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Volute-kraters from Naukratis
(and an amphora)

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The number of Attic volute-kraters from the sanctuary areas at Naukratis is relatively high, though confined to the later sixth century BC; all but one are in black-figure. A sherd that might be thought to belong to the sequence is argued to be an early example of the type A amphora. Distribution of the volute-krater is discussed, with the slight numbers from Etruria clearly contrasting with the considerable numbers for other Attic shapes from the same period.

Key Words: Attic pottery, volute-krater, Naukratis, Etruria, Adriatic

Volutni krateri iz Naukratisa
(i jedna amfora)

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Broj atičkih volutnih kratera iz svetišta u Neukratisu razmjerno je velik, iako im se datacija svodi na kraj šestog stoljeća pr. Kr., a svi osim jednog su crnofiguralni. Jedan ulomak za koji se može pretpostaviti da pripada toj sekvenci po svemu sudeći predstavlja rani primjerak amfore tipa A. Razmatra se i distribucija volutnih kratera, pri čemu su malobrojni primjerci iz Etrurije u očitj opreci sa znatnim brojem drugih atičkih oblika iz istoga razdoblja

Ključne riječi: atička keramika, volutni krater, Naukratis, Etrurija, Jadran

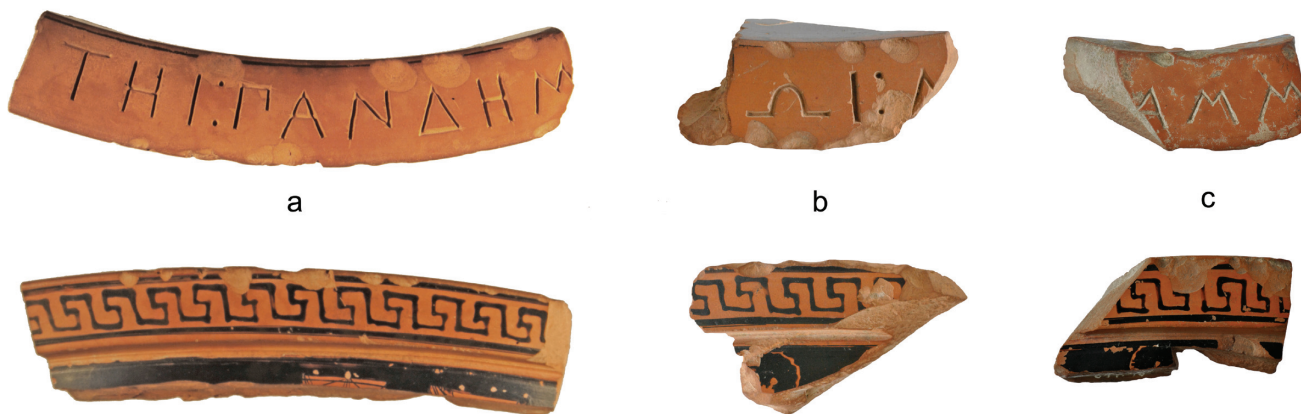


Fig. 1. a) British Museum 1900,0214.6. Width 12.8 cm. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, b) Bonn, Akademische Kunstmuseum 697.90. Width 3.6 cm. © Akademisches Kunstmuseum - Antikensammlung der Universität Bonn. Photographer Alexandra Villing, British Museum, c) Heidelberg, Antikenmuseum I156. Width 6.2 cm. © Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg. Photographer Alexandra Villing, British Museum
 Sl. 1. a) British Museum 1900,0214.6; širina 12,8 cm (uz dopuštenje Upravnog odbora British Museum), b) Bonn, Akademische Kunstmuseum 697.90; širina 3,6 cm; © Akademisches Kunstmuseum - Antikensammlung der Universität Bonn (foto: Alexandra Villing, British Museum), c) Heidelberg, Antikenmuseum I156; širina 6,2 cm; © Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg (foto: Alexandra Villing, British Museum)

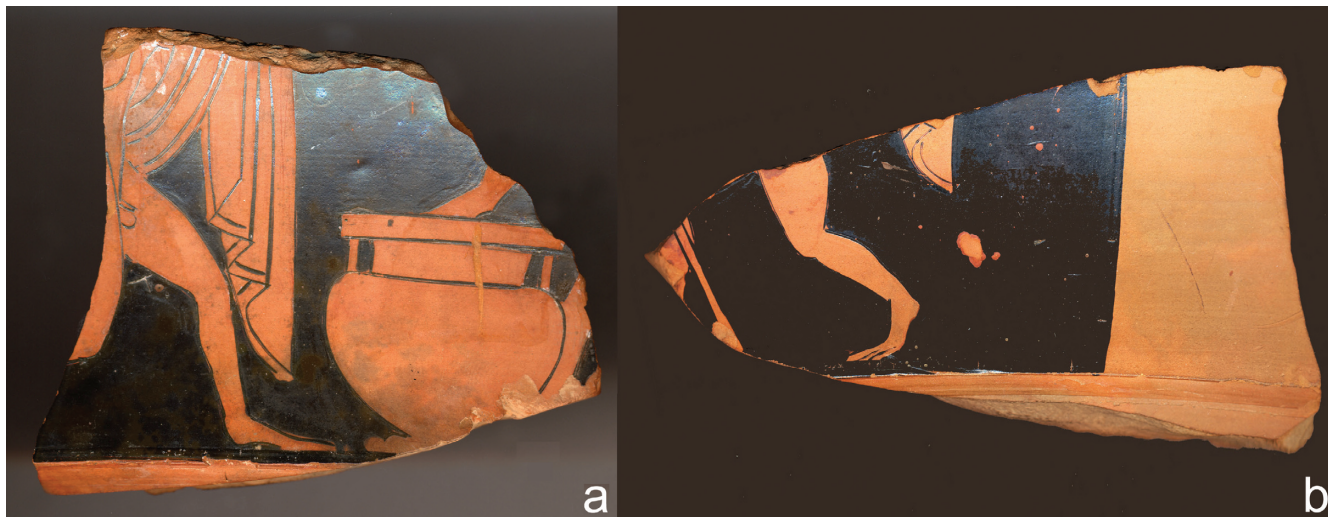


Fig. 2. a-b) Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN 1896-1908-G138.40 and 36. Width 7.0 and 8.7 cm. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff
 Sl. 2. a-b) Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN 1896-1908-G138.40 i 36; širina 7,0 i 8,7 cm; © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (foto: osoblje British Museuma)

This contribution is in one respect a supplement to the material recently published in *Cahiers du CVA France 2* (de la Genière 2014), though it is also an addition to the work of revisiting the material excavated at Naukratis about 120 years ago. Aspects of the non-relevance to Branko's stomping ground in the Adriatic will become apparent.

Fragments of volute-kraters from the site of Naukratis are of Lakonian and Attic origin; here I omit the three Lakonian fragments, but treat the Attic material, where the shape can be identified;¹ figured body fragments of red-figured kraters can belong to any type of krater, unless the curvature is strongly indicative of a particular type, a criterion that can be rarely applied to the material from Naukratis, considering the size of body fragments, let alone be fully diagnostic. In that respect it is difficult to maintain that the following red-figured volute-krater was the only one found, but further examples cannot be definitively identified. The one piece known is in various parts, not previously seen as a whole, even if most fragments are known from publications.

Red-figure

1. Fig. 1. a) British Museum 1900,0214.6 (Edgar 1898-9, p. 56, no. 107; Venit 1982, pp. 484-5, C5; Höckmann and Möller 2006, p. 16)
b) Bonn 697.90 (Piekarski 2001, p. 40, C13; Höckmann and Möller, *ibid*)
c) Heidelberg, Antikenmuseum I156
Fig. 2. a-b) Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-G138.36 and 40 (*CVA* 1 Pl. 50., 12 and 13; *ARV* p. 221, 15; Venit 1982, p. 484, C4; Beazley Archive 202100).²

1 All sherds from Naukratis, not merely those in the museum, can be found on the British Museum's Collections On Line web-site, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_research_catalogues/ng/naukratis_greeks_in_egypt/preface.aspx

In the text pieces with no bibliographical reference will only be found there.

