
THE NEW ARISTOPHANES

An Athenian red-figured cup found in the excavations in the cathedral at Zadar is published here. It can be dated to c.410 BC and attributed to the painter Aristophanes. The figured decoration consists of a fine representation of the tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, in the tondo, and fragmentary friezes on the exterior giving a version of a sacrificial procession, no doubt to the Akropolis and in honour of Athena. The whole encapsulates the surge of pride of the Athenians in their democracy in the violent times of the late fifth century BC.

Key words: Zadar, red-figure, cup, tyrannicides, Athenian Akropolis, Panathenaia

NOVI ARISTOFAN

U ovom radu publicira se crvenofiguralna posuda pronađena tijekom istraživanja ispod zadarske katedrale. Moguće ju je datirati u 410. godinu pr. Kr. i pripisati je slikaru posuda Aristofanu. Figuralni ukras sadrži lijep prikaz tiranoubojica Harmodija i Aristogitona na tondu, te prikaz žrtvene procesije na ulomcima frizeva (na vanjskoj strani). Nema sumnje da se procesija kreće prema Akropoli, u čast Ateni. Cijeli prizor odražava veliki ponos Atenjana koji žive u demokraciji u turbulentnim vremenima krajem petog stoljeća pr. Kr.

Ključne riječi: Zadar, crvenofiguralna posuda, tiranoubojice, atenska Akropola, Panatenejske svečanosti

It would not have been expected that an important new work of Aristophanes would come to light in the Liburnian settlement of Iader. But there can be little doubt that this is what we now possess. Excavations largely in the later Roman forum (and Cathedral) area of Zadar have yielded a more than modest amount of earlier material and a selection of it has now been published by the Archaeological Museum Zadar.¹ There is a good deal of Greek origin, from c.575 BC onwards, increasing in number in the second half of the fifth century, with the almost obligatory fragments of Attic red-figured bell- and calyx-kraters, but the retrieved material contains one piece remarkable by almost any standard, and is the focus of this short note.

It consists of thirteen joining and perhaps eleven loose sherds of an Attic red-figured kylix of type B, and dating to the late fifth century, found in re-deposited material in a trench under the Cathedral, along with some 20 other Classical and Hellenistic decorated sherds, none of them clearly belonging to any second such cup. The sherd surfaces are differentially preserved, with the unglazed areas on the inside of the upper part, above a main horizontal break, being distinctly more grey; this is of importance for the placement of some of the loose sherds.

The stem has broken off, showing the spiralling on the underside of the bowl which was designed to fix better the two parts; liquid glaze matter was used as a binding agent and has fired dark brown despite its hidden position within the fabric.²

The major fragment (Fig. 1) has a maximum dimension of 19.5 cm, and the diameter of the tondo overall is 20.2 cm. An estimated original diameter is 29 cm, akin to, if slightly smaller than that of other cups by the painter noted below. The wall is quite thick towards the centre, 0.8 cm, but tapers to 0.4 near the rim. There is a narrow reserved band on the outside at the top of the rim. In the figured scenes liberal use is made of relief line for contours and inner detail. There is no trace whatsoever of added white paint.

On the set of joining sherds a reasonable amount of the tondo scene is preserved and a little more than a snatch of one frieze scene on the outside (hereafter 'side A'). The tondo presents a magnificent rendering of the attack of the lovers Harmodios and Aristogeiton upon

Ne bi se očekivalo da će se važno novo Aristofanovo djelo pojaviti u liburnijskom naselju Iader. Ipak, nema mnogo sumnje da se radi upravo o tome. Iskopavanja vođena uglavnom na području kasnijeg rimskog foruma (i katedrale) u Zadru rezultirala su više nego skromnim nalazima iz ranijeg razdoblja. Dio tih nalaza sada je objavio Arheološki muzej Zadar.¹ Dobar dio njih grčkog je podrijetla, u rasponu od oko 575. godine pr. Kr. pa do kasnijih razdoblja. Veći je broj nalaza iz druge polovine 5. stoljeća, uključujući i gotovo obavezne fragmente atičkih crvenofiguralnih zvonastih i kaležastih kratera, ali među pronađenom građom jedan je komad izuzetan prema svim standardima. Upravo je njemu posvećen ovaj kraći tekst.

Sastoji se od trinaest sastavljenih i oko jedanaest zasebnih ulomaka atičkog crvenofiguralnog kiliksa tipa B, datiranog u kraj 5. stoljeća. Nađen je u redeponiranom materijalu u sondi ispod katedrale, zajedno s dvadesetak drugih ukrašenih ulomaka iz klasičnog ili helenističkog razdoblja. Ni za jednog od njih nije pouzdano utvrđeno da pripada nekoj drugoj takvoj posudi. Površine ulomka sačuvane su u različitoj mjeri. Neglazirana područja s unutarnje strane gornjeg dijela, iznad glavne vodoravne pukotine, vidljivo su sivija, što je važno za slaganje nekih od zasebnih ulomaka.

Stalak je slomljen te se na donjoj strani zdjele vide spiralni navoji čija je svrha bolje spajanje dvaju dijelova; kao vezivni materijal korištena je tekuća glazura, a pečenjem je postignuta tamnosmeđa boja, iako je ta površina u fakturi bila skrivena.²

Najveća dimenzija glavnog fragmenta (Sl. 1) iznosi 19,5 cm, a promjer tonda iznosi 20,2 cm. Izvorni je promjer procijenjen na 29 cm, što je slično ostalim posudama koje je oslikao niže spomenuti slikar, iako tek nešto manje od njih. Stijenka je blizu središta dosta debela (0,8 cm), no prema obodu stanjuje se na 0,4 cm. Na vrhu oboda, izvana, nalazi se uski neukrašeni pojas. U prizorima s likovima, za obrise i unutarnje detalje obilno se koristi reljefna linija. Nema ni traga dodanoj bijeloj boji.

