# ON "EXPORT MODELS" IN ATHENIAN VASE PAINTING*

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The concept of visual arts prevailing today in classical archaeology is worth attention, especially as concerns the role ascribed here to external influences. Sometimes I feel as if I were watching some crazy game of billiards. The billiard-ball "Athenian vase painting", for instance, tries to follow the course given it by the laws of artistic evolution (in the long run, of course, socially determined), but with little success. Most often it runs about from one cushion to another as it is hit by the billiard-balls "Dramatic performances", "Sepulchral rites", "International market", etc. I do not deny the important role of external influences, they must certainly be taken into account. But the naïvely-mechanical conception caricatured above ignores the specificity of the development of forms and contents in artistic production. This is an extremely complex process with laws of its own ; art work is not a conglomerate shaped by the irresistible pressure of some religious, or social, or political or any other need. So much as an introduction.

It is a well-known fact that from the 6th to the 4th century B.C. Athenian painted vases were exported on a surprisingly large scale — only about 15% of them were actually excavated in Attica, the country of their origin. Consequently, a large number of these vases was, as it seems, shaped and painted for customers abroad. Did Athenian potters accordingly change their ceramic shapes and painters the style and content of decorating these shapes? Is it possible to speak of the influence of the "international market" on Athenian painted vases?

The majority of archaeologists think this influence very probable ; the aim of this paper is to show it, on the contrary, improbable. Before we look closer at the arguments of this majority, let us approach the problem from a rather different angle. Is it, we may ask, *a priori* likely that the foreign market would influence not only the number of ancient Greek vases produced but also the way they were shaped and decorated? Today such an influence is certainly to be expected. In the framework of ancient Greek society of the 6th—4th century B.C., however, I think it very unlikely. My reasons are as follows.

Even in the 7th century B.C. Greece art work was still only one of the means whereby the symbolical life of the society was organised. In the period immediately following, it is true, the Greeks started to appreciate art work as such, detached from the purpose it was destined for. But this new appreciation of the aesthetic function isolated from its social context in no way means that the classical Greeks looked at works of art in the same way as we do. In the whole of antiquity, and this is very important for our theme, art work never became a mere commodity. Its creation never grew into a private affair concerning only the artist and his patron (or some particular class of patrons). Till the end of antiquity art work never ceased to be a society-wide affair, signs of disintegration occurred here and there, but the original conception according to which a work of art is an integral part and an important vehicle of social life remained unchallenged [1]. Athenian painted vases, consequently, were not created to be a source of aesthetic pleasure (however beautiful they are), nor were they created merely for money (however profitable a commodity they were). They were created to occupy the place assigned to them in Athenian social life. That is why these vases differ significantly from similar products of our contemporary society : they form an organic whole complete in itself. The functions they were destined for and the

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[1] There is no comprehensive survey on the archaic Greek concept of the work of art and its survival in later Greece. But cf. M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, London, 1956 [1]; F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Dédale*, Paris, 1975.

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problems their decoration visualized were specifically an Athenian matter. And, as may be expected, the evolution in time of both these aspects of Athenian painted vases closely followed the economic, political and social history of this city. But the process itself, as said already, is very complicated, the angle of return is not equal here to the angle of incidence. Nevertheless, the essential unity of the Athenian artistic production is beyond any doubt. And this would certainly be difficult to explain if Athenian potters and painters really responded to the wishes, necessarily heterogeneous, of their various customers scattered all over the Mediterranean area.

It is also unlikely from the psychological point of view that Athenian artists, residents in the very powerful and certainly the most ambitious Greek state of that time, would respond to the predilections of foreign customers. We must not forget that in ancient times the prevalent ideology permeated the people's lives to a much greater degree than in later Europe, not to speak of our own society. Recently, for instance, we have been shown that in those days even economic thinking and behaviour was governed by moral values and, consequently, in fact detached from economic reality. What was, then, the prevalent Athenian ideology as regards foreigners? At least from the second half of the 5th century B.C., Athenians considered themselves as a great blessing for all their neighbours; they thought the Greeks, Etruscans or Scyths alike should be grateful to them, if only for the chance to imitate the superior culture of the Athenians. "Our city, wrote Isocrates in c. 380 B.C., has so far outstripped the rest of the world in intellectual insight and power of expression that her pupils have become the teachers of all others, and she has brought it about that the term 'Greek' has a connotation of outlook and not of race any longer, and that those who share our culture are called 'Greeks' rather than those who share a common blood". Whether the conviction was shared by all Athenians in this radical form we do not know, but the same idea can be found in Thucydides, Xenophon and Plato [2]. And this idea, I am afraid, cannot be brought into harmony with the theory on "export models". I think it unlikely that these proud Athenians would demean themselves to conform to the tastes of foreigners, some of them even barbarians.