As an addendum to de la Genière 2014, I note that there are fragments of the handles of two volute-kraters from Al Mina (British Museum 1968,1122.2-3); Beazley 1939, p. 4, mentions one.

- 2 The fragments have also been presented by Dyfri Williams (2015), published after the submission of this article; I have not changed my own text, but note a difference of opinion regarding the pre- or post-firing nature of the graffito. A dedication in Doric dialect, to Aphrodite and found in the same context as 1a, suggests her cult as Pandemos at Naukratis was not wholly Athenian (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, GR341.1899; Johnston 2015, p. 41, no. 2).

Ovaj je članak u neku ruku dopuna materijala nedavno objavljenog u *Cahiers du CVA France 2* (de la Genière 2014), premda se vezuje i na rad na preispitivanju građe iskopane u Naukratisu prije 120 godina. Jasno će se pokazati kako neki aspekti nisu od značaja za Brankovo matično područje rada na Jadranu.

Ulomci volutnih kratera s lokaliteta Naukratis lakonskog su i atičkog podrijetla. Ovdje sam izostavio tri lakonska ulomka, ali obrađujem atičku građu, kod koje je moguće utvrditi oblik.¹ Figuralni ulomci tijela crvenofiguralnih kratera mogu pripadati bilo kojem tipu kratera, osim ako njihova zakrivljenost jasno ne ukazuju na točno određeni tip, što je - s obzirom na veličinu ulomaka tijela - pokazatelj koji se rijetko može primijeniti na građu iz Naukratisa, a kamoli utvrditi s potpunom sigurnošću. U tom smislu, teško je tvrditi kako je pronađen jedino sljedeći crvenofiguralni volutni krater, ali druge primjere nemoguće je pouzdano razaznati. Taj jedini poznati primjerak javlja se u više dijelova, koji do sada nisu promatrani kao cjelina, iako je većina ulomaka poznata iz objavljenih radova.

Crvenofiguralni ulomci

1. Sl. 1. a) British Museum 1900,0214.6 (Edgar 1898-1899, str. 56, br. 107; Venit 1982, str. 484-485, C5; Höckmann i Möller 2006, str. 16)
b) Bonn 697.90 (Piekarski 2001, str. 40, C13; Höckmann i Möller, *ibid*)
c) Heidelberg, Antikenmuseum I156
Sl. 2. a-b) Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN 1896-1908-G138.36 i 40 (*CVA* 1 T. 50, 12 i 13; *ARV* str. 221, 15; Venit 1982, str. 484, C4; Beazley Archive 202100).²

1 Na mrežnim stranicama posvećenim zbirkama British Museum, mogu se pronaći svi ulomci iz Naukratisa, a ne samo oni izloženi u muzeju: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_research_catalogues/ng/naukratis_greeks_in_egypt/preface.aspx

U tekstu se ondje mogu pronaći samo komadi bez navođenja literature.

Kako bih dopunio da la Genière (2014.), napominjem da postoje ulomci ručki dvaju volutnih kratera iz Al Mine (British Museum 1968, 1122.2-3); Beazley 1939, str. 4, spominje jedan.

- 2 Te ulomke obradio je i Dyfri Williams (2015.), što je objavljeno nakon što je ovaj članak predan. Svoj tekst nisam mijenjao, ali valja uzeti u obzir razilaženje u mišljenju o nastanku grafitu prije, odnosno poslije pečenja. To što je posveta Afroditi na dorskom narječju i pronađena je u istom kontekstu kao i 1a, daje naslutiti kako to što se u Naukratisu štovala kao Pandemos nije vuklo isključivo atenske korijene (Cambridge,

Five joining and non-joining fragments of a krater attributed or attributable to the Nikoxenos painter, c.500 BC. Dedication to Aphrodite Pandemos inscribed on top of lip with lapidary care. The Heidelberg fragment joins that in the British Museum, completing the word Πανδήμωι and then most probably the alpha of the following *anetheke*. Symposium scene on neck; the remains are too slight to be able to reconstruct the whole; regrettably neither the scene nor the graffito can assist in ordering each other. The Bonn fragment has merely part of a head, as does that in Heidelberg; the London fragment to its left preserves part of a basket hanging on the wall of the *andron*, and a further object at the same level which might just be a cup held in the kottabos position by the youth on the Heidelberg sherd. One Oxford sherd clearly has two males attending, ironically, to a column-krater, with a foot of a profile in two degrees very much at home in the late sixth century; the other, with the right end of one of the panels is less easily interpreted, with the right leg of a male and part of a staff, plus an amorphous area, perhaps part of a draped body. It is perhaps unlikely in view of the standing figures on the Oxford sherd that the figure beneath the basket was lying on cushions, as Euthymides' slightly earlier volute-krater from Morgantina (Niels 1995), though it may be that standing and reclining figures were on opposite sides of our piece.

The Eucharides painter is one who works in both techniques, if we accept Beazley's attributions, and is closely allied to the Leagros workshop, the source of a number of black-figure volute-kraters. The range of the iconography on the red-figure pieces from or near his hand could just be said to be more varied than on contemporary black-figure versions. One even has an inscribed name, an unknown practice in black-figure (Toronto 959.17.187, *ARV*, p. 223, 2).

The findspot of the London fragment is the Helenion (the location of the 1899 excavations of Hogarth), and the same should apply to the Oxford sherds.

A peculiarity of sherd a) should be noted: one broken edge is straight and smooth, sawn off rather than chiselled one would say, certainly in antiquity.³ Whatever the reason for this re-working, it does extend the ancient biography of the vase.

Interlude

Three fragments of handles of volute-kraters may belong to either red-figure or black-figure vases, but to more than one vase, even though they are similar where comparable; British Museum 1888,0601.600

3 I thank Astrid Lindenlauf for drawing this to my attention.

Riječ je o pet priliježećih i nepriliježećih ulomaka kratera koji se pripisuje ili se može pripisati slikaru Nikoksenosu, koji je djelovao oko 500. g. pr. Kr. Natpis s posvetom Afroditi Pandemos na vrhu usne izveden je s krajnjom pomnjom. Ulomak iz Heidelberga priliježe uz onaj iz British Museum, čime se upotpunjuje riječ Πανδήμωι, a alfa koje najvjerojatnije slijedi početak je riječi *anetheke*. Na vratu je prizor svečane gozbe. Ostaci su odveć oskudni da bi se mogla rekonstruirati cjelovita slika. Nažalost, ni prizor ni grafit ne pomažu da ih jedno prema drugom posložimo kako treba. Na ulomku iz Bonna vidljiv je tek dio glave, baš kao i na onom iz Heidelberga, a na lijevoj strani londonskog ulomka sačuvan je dio košare obješene o zid *androna*, dok je na ulomku ih Heidelberga u istoj visini vidljiv još jedan predmet, možebitno tek kupa u ruci mladića koji, sudeći po položaju, igra *kottabos*. Na jednom ulomku iz Oxforda jasno se vide dva muškarca koja, ironično, kleče kraj stupastog kratera s podnožjem profiliranim u dva stupnja, koji je koncem šestog stoljeća bio vrlo uobičajen. Na drugom, gdje je desni kraj jednog od polja nešto teže protumačiti, razabiremo desnu nogu muškarca i dio štapa, a tu je i bezoblična površina, možda dio plaštem prekrivenog tijela. S obzirom na stojeće likove na ulomku iz Oxforda, možda nije vjerojatno kako bi lik ispod košare ležao na jastucima, kao na nešto ranijem Eutimidovom volutnom krateru iz Morgantine (Niels 1995), premda je moguće kako su se stojeći i ležeći likovi nalazili na suprotnim stranama našega komada.

