe that 'connoisseurship' based on differentiating

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<sup>50</sup> Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 2.

<sup>51</sup> Cf., however, Polychronakou – Sgouritsa 1988, 98 and n. 127. A comparison with neighbouring Boeotia, where less than 15 examples are known, is not really viable, see Demacopoulou and Crouwel 1984, 44. Of a total of around 1000 examples of pictorial pottery found throughout the Mycenaean world, Attica is third place in the number of finds.

<sup>52</sup> Already from LH IIIA:1 until LH IIIC; see Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 7, 71, 76, 127, 129-130. See also Polychronakou – Sgouritsa 1988, 105 for the "production of a portion of pictorial ceramics" in Attica in LH IIIB and Polychronakou – Sgouritsa 1997, 189, 192 "for an active Attic workshop with a significant production".

<sup>53</sup> Anastasiou – Alexopoulou 1988, 148, 153. Cf. Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 119, 129-130.

<sup>54</sup> Rystedt 1990, 172-173 3.

<sup>55</sup> Methodological models for comparative studies about the identification of works made by the same hand (Rystedt 1990, 174, Morris 1993, 46-47) can be applied here in a limited fashion only due to the fragmentary nature of the material which is being compared. Therefore, the term 'Brauron Painter' which is adopted here is not absolute. It is only used as a starting point for further discussions. For the terminology, see Cherry 1992, 134-135; Morris 1993, 47. For the distinction between the terms 'stylistic group', 'workshop' and 'painter', see Crouwel 1991, 27.

techniques, is still useful<sup>56</sup>, especially in the cases where clay analysis does not give definite answers or is lacking altogether<sup>57</sup>.

It is not necessary that the provenance of a particular artifact is identified by the location – or the wider area – of the find<sup>58</sup>, as has been repeatedly shown by the clay analysis and analysis of technique<sup>59</sup>. In cases where there are technical similarities between the finds from related groups, both contemporary and within a certain area, the attempt to identify ‘painters’ or ‘workshops’ seems to be justifiable<sup>60</sup>.

The sherds belonging to two pictorial craters recovered from the dromos’ fill of a chamber tomb in Attica can be compared to the Brauron examples discussed above. They were found in Tomb no. 1 in the Mycenaean cemetery at Varkiza and are decorated with representations of bulls<sup>61</sup>. Not only are they contemporary with the pictorial finds from Brauron, but they also share great similarities in both composition and technical style.

The unusual decoration of the bodies of the bulls, with horizontal dashes placed in vertical groups within a single or double outline, must be attributed to the personal preference of the ‘painter’, who used the same style of decoration in the wings of the birds in the examples from Brauron presented above<sup>62</sup>.

It is a characteristic of the ‘Brauron Painter’ to paint the feet in silhouette. The bulls on the Varkiza sherds are characterized by their strong and stout feet<sup>63</sup>. The feet of the birds from the Brauron rhyton are also short

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<sup>56</sup> Rystedt 1990, 175 and Oakley 1998, 210, who notes that “we cannot effectively evaluate the macrocosm without the careful study of details, such as individual vase-painters”.

<sup>57</sup> Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 9; Immerwahr 1993, 220.

<sup>58</sup> Sakellarakis 1992, 11.

<sup>59</sup> As with the pictorial vessels made of Argolic clay which have been found in Cyprus; see Steel 1999, 803 and nn. 1-2. A number of vessels from Berbati and the Middle East have been attributed to the same painter, *ibid.*, 803 and n. 4. Generally speaking, works attributed to an individual painter have been found distributed over a wide area. The import of clay and technical knowledge to peripheral workshops, as well as the movement of the ceramics themselves cannot be excluded (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 9). Even so, the view that the goods were exchanged through trade remains more plausible.

<sup>60</sup> Crouwel and Morris 1995, 180; Morris 1993, 46. For the argument of the authenticity of provenance and its use, see Cherry 1999, 106.

<sup>61</sup> Chamber tomb 1, excavated by Kontis and Petrakos in 1960, see *ArchDelt*, 16, (1960) Chr., 39-40. For the publication of the cemetery, see Polychronakou – Sgouritsa 1988. For the sherds of the pictorial craters, see *ibid.*, 33, 36, 98, and 34-35, 9-10.

<sup>62</sup> See the discussion in Polychronakou – Sgouritsa 1988, 36, 98 and n. 129 and Polychronakou – Sgouritsa 1997, 192.

<sup>63</sup> Polychronakou – Sgouritsa 1988, 98 and n. 130.

and muscular. Those of the bird on the Brauron sherd, however, are more naturalistic and more typical of the III A:2 period compared to those on the rhyton. The toes, when they are depicted, are schematic<sup>64</sup>. Finally, it is not a coincidence that there is a 'knob' at the beginning of the beak of the bird on the Brauron rhyton and that there are similar 'knobs' on the preserved ankles of the left-turned bull from Varkiza<sup>65</sup>.