Na skupini sastavljenih ulomaka sačuvan je dosta velik dio prizora s tonda, a na vanjskoj strani (nadalje u tekstu: „strana A“) sačuvan je tek djelić prizora na frizu. Tondo predstavlja veličanstveni prikaz ljubavnika Harmodija i Aristogitona kako napadaju svog nevidljivog

1 For the first presentation of the cup see N. Čondić – M. Vuković, 2017, 89. The fullest treatment of the Tyrannicides and their iconography remains S. Brunnsåker, 1971, while the recent volume by V. Azoulay, 2017, has a full review of scholarship (or as he puts it 'l'épaisse sédimentation de travaux savants') on the topic in the decades since, and thoughts on the political usage of the statues. The harvest is brought variously up-to-date by Shear and Keesling (Shear 2012; Keesling 2017, 23-8). For the dating of the general style see L. Burn, 1987, 7-8.

I am extremely grateful to Morana Vuković for facilitating study of the material and for providing many of the photographs here.

For other vases mentioned I cite the BAPD (Beazley Archive Pottery Database) number and the fullest or most recent publication.

2 For the use of such adhesive see T. Schreiber, 1999, 153.

1 Za prvo predstavljanje posude, v. u: N. Čondić – M. Vuković, 2017, 89. Najpotpunija obrada Tiranoubojica i njihove ikonografije i dalje je ona S. Brunnsåker, 1971, a nedavno djelo V. Azoulaya, 2017, pruža kompletan pregled radova (odnosno, kako on kaže, „l'épaisse sédimentation de travaux savants“) na tu temu iz kasnijih desetljeća, kao i misli o korištenju tih kipova u političke svrhe. Dodatni doprinos literaturi o toj temi daju Shear i Keesling (Shear, 2012; Keesling, 2017, 23-8). Za datiranje općeg stila, v. u: L. Burn, 1987, 7-8.

Izuzetno sam zahvalan Morani Vuković što mi je olakšala proučavanje građe i omogućila upotrebu mnogih fotografija u ovom tekstu.

Za druge, ovdje spomenute vaze navodim broj BAPD (Beazley Archive Pottery Database) te sva ili najnovija objavljivanja.

2 Za više o uporabi takva ljepila, v. T. Schreiber, 1999, 153.



Figure 1 Zadar, Archaeological Museum Zadar, Inv. P17997, Both sides of main fragment.

Slika 1. Zadar, Arheološki muzej Zadar, inv. br. P17997, obje strane glavnog fragmenta

photo / foto: I. Čondić

their invisible, and in their plan secondary, opponent, Hipparchos at the Panathenaic festival procession in summer 514 BC. We learn of the details of their plot largely from Thucydides,³ writing about a century later, a little before the manufacture of the cup. Harmodios and Aristogeiton aimed to assassinate both the tyrant Hippias and his brother Hipparchos, who had attempted to seduce Harmodios; whether that was the sole factor driving their scheme or a sub-plot to more politically motivated action cannot be readily assessed, probably both. The lovers thought their cover was blown and succeeded in killing only Hipparchos, before they too were put to death. In due course their death was heroised, rather than viewed simply as justifiable revenge. Hippias was eventually deposed four years later and factional rivalry broke out in Attica, with Kleisthenes - of a wealthy family - finally winning the day by promising the people greater democratic powers, indeed in many senses the start of shared power in Attica. Popular opinion however preferred to mark the act of the tyrannicides as the start of Athenian freedom, and bronze

i u drugi plan stavljenog protivnika Hiparha. To se zbiva na Panatenejskim svečanostima u ljeto 524. godine pr. Kr. Pojedinosti o toj zavjeri poznate su nam uglavnom iz Tukidida,³ koji o tome piše otprilike jedno stoljeće poslije, malo prije nego što je ova posuda proizvedena. Harmodije i Aristogiton namjeravali su ubiti tiranina Hipiju i njegova brata Hiparha, koji je pokušao zavesti Harmodija. Ne može se pouzdano znati je li to bio jedini razlog za njihov plan ili su se iza toga krili i politički razlozi. Vjerojatno oboje. Pomislivši da su otkriveni, ljubavnici su uspjeli ubiti samo Hiparha, prije nego što su i sami ubijeni. S vremenom se njihova smrt počela prikazivati kao herojski čin, a ne samo kao opravdana osveta. Četiri godine poslije Hipija je svrgnut, a u Atici su izbile frakcijske borbe. Naposljetku je na vlast došao Klisten, čovjek iz imućne obitelji. Obećao je narodu veća demokratska prava. To je, s više aspekata, bio početak zajedničke vlasti u Atici. Javnost je, međutim, taj čin tiranoubojstva radije protumačila kao početak atenske slobode te su u njihovu čast na središnjoj agori postavljeni brončani kipovi. Bilo

3 Thucydides, book VI, 53-59.

3 Tukidid, 5. knjiga, 53-59.



Figure 2. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Inv. 1981.173, detail of Eurymedon attacking a Persian. © Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg

Slika 2. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Inv. 1981.173, Eurimedon napada Perzijanca, detalj. © Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg

statues of them were set up in the central Agora at some time before 480 BC, when they were removed by the Persians on their capture of Athens. Replacements were soon put in place, in 477, and we know much about them from a range of sources, not least Roman copies and a series of representations in minor arts from before 450 BC onwards.⁴ Our cup fits into this tradition of honouring the pair as liberators, but also more, as we shall see.

Iconographically the composition presents little that is new, with the two side-by-side and back-to-back, striking over- and under-arm with their swords, scabbard in hand, poses that had by the time of the creation of our cup become fossilised in myth-history and martial iconography. For whatever reason - several have been suggested - the young Harmodios is always in the foreground on the pots when the two are shown,⁵ and he alone appears in several literary references to the episode. Aristogeiton is seen behind him, from the back; at the break on the left in front of his leg we see part of his cloak, draped over his left forearm (a loose sherd adds more, see further below) As a slight oversight the

je to prije 480. godine pr. Kr., kada su ih uklonili perzijski osvajači Atene. No ubrzo, 477. godine, podignuti su novi kipovi. O njima mnogo znamo iz više izvora, uključujući i rimske kopije i niz prikaza na području sitnih umjetnosti od prije 450. godine pr. Kr. pa naovamo.⁴ Naša posuda dio je tradicije slavljenja tog para kao osloboditelja, ali i ne samo to, kao što ćemo vidjeti.