Prihvatimo li autorstva koja mu pripisuje Beazley, slikar Euharida jedan je od onih koji su radili u obje tehnike, a bio je tijesno povezan i s radionicom Leagros, ishodištem brojnih crnofiguralnih volutnih kratera. Za ikonografiju na crvenofiguralnim radovima poteklim od njega ili onih koji su mu bili bliski moglo bi se reći da je raznolikija od one na onovremenim crnofiguralnim inačicama. Na jednoj je čak i upisano ime, što je kod crnofiguralnog stila nepoznata praksa (Toronto 959.17.187, *ARV*, str. 223, 2).

Londonski ulomak pronađen je u Helenionu (lokalitetu Hogarthovih iskopavanja iz 1899. godine), a isto vrijedi i za ulomke iz Oxforda.

Valja istaknuti jednu osobitost ulomka a): jedan odlomljeni rub pravilan je i gladak, pa bi se prije reklo da je otpiljen nego odvaljen dlijetom, i to svakako u antici.³ Ma koji bio povod za tu preradu, njome se svakako širi slika o antičkoj povijesti ove vaze.

Fitzwilliam Museum, GR341.1899; Johnston 2015, str. 41, br. 2).

3 Zahvaljujem Astrid Lindenlauf što mi je na to svratila pozornost.

and 600a, and Coulson 1996, pl. X, 6, Cat. 1344, taken there as a base.

Black-figure

Excluding those handles, there are perhaps seven or eight black-figure volute-kraters, listed below, that can be discerned in the preserved material.⁴ As noted by Hitzl (1982, esp. pp. 118-120), the series of later Archaic Attic black-figure volute-kraters is very uniform and the care given in decoration rarely substantial; therefore identifying pieces from the same vase is not simple; we may indeed expect minor difference in the appearance of profile and decoration on the two sides of one piece.⁵ In our material there are some criteria that can be applied to *disassociate* sherds, not least in the size and ratio of lip to neck, and whether the meander pattern on the neck is bounded or not by lines (though all our preserved meanders face right).⁶ One piece also stands apart, as far as can be discerned,⁷ in having two figured friezes (5 below); another (4) has an unusual rounded under offset to the neck panel, and a third (3) has the red stripe on the inside of the neck lower down than usual and also a seemingly unparallelled meander band on *top* of the lip, as well as a different style from the generality.

A further fragment, again from a handle, might be taken as from a volute-krater, but it clearly belongs to an earlier period and from a different shape; it merits an airing.

2. Fig. 3. British Museum 1886,0401.1340 is a problematic sherd, of no great size; the greatest preserved dimension is 4.9 cm. There is a flat surface decorated with a band of ivy, the leaves alternately red and black, though the regularity is broken by two

Napomena

Tri ulomka ručki volutnih kratera mogu pripadati crvenofiguralnim ili crnofiguralnim vazama, ali svakako je riječ o više vaza, iako su slične tamo gdje ih se može usporediti. Kao polazište, tu se uzima British Museum 1888, 0601.600 i 600a, kao i Coulson 1996, T. X, 6, kat. br. 1344.

Crnofiguralni ulomci

Izuzmemo li te ručke, postoji možda sedam ili osam crnofiguralnih volutnih kratera koji se opisuju u nastavku, a koje je moguće razlučiti na temelju sačuvane građe.⁴ Kako napominje Hitzl (1982, posebno str. 118-120), ta serija kasnoarhajskih atičkih crnofiguralnih volutnih kratera vrlo je ujednačena, a iznimna pomnija posvećena njihovom ukrašavanju vida se veoma rijetko. Stoga nije nimalo lako odrediti ulomke koji pripadaju istoj vazi. Naime, možemo očekivati tek manja odstupanja u izgledu profila i ukrasa na dvjema stranama pojedinog komada.⁵ Među našom građom prisutne su određene značajke koje možemo iskoristiti kako bismo razlučili ulomke, ako ništa drugo, onda po veličini i omjeru usne prema vratu te po tome je li uzorak meandra omeđen crtom ili nije (iako su svi naši sačuvani meandri okrenuti prema desnoj strani).⁶ Koliko se može razabrati,⁷ jedan komad se izdvaja i po tome što ima dva figuralna friza (5 u nastavku), drugi (4) po neuobičajenoj okrugloj istaci na polju vrata podno friza, a treći (3) po crvenoj liniji s unutarnje strane vrata, koja se nalazi niže nego inače, kao i po jedinstvenom pojasu meandra na vrhu usne te općenito različitom stilu.

4 Venit includes a sherd in University College London (1982, p. 285, B256), but there is no good evidence for its provenance; Naukratis is a possibility but cannot be proven.

5 Tübingen 6211 is an object lesson, with completely different structure of decoration on the two sides (*CVA* 3, pl. 6, 6).

6 Diameter is not of much help; of the diameter measures that have been attempted many are 'circa'; 3 and 9 are the two at the end of the range, between 37 and 42 cm.

7 Where fragments do not preserve any rim the possibility that they come from a lower, second, frieze cannot easily be ruled out; and apart from 5 no fragment preserves enough of the area below the offset under the frieze to judge whether there may have been a second frieze, although in cases where measurements are available thickness of wall suggests there was not. What may appear to be a reserved area below the frieze on 11b is in fact a worn or spalled surface.

4 Venit ovdje uključuje i ulomak s University College London (1982, str. 285, B256), ali o njegovu podrijetlu nema čvrstih dokaza. Moguće je da se radi i o Naukratisu, ali to se ne može dokazati.

5 Tübingen 6211 predstavlja školski primjer, s posve različitom strukturom ukrasa na dvjema stranama (*CVA* 3, T. 6, 6).

6 Promjer nije od osobite pomoći. Mnogi od pokušaja njegova mjerenja dali su tek približan rezultat. 3 i 9 dva su komada na kraju spektra, s promjerom između 37 i 42 cm.

7 Tamo gdje na ulomcima nije sačuvan nikakav obod, ne može se olako isključiti mogućnost da potječu od drugog, nižeg friza. A osim broja 5, ni na jednom ulomku nije sačuvana dovoljna površina ispod istake podno friza kako bi se utvrdilo je li možda postojao i drugi friz, premda u slučajevima gdje su obavljena mjerenja debljina stijenke daje naslutiti kako ga nije bilo. Ono što se možda doima očuvanom površinom na frizu ulomka 11b zapravo je pohabana ili oljuštena ploha.

red instead of one black on the outer side; rosettes of triple dots fill the interstices. This surface is curved, though not fully circular, and both edges are flanged. The inner side is regular and glazed, while the outside (1.6 cm from flange to break) is also glazed but variously modelled: most is concave rising to the broken edge to perhaps a little higher than the level of the flange, though with no sign of a sharp turn to form a second flange. At the end away from the extra ivy leaf it also thickens and there are clear signs of an attachment of some size.

It may be thought that this could be a flat-topped rim with the attachment being a vertical handle. There are however serious problems with that possibility, most notably the resultant thickness of the purported rim; this and the apparent size of the handle would rule out any idea of an oenochoe. An alternative might be a 'metallic' neck-amphora as that made by Andokides in the British Museum (1980,1029.1; *ABV*, p. 293, 7; BA302217); its rim is flat and thick, but decorated on the outside not top, and the handle is a strap, not the bulky type demanded by the remains on our sherd. The slightly non-circular shape of our sherd is perhaps not so serious an objection to it being a rim.

In sum, it seems far better to take it as a flanged handle; the two candidates for such a handle are the one-piece amphora, type A, or the volute-krater (or perhaps its near relative, the stirrup krater). The outside of the handle could then be interpreted as having a central ridge, or indeed two. The attachment would be either directly to the neck, shoulder or stirrup; however, in the last two cases the curvature would be tighter than in comparable handles of either shape, which are generally fairly straight at any lower attachment. This leads to the conclusion that it is from the neck attachment of a type A amphora.

