

# **Shapes, Markets and Workshop Strategies between Specialization and Diversification. Case Study of the ‘Sappho-Diosphos-Haimon’ Workshop<sup>1</sup>**

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## **Introduction**

Our understanding of Greek pottery markets (who produces what, who negotiates, transports and who buys, how and what for?) obviously depends on find contexts but also on our understanding of production contexts. Starting from the corpus attributed to the Berlin Painter, D. Saunders demonstrated the primacy of shape over other selection criteria regarding the distribution of this painter’s vases in the different areas concerned.<sup>2</sup> However, as the author reminds us, the data and maps are in no way exhaustive, but merely reflect our present state of knowledge. Many of the vases kept in museums are without any known provenance or just vague pieces of information such as “Italy”, “Greece”, that skew the data; concurrently the identification of painters and workshops depends on our definitions and attributions, which are not unanimously agreed upon.

Keeping in mind such important restrictions, one can state that the steady increase in published contexts and listed vases cannot but help us progress in the knowledge of both markets and productions. We therefore suggest reconsidering the specific case of the ‘Sappho, Diosphos and Haimon painters’ workshop’, that enables to observe over two generations the distribution of the productions of the same workshop.<sup>3</sup> By taking into account the context of a workshop – any workshop –, one can study the different shapes produced, as well as the works of various painters, and thus consider the complementarity of craftsmen, their choices and strategies depending on an ever-changing market. After clarifying definitions and methodological aspects, we intend first to compare the different markets of the vases attributed to the first two painters who started the workshop, and then to focus on how distribution of productions in northern Greece evolved.

## **Methodological Aspects: Definition of the Workshop and Contexts**

In the study of markets where Attic pottery was sold, the crucial starting point is our knowledge of workshops, a knowledge that remains subject to our definition criteria. Insofar as economic and material data elude us in most cases,<sup>4</sup> one has to bear in mind that the definition of such production structures closely depends on the study of objects. A joint analysis of shapes, techniques – including added colors, the quality of glazes and slips – secondary systems of decoration, style and iconography, permits to

underscore how know-how was shared. The repeated combination of those elements, deliberately adopted by potters and painters reveals privileged relationships between craftsmen working in close contact<sup>5</sup>. The evolution of this particular workshop is to be grasped through the progressive changes in the aforesaid parameters.

Using as a point of departure the seminal study of C. H. E. Haspels,<sup>6</sup> it is currently possible to follow the organization of a single production unit created from the association between the Sappho Potter-Painter and the Diosphos Potter-Painter.<sup>7</sup> Typologies and decoration patterns are taken over by several workshop companions, more or less individually identified, who gradually influence production by introducing new types of shapes and of decorative schemes (fig. 1).<sup>8</sup>

When carefully considering the workshop, one can observe at a glance different shapes in contexts of use, without increasing uselessly the numbers of protagonists from Athens. The offerings of a tomb at Agrigento, consisting of a skyphos of the Pistias Class and of a black-glazed lekythos of the Little-Lion shape, are a telling example.<sup>9</sup> That tomb furnishing is not actually made up of two objects deemed unconnected on account of their different shapes, since the two vases were produced in the workshop after the Sappho Potter-Painter introduced these shapes.<sup>10</sup> The vases were produced and sold in Athens, transported, then purchased and finally placed together in the tomb, a fact that modifies the perspective regarding the modes of selection of these two small objects associated from the start.<sup>11</sup>

Let us examine now lekythoi found in three tombs of Krannon that are currently under publication.<sup>12</sup> Tomb VIII contains a typical Diosphos Painter bold-style vase<sup>13</sup> in association with a lekythos of Class HL, in the manner of the Haimon Painter.<sup>14</sup> In tomb VIII, there is a small white-ground lekythos, better executed than the latter, probably by the Haimon Potter-Painter;<sup>15</sup> in tomb VI, there is another vase whose shape appears to be a variant of Class DL.<sup>16</sup> These four vases are all typical of the production of the workshop, while production by the Haimon Potter-Painter and the Emporion Potter-Painter developed along with the last phase of the Diosphos Potter-Painter.<sup>17</sup> There is no point in multiplying here the examples of protagonists from Athens<sup>18</sup> since these different painters all work in the same structure, offering their own alternative to the DL and HL shapes. In so doing one needs to define what the actual pace of such imports to Krannon was, in other words whether one or several journeys were implied, since it appears that there is no significant chronological gap in the manufacture of the four lekythoi, for all the distinctively different styles of painting employed. One should examine not just those few vases more or less contemporaneous, but the entirety of imported vases to assess the frequency of exchanges with Athens.

However, focusing on the workshop does not mean looking upon its production as being a homogenous and undifferentiated whole, since the point precisely lies in the study of interactions and complementarities of craftsmen as regards market demands.

