

Sian Lewis

## Images of Craft on Athenian Pottery: Context and Interpretation

In this paper I aim to consider a small group of Attic pots, those depicting craftsmen, in the light of their archaeological context. Some of the pots I will be discussing are very well-known, such as the Foundry Painter's cup depicting metal-working (fig. 1), the Boston shoemaker amphora (fig. 2), and the Tleson Painter's cup with potters at the wheel (fig. 3); images of this kind are often reproduced because of the wealth of detail they can offer about craft activity in antiquity. Other pots are less familiar, but they cover a range of craft activities: potters and painters, metalworkers including armourers (fig. 4) and bronze-workers, carpenters (fig. 5), stonemasons and leatherworkers<sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 1 – Cup, Berlin 2294, from Vulci. Foundry Painter, c.480 BC: bronze statue workshop (after BOARDMAN 2001, fig. 256.1).

The group of pots is, as I said, small, about fifty in total, although the question of definition and grouping is one to which I will return. It is also strongly time-bounded: depictions of craft activity appear from later black-figure through archaic red-figure, i.e. between about 540 and 460, disappearing completely after this date<sup>2</sup>. The pots are on the whole poorly contextualised, with few having a secure provenance<sup>3</sup>. I suspect

<sup>1</sup> All pots are listed in Appendix 1.

<sup>2</sup> ZIOMECKI 1975, 17–19; BOARDMAN 1989, 220.

<sup>3</sup> I am aware of the dangers inherent in an approach which analyses context: the number of pots is small, and the number of those with a provenance even more so, leaving most of the scenes stripped of context and making any conclusions at best tentative. Recent studies (such as REUSSER 2002, STISSI 2010 and PALAETHODOROS 2010) have emphasised that Attic pots in Etruscan contexts cannot be understood solely as funerary, and that their use in domestic and religious contexts is equally important. Such information is irretrievable in the case of many of these images, but lack of evidence should not deter us from investigating what we can, rather than making easy assumptions about the interpretation of the scenes while ignoring the question of context altogether.



Fig. 3 – Lip cup, Karlsruhe 67.90, no prov. Tleson, c. 550 BC: potters (after BOARDMAN 2001, fig. 176).

Fig. 2 – Amphora, Boston Mus. Fine Arts 01.8035, from Orvieto. Not attributed, c. 540: leatherworkers' shop (after BOARDMAN 2001, fig. 258).

that this is a result of their popularity as historical documents – they offer a large amount of information about ancient tools and working practices and hence were early targets for collectors. For a study of this kind, which aims to put the context of pottery at the centre of interpretation, and where the assemblage is

as important as the individual images, they represent a particular challenge.

In most discussions of these pots context has not been an issue, because they are considered to be



Fig. 4 – Pyxis, Paris Petit Palais 382, from Greece. *Thaliarchos* Painter, c. 500 BC: armourer (after BOARDMAN 1975, fig. 81).

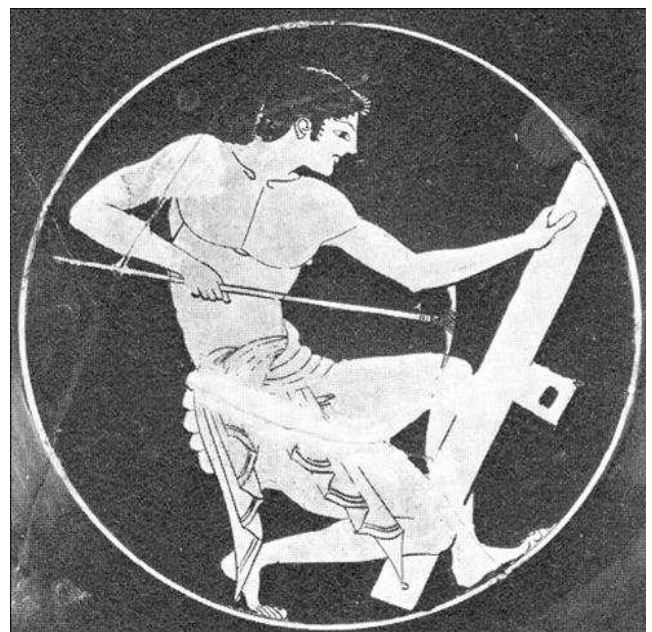


Fig. 5 – Cup, London BM E23, from Chiusi. Carpenter Painter, c. 500 BC: carpenter (after BOARDMAN 1975, fig. 124).