U ikonografskom smislu, kompozicija prikazuje malo toga novoga. Njih su dvojica rame uz rame i leđa uz leđa, mašući mačevima odozgo i odozdo, s koricama mača u drugoj ruci. To su poze koje su u vrijeme izrade ove posude već bile fosilizirane u mitologiji i ratničkoj ikonografiji. Iz nepoznatog razloga – a nekoliko ih je dosad predloženo – na posudama koje prikazuju njih dvojicu mladi Harmodije uvijek je u prvom planu.⁵ Osim toga, u nekim referencama na taj događaj u literaturi, on se pojavljuje sam. Aristogiton se vidi iza njega, s leđa; na pukotini na lijevoj strani, ispred njegove noge vidi se njegov plašt, prebačen preko njegove lijeve podlaktice (jedan zasebni ulomak prikazuje dio toga, vidi niže). Mali je umjetnikov propust što je zaboravio nacrtati oštricu mača u Aristogitonovoj desnoj ruci, a Harmodije u lijevoj ruci drži korice naopako. Taj je prizor sigurno na više mjesta prelazio preko vijugavog okvira i karirane trake, što ukazuje na zanimanje za temeljitiju upotrebu treće dimenzije u umjetnosti tog razdoblja. To se vidi i po položaju Aristogitonove pete (čega, međutim, nema na ovdje spomenutim kipovima). Najviše pažnje privlači neravna linija tla na kojoj par stoji, što možda ukazuje na to da se događaj zbio na Akropoli, kako to navodi Aristotel u *Athenaion Politeia*,⁶ a ne na relativno ravnoj agori, kako to tvrde drugi literarni izvori.

U tehničkom smislu (stil), crtež je izniman. Što se tiče pojedinosti, nije lako pronaći analogiju. To posebno vrijedi

4 Two of the earliest echoes, on Attic red-figured pots of c.460 BC, are very different, a fragment of a skyphos in the Villa Giulia Museum, 50321 (BA15306), preserving little more than the names and parts of the figures of Harmodios and Hipparchos, and a more scurrilous version on a jug in Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Inv. 1981.173 (BA1107; Gerleigner 2016; fig. 2) which can be read on many levels, but basically shows an 'Aristogeiton' sexually attacking a cowering Persian, - the penis mightier than the sword - with an inscription making clear reference to the military defeat inflicted by the Athenians and their allies, under the leadership of Kimon, the son of the victor at Marathon, on the Persians in c.465 BC at Eurymedon on the south coast of Anatolia. The sub-texts are many.

5 The poses can be reversed, for example on some Cyzikene electrum stateres of the late fifth century BC.

4 Dva vrlo rana prikaza na antičkim crvenofiguralnim loncima iz oko 460. godine pr. Kr. vrlo su različita. Na ulomku skifa u muzeju Villa Giulia, 50321 (BA15306) sačuvana su tek imena i dijelovi figura Harmodija i Hiparha. Besramnija verzija na vrču u hamburškom Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, inv. br. 1981.173 (BA1107; Gerleigner 2016; sl. 2) može se iščitavati na više načina, ali, u osnovi, prikazuje „Aristogitona“ u seksualnom napadu na uzmičućeg Perzijanca („penis moćniji od mača“). Natpis na tom prikazu jasna je referenca na vojni poraz koji su Atenjani i njihovi saveznici, predvođeni Kimonom, sinom pobjednika u bitci kod Marathona, nanijeli Perzijancima na Eurimedonu, na južnoj obali Anadolije, oko 465. godine pr. Kr.

5 Poze mogu biti i obrnute, kao na primjer na nekim kiziken staterima od elektruma s kraja 5. stoljeća pr. Kr.

6 Aristotel, *Athenaion Politeia*, 18, 3.



painter omitted the blade of the sword in Aristogeiton's right hand, while Harmodios holds his scabbard, reversed, in his left. The scene must have overlapped the framing meander and chequered square band in more than one place, a sign of the interest in using the third dimension more fully in art at this period, as is also conveyed by the turn of Aristogeiton's heel, not a feature of the bronze statues being quoted here. Most noteworthy is the uneven ground-line on which the pair stand, hinting perhaps that this version places the deed on the Akropolis, as related in Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia*,⁶ and not down in the relatively flat Agora area where other literary sources put it.

The technical drawing ('style') is however exceptional and not easily paralleled in detail, especially in the attention to the body, with the double line for the sternum down the chest outlined with shade and the intricate details of all body hair. The artistic milieu is clearly the last two decades of the fifth century BC, and among known cup painters of the period, the work of Aristophanes, limited as it is, seems closest to the Zadar cup.⁷ Like most of

Figure 3a-c. Antikenmuseum, Berlin, F2531, cup signed by Aristophanes, profile, detail of figures and handle floral. © Antikenmuseum, Berlin

Slika 3. Antikenmuseum, Berlin, F2531, posuda s Aristofanovim potpisom, pogled sa strane. © Antikenmuseum, Berlin

za tijelo: dvostruka linija kojom je iscrtna prsna kost pruža se niz prsa i pojačana je sjenom, a detaljno su prikazane i sve dlačice na tijelu. Očito je da slika pripada umjetničkom stilu dvaju posljednjih desetljeća 5. stoljeća prije Krista. Od poznatih slikara posuda iz tog razdoblja, čini se da su Aristofanovi radovi, malobrojni kakvi jesu, najbližiji onom na zadarskoj posudi.⁷ Poput većine svojih suvremenika, on razigranu, „tjelesnu“ odjeću svojih žena kombinira s vitkim i snažnim muškim torzima „grčkog“ profila, koja tada još nisu imala slabu bradu tipičnu za kasnije desetljeće.⁸ Njegova potpisana djela uključuju jednu od

6 Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia*, 18, 3.

7 The pots listed as by him in BAPD comprise five attributed by Sir John Beazley, 1963, 1318-9 and six suggested with varying confidence by others.