But, it may be argued, if Athenian potters and painters saw that accommodation to foreign tastes was extremely profitable, they would certainly have indulged in it, regardless of Isocrates' views on foreigners. Business is business. But this is not the ancient Greeks' way of thinking, there were strict limits to their calculations on profit. Economic reality, we have already noted, was not usually taken into account in their decisions concerning investment, production, export, etc. As regards foreign markets in particular, they were, as it seems, completely ignored. What mattered for the ancient Greeks was import, to get what they needed. "That they were concerned about where merchants sold the goods that they bought from them there is no evidence at all", wrote A. H. M. Jones [3]. There is in fact only one counter evidence — the alleged "export models" in the production of painted vases.

This is not to underestimate the acquisitiveness of the Athenians and Greeks in general. If they saw they could sell their painted vases with profit, they were quick to increase production. The way they did it, however, was symptomatic of their economic thinking: they took no measures to rationalize the process by which the painted vases were produced, they merely multiplied the number of workshops [4]. Similarly, there was not the slightest sign of economic calculation behind the export of painted vases. From the end of the 6th century B.C. the Athenians exported them in thousands, it is true, but what happened in the third quarter of the 5th century B.C. when the demand radically declined? Nothing. Athenians were certainly capable of securing themselves a stable market for their products. They were then at the height of their power. But the idea of using their military power or diplomatic skill to this end never entered their minds. If they suffered from a glut they cut down production — that was the only remedy they knew [5]. Their lust for gain, however great, never induced them to do anything to facilitate the marketing of their products.

Occasionally a link can be traced which clearly connects some Greek craftsman with his customer abroad, it is true. There is, for instance, one Athenian red figure cup with an Etruscan inscription put on before firing [6], or one Chian vase found in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Naucratis, on which a dedication to this goddess was engraved before it was fired at Chios [7], etc. Well,

[2] Isokr., 4.50; Thuk., II, 41; Xen. Vect., 1; Plat. Tim. 24 C; Cf. J. Jüthner, *Hellenen und Barbaren*, Leipzig, 1923, p. 36.

[3] A. H. M. Jones, *Athenian Democracy*, Oxford, 1966, p. 96; Cf. M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, London, 1973.

[4] Ed. Will, Etudes d'archéologie classique, 1, 1955–1956, p. 154–155; Cl. Mossé, *Le travail en Grèce et à Rome*, Paris, 1966, p. 100.

[5] Xen. Vect., IV, 6.

[6] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1934, p. 378, fig. 32 (ARV², 969, 66).

[7] Cg. G. Starr, *The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece*, Oxford, 1977, p. 72–73.

there is no reason why an Athenian or Chian or any other Greek craftsman would not do for some foreigner what he was accustomed to do for his compatriots. But these vases are not "export models", their authors were not "working with a foreign market in their minds".

I would say that in ancient times the contacts between production centres and customers abroad were nothing but incidental. In other words : from the technical point of view it was very difficult, if not impossible in this society, to respond in a systematic way to the wishes or predilections of foreign customers. It is quite clear that the commerce in Athenian vases was not solely in the hands of Athenians [8]. We know that Ionians [9] and Carthaginians [10] also participated in it. The case of the latter is particularly revealing considering the fact that in Carthage itself only very little Athenian pottery was found. Evidently, these Punic middlemen were not at all impressed by the Athenian painted pottery they happened to import in great quantities to the North of Africa and Spain. But if they were indifferent to these art objects, how could they understand the wishes of customers or, even more difficult, advise the far-away producers? Be it as it may, the indisputed fact is that long-distance trade was still rather an improvised affair in those times. The troubles the wealthy Bishop Synesios of Cyrene had when he wanted to procure for himself three Athenian summer mantles — an article certainly much more prosaic than painted vases — are a particularly revealing example of what this "world market" looked like. Moreover as it happened around the year 400 A.D. [11]

To prevent any misunderstanding it should be stressed here that we have been speaking only about Athenian potters and painters settled permanently in Athens [12]. When working abroad, they naturally had to assimilate themselves. But this is another question, a very interesting one, but with no bearing upon the "export models".

The first part of this paper is complete, proving, I hope, that the theory on "export models" in Athenian vase painting is out of keeping with the mentality of ancient Greeks and their way of life. Now we shall concentrate on the arguments put to date in favour of this theory.