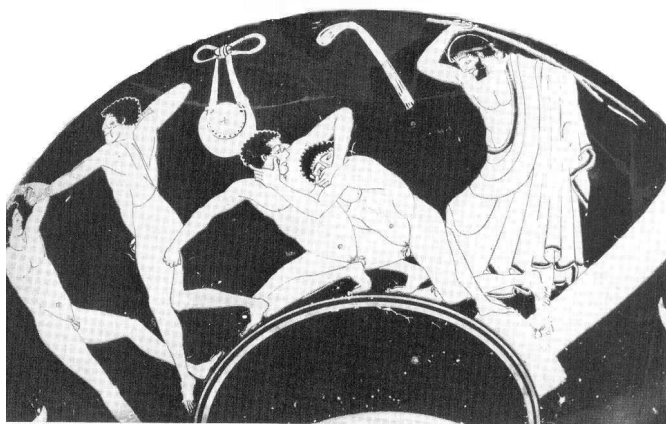


Fig. 6 – Cup, London BM E78, from Vulci. Foundry Painter, c. 480 BC: athletics (after BERARD 1988, fig. 223).



Fig. 7 – Cup, London BM 1895.5-13.1, no provenance. Foundry Painter, c. 480 BC: symposiasts (after ROBERTSON 1992, fig. 106).

'realistic scenes' from within Athens. For writers in the 1970s the images could be understood straightforwardly: the painters were illustrating the activities which they saw around themselves, their own trade and those of the other occupants of the Kerameikos<sup>4</sup>. With the passage of time this began to seem more problematic, and responses to images of craft became concerned with issues of class: it was seen as a difficulty that painters hoping to sell to an aristocratic audience should have produced images of low-class occupations. A survey of the cups painted by the Foundry Painter illustrates this well: the scenes of sculptors and metalworkers from which the painter takes his name sit among images of athletics, symposion and ritual, as well as myth, and it seems difficult to explain the appearance of artisans among the pursuits of the leisured (figs 6-9)<sup>5</sup>. An answer has been sought by some in the dating of the images: the appearance of scenes of craftsmen, it is argued, results from the change in the Athenian constitution in 510, reflecting the greater political importance of the lower classes, while the fading of the theme in the 470s is taken as reflecting a resurgence of aristocratic concerns.<sup>6</sup> The fact that many of the pots were found outside Athens is not considered particularly relevant: implicit in the argument is the idea that the pots were made for an audience inside the city and were exported to a market where images were not a determining factor in a sale.

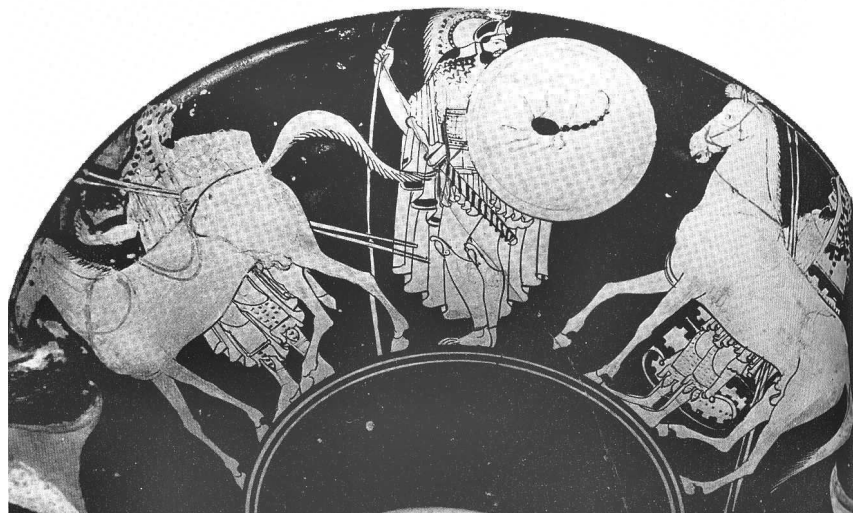


Fig. 8 – Cup, Rome, Villa Giulia 50407, no provenance. Foundry Painter, c. 480 BC: warriors (after DUCREY 1985, fig. 72).

<sup>4</sup> BOARDMAN 1975, 221, ZIOMECKI 1975, 142, WEBSTER 1972, 66–7.

<sup>5</sup> SHAPIRO 1997, 64.

<sup>6</sup> BAŽANT 1985; PIPILI 2000, 153–4.



Fig. 9 – Cup, Tarquinia RC 5291, from Tarquinia. Foundry Painter, c. 480 BC: Theseus and Ariadne (after BOARDMAN 1975, fig. 269).