7 U vrčeve za koje se u BAPD navodi da su njegovi, spada njih pet koje je atribuirao Sir John Beazley, 1963, 1318-9, te šest koje su, s različitim stupnjevima pouzdanosti, atribuirali drugi.

8 Caskey i Beazley (L. Caskey – J. Beazley, 1963, 86) daju jednu varijaciju: „Aristofan je jedan od onih koji za prikazivanje junačkih djela koriste cvjetni stil, a taj je stil za to prilično neprikladan“.



Figure 4. Zadar cup, fragment 1, both sides.

Slika 4. Zadarska posuda, fragment 1, obje strane.

photo / foto: I. Čondić

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his contemporaries he combines the exuberant 'corporeal' drapery of his females with slim and vigorous male torsos of 'Grecian' profile, not yet equipped with the weak chins of a later decade.⁸ His signed oeuvre consists of one of two 'twin' cups, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 00344 (BAPD220534) found at Tarquinia, a fragment with only part of a male figure preserved in Agrigento and a cup in the Antikensmuseum, Berlin F2531 (Fig. 3; BAPD220533) from Vulci, relevant for its iconography.⁹ The closest parallels are Theseus attacking Prokrustes in the friezes of the Boston replicas and the giant Ephialtes being attacked by Apollo on the Berlin cup (Fig. 3b); a youth on an attributed fragment in Kiel Antikensammlung, B814 (BAPD29122) is also close.

The exterior of the major fragment gives part of a bull to right, two draped females left and right, seemingly proceeding right and an exposed leg, extended to the left in front of the bull. The simplest interpretation of this scene would be to see the leg as belonging to a figure restraining the bull, in a procession to the right. The female on the left is clearly stooping and holding a line, presumably attached to the bull's neck, and there appears to be another such cord hanging vertically down across the thigh of the restraining figure; there are also bits of drapery to the right of the thigh and probably above it; in addition there

dvije „dvojne“ posude u Museum of Fine Arts u Bostonu, 00344 (BAPD220534), pronađene u Tarkviniji, fragment s dijelom muške figure koji se čuva u Agrigentu te posudu iz Vulcija u berlinskom Antikensmuseumu, F2531 (Fig. 3; BAPD220533), važnu zbog svoje ikonografije.⁹ Najbliže analogije su Tezej koji napada Prokrusta na frizovima bostonskih replika i Apolon koji napada diva Efjalta na berlinskoj posudi (Sl. 3b); tu je negdje i mladić na atribuiranom fragmentu koji se nalazi u Antikensammlung u Kielu, B814 (BAPD29122).

Na vanjskoj strani najvećeg fragmenta vidi se bik na desnoj, dvije odjevene žene na lijevoj i desnoj strani, koje se, čini se, kreću udesno, te obnažena noga ispružena ulijevo ispred bika. Najjednostavnije tumačenje ovog prizora bilo bi da noga pripada liku koji obuzdava bika u povorci nadesno. Žena na lijevoj strani očito se saginje i drži konopac, vjerojatno pričvršćen za bikov vrat. Čini se da je ondje još jedno uže, koje visi okomito preko bedra osobe koja obuzdava bika. Desno od bedra, a vjerojatno i iznad njega, vide se manji dijelovi odjeće. Na tlu, na desnoj strani, nalazi se i nekakva kutija s nogama. Očito općenito tumačenje bilo bi da je riječ o žrtvenoj povorci. U atenskom Kerameikosu (lončarskoj četvrti) krajem 5. stoljeća pr. Kr. takva bi se izvanredna povorka organizirala za Panatenejske svečanosti, a vinjeta s obuzdavanjem bika pojavljuje se i na frizu Partenona i na ogradi Nikinog hrama na Akropoli. Takvi su prizori bili u modi na crvenofiguralnim vazama krajem 5. stoljeća pr. Kr. Stvar je, međutim, složenija zbog nekih pojedinosti kako ovdje tako i na likovima na zasebnim fragmentima posude.

8 Caskey and Beazley (L. Caskey – J. Beazley, 1963, 86) present a variation: 'Aristophanes is one of those who applies the floral style to the rendering of heroic action, for which it is quite unsuited.'

9 Other pots, but not many, have been argued to be from his hand (see n. 5).

9 Tvrdi se da su i neke druge posude, iako ne mnogo njih, djelo njegovih rukov. (v. bilj. 5).



is some sort of footed box on the ground to the right. In general terms the obvious reading would be as a sacrificial procession. In the Athenian Kerameikos or potters' quarters of the later fifth century BC such a procession par excellence would have been at the Panathenaia, and a vignette of a bull being restrained appears both in the Parthenon frieze and Nike temple parapet on the Akropolis; there is a vogue for such scenes in red-figured vases of the end of the fifth century BC. However, the matter is more complex by reason of some details here and in the figures on the loose fragments of the cup.

These fragments present various problems, but some details of 1 and 2 are helpful in reconstructing the original.

1 (Fig. 4) has the lower part of Aristogeiton's himation and also has on the outside part of the meander band below the frieze and the heart of the lower palmette below the handle (of a type not otherwise found in Aristophanes' work; compare Fig. 3c); this enables us to map the extent of the friezes on the exterior, as well as showing that the himation occupied a good area on the tondo.

2 (Fig. 5) is a fragment with the upper part of a palmette belonging to the opposite handle ornament, thus giving us a frame for both exterior friezes. The handle would have been close to the top of the sherd, though there is no clear indication of it. The pattern band on the inside is more grey and hence belongs to the right hand side of the tondo, and the major break seen across the centre of the main fragment seems to continue on the lower side of this sherd (and just below fragment 1). The positioning given by these details indicates that the scabbard of Harmodios probably did not overlap the border but is cut off by it.

3, the one fragment of about one third of a handle offers nothing unexpected.

Of the sherds preserving parts of the outside friezes



Figure 5. Zadar cup, fragment 2, both sides.

Slika 5. Zadarska posuda, fragment 2, obje strane.

photo / foto: I. Čondić

Uz te ulomke vezani su različiti problemi, ali neke pojedinosti na fragmentima 1 i 2 pomažu u rekonstrukciji originala.