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Let us have J. Boardman's opinion. Firstly, however, it should be stressed that it is the great merit of all the archaeologists quoted below that they put what was for a long time generally assumed into a clear, systematic shape. Thanks to them, the criticism of the theory on "export models" can be much more clear-cut and, last but not least, much shorter. Boardman has written : "The Greek potters were careful to observe Etruscan taste. Before the mid sixth century, both Corinthians and Athenians catered for Etruscan delight in colourful story-telling on respectively their craters... and the so-called Tyrrhenian amphorae... After the mid sixth century, when the Athenian vases had won the market, the potter Nikosthenes started supplying a vase shape familiar to the Etruscans, in their plain native bucchero, but decorated with the usual Athenian figures. This sort of ingenuity ensured a brisk market" [13]. This little story no doubt aroused sympathies in the general reader for go-ahead Athenians, particularly for Nikosthenes with his "flair for business and advertisement" [14]. But the arguments on which it is built are, I am afraid, unconvincing. These arguments are of two kinds.

1, Tyrrhenian and Nicosthenic amphorae show certain traits which are unique in the contemporary Athenian production but common in Etruria.

2, These amphorae are found chiefly in Etruria and only rarely in Attica, the country where they were produced.

To the first argument we may say the following. The alleged peculiar traits of the Tyrrhenian amphorae (fig. 1) — the lavish use of colour, animal friezes, nonsense inscriptions — do not deviate significantly enough from the norm valid in the Athenian Ceramicus in the years 570—550 B.C. With Nicosthenes, it is true, it is different. His amphorae are peculiar to him and they could have been copied from Etruscan bucchero (or bronze vases). But does it follow from this that Nicosthenes copied this "Etruscan" shape because of the Etruscans? I would rather say he did it because of the Athenians. Nicosthenes also copied the Corinthian type of skyphos, but all

[8] R. M. Cook, JDAI, 74, 1959, p. 115—118.

[9] P. Alexandrescu, RA, 1973, p. 31—38 and idem, *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est et leur diffusion en Occident*, Paris, 1978, p. 59—61 ; A. W. Johnston, *Greece and Rome*, 21, 1974, p. 138—152.

[10] P. Rouillard, Melange de la Casa de Velásquez, 11, 1975, p. 47—48.

[11] *Epistles*, 52 ; cf. M. I. Finley, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[12] On Athenian craftsmen settled abroad : Ch. G. Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 223—224, note 25.

[13] J. Broadman, *The Greeks Overseas*, London, 1964, p. 212—213. Cf. also T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Painter*, London, 1972, p. 291—292.

[14] J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases*, London, 1974, p. 64.

three examples were not found in Corinth but in Athens [15]. He also copied Cypro-Phoenician metal phialai, but both examples with a recorded provenience were found in Vulci, not in the East [16]. It should be recalled that, roughly contemporary with Nicosthenes, the so-called Chalidizing cups were produced in Athens. They imitated the South Italian types but were not found there, so far as we know they all come from Etruscan soil [17]. The imitation of foreign shapes was evidently quite common in Nicosthenes' Athens; there is no need to suppose behind this phenomenon the intention to export these imitations to the country of their prototypes. I would say that it was something else which brought these imitations to life, namely the fancy for experiments. This is as a matter of fact the most characteristic feature of Athens of the second half of the 6th century B.C., a period in which among other things the red figure technique in vase painting was invented. As the closest parallel to Nicosthenes' innovations the work of Exekias may be named. In this respect they differ only in one thing: while the innovations usually attributed to Exekias (cup type A, belly amphora type A and calyx crater) took firm roots in the Ceramicus, the inventions of Nicosthenes found, in most cases, only few advocates.

So, Nicosthenes' amphorae are one of the products of the greatest experimental era in the Ceramicus. To regard them as "export models" is to my mind an unnecessary sophistication. Besides, I do not fully grasp the logic of this way of reasoning. To be sure, the admiration for Greek and especially Athenian art had, as it seems, no limits in Etruria. No wonder that it was widely imitated there (fig. 2). The admiration for Athenian painted vases can be felt not only in direct copies made by Etruscans [18], but also in Etruscan mirrors, bronze statuettes or stone reliefs [19]. The Etruscans evidently considered the art of the Athenians superior to their own. Now, I cannot imagine some Athenian craftsman trying to make his products similar to Etruscan ones *in order* to please his Etruscan customers. This does not make sense. I would rather say that Nicosthenic amphorae were imported to Etruria *in spite* of the fact that they were imitations of Etruscan shapes (or because Etruscans did not notice this allusion).

Tyrrhenian and Nicosthenic amphorae were, we may repeat, proclaimed as "export models" for two reasons. They were found almost exclusively in Etruria and, moreover, they show "a special local relevance" to this country. In our analysis we took the question of this "special local relevance" as the first, but it is clear that it was because so many of these amphorae were found here that archaeologists started to contemplate whether this fact could not have influenced their production in Athens. So, the argument to which we proceed now is no doubt the principal one.