Consideration of the ivy wreath however raises a problem. The type is current in the work of painters of c. 560-540,⁸ the Heidelberg and Amasis painters and Elbows Out (see von Bothmer 1986, p. 89 and Brijder 1991, p. 368-70); it even appears on an amphora rim, though the very thin variety of Elbow's Out version of the Nikosthenic amphora. It seems unattested on type A amphoras, where much simpler ivy and rosettes are the norm. Furthermore there is precious little if any chronological overlap between the form of wreath and the appearance of flanged handles. While the 'canonical' type A amphora is thought to have been introduced by Exekias (Moore 1986, p. 4), there seems a case here for allocating this use of flanged handles to another, probably earlier workshop; if one judged

Još jedan ulomak, a opet se radi o dijelu ručke, možda i potječe od volutnog kratera, ali očito je kako pripada nekom ranijem razdoblju i predmetu drukčijeg oblika, pa bi ga valjalo dodatno razmotriti.

2. Sl. 3. British Museum 1886,0401.1340. Riječ je o problematičnom i nevelikom ulomku. U najvećem sačuvanom dijelu mjeri 4,9 cm. Imamo ravnu površinu ukrašenu girlandom bršljana na kojem se crveni listovi izmjenjuju s crnima, premda tu pravilnu izmjenu prekidaju dva crvena lista umjesto jednog crnog s vanjske strane. Prostor među listovima popunjen je rozetama u obliku trotočja. Ta je površina zaobljena, premda ne u potpunosti kružna, a duž oba ruba proteže se istaknuti obod. Unutarnja strana pravilna je i glazirana, dok je vanjska (1,6 cm od oboda to crte) također glazirana, ali neujednačeno oblikovana: većinom je konkavno zakrivljena, pri čemu se prema odlomljenom rubu uzdiže možda malo iznad razine oboda, premda nema naznaka oštrog zakrivljenja koje bi tvorilo drugi obod. Na rubu kod dodatnog lista površina je zadebljana te postoje jasne naznake kako je tu bilo pričvršćeno nešto prilično veliko.

Moglo bi se pomisliti kako se možda radi o obodu zaravnjenom s gornje strane, na koji je bila pričvršćena okomita ručka. No ta je mogućnost veoma upitna, ponajprije zbog debljine navodnog oboda. To i očigledna veličina ručke otklonilo bi bilo kakvu pomisao na enohoju. Druga mogućnost bila bi amfora s vratom, koja svojom izvedbom oponaša metalnu posudu, poput one koju je izradio Andokid, a čuva se u British Museum (1980, 1029.1; *ABV*, str. 293, 7; BA302217). Njezin obod ravan je i debeo, ali ukrašen izvana, a ne odozgo, dok su joj ručke trakaste, a ne masivne kakve bi se očekivale na temelju ostataka na našem ulomku. A to što baš i nije posve kružnog oblika možda i ne predstavlja tako ozbiljan argument kako naš ulomak nije dio oboda.

Ukratko, čini se kako bi bilo bolje pretpostaviti da se radi o izvijenoj ručki. Dva kandidata za takvu ručku su jednodijelna amfora tipa A ili volutni krater (ili možda njegov bliski srodnik, stremenasti krater). Vanjska strana ručke mogla bi se tada promatrati kao da je imala jedan središnji hrbat, pa čak i dva. Pričvršćena bi bila izravno na vrat, rame ili stremen. No u potonja dva slučaja bila bi zaobljenija nego usporedive ručke bilo kojeg od ovih oblika, koje su uglavnom prilično ravne tamo gdje je njihov donji dio pričvršćen za tijelo. To navodi na zaključak kako je ovaj ulomak s mjesta gdje je ručka pričvršćena za vrat amfore tipa A.

8 It can be added that at this date the volute-krater is not attested at Athens. Perhaps the earliest 'canonical' piece is Malibu 86.AE.111, dated by Clarke, *CVA* 1, p. 48 to 540-530 on good stylistic grounds.

from the fineness of the make, one would be tempted to name this as that of Amasis, say c.545. One must concede that whether the vase was a one-piece amphora or a rare example of a neck-amphora with flanged handles is an unanswerable question; simpler rosettes are found on the flanged handles of Munich 1468, by the painter of Cambridge 47, which von Bothmer describes as 'oddly shaped', echoed by Kunze-Goette 'besondere Form' (von Bothmer 1985, p. 51, fig. 49; *CVA Munich* 7, p. 49, pl. 344-5). One can add that a full range of Attic black-figured amphoras has been found at Naukratis, perhaps around 160, with dates ranging across the sixth century;⁹ in consideration of the areas excavated in the early campaigns most if not all will be from sanctuary contexts.

With other fragments assuredly from volute-kraters it is less sure that we are dealing with different vases. The list below commences with the assured individual pieces and continues with those that are decreasingly likely to be the sole fragments known from an individual vase, ending with two that surely must belong with each other (11).

3. Fig. 4. British Museum 1886,0401.1203 (B600, 27; Venit 1982, pp. 284-285, B253). A large fragment with key meander bands on both top and side of rim, and a relatively low frieze in a style distinct from most other volute-kraters, most noticeably perhaps in the size of the heads; a seated male is found among a set of standing youths and females, four behind him, all facing to him, and five in front, two facing him, the next pair conversing and the fifth facing away. One may suppose there was at least one more seated figure in the frieze. Venit suggests a courting scene, but little would support the idea. The general style reminds one more of early red-figure work.

4. Fig. 5. British Museum 1886,0401.1204. A Scythian archer stands before a seated male with a long red beard; he turns his head to look at a quadriga accompanied by a dog, while beyond the block seat of the man a bird turns his head to view matters. The piece is close (save for the bird) to that in Lecce University, from Muro Leccese. (Giardino 2014). There is a line beneath the meander band on the rim. The comparanda mentioned by Giardino, cited in *CVA Boston* 2 (Giardino 2014, p. 216, note 5), seem more careful.

5. Fig. 6. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN 1896-1908-G574 (*CVA* 2, p. 96, pl. III, 8; Venit 1982, p. 286, B257) is the only one of our sherds to preserve two friezes, both furnished in the preserved section with chariots to the right, perhaps the commonest

No još se jedno pitanje otvara kada je posrijedi girlanda bršljana. Taj tip naširoko je prisutan u radu slikara iz razdoblja od oko 560. do 540. godine,⁸ Heidelberškog slikara, slikara Amazisa te slikara Elbows Out (vidi von Bothmer 1986, str. 89 i Brijder 1991, str. 368-70). Javlja se čak i na obodu jedne amfore, premda je riječ o vrlo tankoj inačici Elbows Out-ove verzije Nikostenove amfore. Čini se kako nije potvrđen na amforama tipa A, gdje u pravilu nalazimo vidno jednostavniji bršljan i rozete. K tome, između ovog oblika girlande i pojave izvijenih ručki veoma je malo kronološkog preklapanja, ako ga uopće ima. Premda se pretpostavlja kako je "kanonsku" amforu tipa A uveo Eksekija (Moore 1986, str. 4), čini se kako bi se primjena izvijenih ručki ovdje mogla opravdati pripisati nekoj drugoj, vjerojatno ranijoj radionici. Sudeći po istančanosti izvedbe, lako bi se moglo ustvrditi kako je posrijedi rad Amazisa i smjestiti ga, recimo, oko 545. godine. Moramo priznati kako nema odgovora na pitanje je li ova posuda bila jednodijelna amfora ili rijedak primjer amfore s vratom i izvijenim ručkama. Jednostavnije rozete nalazimo na izvijenim ručkama amfore München 1468, koja se pripisuje slikaru Cambridge 47, a Bothmer je opisuje kao "neobično oblikovanu", baš kao i Kunze-Goette kada kaže "besondere Form" (von Bothmer 1985, str. 51, sl. 49; *CVA Munich* 7, str. 49, T. 344-5). Možemo pridodati kako je u Naukratisu pronađen cijeli niz atičkih crnofiguralnih amfora, njih možda oko 160, a njihove datacije protežu se kroz čitavo šesto stoljeće.⁹ Što se tiče mjesta njihova pronalaska tijekom ranih iskopavanja, reklo bi se da većina - ako ne i sve - potječe iz svetišta.