Fragment 1 (Sl. 4) sadrži donji dio Aristogitonova himationa, a na vanjskoj strani vidi se vijugava traka ispod friza te središte donje palmete ispod ručke (tipa koji se inače ne nalazi kod Aristofanovih radova). To nam omogućuje da rekonstruiramo pružanje frizova na vanjskoj strani te da znamo da je himation zauzimao priličnu površinu na tondi.

Fragment 2 (Sl. 5) sadrži gornji dio palmete koja pripada ukrasu nasuprotne ručke. Tako nam daje okvir za oba vanjska friza. Ručka bi se nalazila blizu vrha ovog ulomka, iako nema jasnih indicija za to. Traka s uzorkom na unutrašnjoj strani sivija je te stoga spada uz desnu stranu tonda. Čini se da se velika pukotina koja se pruža preko sredine glavnog fragmenta nastavlja na donjem dijelu ovog ulomka (i odmah ispod fragmenta 1). Položaj koji proizlazi iz ovih pojedinosti ukazuje na to da korice Harmodijeva mača vjerojatno nisu prelazile obrub, već da ih je obrub presijecao.

Fragment 3 – jedna trećina ručke. Ovaj fragment ne nudi ništa neočekivano.

Ulomci na kojima su sačuvani dijelovi vanjskih frizova

Fragment 4 (Sl. 6) najmanje je razumljiv. Trubač s nadtim obrazima podiže instrument ulijevo. Čini se da se ispod nalazi vrh ženske glave. Tri sitna komadića oboda vjerojatno spadaju u područje ovog većeg ulomka jer su slični po oštećenjima na najvećem dijelu vanjske strane i po obliku loma. Na najmanjem od njih vidi se djelić ukrasa,



Figure 6. Zadar cup, fragment 4 and other small rim fragments.
Slika 6. Zadarska posuda, fragment 4 i drugi manji fragmenti oboda.

photo / foto: I. Čondić

4 (Fig. 6) is at least comprehensible, with a trumpeter with puffed cheeks raising his instrument to the left; below, seemingly, is the top of head of a female. Three miniscule fragments of the rim probably belong in the area of this larger sherd; they are similar in the damage to the surface on much of the exterior and in the pattern of breakage; the smallest has a very small snatch of ornament, probably from a handle floral, a leaf passing across a volute, and so if the pieces are relatively close to each other the trumpeter will have been near the end of a frieze.

5 (Fig. 7) consists of two joining fragments of the mid-parts of two facing figures: a female on the left wearing a peplos, perhaps grasping drapery in her left hand and holding an object, round as far as preserved, and probably a phiale, in her lowered right. Facing her is a figure in a close-fitting garment, probably female, as there is no sign of the garment being a himation, but not assuredly so.



vjerojatno cvjetnog motiva na ručki, a list prelazi preko volute. Prema tome, ako su ti komadići relativno blizu jedan drugome, trubač bi se nalazio blizu kraja friza.

Fragment 5 (Sl. 7) sastoji se od dva sastavljena komada srednjih dijelova tijela dvaju likova okrenutih jedan prema drugom. Žena na lijevoj strani odjevena je u peplos; lijevom rukom možda pridržava odjeću, a u spuštenuj desnoj ruci drži neki predmet (okrugao, koliko se po sačuvanom dijelu može razabrati) i, možda, fijalu. Prema njoj je okrenut drugi lik, u pripijenoj odjeći. Lik je vjerojatno ženski, jer nema naznaka da je ta odjeća himation. Ipak, to nije sigurno.

Fragment 6 (Sl. 8) malen je. Na njemu se vidi ženski lik u vezenom hitonu, pogleda uperenog nalijevo, spuštenih praznih ruku.

Fragment 7, posljednji od dijelova s figuralnim ukrasom (Sl. 9), u većoj je mjeri dijagnostički: ženski lik okrenut nadesno; u lijevoj ruci, u visini struka, drži nejasan predmet



Figure 7. Zadar cup, fragment 5, both sides.

Slika 7. Zadarska posuda, fragment 5, obje strane.

photo / foto: I. Čondić



Figure 8. Zadar cup, fragment 6, both sides.

Slika 8. Zadarska posuda, fragment 6, obje strane.

photo / foto: I. Čondić

6, a small fragment (Fig.8), has a female in embroidered chiton facing left, both hands lowered, empty.

7, the final piece with figured decoration from the outside (Fig. 9), is more diagnostic: a female figure to right, holding an unclear, rectangular-ended, object in her left hand at waist level; behind her remains of what can only be a wing, therefore a Nike figure

We can place the palmette decoration below the handles of the cup by means of these fragments (Fig. 10), and the differential post-depositional wear of the meander band on the inside enables us to put 5 and 6 on side B, opposite to the bull scene. The trumpeter and Nike holding an object (4 and 7) cannot be placed in either scene since no internal design is preserved. The figures on 5 are unlikely to be Nikai, and so *prima facie* 7 should belong to side A; but there are considerable difficulties: it would be improbable that she was on the left, facing away from the direction of the procession, and so should be one of the two overlapping figures on the right; but if she were the bull-restrainer the object held in her hand is incongruous, and if she were the standing figure the resulting twisting of body is equally difficult. The 'box' is also problematic in that it is an everyday object in a fantasy scene, and in any case is a rarity in sacrificial representations,¹⁰ even if one can imagine its use for storing relevant equipment.

In this case it may therefore not be untoward to see the equally worldly trumpeter in this frieze, but the lower parts of neither right-hand figure on A fit, if we make the reasonable assumption that a trumpeter would be wearing a short chiton, as normal in representations of the Classical period. Therefore I would place him on side B, probably on the left, 'announcing' the arrival of

s pravokutnim krajem. Iza nje vidi se nešto što može biti samo krilo. Prema tome, riječ je o figuri božice Nike.