Almost all Tyrrhenian and Nicosthenic amphorae were found in Etruria, this is beyond any doubt. The prevalent interpretation of this finding, however, reminds me of the well-known saying about the three kinds of lies — lies, white lies and statistics. With data isolated from its context you may demonstrate practically anything. What, then, is the context of the statement "almost all Tyrrhenian and Nicosthenic amphorae were found in Etruria"? The fact that the export of Athenian painted pottery to the west increased greatly in the second, and especially in the third quarter of the 6th century B.C. [20] The almost exclusive Etruscan provenience of these amphorae is as a matter of fact perfectly in line with the general development of the diffusion of Athenian painted pottery. While these amphorae were found almost exclusively in Etruria, the other types of vases then produced in Athens were found in this country only predominantly, it is true. But the difference between "almost exclusively" and "predominantly" is very slight. And if we consider how alarmingly incomplete our picture of the diffusion of Athenian painted vases must be, the difference becomes utterly meaningless.

The data about provenience are incomplete and, consequently, pure chance may account for various anomalies, which at first sight look like the result of deliberate activity. Here is an example. Athenian vases depicting Anchises being carried by his son from burning Troy are also considered to be "apparently aimed at a market" [21]. The reasons are already well known to us: all these vases but one come from Italy, where the myth had "a special local relevance". I would present these scenes differently. Number one, they all come from the years 570—470 B.C. in which the theme of the Trojan war was quite popular in Athens. There is, therefore, no need to explain why Anchises was depicted on Athenian vases imported in the years 570—470 B.C. to Italy. (The situation would be, of course, completely different if these paintings with Anchises had been imported to Italy in the 4th century B.C. from which there are only two or three Athenian scenes inspired by this famous war. But this is not the case). Number two, the Italian provenience is in no way surprising. In Athenian vase painting Theseus may be considered the most

[15] ABV, p. 233—234.
[16] ABV, p. 223—224, N. 65, 66; p. 232, N. 15 and J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena*, p. 109, N. 15 bis.
[17] ABV, p. 204—205.
[18] B. Shefton, WissofRostock, 16, 1967, p. 529 ff.
[19] E. H. Richardson, *The Etruscans*, Chicago, 1964, p. 97, 109, 112; T. Dohrn, RM, 73—74, 1966—1967, p. 15 ff.
[20] B. L. Bailey, JHS, 60, 1940, p. 60—70.
[21] J. Boardman, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

Athenian theme there is. His myth had certainly no "special local relevance" in Italy and yet the vases with this hero of the Athenian democracy were found chiefly in Italy. From Athens itself, it is true, there also came a dozen pictures with Theseus, much more than in the case of Anchises or Tyrrhenian and Nicosthenic amphorae. But this is only an optical delusion, the relative frequency is in all cases mentioned above nearly the same (we must not forget that there are about seven hundred pictures with Theseus, but only about seventy pictures with Anchises, about one hundred and seventy Tyrrhenian and about eighty Nicosthenic amphorae) [22].

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Above I have tried to show that since the Tyrrhenian and Nicosthenic amphorae do not differ basically from the remaining Athenian production there is no need to call them "export models". Now we have to look at the so-called Bosporan pelikai, perhaps the best known "export model" of Athenian vase painting (fig. 3). This time let us hear H. Metzger : "Une rapide statistique nous montrerait aisément que la très grande majorité de ces images [of Arimasps and Griffins, J. B.] appartiennent au style de Kertch et figurent sur des vases recueillis dans des nécropoles de Crimée. Par ailleurs, les mêmes sujets se retrouvent souvent sur les produits de l'art indigène de ce pays. Cette coïncidence nous donne à penser que le thème de la grypomachie avait une origine bosporane et que les imagiers de Céramique l'ont introduit dans leur répertoire parce que ce genre de représentation flattait le goût d'une clientèle riche que l'on désirait gagner" [23].

This thesis about 4th century Athenians producing pelikai with griffins and Amazons especially for the Cimmerian Bosporus stood in the background of the theory on the "decline of Greek export" in the 4th century B.C. M. Rostovtzeff began his survey of this "decline" by a description of the relations between Athens and the Bosporus, "a region that... has a very important bearing on economic history." His conclusion is as follows : "The balance of trade with the Pontic cities became... in the fourth century in all probability less favourable to Greece than before. No wonder that in such circumstance Athens made the greatest effort, by renewing her treaty with the Bosporan rulers and by bestowing on them high honours and privileges, to secure for herself at least a part of the corn exported to Greece by the crowned merchants of Panticapaeum." But the kind of efforts mentioned above would not do alone, so Rostovtzeff continues : "The volume of export to Greece from these North-Pontic regions... was very large and it follows that Greece must have exported in return a large quantity of its own goods." But in the 4th century B.C. "the demand for Athenian and Greek goods was apparently falling, and with it the commercial influence of Athens." Disappointing as the admission may be, Rostovtzeff never mentions his cardinal argument for the Athenian desire to preserve for themselves the Bosporan market — the Bosporan pelikai [24].