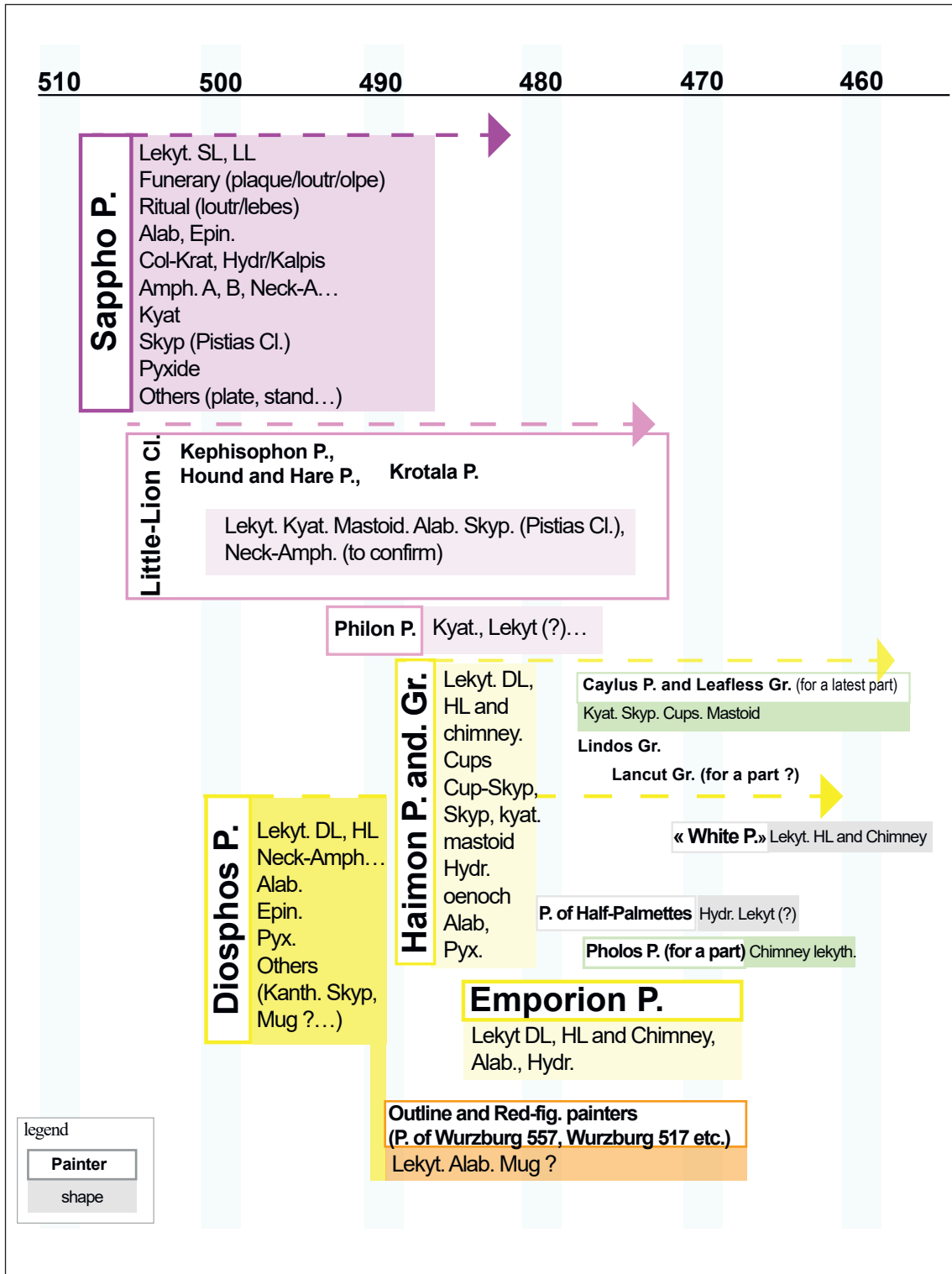


Fig. 1: The composition of the Sappho - Diosphos - Haimon Workshop

### Productions and Markets of the Sappho and Diosphos Painters: Contrasts and Complementarities

Since C. Scheffer's<sup>19</sup> study on workshops and trade, it has become standard practice to consider without differentiation the distribution of the productions of these two painters.<sup>20</sup> However, the two painters, though related, were not strictly contemporary, each displaying very distinctive features. It has now become possible to assign around one hundred and thirty vases and pinakes to the Sappho Painter.<sup>21</sup> Lekythoi represent 61.5% of his output, according to present-day data (fig. 2, 1); however, the shapes attributed to this craftsman, who throws his vases himself most of the time, are more diversified than one used to think.