Pomoću ovih fragmenata, ukras u vidu palmete možemo smjestiti ispod ručki posude (Sl. 10), a razlike u postdepozicijskoj istrošenosti vijugave trake na unutarnjoj strani omogućavaju nam da fragmente 5 i 6 postavimo na stranu B, nasuprot prizoru s bikom. Trubača i Niku s predmetom u ruci (4 i 7) ne možemo smjestiti ni u jedan od tih prizora, jer nije sačuvan unutarnji crtež. Slike na 5 vjerojatno ne prikazuju Niku te bi stoga, na prvi pogled, fragment 7 trebao pripadati strani A. Postoje, međutim, znatne poteškoće: nije vjerojatno da bi se ona nalazila na lijevoj strani, pogleda uperena u smjeru suprotnom od povorke. Stoga bi ona morala biti jedan od dva preklapajuća lika na desnoj strani. No ako je ona lik koji obuzdava bika, predmet koji drži u ruci nelogičan je. S druge strane, ako je ona lik koji stoji, izvijenost njezina tijela podjednako je teško shvatiti. Problematična je i „kutija“, jer bi predstavljala svakodnevni predmet u fantastičnom prizoru. Uostalom, ionako predstavlja rijetkost u prikazima žrtvovanja,¹⁰ čak i kad bi se moglo zamisliti da služi za pohranu važnog pribora.

U ovom slučaju, možda ne bi bilo loše da u tom frizu vidimo podjednako svjetovnog trubača. Ipak, ako razumno pretpostavimo da bi trubač nosio kratki hiton, kao na uobičajenim prikazima iz klasičnog razdoblja, tada donji dio ni jednog od likova na strani A ne bi odgovarao njegovu. Zato

10 The only parallel example may be on the slightly earlier bell-krater, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 1144 (BA215733).

10 Jedina analogija mogla bi biti na nešto ranije proizvedenom zvonastom krateru u bečkom Kunsthistorisches Museum 1144 (BA215733).



the sacrificial animal, rather than on the right, beyond the static figures on 5 and 6; these have strong echoes of the Parthenon east frieze, with a girl in festival dress in front of one of the 'marshals', whose stance is similar to that of the apparently female figure here, and the female with empty hands, also found in that frieze (Fig. 11). Supporting the argument that the trumpeter belongs to the left of the frieze is the small fragment of rim with remains of a probable floral noted above. Yet the remains of hair on 4 must be taken into account; the only preserved figure which could go here is the Nike on 7, which would indeed solve the problem of her not fitting into the bull-restraining frieze A, but further confound the appearance of 'myth' and 'reality' in the two friezes.¹¹

A trumpeter is certainly not alien to the performance of Athenian festivals. Neils has written on the topic most recently¹² and her notion that a trumpeter appears on the Parthenon frieze (West 23) can be matched with an illustration of a trumpeter announcing a similar (or the same) ritual activity, accompanying a female bearing a tray of offerings, on a black-figure oenochoe of an earlier date, c.500 BC,¹³ and another trumpeter leading a sacrificial procession, with bull, on the BF lekythos British Museum 1842,0728.1015 (Vase B648; BAPD12383, by the Beldam painter, c.470 BC). Athena's connection with the instrument is also explored by Serghidou 2001, noting that she possesses one on Athens, Akropolis Museum 2568 (BAPD 9091) c.480-460 BC. Among trumpeters of note of the same generation as ours is the young deity with a snake on the Gigantomachy hydria from Pella (BAPD17333), which also has echoes of the Parthenon sculptures.

Figure 9 . Zadar cup, fragment 7.

Slika 9. Zadarska posuda, fragment 7.

photo / foto: I. Čondić

bih ga smjestio na stranu B, vjerojatno lijevo, da „najavljuje“ dolazak žrtvene životinje. Ne bih ga smjestio desno, iza statičnih likova na 5 i 6; oni imaju velike sličnosti s istočnim frizom na Partenonu: na tom se frizu ispred jednog od vođa povorke nalazi djevojka u svečanoj haljini čije je držanje slično držanju jednog od ovih likova koji je očito ženski, a ondje se nalazi i žena praznih ruku (Sl. 11). Kao potpora tvrdnji da trubač spada lijevo od našeg friza, tu je maleni fragment oboda s ostacima ranije spomenutog vjerojatnog cvjetnog motiva. Ipak, u obzir se moraju uzeti i ostaci kose na fragmentu 4; jedini sačuvani lik koji bi tu mogao pristajati jest lik Nike na fragmentu 7. To bi doista riješilo problem činjenice da ona ne pristaje na friz A s prizorom obuzdavanja bika, ali bi i dodatno zbrkalo prikaz „mita“ i „stvarnosti“ na ova dva friza.¹¹

Prisutnost trubača svakako nije neobična za atenske svečanosti. Neils je vrlo nedavno pisala o toj temi.¹² S njezinom napomenom da se na partenonskom frizu pojavljuje trubač (West 23) slaže se i prikaz trubača koji, u društvu žene sa žrtvenim pladnjem, najavljuje sličnu (ili istu) svečanost na crnofiguralnoj enohoji veće starosti (oko 500 g. pr. Kr.)¹³, kao i drugog trubača koji predvodi žrtvenu povorku, s bikom, na crnofiguralnom lekitu, British Museum 1842,0728.1015 (vaza B648; BAPD12383, Beldam Slikar, oko 470 pr. Kr.). Ateninu povezanost s tim instrumentom istraživala je i Serghidou 2001. Ona napominje da Atena na jednom prikazu ima taj instrument Muzej Akropole u Ateni 2568 (BAPD 9091), oko 480.-460. pr. Kr. Od spomena vrijednih trubača iste generacije kao ova naša, imamo mlado božanstvo sa zmijom na hidriji iz Pele koja prikazuje Gigantomahiju (BAPD17333) i koja također podsjeća na skulpture Partenona.

Što se tiče crteža frizova, čini se da nije sačuvan nijedan fragment lika/likova koji su bili na lijevom dijelu strane A, kao ni gornji dio tijela dvaju likova na desnom dijelu.¹⁴ Sačuvani detalji ukazuju na to da su se Nika i trubač, koji oboje gledaju ulijevo, nalazili na lijevom dijelu strane B, s dijelovima triju drugih likova desno od njih, odajući dojam čela povorke. Argumenti za takav razmještaj likova nisu potpuno čvrsti.