Kod ostalih ulomaka koji nedvojbeno pripadaju volutnim kraterima, nije tako sigurno da se radi o različitim posudama. Popis u nastavku započinje s ulomcima za koje se pouzdano zna da su jedini sačuvani dijelovi određene posude, nastavlja se s onima za koje je sve manje vjerojatno kako su jedini poznati ulomci pojedine posude, a završava s dva ulomka koji zasigurno moraju prilijegati jedan uz drugog. (11).

3. Sl. 4. British Museum 1886,0401.1203 (B600, 27; Venit 1982, str. 284-285, B253). Riječ je o velikom ulomku s motivom meandra koji se proteže kako gornjom, tako i bočnom stranom oboda te razmjerno

9 Venit 1982, pp. 200-257 lists 170, and the Museum database 178; taking into account that some are probably from the same piece and that others may rather be from oenochoai, a figure of 150-160 seems reasonable.

8 Možemo pridodati kako do sada nije potvrđena prisutnost volutnog kratera u Ateni. Možda najraniji "kanonski" komad odnosi se na Malibu 86.AE.111, koji Clarke, *CVA* 1, str. 48, smješta u razdoblje od 540. do 530. zbog jasnih stilskih značajki.

9 Venit 1982, str. 200-257, navodi njih 170, a u podatkovnoj bazi Muzeja zavedeno je njih 178. Pretpostavimo li da neki ulomci vjerojatno potječu od jedne te iste amfore, a drugi su možda prije dijelovi enochoja, brojka od 150 do 160 amfora doima se razumnom.



Fig. 3. Handle fragment of an amphora? British Museum 1886,0401.1340. Max. dimension 5.1 cm. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum
Sl. 3. Ulomak ručke amfore? British Museum 1886,0401.1340; maks. dimenzija 5,1 cm (uz dopuštenje Upravnog odbora British Museum)



Fig. 4. British Museum 1886,0401.1203. Diam. 37 cm. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum
Sl. 4. British Museum 1886,0401.1203; promjer 37 cm (uz dopuštenje Upravnog odbora British Museum)



Fig. 5. British Museum 1886,0401.1204. Width 7.2 cm. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum
Sl. 5. British Museum 1886,0401.1204; širina 7,2 cm (uz dopuštenje Upravnog odbora British Museum)

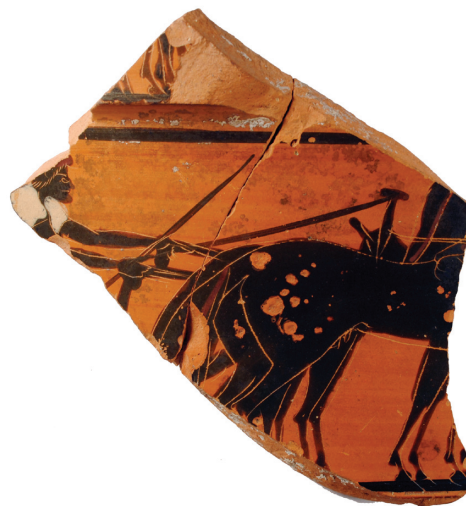


Fig. 6. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN 1896-1908-G574. Width 8.3 cm. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff
Sl. 6. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN 1896-1908-G574; širina 8,3 cm; © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (foto: osoblje British Museum)

of iconography of the series. Perhaps Golvol group; compare Warsaw 302458 (*ABV*, p. 194, 1). It can be noted that there are traces of plaster on some edges, indicating a previous restoration.

6. Fig. 7. Kyoto University 639.2i has a meander in thicker lines than the rest, while again the hoplite duel in the frieze is no novelty.

7. Fig. 8. Bonn, Akademische Kunstmuseum 697.89 (Piekarski 2001, p. 39, C12) has the most delicate meander band in the set, while the frieze contains three standard elements - hoplite duel, standing female and chariot to right.

8. Bonn, Akademische Kunstmuseum 697.91 (Piekarski 2001, p. 39, C11, pl. 13,3) has a part of a lotus and palmette chain.

Two sherds without any rim preserved could perhaps belong to other known pieces:

9. Louvre AM 1479 (1) with man mounting chariot to left, female standing to right and hoplite duel over fallen warrior, is close to 7.

10. Fig. 9. Boston, Museum of Fine Art 86.580 (*CVA* 2, p. 7 and pl. 108, 15) with horse to left and draped youth seated on block is perhaps less close to 4.

Two fragments which very persuasively do belong together:

11. Fig. 10. British Museum 1886,0401.1235 (B600, 35) and 1965,0930.851 (both, Venit 1982, p. 285, B254). They share a low rim with tall frieze, though the iconography is as ever typical, hoplite battle and horsemen.

Commentary

Few useful remarks can be made regarding the dating and workshop origins of these pieces. With respect to chronology I merely note that the finds of fragments of similar material at Sybaris (Hitzl 1982, nos 111-115) point to a date before 510, though should not rule out a generic '525-500' date for the run of the material, during the period of Persian control of Egypt; and regarding workshops, 2 above has a distinctive style, while the rest are generally stock work of the period, whatever the particular workshop.

More though can be said on the iconography and distribution of the mature Attic black-figured volute-krater; in particular, we can ask why our sherds, along with most, though not all others, present such a restricted range of iconography, with much repetition of visual vocabulary on individual pieces (give or take a dog or bird), and this on large vessels which surely were intended for display. One crude answer, which might well have some percentage of validity, but cannot be evaluated, is that the users, as perceived by the makers, would be more interested in the wine than the pictures, i.e. that it was a seller's market. For with few exceptions the later Archaic black-figure volute-

niskim frizom izvedenim u stilu različitom od onog na većini drugih volutnih kratera, što se možda najviše ogleda u veličini glava. U središtu je muškarac koji sjedi, a sa svake mu strane stoji red mladića i žena, pri čemu mu je njih četvero iza leđa, a svi su licem okrenuti prema njemu, dok je ispred njega poredano njih petero, od čega je dvoje licem okrenuto prema njemu; iza njih je par uhvaćen u razgovoru, dok peti lik gleda na suprotnu stranu. Moguće je pretpostaviti da se na frizu nalazio još najmanje jedan lik u sjedećem položaju. Venit drži kako se radi o prizoru udvaranja, ali malo je toga čime bi se to potkrijepilo. Opći stil više podsjeća na rani crvenofiguralni rad.

4. Sl. 5. British Museum 1886,0401.1204. Skitski strijelac stoji ispred posjednutog muškarca duge crvene brade. Okreće glavu i gleda kvadrigu uz koju se nalazi i pas, dok iza predmeta na kojem sjedi muškarac vidimo pticu koja okreće glavu i promatra što se zbiva. Ovaj komad (izuzev ptice) sličan je onome sa Sveučilišta u Lecceu, pronađenom u Muro Lecceseu (Giardino 2014). Ispod trake meandra na obodu, povučena je crta. Rad koji kao usporedbu spominje Giardino, a navodi se u *CVA* Boston 2 (Giardino 2014, str. 216, bilješka 5), doima se pomnije izvedenim.

5. Sl. 6. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN 1896-1908-G574 (*CVA* 2, str. 96, T. III, 8; Venit 1982, str. 286, B257) jedini je od naših ulomaka na kojem su vidljiva dva friza, a oba su izvedena na sačuvanom dijelu s motivom dvokolice okrenute nadesno, što je među ovdje obrađenim primjerima možda i najčešća ikonografija. Možda se radi o skupini Golvol (usp. Varšava 302458 (*ABV*, str. 194, 1)). Na nekim bridovima vidljivi su i tragovi sadre, što ukazuje na prijašnje restauracijske zahvate.