Distribution maps and charts created from ascertained proveniences highlight the importance of Athens and Attica (with more than 40%: see fig. 3). From the beginning of the practice of his craft, the Sappho Painter has been renowned for supplying the local market with funerary and ritual vases, and occasionally with lekythoi (fig. 4).<sup>22</sup> Recent finds have consolidated this aspect with, for example, a lebes gamikos found in a tomb in Glyka Nera.<sup>23</sup> The Sappho Painter has produced vases and pinakes for local customers, whose needs he knew perfectly well.<sup>24</sup> In the heart of Athens, he also provided young women with the loutrophoros-hydriae they offered to the sanctuary of Nymphe below the Acropolis. A small typical Little-Lion Class lekythos by this painter comes from the same context,<sup>25</sup> of which much material remains unpublished.

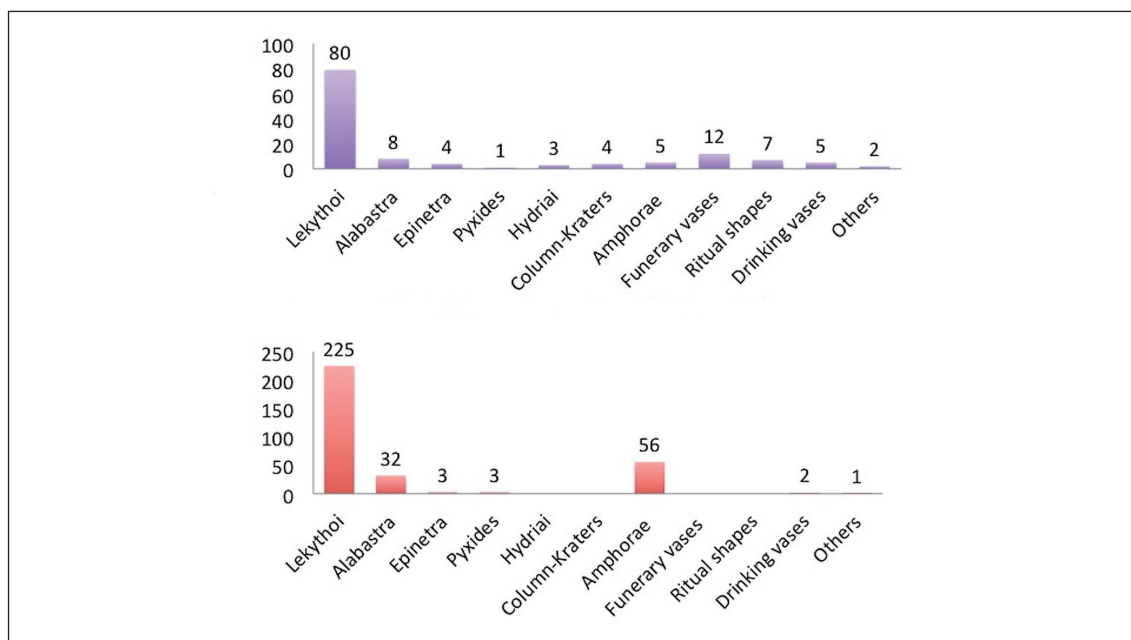


Fig. 2: 2,1: The production of the Sappho Painter by shape (130 vases and plaques). 2,2: The production of the Diosphos Painter (322 vases).