So, at the end of the 4th century B.C. "local products replaced Greek wares". Perhaps it is true, but Rostovtzeff calls the process the economic emancipation of Athenian commercial partners provoked by the growth of their "national self-consciousness". In the 4th century B.C. Athenians tried hard, so runs the theory inspired by Rostovtzeff, to preserve their once so strong position in the "world market", that is why potters and painters turned to the areas hitherto neglected by them, especially to the Black Sea area. But here the situation also turned out badly for the Athenians : the Scythians and other local tribes, we are told, started to gain the upper hand here at this very time. That is why the taste of the Greeks settled in this area changed markedly. Athenian craftsmen reacted, according to this hypothesis, in the same way any craftsman react today : by "producing lines especially designed for the Black Sea market" [25]. These were Boardman's words. What does he mean by these "lines"? About forty Athenian pelikai with griffins and Arimasps, that is all. The whole hypothesis is, of course, tautologous : the specificity of the "Bosporan pelikai" is presented as the consequence of the cultural influence of the Scyths on the Bosporan Greeks, but the latter was deduced from the former. If the traditional interpretation of the "Bosporan pelikai" turns out to be groundless, the whole theory on this "influence culturelle des autochtones dans cette région" [26] in the 4th century B.C. should be modified accordingly.

[22] Numbers according to F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten*, Marburg, 1973³ ; and ABV and *Paralipomena*.

[23] H. Metzger, *Les représentations*, Paris, 1951, p. 332 (cf. also *La céramique grecque*, Paris, 1953, p. 100). The thesis was clearly expressed already by E. Pottier, CVA France, 12, Paris, 1933, p. 35. The fullest account is represented by the study from M. M. Kobylina, *The Late Bosporan Pelikai*, MIAMoskva, 19, 1951, p. 136–170 and also by V. D. Blavatsij, *Istorija antičnoj raspisnoj keramiki*, Moskva, 1953, p. 270–273.

[24] M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford, 1953, p. 105, 106, 111, 125. It should be recalled that at the beginning of his scientific career, M. Rostovtzeff was very much interested in the import of Greek art to the South Russian territory. Cf. M. M. Austin, P. Vidal-Naquet, *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece*, Berkeley, 1977, p. 141.

[25] J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, p. 272.

[26] E. S. Golubcova, G. A. Košelenko, in *XV^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques*, Reports, II, Bucureşti, 1980, p. 21.

Let us turn now to the "Bosporan pelikai" themselves. The grounds on which they have been proclaimed "export models" are very similar to those we have met already in connection with the Tyrrhenian and Nicosthenic amphorae. As before, we shall deal first with the "local relevance" of their theme and only after that shall we proceed to their geographical distribution.

Even though the popularity of Amazons in South Russia, where nearly one half of the overall Athenian production went, is much more striking than that of griffins and Arimasps, only one quarter of the Athenian output, the interpretation of the "Bosporan pelikai" from the very beginning centred on griffins. The reason is simple — according to certain ancient authors these monsters lived in the far north, in the neighbourhood of the Scyths. And, moreover, griffins frequently occurred in Scythian art. Griffins fighting Arimasps perhaps appealed to the Greeks and Scythians of South Russia, but their popularity was in no way restricted only to this area [27]. The theme appears as early as in the 6th century B.C., I know of four such early examples :

1, the sherd from Smyrna (fig. 4) [28]
2, the guild silver mirror from Kellermes barrow [29]
3, the Athenian "little-master" cup in Angers [30]
4, the "Cacretan" hydria in London [31]

A survey of these depictions points to the Near East as the mother country of the theme. 1 and 4 are closely connected with the East Greeks, and 2, though found in Skythia, was created by a Near Eastern artist. This is in no way surprising — the griffins themselves are also of Near Eastern origin, but, of course, they were already at home in the civilized areas of the Mediterranean from the second millennium B.C. Arimasps fighting griffins appeared here, as we saw, much later, in the 6th century B.C. In the 4th century B.C., when Arimasps became very popular, they, like griffins, already belonged to the whole Mediterranean world [32]. They can be found in this century almost everywhere, though people no longer knew where in fact the theme originally came from. It is perhaps significant that of about sixty Athenian painted vases imported to Al Mina in Syria in the years 420—330 B.C. only two were decorated with this theme. At this time the theme of Arimasps fighting griffins was already in the "collective ownership" of all people living in this part of the world, Scyths and Bosporan Greeks included. But, of course, in some places the theme appears more frequently than in others.