In some ways the Athenocentric interpretation is particularly attractive for this group of pots, because quite a few craft scenes have been found on the Athenian Acropolis where they were deposited as dedications. Of eleven with an Athenian provenance eight come from the Acropolis; earliest is a black-figure plaque with potters (fig. 10) which appears to have been made as a bespoke dedication, and we also have a unique *skyphos* depicting washermen, possibly a dedication from a group of workers. Others represent potters, painters and metalworkers<sup>7</sup>. So it seems on the face of it reasonable to say that potters were producing images of artisans largely for sale to a home market, often to other artisans, and not with a view to a wider market.

But interpreting the images as realistic can be achieved only by imposing sharp boundaries on what is in fact a wide-ranging corpus of images. One can group together all examples of men and women making things, certainly, and declare it a 'theme', but the boundaries can be drawn in a number of different ways. Most obvious is that within those scenes set among working men and women it is quite common to find otherworldly creatures depicted. Some images depict satyr-workers, as metalworkers on a chous from the Agora in Athens, and carving a herm on a cup from Boston; on a *pelike* in London (from Nola) two satyrs play on a potter's wheel<sup>8</sup>. In other scenes the gods appear alongside artisans within what appear to be detailed



Fig. 10 – Plaque fragment, Athens National Museum, from Athens Acropolis. Rycroft Painter(?), c. 550 BC: potter and vessels (author's drawing).

<sup>7</sup> Nos. 2-9 in Appendix 1.

<sup>8</sup> Nos. 1 and 49 in Appendix 1; red-figure *pelike*, London BM E387, Washing Painter, from Nola, ARV<sup>2</sup> 1134.10.



Fig. 11 – *Hydria*, Milan Torno 0.6564, from Ruvo. Leningrad Painter, c. 460: potters' (or metalworkers') workshop (after BOARDMAN 2001, fig. 178).

workshop scenes. So, for instance, Athena crowns a worker on the well-known red-figure *hydria* from Ruvo (fig. 11), or sits and watches the work on a fragment from the Agora<sup>9</sup>. She (and Nike, who also appears in this role) have been interpreted as abstract symbols of craft mastery, 'a delicate self-compliment by the artist', but the presence of gods goes further than simply applauding others' craft; on a *chous* from Capua Athena herself models a horse in clay (fig. 12), while on a cup from Florence she crafts a giant horse's head (fig. 13)<sup>10</sup>. Similarly metalworking scenes slide easily between real world forges and the forge of Hephaistos, where satyrs man the bellows and tools and Hephaistos works as a smith (e.g. the amphora in Boston by the Dutuit Painter, from Suessula (fig. 14)<sup>11</sup>. This has been noted before, but of equal significance is that we find



Fig. 12 – *Chous*, Berlin F2415, from Capua. Group of Berlin 2415, c. 450 BC: Athena models a horse (*LIMC* vol. II.2: Athena 48).

<sup>9</sup> Nos. 6 and 24 in Appendix 1.

<sup>10</sup> BOARDMAN 1975, 221.

<sup>11</sup> Nos. 50-55 in Appendix 1; see ZIOMECKI 1975.



Fig. 13 – Cup, Florence Mus. Arch. V.57, from Chiusi. Sabouroff Painter, c. 460 BC: Athena and the Wooden Horse (*LIMC* vol. II.2: Athena 49).



Fig. 14 – Neck-amphora, Boston Mus. Fine Arts 13.188, from Suessula. Dutuit Painter, c. 470 BC: Thetis and Hephaistos with the arms of Achilles (*LIMC* vol. IV.2: Hephaistos 4).

intrusion of the mundane into the mythological, such as the carpenter who puts the finishing touches to Danae's chest with measuring rod or hammer on a number of version of the myth (fig. 15)<sup>12</sup>. The two ideas come together most clearly on the Foundry Painter's cup which shows on the outside metalworkers in a forge and sculpting a bronze statue, and in the tondo Hephaistos crafting the arms of Achilles, attended by Thetis (fig. 16).

Can an examination of context help us to understand these scenes? I believe that it can. The first point to consider is the distribution of crafts illustrated. It is easy to speak generically of 'artisans', but the painters' interest is limited to certain crafts, and some appear much more frequently than others. Potters are, against expectation, not the most numerous: that distinction goes to metalworkers of various kinds, chiefly sculptors in bronze and armourers. Also illustrated are carpenters and shoemakers, although it is probably more useful to think of these as leatherworkers. The latter are uncommon and other crafts



Fig. 15 – *Stamnos*, St Petersburg Hermitage ST1357, from Cerveteri. Eucharides Painter, c. 490 BC: Danae and Akrisios (*LIMC* vol. III.2: Danae 41).