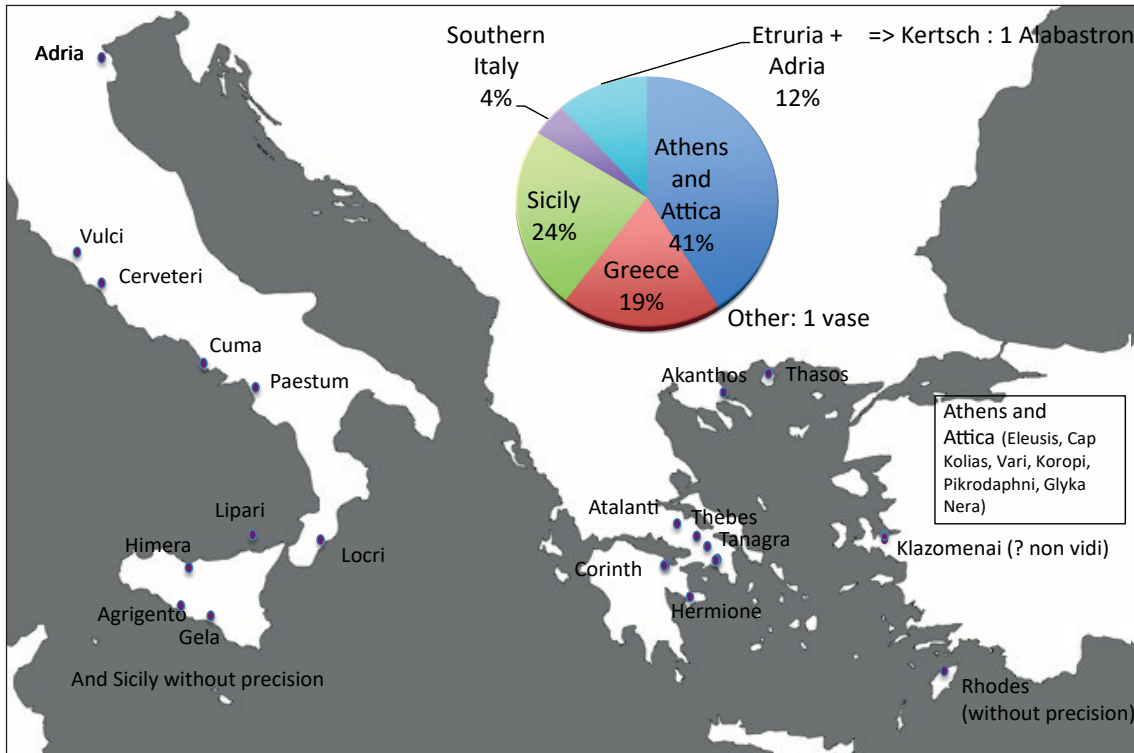


Fig. 3: Map and distribution of vases attributed to the Sappho Painter (70 recorded proveniences).

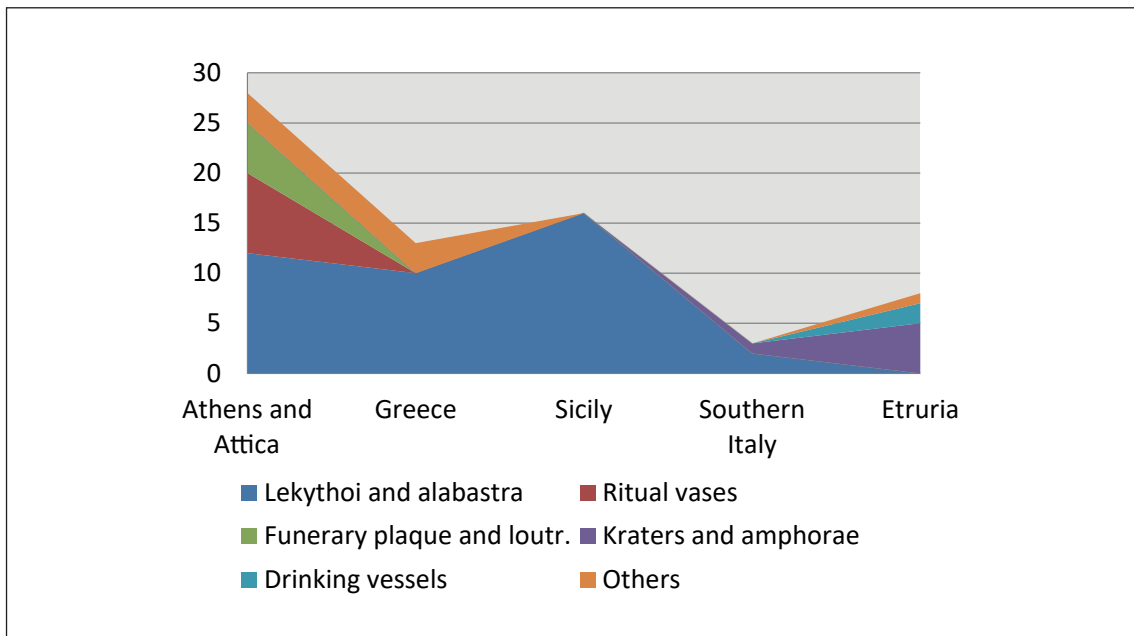


Fig. 4: Diagram of the distribution of shapes attributed to the Sappho Painter.

However the Sappho Painter does not restrict himself to the local market. Formerly deemed insignificant as a findspot, as far as Haspels' or Beazley's attributions are concerned, Etruria was actually supplied with several very specific shapes. To the three kyathoi, one of which had been found in Vulci,<sup>26</sup> recently attributed to the Sappho Painter, one must add an amphora with ribbon handles from Cerveteri, a piece that had long been connected with this painter without being explicitly attributed to him.<sup>27</sup> The kyathoi and amphora belong to the painter's first stylistic phase and confirm his links with the Nicosthenian tradition, passed on by Psiax, near whom the painter was trained.<sup>28</sup> Later in his career, he decorated for the Etruscan and Campanian markets neck-amphorae<sup>29</sup> found in Vulci, type B amphorae and probably pseudo-Panathenaics, some of which had been attributed by Beazley to the Painter of Brunswick 218.<sup>30</sup>

When reviewing the distribution of lekythoi, Sicily appears to be the main destination with fifteen vases, but the differences that exist between areas are not sufficiently relevant to be significant, given the low quantity of finds (fig. 4). On the other hand, some contexts in Greece show a carefully selected range of that shape. At Hermione (the Peloponnese), a Six's technique lekythos decorated with a horseman is the only perfume vase placed in a male tomb containing a bronze helmet.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, at Akanthos (Chalcidice), a vase displaying the Peliades is the sole offering, besides a silver coin, in a child's grave.<sup>32</sup> At the beginning of the 5th century BC, the Six's technique lekythoi undoubtedly represent for Greek customers in those different areas, a real alternative able to compete with the production of red-figure vases. Beyond such examples, it must be underscored that the Sappho Painter is not involved in the mass production of black-figure lekythoi for local or more distant markets; his production, far from being superabundant, precedes this phenomenon.