11 Nike figures can appear in 'everyday' contexts, as exemplified in a decree relief from the Athenian Agora, where they are busy laying masonry (Lawton, 1995, 123-3 and Pl. 35a).

12 J. Neils, 2014, 256-270.

13 J. Neils, 2014, fig. 5.

11 Likovi Nike mogu se pojavljivati u „svakodnevnom“ kontekstu, kao što se to vidi na primjeru reljefa s dekretom s atenske agore, gdje ih vidimo kako polažu cigle (Lawton, 1995, 123-3 i T. 35a).

12 J. Neils, 2014, 256-270.

13 J. Neils, 2014, sl. 5.

14 Ako pretpostavimo da je cvjetni uzorak ručke bio velik kao na drugim Aristofanovim posudama (npr. sl. 3), ne bi ostalo dovoljno mjesta za sljedeći lik desno od para.



Figure 10. Reconstruction of inside and outside with assured placings.

Slika 10. Rekonstrukcija unutarnje i vanjske strane sa pouzdano utvrđenim razmještajem likova.

photo: I. Čondić according to A. Johnston's reconstruction / foto: I. Čondić prema rekonstrukciji: A. Johnston

With respect to the design of the friezes, we do not seem to have preserved any fragment of the figure(s) who were on the left of side A, nor of the upper parts of the two on the right.¹⁴ Details of preservation suggest that a Nike and trumpeter, both facing left, were on the left of side B, with parts of three other figures to their right, giving the appearance of the head of the procession. However, the arguments of placement are not watertight.

There is a very high likelihood that, without any special pleading, we can here talk of a strong element of unity in the decoration of the cup. References to the sculptures on the Akropolis buildings are far from rare in all aspects of late fifth century Athenian art, but the large number here must surely indicate the painter's intention to depict the cult of Athena, from the actual trumpeter to the imagined Nike figures. Parallels are available in the slightly earlier or contemporary work of Aison and the Codrus painter which explore the myth-history of Athens (a theme also being pursued by the Athenian tragedians) most clearly in the cycle of the Deeds of Theseus, but also much more abstrusely in the mythological hints given by the added names on the static scenes of Basel Antikenmuseum BS432 by the Codrus painter (BA340032; Avramidou, 88, no. 17, Pl. 9). One could conclude that the outside friezes continued the theme of the Panathenaic procession, in ahistoric time, to accompany the disruption of that procession caused by the folk heroes in the tondo.¹⁵

I bez neke velike potrebe za obrazlaganjem, možemo reći da ovdje imamo snažan element jedinstva u ukrasu na posudi. Reference na skulpture na građevinama Akropole uopće nisu rijetke u svim aspektima atenske umjetnosti s kraja 5. stoljeća, no njihov veliki broj ovdje sigurno ukazuje na slikarevu namjeru da prikaže Atenin kult, od stvarnog trubača do imaginarnih likova Nike. Analogije postoje u malo ranijim ili suvremenim radovima Aisona i Kodrona koji istražuju mitološku povijest Atene (tema kojom se bave i atenski tragedi), najočitije u *Tezejevim djelima*, ali i – mnogo zakučastije – u mitološkim naznakama pridodanih imena u statičnim prizorima u Basel Antikenmuseumu BS432 koje je naslikao Kodron (BA340032; Avramidou, 88, br. 17, T. 9). Moglo bi se zaključiti da su vanjski frizovi nastavljali temu panatenejske povorke, u doba kad se nije previše obaziralo na povijest, pridruživši se tako prekidu te povorke koji su izazvali narodni heroji prikazani na tondi.¹⁵

Nažalost, starost naše posude – između 415. i 400. godine pr. Kr. – ne može se s pouzdanošću precizno odrediti. Jedina je smjernica stil, ograničen s nekoliko čvrstih datiranja vidljivo ranijeg materijala, npr. iz grobova preseljenih iz Delosa u Rhenaiju 423. godine pr. Kr., te nekoliko kasnijih ulomaka iz grobnice Spartanaca poginulih u borbama u Ateni 404. godine pr. Kr.¹⁶ Postoje vrlo jaki argumenti za povezivanje „logotipa“ Tiranoubojica s demokratskom „strankom“, naročito kad su prikazani kao grb na Ateninu štiti na nekim panatenejskim nagradnim amforama

14 If we assume that the floral handle pattern was as large as on Aristophanes' other cups (e.g. fig. 3) there would be no room for a further figure to the right of the pair.

15 The connection of the Tyrannicides with the Panathenaia in the fifth century is fully treated in Shear 2012, who posits an initiation of their cult as part of the festival around the time of the re-erection of the statues in 477-476.

15 Vezu između Tiranoubojica i Panateneja u petom stoljeću temeljito obrađuje Shear 2012, koji pretpostavlja da je njihov kult uveden kao dio svečanosti negdje u vrijeme ponovnog podizanja njihovih kipova 477-476. godine.

16 Dodatne primjere potraži u Avramidou, 2011, 5-6.



Figure 11. Figures from the Parthenon East frieze. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Slika 11. Likovi s istočnog friza na Partenonu. Ljubaznošću British Museuma.

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Unfortunately a precise date cannot with any confidence given for our cup between 415 and 400 BC; style is the only guideline, constrained by a few firm dates for clearly earlier material, e.g. in the graves removed from Delos to Rhenaia in 423 BC, and a few later sherds from the tomb of the Spartans killed in the fighting in Athens in 404 BC.¹⁶ There are very strong arguments to link the 'logos' of the Tyrannicides to the democratic 'party', most notably in their appearance as a blazon on the shield of Athena on some Panathenaic prize amphoras very plausibly dated to the celebration of the Panathenaia in 402 BC (Fig. 12), after the restoration of the democracy following the period of Spartan control after the fall of Athens in 404 BC.¹⁷ However, it is possible that Aristophanes' cup is earlier, and if he made it with a specific political background in mind it could have been the previous occasion, in 411 BC, when a short-lived oligarchy was removed from power, even if they did not have the label of 'tyranny' attached to them in our extant sources, as did those in 404-3 BC.¹⁸ Indeed, with respect to such sources, *Herodotus*,¹⁹ writing well before that date, can even set back in 490 BC a speech mentioning the tyrannicides' great fame.