<sup>12</sup> Nos 21-3 and 39 in Appendix 1.



Fig. 16 – Cup, Berlin 2294, from Vulci. Foundry Painter, c. 480 BC (interior): Thetis with Hephaistos (*LIMC* vol. IV.2: Hephaistos 5).



Fig. 17 – Italian gemstone, Péronne, Coll. A. Danicourt. 3rd C BC: Argos (*LIMC* vol. II.2: Argos III 4).

even less frequent: one stonemason, no tanners or dyers, no musical-instrument makers and no gold or silversmiths. This indicates that the painters were not simply reproducing the trades they saw around themselves; Attic comedy refers to goldsmiths, tanners and lyremakers alongside potters, shoemakers and blacksmiths as representative types of artisan, but goldsmiths and lyremakers do not feature on pots<sup>13</sup>. We should not suppose that their exclusion was for artistic reasons, since while it may be true that the creation of a statue is easier to depict than that of a gem or piece of jewellery, such trades are clearly distinguishable by their tools, as can be seen in the depictions of gem-cutters found in Italian art<sup>14</sup>. The selection of trades depicted, then, was purposeful.

Secondly, the information on distribution that we have points in a specific direction. Pottery and metalworking, the two most common themes, have different distributions. Images of potters are more numerous in Athens than in Italy, and the two examples from Sicily both depict potters too; images of metalworkers, on the other hand, are more numerous outside Athens, and the metalworkers which we do find in Athens are often combined with potters, while those from abroad are alone. No carpenters come from Athens, and leatherworkers also appear outside Athens<sup>15</sup>. Does this distribution reflect the self-image of different consumer groups?

Thinking about Italian context can shift the frame of reference within which we consider the images. All craft was a banal occupation in Greek society, and separate from the preoccupations of the leisured classes, but metalworking was not a low-status occupation in Etruscan society, and we can detect a difference in attitude towards craft expressed through pottery and other forms of art. Etruscan art, in particular, draws on the same repertoire of myth as Greek but with specific variations in both the popularity of

<sup>13</sup> Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 411-22, *Birds* 490-1.

<sup>14</sup> TORELLI 2001, 459.

<sup>15</sup> Athens: 7 potters and 5 metalworkers, of which two are combined with potters; Italy: 3 potters, 7 metalworkers and 5 carpenters.

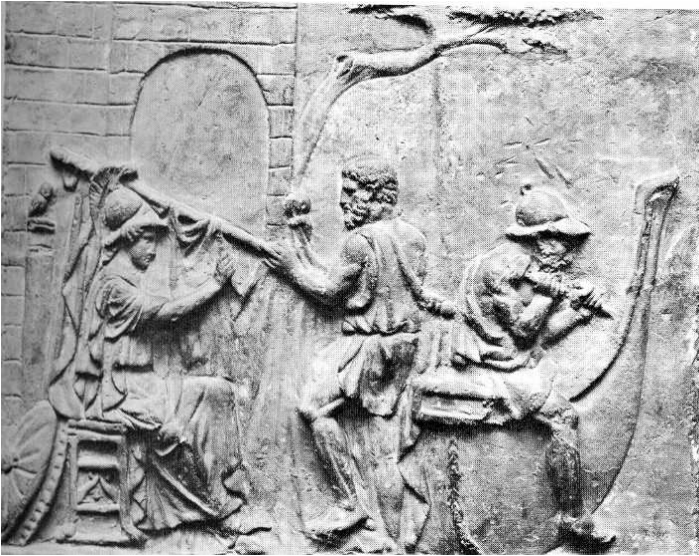


Fig. 18 – Roman relief, London BM, from Rome, Porta Latina. 1st C AD: Argos constructing the Argo (*LIMC* vol. II.2: Argos III 13).

mirror depicts Etule and Sethlans (Epeios and Hephaistos) making a horse (fig. 20)<sup>17</sup>. In Athenian art there has been only one tentative identification of Epeios as craftsman, on a cup in Munich by the Foundry Painter (fig. 21). The small size of the horse is not in itself a problem, as the Wooden Horse is rarely shown to scale, but there is no obvious Trojan setting, although the scene has its oddities<sup>18</sup>. This image, whether intended as Epeios or not, ended up in Italy too, in Vulci; there are no other depictions of Epeios in Athenian vase-painting.