The situation is quite different in the case of the Diosphos Painter, with more than three hundred and twenty vases, of which 70% are lekythoi of Class DL and HL, produced throughout his long career (fig. 2, 2). Despite the fact that less than 40% of the corpus is of known provenience, the distribution map provides more information owing to the quantities involved and the expansion of concerned areas (fig. 5). One observes a penetration inland in Sicily and Greece alike, as well as a new interest for peripheral regions.

The distribution of shapes by region shows that the Athenian market remains the main destination, thanks, in this case, to lekythoi and Alabastra (fig. 6).<sup>33</sup> With the younger craftsmen training next to him, the Diosphos Painter meets the evolution of local demand to honor the deceased, and actively partakes in the mass production of perfume vases as from 480 BC onwards. Meanwhile, his lekythoi and alabastra are better distributed across the Greek world, while Sicily still holds a significant share. As for the neck-amphorae (doubleen and fat), they are produced for Etruria and Etruscan Campania (Nola and Capua).<sup>34</sup>

The two craftsmen therefore roughly supply the same regions but with a range of different shapes, especially for Etruria. More significantly, their productions reflect the

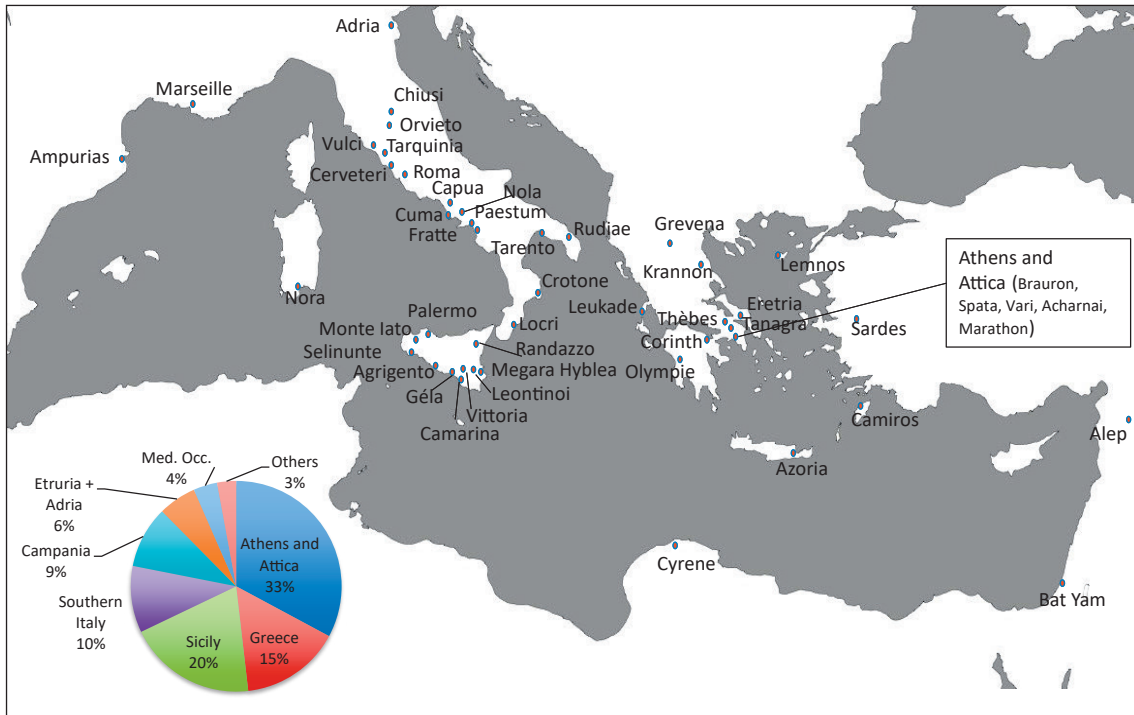


Fig. 5: Map and distribution of vases attributed to the Diosphos Painter (145 recorded proveniences).