Another similar feature in the Brauron stylistic group is the turned upside down head shown on all the birds. In the generally naturalistic depiction of the head above the line of the beak<sup>66</sup>, the birds of Brauron contrast with the upside down version of it, which is also depicted on only a few other examples<sup>67</sup>.

The branch motif on the conical rhyton may perhaps be mirrored in the solid-painted object behind the counter-clockwise bull on the Varkiza sherds. Furthermore, the papyrus motifs are preferred as auxiliary elements on the shoulder of the birds.

The 'Brauron Painter' used accessorial elements sparingly. The compositions are characterized by a simple background<sup>68</sup> and by the processional arrangement of the forms with voluminous bodies, on which heads and feet are added later.

In conclusion, the five elements mentioned above, i.e., the filling of the bodies, the painting in silhouette, the inverted heads of the birds, the use and the position of the subsidiary elements and the general impression of the pictorial zones, suggest an obvious and separate stylistic group of pictorial vessels. The attribution of this group to an individual's hand is, of course, of relative value, due to the limited material known.

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<sup>64</sup> Cf. Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, VIII.17 (Koukounara, Pylos, LH IIIA:2), IV.40 (Enkomi, contemporary). Compare *ibid.* IV.45 (Enkomi), VIII.21 (Mycenae), VIII.25 (Asine), VIII.27 (Delphi); Sakellarakis 1992, 71 cat. no. 127 (Spata); Benzi 1992, pls. 84, 158, cat. no. T54/6 (Ialysos), all from LH IIIA:2.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Åkerström 1987, pl. 32, where the usual method of indicating the hooves of the bulls is depicted (Berbati, LH IIIA:2/B) and also Sakellarakis 1992, 48-50, cat. nos. 61-2 (the last from Mycenae, LH IIIA:2/B).

<sup>66</sup> See Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, IV.6, IV.7, IV.38, IV.40, IV.41, IV.44, VIII.14, VIII.17; Åkerström 1987, pls. 37:6, 37:7, 37:12, 40; Slenczka 1974, pl. 23:2a; MacGillivray *et al.* 1998, 235, 12:3 and pl. 48b; Benzi 1992, pls. 84c and 158b, all from LH IIIA:2/B.

<sup>67</sup> See Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, IV.45, IX.89 (LH IIIA:2/B).

<sup>68</sup> If we judge from the only complete example. Unfortunately, we cannot make general observations on the compositions because of the fragmentary nature of the rest of the material.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Brauron rhyton, the only complete pictorial vase from Lapoutsis, can be placed chronologically somewhere between the spouted jug in the Louvre<sup>69</sup> and the conical rhyton in Altes Museum, Berlin<sup>70</sup>, all works by inspired artists. The three vessels from Attica are included amongst the masterpieces of LH IIIA:1, IIIA:2 and IIIB:1 pictorial ceramics with the aquatic bird figure, demonstrating a stable local tradition in the production of the subject. Thus, the vessel from Brauron can be characterized as the missing link between the two already known examples. The depiction of birds on LH III vessels continued through the LH IIIC period with examples from Perati, suggesting that Attic pottery contributed decisively to the development of the subject in the art of the Geometric period<sup>71</sup>. The assumption of the local production of pictorial pottery in Attica, from an early stage, which is not new<sup>72</sup>, is now strongly supported by the already mentioned factors of quantity, quality and duration, together with the newly presented stylistic group.

The fact that relations between the settlement of Varkiza with neighbouring settlements<sup>73</sup> and with places further away, such as Brauron, existed, in addition to the occurrence of Attic local production of pictorial pots<sup>74</sup>, strengthen the theory of the existence of an important 'workshop' within Attica. The recovery of other pictorial material from this area and its overall study, including clay analysis, will contribute to the formulation of more concrete conclusions<sup>75</sup>.

## APPENDIX. BRIEF CATALOGUE OF CONICAL RHYTA IN ATTICA

1) Spata. (NM, Inv. 2211) Fragment of the upper body, rim and part of the handle. Below the rim narrow zone decorated with foliate band (FM 64:58) and a wider one, lower with whorl-shell patterns (FM 23:6). LH IIIB. Benzi 1975, 130, 134, 221 cat. n. 163 and n. 15.

2) Vourvatsi. (NM Inv. 9844) Complete. Blobs on the rim. Upper body decorated

<sup>69</sup> Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 76 cat. no. VII.6.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 103 cat. no. IX.89.

<sup>71</sup> Benson 1970, 70-74.

<sup>72</sup> See above n. 53.

<sup>73</sup> Polychronakou – Sgouritsa 1988, 105.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 105 n. 51.

<sup>75</sup> Polychronakou – Sgouritsa 1997, 189 n. 53. Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 103 on the lack of sufficient evidence for Attic workshops of the LH IIIB phase.

with zones of bivalve chain (FM 25:18) and foliate band (FM 64:58). Groups of broad and fine lines on the rest of the body. LH IIIA2 late. Mountjoy 1999, 531, 190:156, 532 cat. n. 156; Benzi 1975, 130, 133, 321 cat. n. 498; Stubbings 1947, 55 and pl. 18:1.