Daidalos provides the most striking example: he appears early in Etruscan art, on a bucchero olpe of c. 650 with his son Ikaros, and remains a popular figure over the next 800 years<sup>19</sup>. He is shown both in tales of invention - as well as the making of Ikaros' wings there are three depictions of his construction of the artificial cow for Pasiphae which allowed her to mate with the Bull of Minos, two on Etruscan funerary urns and one on a mirror - and also as an idealised craftsman figure, sometimes winged and sometimes human (figs. 22-24)<sup>20</sup>. The contrast with Athenian art could not be stronger: apart from one dubious identification on a sixth-century *pyxis* Daidalos goes undepicted in

particular figures and the stories told about them. A significant difference is an interest in the craft within the stories: some myths have in them the creation of wondrous or magical objects, and Etruscan artists seem to dwell on these with particular interest. Characters in myth who were famous for constructing things are depicted much more readily in Italian art than Greek: Argos, for instance, shipwright of the *Argo*, is absent from Greek art of any kind, but appears hard at work on his creation on Italian gems and reliefs, and also two Roman coins (figs. 17-18)<sup>16</sup>. Epeios, constructor of the Wooden Horse (Hom. *Od.* 8.493), appears named in his workshop on an Etruscan *stamnos* of the fifth century, working on the hind leg of a horse while its head lies on the block before him (fig. 19), and a fourth-century bronze

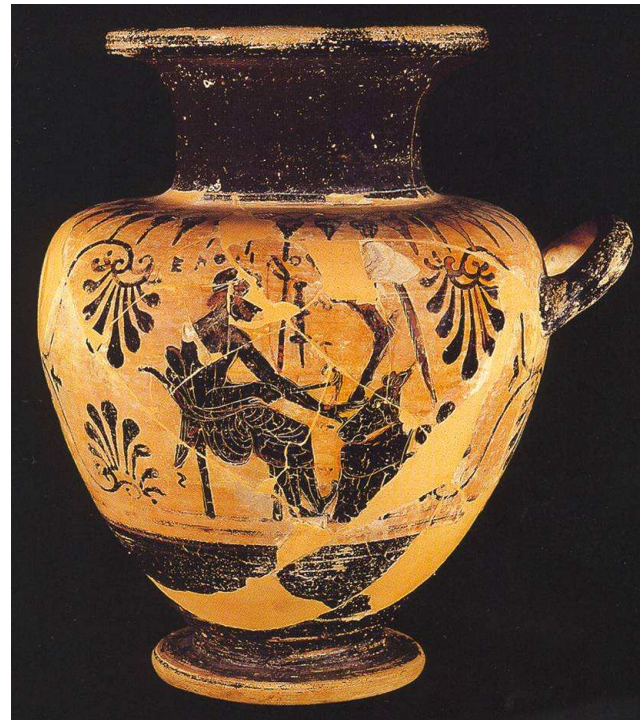


Fig. 19 – Etruscan *stamnos*, 5th C BC: Epeios constructs the Wooden Horse (after TORELLI 2001, 437).

<sup>16</sup> R. BLATTER, 'Argos III', *LIMC* 2.1 (1984) 600–602.

<sup>17</sup> The horse is labelled 'Pecse', Pegasus, but is clearly an object under construction. See M. ROBERTSON, 'Epeios', *LIMC* 3.1 (1986) 798–9.

<sup>18</sup> MORRIS 1992 fig. 61 captions the scene as 'bronze-sculptor's workshop', but the setting is exterior with a tree in the background.

<sup>19</sup> MORRIS 1992, 195.

<sup>20</sup> J.E. NYENHUIS, 'Daidalos et Icarus', *LIMC* 3.1 (1986) 313–21; SIMON 1995.





Fig. 20 – Etruscan bronze mirror, Paris Cab. Méd. 1333, 4th C BC: Etule and Sethlans with horse (Pecse) (*LIMC* vol. IV.2: Etule 1).

Attic art<sup>21</sup>. He was the subject of Athenian drama, both tragic and comic, and even developed an Athenian pedigree in the fifth century, but the interest in him did not find expression on pottery.