16 For further examples see Avramidou, 2011, 5-6.

17 M. Bentz, 1998, 50.

18 Yet those sources do clearly confirm that the word 'tyrant' was in the air at the time, not least in the work of the other Aristophanes, the comic poet. The evidence is collected in Canfora, 2017, 180-195.

19 *Herodotus*, VI 109, 3.

koje se s velikom vjerojatnošću mogu datirati u vrijeme Panatenejskih svečanosti 402. godine pr. Kr. (Sl. 12) kada je obnovljena demokracija, nakon razdoblja spartanske vlasti koje je uslijedilo poslije pada Atene 404. godine pr. Kr.¹⁷ Moguće je, međutim, da je Aristofanova posuda starija; ako ju je načinio s konkretnim političkim događajem na umu, to je moglo biti 411. godine pr. Kr., kad je s vlasti uklonjena kratkotrajna oligarhija, iako sačuvani izvori njoj ne prišivaju etiketu „tiranije“ kao što su to činili oni u 404.-403. godini pr. Kr.¹⁸ Doista, što se tiče takvih izvora, *Herodot*,¹⁹ pišući znatno prije tog datuma, čak u 490. godinu pr. Kr. smješta jedan govor u kojem se spominje velika slava Tiranoubojica.

Zašto je onda posuda završila u Zadru? Količina podataka o antičkoj keramici u sjevernijim dijelovima istočnog Jadrana minimalna je (što odražava nedostatak istraživanja u usporedbi sa suprotnom obalom) te se stoga ne mogu – niti bi se trebale – činiti nikakve usporedbe u tom smislu.²⁰ Preko vode, od područja Ancone (s djelomično objavljenom nekropolom Numana) pa do delte rijeke Po, uvoznih antičkih proizvoda iz tog razdoblja ima u izobilju. Bilo bi čisto nagađanje ustvrditi da je dolazak antičke keramike na jednu ili na drugu obalu bila posljedica piratstva, od velikog interesa za Atenu



Figure 12. British Museum 1866,0415.246 (B605) detail of Athena's shield blazon of the Tyrannicides. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Slika 12. British Museum 1866,0415.246 (B605), detalj grba s Tiranoubojicama na Ateninom štitu. Ljubaznošću British Museuma.

17 M. Bentz, 1998, 50.

18 Ti izvori, međutim, jasno potvrđuju da je riječ "tiranin" tada bila u upotrebi, između ostalog i u djelima onog drugog Aristofana, komediografa. Dokazi o tome prikupljeni su kod Canfora, 2017, 180-195.

19 *Herodot*, VI 109, 3.

20 Brojni su još neobjavljeni crvenofiguralni ulomci iz Diomedova svetišta na Palagraži, od 5. stoljeća pr. Kr. i poslije.

Why then did the cup go to Zadar? The record of Attic pottery from the more northerly part of the eastern Adriatic is minimal (reflecting a lack of excavation compared with the opposite coast), and so no comparative judgments can, or should, be made in that respect.²⁰ Across the water, from the area of Ancona (with the partly published Numana necropolis) up to the Po delta, Attic imports of the period abound. It would be utterly speculative to suggest either that arrivals of Attic pottery on either coast was the result of piracy, of central interest to Athens a couple of generations later, or that the highly localised Athenian iconography of such particular pieces as ours was requested by individual recipients (mainly, where known, from Etruscan sites).²¹ With respect to the Villa Giulia vase, which (somewhat unusually for the museum was found at Gela), Beazley has already posed the central question regarding the owner, whether he possessed merely a handsome Attic vase, or had in mind the recent overthrow of the Deinomenid tyrants in his home time.²² I would submit it is unlikely that such a link was made with any historical event in Iadar. Aristophanes and his contemporary painters were working in uncertain times in Athens, when we can readily understand a recourse to patriotic iconography, wherever their products would end up after their hoped-for sale. The fact that Aristophanes' work has been found in almost as many places as there are pots strongly argues against any 'directed trade' from his workshop. One can only wonder what effect it had on those in Iadar who saw it.

nekoliko generacija poslije, ili da su vrlo lokaliziranu atensku ikonografiju naročitih primjeraka poput našeg zahtijevali pojedinačni naručitelji (uglavnom, gdje je to poznato, s etruščanskih lokaliteta).²¹ Što se tiče vaze Villa Giulia koja je (što je pomalo neobično za taj muzej) nađena u Geli, Beazley je već postavio ključno pitanje o vlasniku: je li on samo posjedovao lijepu atičku vazu ili je u slobodno vrijeme razmišljao o zbacivanju dinomidskih tirana.²² Smatram da nije vjerojatno da je takva poveznica načinjena bez ikakvog povijesnog događaja u Iaderu. Budući da su Aristofan i slikari njegova doba radili u Ateni u nesigurnim vremenima, lako nam je razumjeti povratak na domoljubnu ikonografiju, gdje god njihovi proizvodi završili nakon prodaje. Činjenica da su Aristofanova djela pronađena na gotovo onoliko mjesta koliko ima i posuda, predstavlja jak argument protiv bilo kakve „usmjerene trgovine“ iz njegove radionice. Možemo se samo zapitati kako je to utjecalo na one u Iaderu koji su to vidjeli.

20 There is a range of as yet unpublished red-figured sherds from the sanctuary of Diomedes on Palagruža, from throughout the fifth century BC.

21 At least Aristophanes and some contemporaries remained faithful to the red-figure technique rather than producing only black-glazed work, which, it is worth recalling, clearly had a strong appeal throughout the Mediterranean world in its very broadest sense in the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

22 J. D. Beazley, 1948, 28.

21 Barem su Aristofan i neki njegovi suvremenici ostali vjerni crvenofiguralnoj tehnici, umjesto da proizvode samo djela s crnom glazurom koja su, vrijedi podsjetiti, u 5. i 4. stoljeću pr. Kr. bila vrlo tražena na području mediteranskog svijeta u najširem smislu te riječi.

22 J. D. Beazley, 1948, 28.

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