6. Sl. 7. Kyoto University 639.2i. Motiv meandra izveden je debljim linijama nego na ostalim ulomcima, dok se na frizu opet pojavljuje već uobičajeni dvoboj hoplita.

7. Sl. 8. Bonn, Akademische Kunstmuseum 697.89 (Piekarski 2001, str. 39, C12) odlikuje se najistančanije izvedenim uzorkom meandra među ovdje obrađenim primjerima, a friz sadrži tri ustaljena motiva: dvoboj hoplita, ženu koja stoji i nadesno okrenutu dvokolice.

8. Bonn, Akademische Kunstmuseum 697.91 (Piekarski 2001, str. 39, C11, T. 13,3) sadrži dio ornamentalnog niza palmeta i lotosa.

Dva ulomka bez sačuvanog oboda možda bi mogla pripadati ostalim poznatim komadima:

9. Louvre AM 1479 (1), s muškarcem na dvokolici okrenutoj nalijevo, ženom koja stoji okrenuta nadesno i dvobojem hoplita nad tijelom palog ratnika, blizak je ulomku 7.

10. Sl. 9. Boston, Museum of Fine Art 86.580 (*CVA* 2, str. 7 i T. 108, 15), s konjem okrenutim nalijevo i mladićem koji sjedi odjeven u plašt, blizak je ulomku 4, premda možda ne toliko.



Fig. 7. Kyoto University 639.2i. Width 4.3 cm. © Kyoto University Museum
Sl. 7. Kyoto University 639.2i; širina 4,3 cm; © Kyoto University Museum



Fig. 8. Bonn 697.89. Width 6.2 cm. © Akademisches Kunstmuseum - Antikensammlung der Universität Bonn. Photographer Alexandra Villing, British Museum
Sl. 8. Bonn 697.89; širina 6,2 cm; © Akademisches Kunstmuseum - Antikensammlung der Universität Bonn (foto: Alexandra Villing, British Museum)



Fig. 9. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 86.580. Width 4.6 cm. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Sl. 9. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 86.580; širina 4,6 cm (foto: © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 10. a) British Museum 1886,0401.1235. Width 9.4 cm, b) British Museum 1965,0930.851. Width 8.5 cm. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum
Sl. 10. a) British Museum 1886,0401.1235; širina 9,4 cm, b) British Museum 1965,0930.851; širina 8,5 cm (uz dopuštenje Upravnog odbora British Museum)

krater presents variations on the themes of hoplites, chariots, horsemen, symposiasts, eyes and Dionysos' crew;¹⁰ the flow of friezes is regularly interrupted by standing or seated figures of no clear relevance.

We see here the influence of various media and social preferences. Repetition is a basic feature of stamped or mould-made friezes, mostly in terracotta, with the technical requirement to 'close' the individual unit. We see such an aspect transferred to other media on our vases and on stone, as in the roughly contemporary Siphnian treasury at Delphi.¹¹ The relatively frequent use of eye decoration on the kraters is clearly borrowed from their more apposite use on cups, between the ears of the handles. The range of iconography also reflects the major concerns of the life of Greek citizens, warfare and the world of the commensality or symposium, though to date no erotic scene has come to light. The preparations for a feast on the Akropolis sherds (Hitzl 1982, pp. 286-287, no. 27) in this overall context take on an aura of a special commission, and the possible wedding procession on the relatively early Copenhagen VIII 574 (Hitzl 1982, no. 85; *CVA* 8, pl. 322, 3) is also noteworthy. In our sample, perhaps the bird on 4 steals the show;¹² elsewhere, if rarely, birds accompany in time-honoured fashion the pacing chariot, though a grounded avian similar to ours is found in an animal frieze, unusual indeed on these kraters, on Hitzl 1982, no. 70 (Kreuzer 1992, pp. 88-89, no. 93 (HC 846), and an echo of the enormous popularity of such decoration in earlier sixth century production.¹³

We should not perhaps be too dismissive of the painters of the kraters; run-of-the-mill decoration is apparent on most later black-figure production; this is a substantial matter, and needs fuller discussion, but for present purposes the volute-krater does not breach black-figure 'normality'. What is more noteworthy is the contrast with contemporary red-figured work, more perhaps on the calyx- rather than volute-krater. While it cannot be denied that much early red-figure is by anybody's standard rough and ready,¹⁴ the

Dva su ulomka koja po svemu sudeći zaista pripadaju istome komadu:

11. Sl. 10. British Museum 1886,0401.1235 (B600, 35) i 1965,0930.851 (oba, Venit 1982, str. 285, B254). Zajednički im je nizak obod s visokim frizom, premda je ikonografija, kao i uvijek, uobičajena - bitka hoplita i konjanici.

Zaključni osvrt

Malo je toga što bi se korisno moglo reći o razdobljima i radionicama iz kojih potječu ovi komadi. Glede kronologije, napominjem tek da nalazi ulomaka slične građe u Sibarisu (Hitzl 1982, br. 111-115) ukazuju na razdoblje prije 510. godine, premda za građu koja se ovdje obrađuje to ne bi trebalo isključiti okvirno razdoblje "od 525. do 500.", kada je Egipat bio pod perzijskom vlašću. A što se tiče radionica, osebujnim stilom odlikuje se jedino ulomak 2, dok su ostali uglavnom uobičajeni proizvodi tog razdoblja, ma o kojoj se radionici točno radilo.

No više toga može se kazati o ikonografiji i distribuciji zrelog atičkog crnofiguralnog volutnog kratera. Poglavitito, možemo se zapitati zašto naši ulomci - baš kao i većina drugih, premda ne i svi - sadrže tako uzak raspon ikonografije, pri čemu se likovni rječnik uvelike ponavlja od jednog komada do drugog (plus-minus ptica ili pas), a sve to na velikim posudama koje su zasigurno bile zamišljene da ih se vidi. Sirov odgovor - koji bi donekle i mogao biti točan, ali ga je nemoguće provjeriti - bio bi taj da je korisnike, promatrane očima proizvođača, više zanimalo vino negoli slike, tj. da se radilo o tržištu gdje su okolnosti bile naklonjene prodavačima. Naime, uz malobrojne iznimke, kasniji arhaiski crnofiguralni volutni krater sadrži varijacije na teme hoplita, dvokolica, konjanika, uzvanika gozbi, očiju i Dionizove svite.¹⁰ Slijed na frizu redovno prekidaju stojeći ili sjedeći likovi čiji značaj nije jasan.

Ovdje vidimo utjecaj raznih medija i društvenih sklonosti. Ponavljanje motiva osnovna je značajka frizova izvedenih žigosanjem ili kalupljenjem, uglavnom u terakoti, uz tehnički zahtjev "zatvaranja" pojedine cjeline. Takvo prenošenje motiva na druge medije vidljivo je i na našim vazama, kao i na kamenu, primjerice, na Sifnijskoj riznici u Delfima, koja je iz približno istog razdoblja.¹¹ Razmjerno čest motiv oka

10 This does perhaps belittle a few more varied or specific pieces, some mentioned in the text. It is also worth considering whether any later Attic black-figure shapes had a higher percentage of non-stock scenes, a large topic, estimated answers to which could be very wrong.

11 The marshals on the Parthenon frieze are in the same vein but far more skilfully integrated.

12 It has the aspect of an imitation eagle accompanying an imitation Zeus.

13 For animal friezes see also Malibu 86.AE.107, *CVA* 1, pp. 47-48, pl. 48, 3).

14 For example, the highly unusual red-figured lip-cup fragment from Naukratis, British Museum E134.2

10 Time se možda podcjenjuje nekoliko raznolikijih ili osebujnijih komada, od kojih se neki spominju i u tekstu. Valjalo bi razmotriti i je li kod neke od kasnijih atičkih crnofiguralnih formi bilo više netipičnih prizora, što je važno pitanje, na koje bi odgovori koji bi se sastojali od procjena mogli biti itekako pogrešni.