3) Vourvatsi. (NM Inv. 9114) Complete. Blobs on the rim. Wide zone decorated with large flowers. On the rest of the body groups of broad and fine lines. LH IIIA late. Benzi 1975, 130, 133, 322 cat. n. 499, pl. 29.

4) Vourvatsi. (NM Inv. 9115) Complete. Blobs on the rim. Body covered with groups of broad and fine lines. LH IIIA2 late. Benzi 1975, 130, 133, 322 cat. n. 500, pl. 29.

5) Salamis: Chalioti. (PM?) Complete. Blobs on the rim. Body covered with groups of broad and fine lines. LH IIIA2 late/B. Benzi 1975, 130, 133; Lasaridis D. and Tsirivakos H., *ArchDelt* 22 (1967) B1, pl. 110.

6) Salamis: Chalioti. (PM?) Complete. Blobs on the rim. Body covered with groups of broad and fine lines. LH IIIA2 late/B. Benzi 1975, 130, 133; Lasaridis D. and Tsirivakos H., *ArchDelt* 22 (1967) B1, pl. 110.

7) Salamis: Koulouri. (Private collection) Complete. Blobs on the rim. Upper half covered with a chequer pattern (FM 56:1). Groups of broad and fine lines on the rest of the body. LH IIIA2. Lolos 1996, 1241, 1246, 1.

8) Agora. (AM Inv. 22366) Body fragment, covered with linear painting. LH IIIB? Immervahr 1971, 254 cat. n. 445, pl. 61:445. Benzi 1975, 130.

9) Agora. (AM Inv. 15527) Body fragment with part of a floral pattern. LH IIIA-B. Immervahr 1971, 255 cat. n. 447. Benzi 1975, 130.

10) Acropolis. (NM Inv. 2867) Body fragment decorated with two zones of curving lines separated by bands of parallel lines. LH IIIB. Broneer 1939, 386, 67:l, 387; Benzi 1975, 130, 134.

11) Acropolis. (NM Inv. 2868) Body fragment decorated with one zone of curving lines between two groups of parallel lines. LH IIIB. Broneer 1939, 386, 67:m, 387; Benzi 1975, 130, 134.

12) Acropolis. (NM Inv. 13424) Body fragment decorated with horizontal bands, between which a wide zone with shells. LH IIIA-B. Graef 1909, 10 cat. n. 93; Benzi 1975, 130.

13) Acropolis. (NM Inv. 13425) Body fragment decorated with groups of broad and fine lines. Part of a zone with floral motif. LH IIIB? Graef 1909, 10 cat. n. 94, pl. 3:94; Benzi 1975, 130.

14) Athens. (Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Mus. Inv. 295) Almost complete, missing small part of the lowest body. Blobs on the rim, three barred foliate bands (FM 64:21) between groups of broad and fine lines. LH IIIA2. Lunsinsh Scheurleer C.W., CVA Pays Bas 1 (1927) IIIA:2, pl. 2:2; Benzi 1975, 130; Mountjoy 1999, 531, 190:157, 532 cat. n. 157.

15) Athens. (Würzburg, Martin Von Wagner Mus. Inv. H 4704) Almost complete, missing small part of the lowest body. Blobs on the rim. Two zones of horizontal and vertical groups or foliate bands (FM 64), between groups of broad and fine lines. LH IIIA2. Hölscher F., CVA Deutschland 39 (1975) 10, pl. 2; Mountjoy 1999, 531, 190:158, 532 cat. n. 158.

16) Attica. (Berlin, Altes Mus. Inv. 31105) Complete. Blobs on the rim. Six fantastic birds are painted round the upper half. Rising wavy lines on the lower part. LH IIIA2/B1. Stubbings 1947, 55 and pl. 18:5; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 103 cat. n. IX 89, 214; Mountjoy 1999, 532 and n. 369.

17) Varkiza. (PM Inv. 4944) Missing the handle, parts of the rim and the lowest body. Blobs on the rim. On the upper half two broad zones decorated with net pattern. Groups of broad and fine lines on the rest of the body. LH IIIA2. Polychronakou – Sgouritsa 1988, 72-73 cat. n. 54, pl. 48:54.

18) Brauron: Lapoutsi. (BM Inv. BE 446) Almost complete, missing small part of the handle. Blobs on the rim. Below, narrow zone decorated with N patterns (FM 60:1) and small pictorial protome (?). A second one lower is filled with two aquatic birds and accessory papyrus (FM 11:66) and branches motifs. Rest of the body covered with groups of broad and fine lines. LH IIIA2 late. See above.

19) Brauron: Lapoutsi. (BM Inv. 532) Joining fragments from the upper and the lowest parts of the body. Blobs on the rim. Groups of broad and fine lines, between which two zones of foliate bands (FM 64:58). LH IIIA2. Unpublished.

*Constantinos P. Paschalidis*  
*University of Ioannina*  
*Greece*

#### ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

AM = Agora Museum

BM = Brauron Museum

FM = Furumark Motif

FS = Furumark Shape

NM = National Archaeological Museum (Athens)

PM = Piraeus Museum

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