What, then, is the geographical distribution of Athenian vases with griffins fighting with Arimasps? The greatest number as may be expected comes from Spina, in the 4th century B.C. the best customer of Athenian Ceramicus. After this North Italian town comes the Bosporan kingdom, it is true. But as the third comes Cyrenaica in North Africa where, exactly as in the Bosporan kingdom, the share on the output of Athenian vase paintings with griffins and Arimasps twice exceeds the share in the output of Athenian painted vases in this century. In other words, while in Spina the relative frequency of our theme corresponds to the lion's share of this town in the Athenian output, in the Bosporus (but also in Cyrenaica) it exceeds twice the average attested to elsewhere [33].

Consequently, we have every right to claim Cyrenaica too as the "home town" of the legend about griffins fighting Arimasps. All the more so that Aeschylus located "the sharp-beaked griffins" and "one-eyed Arimaspian horsemen" in Ethiopia [34]. But this is not all. The Cyrenaicans were the second best customers for Athenian vases with Amazons, after South Russia. Why not, someone may say, the Amazons were sometimes located in Lybia [35]. I would say, however, that the search for some "special local relevance" is the wrong way to explain the exceptionally high relative frequency of griffins, Arimasps and Amazons in both these places. What is the right way? Every second pelike shaped in the 4th century B.C. in Athens was decorated with one of these themes or a combination of them.

Why just pelike was associated with the Amazons, Arimasps and griffins, I do not know, but the connection is beyond any doubt. For us one thing is very important : that in their predilection for pelikai the Bosporans were followed closely by the Cyrenaicans. This third coincidence between Athenian export to the Bosporus and Cyrenaica explains, as a matter of fact, the two

[27] R. Lullies, AA, 1958, coll. 143—155.

[28] R. M. Cook, BSA, 53—54, 1958—1959, p. 11 ff.

[29] A. Sokolov, *Antique Art on the Northern Black Sea Coast*, Leningrad, 1974, pl. 11.

[30] Musée Pincée, Angers, RA, 1923, I, p. 51.

[31] British Museum 1923, 4—19, 1 ; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art*, Cambridge, 1975, pl. 12 b.

[32] On *Arimaspoi* cf. EAA, I, 1958, p. 637 and III, 1960, p. 1056—1062. An article for the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* was announced by the late X. Gorbunova.

[33] As before, the data on relative frequency are derived from Beazley's catalogues, this time from ARV² and *Paralipomena*. Athenian export to Kerch and Cyrenaica was compared already by O. Rayet, M. Collignon, *Histoire de la céramique grecque*, Paris, 1888, p. 290—291 ; cf. also E. Pottier *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue des vases antiques de terre cuite*, I, Paris, p. 43—44.

[34] Aesch., *Prometheus*, p. 802 ff.

[35] Diod., 3, 53 ff ; cf. J. Carlier, ActaArchHung, 1979.

preceding ones. As it seems, it was the popularity of pelikai which was to a large degree responsible for the popularity of the griffins, Arimasps and Amazons, both at Bospor and Cyrenaica. The shape was relatively more popular than the legend : while pelikai formed more than one half of all imported shapes of Athenian painted pottery, the legend about the griffins, Arimasps and Amazons formed only one third of all imported Athenian vase paintings in both these places.

Now we must face the question of why the Bosporans and Cyrenaicans alike were so fond of pelikai. Some experts believe that the pelike was a funeral shape and this could serve as a possible clue, but I would rather think that the social factor played a more prominent part here. The pelike belongs to large vases ; it is, as a matter of fact, a luxurious object, at the same time, however, it must have been relatively cheap — its manufacture was simpler than that of the majority of other large vases. This could make it attractive for customers whose social ambitions were checked by their purse, that is to say for the middle class. But, of course, this is only speculation. I instanced it only to show that the popularity of pelikai with griffins, Arimasps and Amazons in the Bosporan kingdom can also be explained in a more prosaic way than by the usual reference to the growing "national consciousness" of the Bosporans.

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"Export models" in Athenian vase-painting are most probably yet another myth of 20th century classical archaeology. Both considerations of a general nature and an analysis of the arguments put in favour of them speak against their existence. All the same, some people may still believe that Athenians really produced these "export models". There are exact numbers of Tyrrhenian and Nicosthenic amphorae exported to Etruria and there are no less exact numbers concerning the "Bosporan pelikai". This evidence cannot be so easily rejected. So, we have to continue.

There is, fortunately, a third way to approach the hypothesis on "export models". Why not use the same arms as our opponents ? So, instead of lateral attacks and skirmishing let us now engage in an honourable duel. Statistics against statistics. Since we accepted the choice of arms, it is our turn to choose the field and time : the Black Sea shores and the 4th century B.C. Andwe begin.