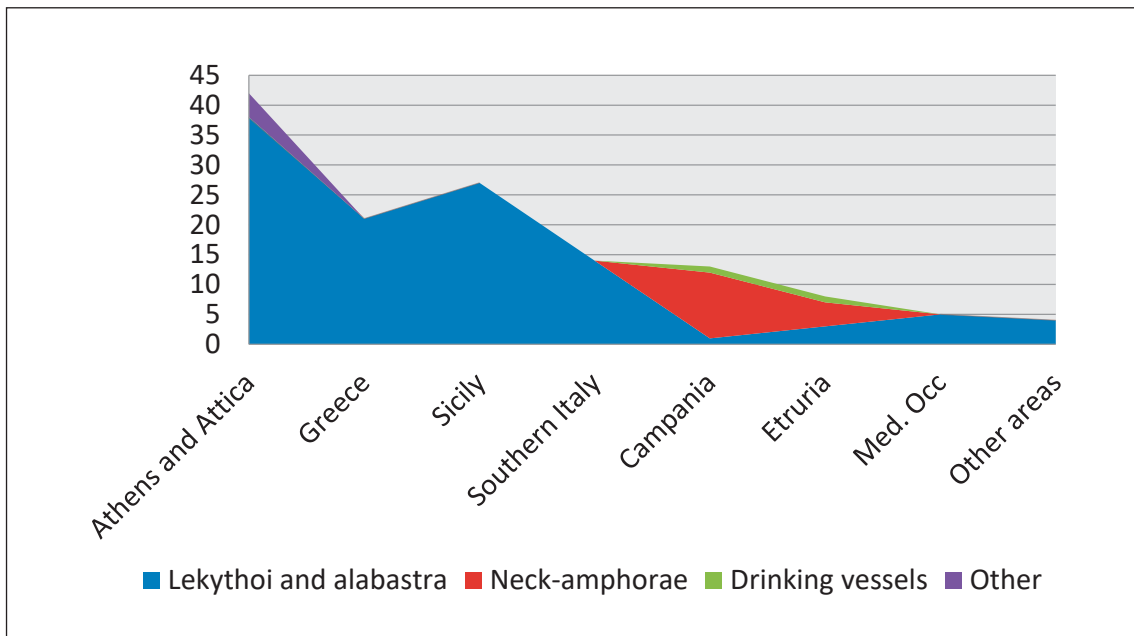


Fig. 6: Diagram of the distribution of shapes attributed to the Diosphos Painter.



deep change in local demand, with the disappearance of black-figured loutrophoroi and pinakes in favor of the lekythos, which alone account for more than two thirds of the workshop's production.

### **Evolution of the Workshop Towards Confirmed Specialization for an Expanding Market**

The second-generation painters of the Little-Lion Class and those of the Haimon Group keep producing the workshop's traditional shapes: lekythoi, alabastra, but also kyathoi, skyphoi, and probably a few loutrophoroi-hydriae. They also favor skyphoi-mastoids,<sup>35</sup> pinchbase or Class K2 skyphoi-cups, and other types of cups (fig. 1).<sup>36</sup> Methodologically, it is not possible to draw a strict comparison between the first two painters of the workshop with what is known as the Haimon Group, which includes several hands with some sedentary craftsmen and others circulating between workshops.<sup>37</sup> As far as known proveniences are concerned, the share of Greece proper and eastern Greece increases (fig. 7). However, this estimate can only be provisional as available data are unequal depending on the regions, and attributions sometimes questionable.<sup>38</sup> On the basis of published objects whose typology – first discriminating criterion to identify a workshop – can be ascertained, it is possible to add to what is known of northern Greece, formerly poorly documented (fig. 8).<sup>39</sup>