That craftsman heroes such as Daedalus, Epeios and Argos do not figure in Athenian art is consonant with the idea that banausic occupations were not highly valued in Greece. But the Italian context allows for a more nuanced understanding of what is depicted on Attic pots. If Etruscan consumers valued craft more highly, it explains why craft scenes appear on Attic pots at the period that they do: artisans begin to appear in black-figure at precisely the stage when the number of themes is multiplying to meet the demands of the export market, and follow the trajectory of that market, remaining in production until the failure of the Italian export trade in the 470s and 460s<sup>22</sup>. Etruscan artists nevertheless continued to produce scenes of craft on their own art until the end of the fourth century.



Fig. 21 – Cup, Munich 2650, from Vulci. Foundry Painter, c. 480 BC: sculptor with horse (*LIMC* vol. II.2: Athena 42).

<sup>21</sup> Black-figure *pyxis*, New York Metropolitan Museum 60.11.10, *Para* 15, no prov. The image is of a winged youth with a vessel and the identification unclear. Ikaros occasionally appears alone in early Greek art, suggesting a greater interest in his fall than in the achievements of his father. See *Nyenhuis*, *LIMC* 3.1 (above).

<sup>22</sup> I find this more satisfactory as an explanation than the idea that Athenian painters suddenly lost interest in ‘democratic themes’ in the 470s and 460s because of changes in their own society.



Fig. 22 – Etruscan funerary urn, Leiden Rijksmuseum 1827. 2nd-1st C BC: Daidalos making the cow for Pasiphae (*LIMC* vol. VII.2: *Pasiphae* 10).

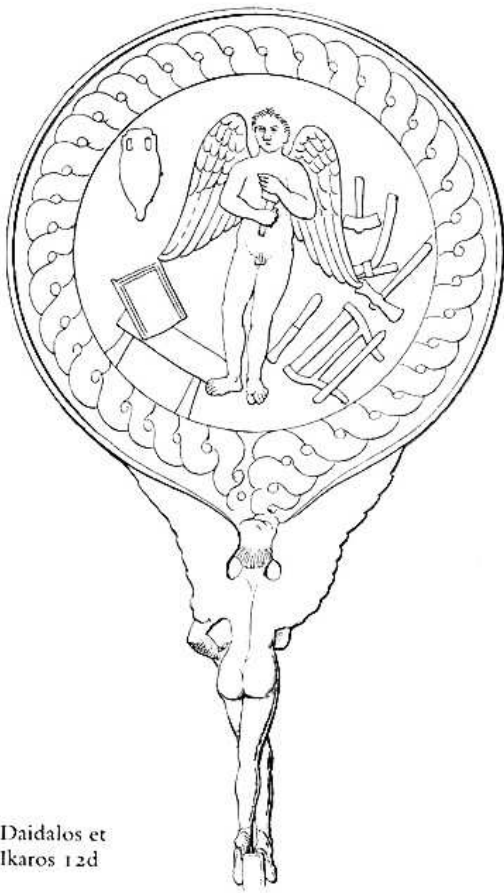
Moreover, Attic painters did not simply adopt Etruscan patterns of depiction wholesale, because this is not how the market worked. Apart from the Nikosthenes workshop in the 6<sup>th</sup> C, and the Perizoma Group, we do not find in the Kerameikos the strict imitation of Etruscan models either in shape or decoration; instead painters developed their existing themes and styles to conform to their customers' expectations and interests<sup>23</sup>.

We thus see an adaption of the existing repertoire to respond to demand, which in turn offers a fresh perspective on what appears to be the rather confusing clash of social status and mythology in the images. Rather than regarding the craftsmen on Attic vases as intrusive members of the lower orders encroaching on an aristocratic milieu, it is possible to see them as both a response to a market in which they were not lower-status, and as part of a continuum of mythological craft images. Scenes of metalworkers and carpenters should not be thought of as solidly real-world, as opposed to unreal tales of myth; instead the images encompass events from the creation of an object to its bestowal and/or use<sup>24</sup>. So, for instance, we find images of the creation of armour, some human and some



Fig. 23 – Etruscan scarab, Péronne, Coll. Danicourt, 3rd C BC: Daidalos (*LIMC* vol. III.2: Daidalos 3).

<sup>23</sup> LEWIS 2003, 2010.



Daidalos et  
Ikaros 12d

Fig. 24 – Etruscan bronze mirror, London BM 663, 4th C BC: Taitle (*Daidalos*) (*LIMC* vol. III.1: p. 315 fig. 12d).

divine, scenes of women bringing armour to their menfolk, whether Thetis and her Nereids bringing Achilles his arms, or ordinary women doing the same for sons or husbands, and we see warriors, mythical and real, arming and fighting (figs 25-27). The link between artisans and myth is a close one, as the inner and outer scenes on the Berlin Foundry cup indicate; it is a modern assumption that a clear distinction can be made between them. Just because a scene provides a wealth of detail, of tools, clothes, furniture or equipment need not imply that it is to be thought of as ‘real’, and it is quite odd that the appearance of the gods in craft scenes has been so readily taken as allegorical or symbolic in order to preserve the ‘everyday’ nature of the scene.