We may distinguish two main stages in the import of the Athenian painted vases to the Black Sea area [36]. In the first (570—420 B.C.) this import was relatively insignificant, in the second (420—330 B.C.) the number of vases even decreased. But since in the 4th century B.C. the overall output of Athenian painted vases declined much more rapidly, the share of the Black Sea import on this overall output increased significantly — from one per cent in the previous stage to nearly ten per cent. This change in the relative frequency was accompanied by a change in the quality of vases imported to this area. In the preceding epoch the structure of Athenian export to this area conformed in the main lines with the structure of Athenian production in general (as regards both the ceramic shapes and their decoration). The only possible exception seems to be the unusually high number of animal scenes in Thrace and the almost total absence of Heracles in both Thrace and South Russia. The latter anomaly is to be expected — in this period Heracles was the hero of the Greek mainland, relatively little known abroad [37]. From the late 5th century B.C., however, we observe a clear differentiation between the general pattern of the Athenian production of painted vases and the Black Sea import of these art works. And, moreover, the structure of import to the West and North coasts (that is to say Thrace and South Russia respectively) shows significant differences too.

In the 4th century B.C. Thrace shows a quite clear preference for vase shapes and themes connected with the Dionysiac cult. The relative frequency of skyphoi is four times higher here than the average attested to elsewhere and the relative frequency of Dionysiac themes is twice as high as elsewhere [38]. It would, however, be premature to speak of the influence of the Thracian cult of Dionysos on the import of Athenian painted vases to this region. A similar above-average popularity of Dionysiac scenes is attested to also in Boiotia, Campania and Spain. In the years 420—330 B.C. in all these regions the relative share on the production of Athenian vases with Dionysiac scenes is twice as high as their respective share in the output of Athenian painted vases. The popularity of scenes with women (twice the average) is characteristic of the specific structure of Athenian export to Thrace. But this fact probably bears upon the unusual popularity of lekanides in Thrace (nearly five times the average) : the habitual decoration of 4th century lekanides are women at home. It could also, of course, be the other way round.

These were the specific traits of the Thracian import which are not attested to in South Russia. Together these two regions stand out in their unusual interest in athletic scenes (three

[36] Cf. Beazley, ABV, ARV[2] and *Paralipomena* ; P. Alexandrescu, RA, 1973, p. 23 ff ; N. Gorbunova, RA, 1973, p. 195 ff.

[37] J. Boardman, RA, 1978, p. 227—234 and articles here quoted.

[38] On the use of akyphoi in the cult of Dionysos cf, E. Simon, Antike Kunst, 6, 1963, p. 6—22.

times the average). But this is perhaps the general export pattern : from 6th century B.C. on athletic scenes seem to be more popular abroad, especially in Etruria, than in the mainland of Greece [39]. To complete the picture it should be noted that Nike, elsewhere very popular, appears only exceptionally on Athenian vases imported to the Black Sea area.

The specific features of the Athenian export to South Russia have been already pondered upon. Here we can stress the fact that neither the unusual popularity of pelikai nor that of griffins, Arimaspoi and Amazons can be observed in the case of the Thracians.

It seems quite clear that the general trait of the 4th century B.C. import of Athenian vases to the Black Sea area is its differentiation. The case of the "Bosporan pelikai" should, consequently, be considered as one example among others of this internal and external differentiation of the Athenian export to this region. It is this differentiation which should be analysed, not its symptoms. And only through it can we hope to answer the question of why so many pelikai with griffins, Arimaspoi and Amazons were brought to the Bosporan kingdom.

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The subject of this paper was the influence of the foreign market on Athenian painted pottery. The conclusion is of a negative order — this influence seems to be unlikely. One of the most consistent modernizers in the study of the Athenian painted vases was T.B.L.Webster. He regarded them as if they were analogies of modern memorial tablets, occasional prints, souvenirs or conversation pieces. Nevertheless, he had to admit that "except for a small line of special shapes made for Etruria, the potter did not design for export... but... for the Athenian market" [40] and that the same applies for the decoration of these vases. I have tried to show that the existence of even this "small line" is, to say the least, very doubtful. It is, according to me, much safer to think of Athenian potters and painters as working only and solely for their compatriots.

The differences between various centres of Athenian import could be explained in a much simpler way. The structure of vase shapes and themes imported to Etruria or the Bosporan kingdom could be fixed by the choice of vases put up for sale in these countries by dealers in Athenian vases. The Athenian potters and vase painters were probably absolutely unaware of what was going on in the vase market in Etruria or the Pontus Euxinus. They knew, of course, what shape or theme was in demand, but why should they care where more, where less and where not at all? It was the vase dealers' business, not theirs. So it is possible that the foreign market influenced the number of copies (or better to say variants) of some shape or theme produced in Athens. But what shape or theme would be produced was exclusively an Athenian matter.