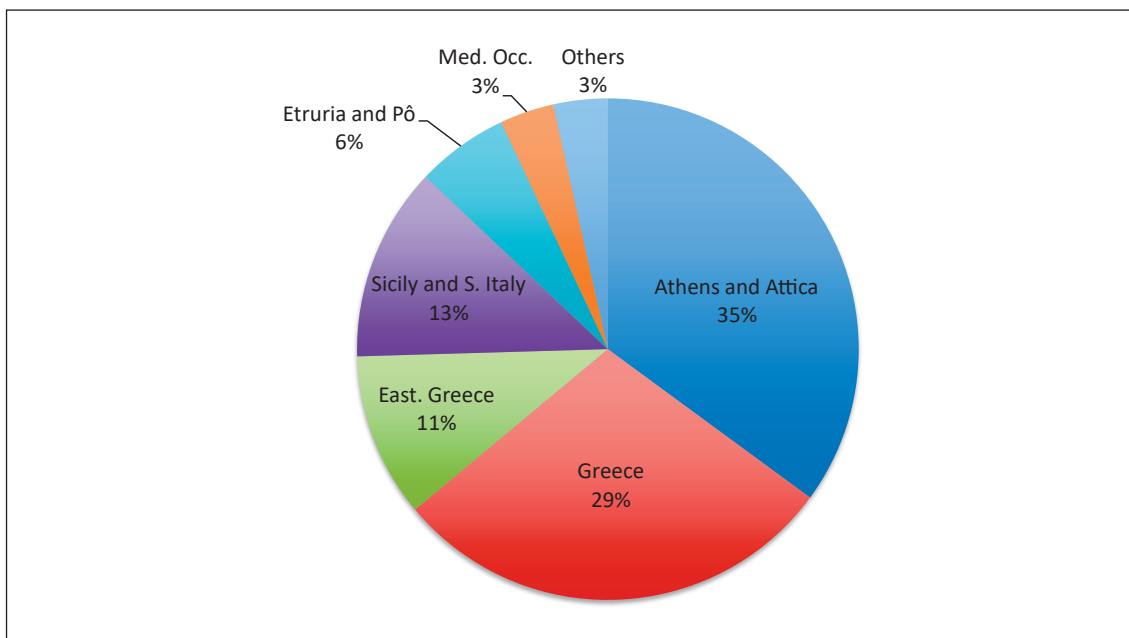


Fig. 7: Distribution of the vases attributed to the Haimon Group (approximately 1140 proveniences recorded).





Fig. 8: Distribution map of the vases of the workshop in Northern Greece.

The early productions of the workshop are but scantily documented in the area, with an epinetron in Thasos<sup>40</sup> and a lekythos in Akanthos,<sup>41</sup> both by the Sappho Painter. Nevertheless these objects herald the setting-up of a distribution circuit beneficial to the workshop.<sup>42</sup> In Akanthos, in particular, the examples found in different tombs are not the most repetitive ones, but rather a careful selection of what the workshop had to offer: in one instance, for example, a Little-Lion Class lekythos associated with a Pistias Class skyphos,<sup>43</sup> in another tomb a figured HL, a palmette lekythos, a black-glazed one, and a black-glazed alabastron, most likely from the workshop.<sup>44</sup> At Grevena, a large DL by the Diosphos Painter was placed in a tomb together with a later lekythos from the workshop.<sup>45</sup> In Nea Kallikrateia, two tombs show other choices and associations:<sup>46</sup> in the earliest tomb, small Little-Lion lekythoi were placed together with a DL by the Haimon Painter, one of the most remarkable offerings in this context. In the more recent tomb, a set of later chimney mouth lekythoi from the workshop were associated with black-glazed vases from the Beldam Painter's workshop; in that tomb, a red-figure lekythos stands out as the main piece. Black-figured vases, henceforth stereotypes, are now just additional offerings, while desire to deposit larger quantities of vases seems to prevail, in comparison to what is being done in Athens and many other Greek regions. This phenomenon is confirmed by the Sindos contexts; there, later productions of the workshop arrive in batches of both cup-skyphoi and lekythoi.<sup>47</sup> Lastly, Levea in the Macedonian hinterland yielded an unexpected context: no lekythoi but two cup-skyphoi and, notably, a mastoid.<sup>48</sup> How can the presence of this shape, normally

intended for the Etruscan market, be interpreted? Could it have been an “error” in the contents of the batches sent from Athens, or a proposal from the workshop wishing to broaden its clientele for this type of shape? In any case, the contexts of northern Greece induce to reassess the share of that region, now emerging as a promising market for traditional lekythoi, as well as for small drinking vessels.

To conclude: the holistic approach to the productions of a workshop permits to understand better the supply conditions of different shapes, and to highlight customers’ choices in different places and regions. In the particular case of the workshop under study here, from the association between the Sappho Painter and the Diosphos Painter up to the Haimon Group, one notices that the same shapes are not always produced for a given region, as the examples headed to the Etruscan market show. In Athens, the evolution of the workshop reflects the fast-changing demands of customers, leading to the interruption of the production of loutrophoroi and pinakes to the benefit of lekythoi, which are in the meantime more and more widely distributed. The case of northern Greece presented above shows how, starting from coastal sites, the workshop’s productions are integrated into a distribution network spreading into the hinterland.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> I warmly thank Dimitris Paleothodoros for offering me the opportunity to participate in this session on shapes and markets and for helping me update the data on the latest findings in Greece. Any lack would remain my own responsibility. This work was supported by Labex ARCHIMÈDE under the “Investissement d’Avenir” program ANR-11-LABX-0032-01.

<sup>2</sup> Saunders 2017.

<sup>3</sup> For a first approach see Jubier 2003.

<sup>4</sup> See Sanidas 2013, 69–102 for a recent inventory of archaeological contexts in Athens.

<sup>5</sup> Studies on Athenian workshops are synthesized in Williams 2017; the author uses the terms workshop and workgroup.

<sup>6</sup> ABL, 94–130.

<sup>7</sup> For details about this interconnection involving not a single potter but two craftsmen who are both potters and painters see Jubier 1996 and 1999.

<sup>8</sup> On Potters-Painters of the Little-Lion Class, see Jubier – Laurens 1998, 737–739; CVA Amsterdam 3, 32 f. On Haimon and Emporion Potters-Painters, and on the Pholos Painter, see Jubier 2016, 135–137. On the Caylus Painter and his workshop, see Tonglet 2018, for example her synthesis, 207 f. The data on the latest vases are consistent with what is known of the workshop on Lenormant Street in Athens, Monaco 2000, cat. II D IV, 85–94. 213–231.