Fig. 25 – *Hydria* fragment, Malibu Getty Museum 91.AE.41.2-3, no provenance. Hector Painter, c. 460 BC: Nereids bringing arms to Achilles (*LIMC* vol I.2: Achilleus 519).



Fig. 26 – Amphora, Boston Mus. Fine Arts 01.8027, from Orvieto. Amasis Painter, c.550 BC: Thetis presents Achilles with his arms (after VON BOTHMER 1985, 136).

<sup>24</sup> The one craft which is difficult to detect in myth – potting – is that which tends to stay at home: the figures of interest to the Italians are artificers in wood and metal, but not clay.



This leads on to a much broader question which is fundamental to all iconographic study: the very notion of a 'theme'. We assume too readily that we can identify and fix the boundaries of artistic themes – 'craftsmen', 'departure', 'women', even 'myth' – when in fact we are just imposing our own predetermined ideas on a vast undifferentiated body of images. The categories that we identify determine in very large part the results which we draw, and as all the papers in this session have shown, if we are more alive to the links and interchanges between cultures we will naturally begin to call into question the boundaries imposed on the material.

Fig. 27 – Amphora, Zurich University L5, no provenance. Copenhagen Painter, c. 460 BC: *Thetis presents arms to Achilles* (after ROBERTSON 1992, fig. 145).

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## Appendix: list of pots studied

Further details and illustrations of the pots listed below can be found in the Beazley Archive Database and in ZIOMECKI 1975.

### Athens

1. Red-figure *chous*, Athens Agora Museum P15210, from Athens Agora - satyrs metalworking.
2. Red-figure *skyphos* fr., Athens NM Acropolis Collection 2.470, from Athens Acropolis - potter.
3. Black-figure fr., Athens NM Acropolis Collection 1.803, from Athens Acropolis, *ABV* 147.7 - potter.
4. Black-figure *skyphos* fr., Athens NM Acropolis Collection 1.1271, from Athens Acropolis - washers.
5. Red-figure cup fr., Athens NM Acropolis Collection, from Athens Acropolis - potter and blacksmith.
6. Red-figure cup fr., Athens NM Acropolis Collection 2.166, Euergides Painter, from Athens Acropolis, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 92.64 - potter and metalworker.
7. Red-figure cup fr., Athens NM Acropolis Collection 2.232, Charops Painter, from Athens Acropolis, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 138.2 - metalworker.
8. Red-figure calyx-krater fr., Athens NM Acropolis Collection G41, Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, from Athens Acropolis, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1092.76 - potter and painter.
9. Black-figure plaque fr., Athens NM Acropolis Collection 1.2570, from Athens Acropolis, *ABV* 353 - potters.
10. Red-figure amphora fr., Athens Agora Museum P42, from Athens Pnyx - potter.
11. Red-figure *pyxís*, Paris Petit Palais 382, Thaliarchos Painter, from Athens, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 81.1 - armourer.

### Greece

12. Black-figure *pelike*, Oxford G427, Eucharides Painter, from Rhodes, *ABV* 396.21 - shoemaker.
13. Red-figure cup, Copenhagen 967, Epiketos, from Greece, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 75.59, 1623 - carpenter.