And even the possibility of the quantitative influence of the foreign market should not be overestimated. Today it seems that the majority of Athenian vases was exported abroad, it is true. But how was it in ancient times? In Attica these vases played a very important role in social life (the birth of a child, a wedding, funeral, symposium, wooing — all these occasions were unthinkable without painted vases). Abroad these various functions could not, for obvious reasons, be fully grasped and this had its logical consequences. Once an Athenian painted vase was exported it fell largely out of use and its aesthetic function and prestige (or snob) value predominated. Thus, the disproportion in the diffusion of Athenian painted vases could be the consequence of the simple fact that while in the country of their origin these objects were really used (and so much more frequently smashed), abroad they were in most cases destined from the beginning to be stored. It may be reasonably assumed that exported Athenian painted vases were much more likely to conclude their earthly life in some grave. And, besides, the difference in the density of population perhaps played its role here. To date we know that the majority of Athenian vases survived outside Athenian territory but we do not know the most important thing — the number of Athenian vases per head in Attica and in different centres to which this ware was exported. The results would be, I believe, very surprising.

Our conclusion is, we may repeat, as follows. Tyrrhenian and Nicosthenic amphorae and the "Bosporan pelikai" were created by Athenian craftsmen for their Athenian patrons. The Athenians were certainly pleased by the fact that their art was admired abroad; their craftsmen tried to satisfy the demand. But even in the 4th century B.C. there is not the slightest sign that this foreign market affected the way the Athenians shaped, decorated and exported their ceramic vases. We must not forget that they considered themselves, perhaps a little bit arrogantly, the educators of the whole of Greece.

[39] T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Painter*, London, 1972, p. 215.

[40] Idem, *Athenian Culture and Society*, London, 1973, p. 134.

Fig. 1. — "Tyrrhenian" amphora, Munich A 1431, from Vulci; Beazley, ABV 102, no. 99; CVA 7, pl. 316 1; 570 c.—560 B.C. Photograph by courtesy of the Museum.

Fig. 2. — Stamnos, Prague, National Museum 4783; Antické umění v československých sbírkách, Prague 1979, no. 222, pl. 37; Etruscan imitation of Attic red figure, 480—460 B.C. Photograph by courtesy of the Museum.

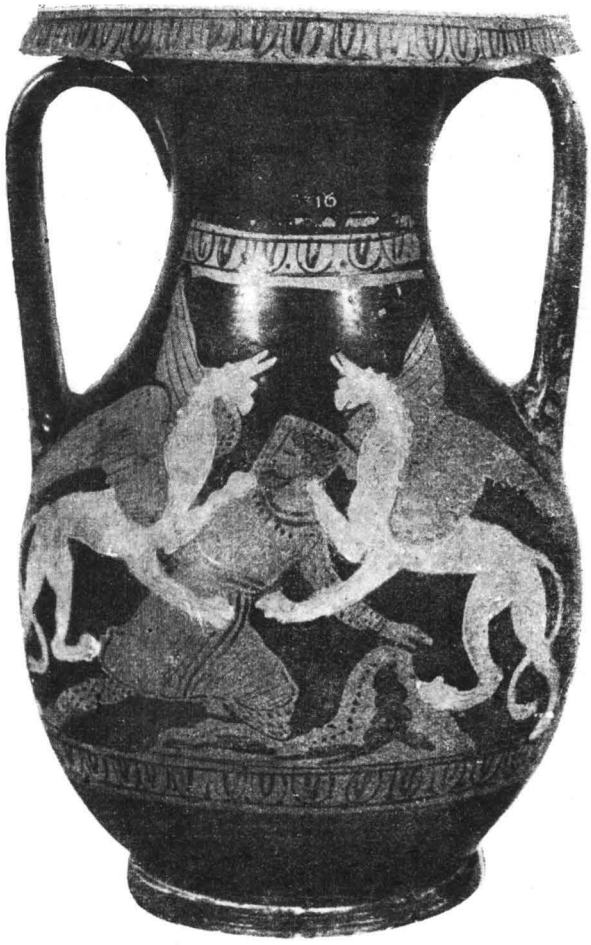

Fig. 3. – "Bosporan" pelike, Pilsen 8316, from Kerch; Beazley, ARV² 1471, 3; 370–340 B.C. Photograph by courtesy of the Museum.

Fig. 4. Sherd with graffito sketch, from Smirna: 600–575 B.C. Drawing after: L.H. Jeffery, Archaic Greece, London 1976, fig. 41.