11 Slični su i predvodnici povorke na partenonskom frizu, ali uklopljeni su daleko umješnije.

percentage of work of high skill and iconographic variation is palpably higher than in contemporary black-figure; one can hardly believe that the decorators of the black-figure vases were unaware of this; they perhaps accepted that the technique could not in general terms compete, even if some painters could still produce novel iconography, on vases such as lekythoi, skyphoi and pelikai, but not volute-kraters; wealth production was clearly in the mind of the painter of the pelike Vatican 16518 (BA31764), who makes his oil-seller say 'may I become rich'.

This introduces thoughts of production and distribution. The range of material shows that Naukratis received as many Attic volute-kraters as many other sites in the late sixth century. The *Cahiers* volume has shown that the shape has yet to be given full attention in many areas of the Mediterranean and it is perhaps fruitless to indulge in bald comparative statistics. What might rather be stressed is the large number of these substantial pieces, not easy to stow on board, that were traversing the sea. No doubt they were regularly used to store other materials en route, and we could regard them, through one lens, as a substitute for the pithos as a transport storage vessel. Yet one must accept that volute-handles are not the most packaging friendly objects (let alone the spread rims of the later bell- and calyx-kraters).¹⁵ Even so, from what little we can glean, volute-kraters may have had a different 'trajectory' in the export trade from Athens, in that they very rarely, on present evidence, display 'trademarks' of the same types as found on more common larger pots (Johnston 1999) and are rarities in the major export market of Etruria (below).

Naukratis of course was not without large craters, dinoi and bowls in the earlier record from the later seventh century; they are largely of East Greek manufacture, though Corinthian and Lakonian kraters are by no means lacking;¹⁶ such vases are found in roughly equal numbers in both the major sanctuaries, of Apollo and Aphrodite (not least the massive East Greek krater with Polemarchos' dedication to Apollo of c.600, British Museum 1886,0401.830; Schlotzhauer 2012, no. 85, with bibliography). Of our volute-kraters only the red-figure piece dedicated to Aphrodite Pandemos has a known close provenance, from the Hellenion, not the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the southern part of the site (see Höckmann and Möller 2006, pp. 16-17). If we turn to consider the

kao ukrasa na kraterima očito je preuzet iz njegove primjerenije uporabe na kupama, između ušiju ručaka. U ikonografiji se ogledaju i najvažnije teme iz života grčkih građana, ratovanja i svijeta zajedničkog blagovanja ili gozbi, s time da do danas nisu otkriveni nikakvi erotski prizori. U tom općem kontekstu pripreme za svetkovinu na ulomcima s Akropole (Hitzl 1982, str. 286-287, br. 27) odaju dojam kako se tu radilo o posebnoj narudžbi, a vrijedi spomenuti i možebitnu svadbenu povorku na razmjerno ranom komadu Kopenhagen VIII 574 (Hitzl 1982, br. 85; *CVA* 8, T. 322, 3). U našem uzorku možda odskače jedino ptica na ulomku 4.¹² Drugdje, premda rijetko, ptice su po drevnom običaju pratile lagani prolazak dvokolice, premda pticu na tlu, sličnu našoj, nalazimo i na jednom životinjskom frizu, doduše neuobičajenom na ovakvim kraterima, a posrijedi je Hitzl 1982, br. 70 (Kreuzer 1992, str. 88-89, br. 93 (HC 846), što je i odraz goleme popularnosti tih ukrasa u proizvodnji s početka šestog stoljeća.¹³

Prema oslikavačima kratera možda ne bismo smjeli biti odveć kritični. Tipizirano ukrašavanje vidljivo je na većini kasnije crnofiguralne proizvodnje. To je bitno pitanje koje iziskuje iscrpniju obradu, ali za sada možemo ustvrditi kako volutni krater ne krši crnofiguralnu "normu". Više pozornosti valjalo bi posvetiti usporedbi s onovremenim crvenofiguralnim radovima, što možda više vrijedi za čaškasti negoli za volutni krater. Iako se ne može poreći kako je velik dio rane crvene figuracije prema svačijim kriterijima izveden prilično grubo,¹⁴ postotak radova koji se odlikuju iznimnim umijećem i ikonografskom raznolikošću osjetno je viši nego kod onovremene crne figuracije. Teško je povjerovati kako toga nisu bili svjesni i oni koji su se bavili ukrašavanjem crnofiguralnih vaza. Možda su prihvatili kako tom tehnikom općenito ne mogu konkurirati, iako su neki slikari i dalje mogli stvarati inovativnu ikonografiju, ponajprije na vazama poput lekita, skifa i pelika, ali ne i na volutnim kraterima. Stvaranje bogatstva očito je bilo na umu slikaru pelike Vatican 16518 (BA31764), koji je svom trgovcu uljem u usta stavio riječi "neka se obogatim".

To nas navodi na razmišljanje o proizvodnji i distribuciji. Količina građe pokazuje kako je u Naukratis krajem šestog stoljeća stizalo onoliko atičkih volutnih kratera koliko i u mnogo drugih mjesta. U svom drugom svesku *Les Cahiers* pokazuju kako tom obliku na mnogim područjima Sredozemlja tek treba posvetiti

(ARV, p. 158, 2; BA 201508) is a very simply painted piece.

15 Their representations in iconography is also very much as non-portable furniture, reflecting their intended use rather than any concerns about their transport.

16 For Corinthian and Lakonian see Bergeron 2015 and Bergeron 2016.

12 Izgleda kao imitacija orla koja prati imitaciju Zeusa.

13 O životinjskim frizovima vidi i Malibu 86.AE.107, *CVA* 1, str. 47-48, T. 48, 3).

14 Primjerice, ulomak izrazito neobičnog crvenofiguralnog kilika s izvijenim obodom (*lip-cup kylix*) iz Naukratisa, British Museum E134.2 (ARV, str. 158, 2; BA 201508), vrlo je jednostavno oslikan komad.

use of kraters or similar bowls at Naukratis in the second half of the sixth century, there would have been no fresh Corinthian products and while the dating of the later products of East Greek potteries with respect to larger open vases, other than amphoras, is scarcely secure, it would not seem there was much being made after c.550. The use of metal bowls is of course as unfathomable as ever, though nothing of them has been found at the site. Ceramically one is left with Lakonian and Attic products; as regards the former, our record is likely to be incomplete as plain black fragments were probably discarded by the early excavators, though one foot with a graffito was kept (British Museum 1886,0401.1303; Johnston 2015, p. 54 no. 12); this may be a later sixth century piece, but if so it would appear to be alone in the preserved material. However, the Attic black-figured column-krater is present in around 100 fragments (rather more than known to Venit 1982, but with much the same distribution; some clearly belong to the same pot), fairly evenly spread between c.580 and the end of the century, with a good number of pieces of the Group of Lydos.