### Italy

14. Red-figure cup, Berlin F2294, Foundry Painter, from Vulci, ARV<sup>2</sup> 400.1, 1651 - metalworkers.
15. Red-figure cup, Munich 2650, Foundry Painter, from Vulci, ARV<sup>2</sup> 401.2 - sculptor (metalworker).
16. Black-figure *hydria*, Munich J713, Leagros Group, from Vulci, ABV 362.36 - potters
17. Black-figure oinochoe, London BM B507, Keyside Class, from Vulci, ABV 426.9 - blacksmiths.
18. Black-figure amphora, Boston 01.8035, from Orvieto - blacksmiths and shoemaker.
19. Red-figure cup, Oxford V518, Antiphon Painter, from Orvieto, ARV<sup>2</sup> 336.22, 1646 - armourer.
20. Red-figure cup, London BM E23, Carpenter Painter, from Chiusi, ARV<sup>2</sup> 179.1 - carpenter.
21. Red-figure *stamnos*, St Petersburg Hermitage 642, Eucharides Painter, from Cerveteri, ARV<sup>2</sup> - carpenter (with Danae and the chest).
22. Red-figure calyx-krater, St Petersburg Hermitage 637, Triptolemos Painter, from Cerveteri, ARV<sup>2</sup> 360.1, 1648 - carpenter (with Danae and the chest).
23. Red-figure *stamnos*, New York MM 17.230.37, Deepdene Painter, from Rome, ARV<sup>2</sup> 498.1, 1656 - carpenter (with Danae and the chest).
24. Red-figure *hydria*, Milan H.A. C278, Leningrad Painter, from Ruvo, ARV<sup>2</sup> 571.73, 1659 - potters and painters.
25. Red-figure cup fr., Florence PD117, Phintias, from Populonia, ARV<sup>2</sup> 24.13 - armourer.
26. Red-figure *hydria*, Boston MFA 13.200, Gallatin Painter, from Italy, ARV<sup>2</sup> 247.1 - carpenter (with Danae and the chest).
27. Black-figure *skyphos*, Padula, Theseus Painter, from Padula, *Para* 257 - forge.
28. Black-figure *skyphos*, once Baltimore, Theseus Painter, from Veredemmia, ABV 520.26 - potter.

### Sicily

29. Black-figure *lekythos*, Gela 36086, Gela Painter, from Gela - potters.
30. Red-figure calyx-krater, Caltagirone 961, from Caltagirone - potters.

### Russia

31. Red-figure *chous*, St Petersburg 2229, Altamura Painter, from South Russia, ARV<sup>2</sup> 595.72 - cutler.

### No provenance

32. Black-figure cup, Karlsruhe 67/90, Tleson - potters.
33. Black-figure cup, London BM B432 - potter.
34. Black-figure unknown shape, Beazley Archive no. 16433 - metalworkers.
35. Black-figure *lekythos*, Germany, private - blacksmiths.
36. Black-figure *lekythos*, Palermo 2970, Leagros Group, ABV 378.264 - blacksmith.
37. Black-figure *skyphos*, Harvard Sackler Museum 1960.321, Theseus Painter, ABV 520.26 - potters.
38. Black-figure vase, once Edwards collection (Ziomecki no. 45) - metalwork.
39. Red-figure *pelike*, Malibu 86.AE.199, Geras Painter - carpenter (with Danae and the chest).
40. Red-figure cup, Berlin 1980.7, Proto-Panaetian Group - blacksmith.
41. Red-figure cup, Berlin (lost) - potter.
42. Red-figure cup fr., Geneva, private - metalworker.
43. Red-figure cup fr., New York, private - carpenter.
44. Red-figure cup, Oxford 1966.469, Onesimos, ARV<sup>2</sup> 327.106, 1645 - blacksmiths.
45. Red-figure cup fr., Boston 01.8073, Antiphon Painter, ARV<sup>2</sup> 342.19, 1646 - potter.
46. Red-figure *lekythos*, Providence RI School of Design 25109, PL Class, ARV<sup>2</sup> 676.17 - potter.
47. Red-figure cup, London BM E86, Euaichme Painter, ARV<sup>2</sup> 786.4 - shoemaker
48. Red-figure bell krater, Oxford V562, Komaris Painter, ARV<sup>2</sup> 1064.3 - potters.
49. Red-figure cup, Boston 62.613, ARV<sup>2</sup> 1701.19 bis - satyr as stonemason.

*Hephaistos*

- 50. Black-figure *oinochoe*, London BM 5865, no provenance.
- 51. Red-figure *stamnos* fr., Oxford 1911.620, Tyskiewicz Painter, from Cerveteri, ARV<sup>2</sup> 291.14.
- 52. Red-figure amphora, Boston 13.188, Dutuit Painter, from Suessula, ARV<sup>2</sup> 306.2.
- 53. Red-figure *pelike* fr., Paris Louvre C10794, Tyskiewicz Painter, no provenance, ARV<sup>2</sup> 293.42.
- 54. Red-figure *pelike*, Rome Villa Giulia 50441, Tyskiewicz Painter, from Cerveteri, ARV<sup>2</sup> 293.41.
- 55. White-ground *alabastron*, Brussels A2314.

*Athena*

- 55. Red-figure cup, Florence V57, Sabouroff Painter, no provenance, ARV<sup>2</sup> 838.30.
- 56. Red-figure *chous*, Berlin F2415, from Capua, ARV<sup>2</sup> 776.1, 1669.