In this context, the volute-krater can be taken as a more prestigious version of a general type already well-attested at the site (as indeed at many other sites), with its echoes of the considerably more expensive metal equivalents. Where it is not yet, or statistically very poorly, attested is of some interest. Hitzl (1982 p. 120) has noted the near lack in the main export zone for mature Attic BF pottery, Etruria, while Tsingarida lists two pieces from Tarquinia, three from Orvieto and none from Cerveteri and Vulci;¹⁷ considering the overall numbers of pots involved this dearth does seem meaningful, especially in view of the numbers of other types of krater imported into Etruria, not least the contemporary RF calyx-kraters. The 'other' major Greek emporion, at Gravisca, has yielded extensive BF, but no volute-kraters, with only a couple of early fifth century red-figure pieces (Huber 1999, pp. 128-129, nos. 684-685), and in the Adriatic area, no such volute-kraters have been found on Palagruža, where the Attic black-figured material consists nearly entirely of late cups, even if the as yet unpublished red-figured comprises excellent, if few, pieces from a broad range of other shapes. We do, however, have BF volute-kraters from (near) either end of the Adriatic, Taranto and Bologna. One can understand perhaps why Palagruža did not host lavish symposia, less so perhaps Gravisca. There is a good case to argue

punu pozornost, pa bi sada možda bilo bespredmetno baviti se nekom suhoparnom poredbenom statistikom. Možda bi prije valjalo naglasiti mnogobrojnost tih pozamašnih komada koji su putovali morem, premda ih nije bilo lako smjestiti u tovarni prostor broda. Na putu ih se nedvojbeno rabilo za pohranu drugih dobara, tako da ih u neku ruku možemo smatrati nadomjeskom za pitos kao spremnik za robu tijekom prijevoza. No moramo priznati kako volutne ručke u tom smislu baš i nisu najspretnije (a da ne govorimo o širokom obodu kasnijih zvonastih i čaškastih kratera).¹⁵ Unatoč tome, na temelju ono malo spoznaja do kojih možemo doći, u izvoznj trgovini iz Atene volutni krateri možda su slijedili drukčiju "putanju" jer, sudeći po postojećim dokazima, vrlo rijetko nose iste "trgovačke žigove" kakve nalazimo na uobičajenijim većim posudama (Johnston 1999) i predstavljaju rijetkost u Etruriji kao glavnom izvoznom tržištu (vidi u nastavku).

U Naukratisu, dakako, nije manjkalo otprije zabilježenih velikih kratera, dinosa i zdjela s kraja sedmog stoljeća. Pretežno se radi o istočnogričkoj proizvodnji, premda nipošto ne izostaju ni korintski i lakonski krateri.¹⁶ Te posude pronađene su u podjednakom broju u oba glavna svetišta: Apolonovom i Afroditiinom (da spomenemo samo masivni istočnogrički krater s Polemarhovom posvetom Apolonu, iz vremena oko 600. godine, British Museum 1886,0401.830; Schlotzhauer 2012, br. 85, s literaturom). Od naših volutnih kratera jedino se za crvenofiguralni komad posvećen Afroditu zna da potječe s obližnjeg mjesta, tj. iz Heleniona, a ne iz Afroditiinog svetišta u južnom dijelu lokaliteta (vidi Höckmann i Möller 2006, str. 16-17). Vratimo li se na uporabu kratera i sličnih posuda u Naukratisu tijekom druge polovice šestog stoljeća, čini se kako nema korintskih proizvoda svježijeg datuma, a iako je datiranje proizvoda istočnogričkih lončarskih radionica rijetko sigurno kad su posrijedi veće otvorene vaze, izuzev amfora, reklo bi se kako se od oko 550. godine nadalje i nisu proizvodili u većoj količini. Dakako, u uporabu metalnih zdjela teško je proniknuti kao i uvijek, premda na lokalitetu nije pronađena ni jedna. Što se tiče keramike, ostaju nam lakonski i atički proizvodi. Glede prvih, ono što znamo vjerojatno je nepotpuno jer su se prilikom ranih iskopavanja jednobojni crni ulomci po svoj prilici bacali, premda je sačuvano jedno postolje s grafitom (British Museum 1886,0401.1303; Johnston 2015, str. 54 br. 12). Moguće je da se radi o komadu iz šestog stoljeća, ali ako je tako, čini se kako je osamljen među sačuvanom

17 Tsingarida 2014, p. 63, fig. 1 and 65. See also the various tables in Reusser 2004. One can note too the seemingly metallic volute-kraters in the tomb-paintings to avoid it. Wiel-Marin 2005 and Coen 2005, especially fig. on p. 24.

15 I u ikonografiji su prikazani uglavnom kao neprenosivo pokućstvo, pri čemu se dočarava njihova predviđena namjena, a ne nešto što bi se doticalo njihova prijevoza.

16 O korintskim i lakonskim kraterima, vidi Bergeron 2015 i Bergeron 2016.

that traders did not, for whatever reason, prefer to take these kraters to Etruria. The pioneering case of the François vase was very much in the past, though not so the experimental piece potted by Nikosthenes, c.535, British Museum B364 (BA 330831), which one may safely assume was found in Etruria; was the opinion of this cognoscento of the Etruscan market in some way influential at Athens regarding the further prospects for the shape in the area? Perhaps not, but it is worth raising such matters of agency into the material patterning.

građom. No atički crnofiguralni stupasti krater prisutan je u stotinjak ulomaka (daleko više od brojke koju navodi Venit 1982, ali s gotovo jednakom distribucijom, s time da neki očito pripadaju istoj posudi), koji su dosta ravnomjerno raspoređeni otprilike od 580. godine do kraja stoljeća, pri čemu se popriličan broj komada pripisuje Lidosovu krugu.

U tom smislu, volutni krater može se smatrati otmjenijom inačicom općeg tipa čija je prisutnost na ovom lokalitetu već čvrsto dokazana (kao što je, uostalom, i na mnogim drugim lokalitetima), koja izgledom oponaša svoje daleko skuplje metalne pandane. Zanimljivo bi možda bilo razmotriti i gdje njegova prisutnost još uopće nije potvrđena ili je statistički vrlo slabo potvrđena. Hitzl (1982, str. 120) zapaža kako ga na prostoru Etrurije, kao glavnom izvoznom području za zrelu atičku crnofiguralnu keramiku, gotovo i nema, dok Tsingarida navodi dva komada iz Tarkvnije, tri iz Orvieta, ali ni jedan iz Cerveterije i Vulcija.¹⁷ S obzirom na sveukupan broj posuda o kojima je ovdje riječ, ta oskudica zapravo ima smisla, napose ako se u obzir uzme količina drugih vrsta kratera uvezenih u Etruriju, poglavito onovremenih crvenofiguralnih čaškastih kratera. U Gravisici, "drugom" velikom grčkom emporiju, pronađena je pozamašna količina crnofiguralne keramike, ali ne i volutni krateri, uz tek dva crvenofiguralna komada iz petog stoljeća (Huber 1999, str. 128-129, br. 684-685), dok na području Jadrana volutni krateri nisu uopće pronađeni na Palagruži, gdje se atička crnofiguralna građa gotovo u potpunosti sastoji od kasnoantičkih kupa, premda još neobjavljena crvenofiguralna građa obuhvaća izuzetne, iako malobrojne, komade širokog spektra drugih oblika. No crnofiguralne volutne krateri nalazimo na oba kraja Jadrana (odnosno u njihovoj blizini) - u Tarantu i Bologni. Možda je i razumljivo zašto se raskošne gozbe nisu priređivale na Palagruži, a možda još manje u Gravisici. Postoje čvrste osnove za tvrdnju da trgovci iz ovog ili onog razloga nisu bili skloni odnošenju ovih kratera u Etruriju. Pionirski primjer vaze *François* seže daleko u prošlost, ali manje nego eksperimentalni komad što ga je Nikosten izradio oko 535. godine (British Museum B364 (BA 330831)), za koji se sa sigurnošću može pretpostaviti da je pronađen u Etruriji. Je li mišljenje tog poznavatelja etrurskog tržišta u Ateni nekako utjecalo na budućnost ovog oblika na tlu Etrurije? Možda i nije, ali ovakva pitanja utjecaja pojedinca vrijedi unijeti u razmatranje obrasca distribucije ove građe.

17 Tsingarida 2014, str. 63, sl. 1 i 65. Vidi i različite tablice u Reusser 2004. U obzir valja uzeti i naizgled metalne volutne krateri na slikama u tarkvinijskim grobnicama, koje potječu upravo iz toga razdoblja (Wiel-Marin 2005 i Coen 2005, posebno sl. na str. 24).

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