<sup>9</sup> Jubier 2003, 86 fig. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Two skyphoi of the Pistias Class are attributed to this painter, Louvre F 119 (*ABV* 627.10; *BAPD* 306393), and Madison Elvehjem Mus. of Art, 1979.122 (*BAPD* 5153). Numerous vases of this shape, but not all of them, are later produced in the workshop following simpler decorative systems.

<sup>11</sup> It is significant that the same type of association is to be found in several contexts, for instance Akantos (see below and n. 43).

<sup>12</sup> Tsiaka forthcoming; Smith – Volioti forthcoming.

<sup>13</sup> Tsiaka forthcoming, fig. 6, 8. In earlier publications, this lekythos was mistakenly attributed to the Sappho Painter. It is similar to the London B 634 vase (ABL 323.3; BAPD 390333).

<sup>14</sup> HL: for Haimon Lekythos, the main shape of the Haimon Painter. Tsiaka forthcoming, fig. 6, 9. The Haimon Painter has a quite personal way of drawing horses and further investigation would be necessary to strengthen this attribution.

<sup>15</sup> Tsiaka forthcoming, fig. 6, 4.

<sup>16</sup> Tsiaka forthcoming, fig. 6, 5: the secondary decoration is more typical of the Emporion Painter. However, the photo showing only one side of the vase makes it difficult to have a good idea of the style of the scene representing Herakles and the Wild Boar, not Theseus and the Minotaur.

<sup>17</sup> See Jubier 2016, 134f.

<sup>18</sup> Contra Smith – Volioti forthcoming.

<sup>19</sup> Scheffer 1988, 538 table 1.

<sup>20</sup> Van de Put 2016, 127 fig. 13.

<sup>21</sup> One may recall that E. Haspels, who created the Sappho Painter, knew sixty-five of them (ABL, 225–229). Latest update: Jubier 2014 and 2016. The vases he threw for other painters and the vases close to his style are not included here.

<sup>22</sup> On the Athenian market of the Sappho Painter, see Jubier 2014.

<sup>23</sup> Jubier 2014, 181, cat. 33; Chatzidimitriou – Papafloratou 2008, 429 fig. 13.

<sup>24</sup> Two pinakes (Bournias 2013, fig. 6; Bournias 2017) and a loutrophoros (Kazo-Papageorgou 2015, 152f.) similar to this craftsman's production but not by him, were discovered in recent years.

<sup>25</sup> Pandermalis et al. 2015, fig. 54.

<sup>26</sup> Munich Antikensammlungen SH 1988 (BAPD 306168). On the three kyathoi attributed to the Sappho Painter, see Tonglet 2014, cat. 1–3 pl. 1; Tonglet 2018, vol. 2, 70f.

<sup>27</sup> Vienna K.M. 3607 (ABL, 102; ABV 319.10 and 507; BAPD 200049). Besides the painter's typical inscriptions, compare this citharode with the one on a lekythos in Six's technique (once Basle market: BAPD 188).

<sup>28</sup> Jubier 1999, 182; Tonglet 2014.

<sup>29</sup> Jubier 2016, 130–132 figs. 1–3.

<sup>30</sup> Louvre Cp 10608 (BAPD 301872). Only three other vases have been attributed to this painter (ABV 339; Para 151): they belong in fact to a later phase of the Sappho Painter, or are very similar to his style. This aspect of his production needs further examination.

<sup>31</sup> ΑΔ 49, 1994, B1, pl. 53g.

<sup>32</sup> Trakasopoulou-Salakidou 2012, 245–254 (BAPD 9028652).

<sup>33</sup> To which must be added three pyxides fragments found on the Acropolis, Acr. 2081, 2083 and 2084, with perhaps some epinetra whose attribution remains to be confirmed.

<sup>34</sup> Jubier 2009, 54–57.

<sup>35</sup> CVA Louvre 27, 85–100.

<sup>36</sup> For references, see n. 7.

<sup>37</sup> Jubier 2016, 134–136. Supra fig. 1. I propose to introduce a new painter, the “Painter of Athens 516”. His type HL are bigger than those of the Haimon Painter, and he has a specific style. Several vases said to be by the Haimon Painter actually belong to him. The “White Painter” is a creation of E. Kunze-Götte (Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, 106).

<sup>38</sup> Since Jubier 2003, the data (excluding the Lindos Group) are submitted here for information purpose only, owing to the still incomplete publication of the latest vases. Among attributions referenced in the Beazley Archive Database or attributed by various authors, none of the so-called Haimonian lekythos whose shape corresponds to the Class of Athens 581, has been selected, as (in my opinion) another workshop is concerned. The vases that have been added are those whose shape and style I was able to verify either by autopsy or by means of publications. As regards Etruria, I am indebted to D. Tonglet’s work on kyathoi, what she calls Workshop V (Tonglet 2018).

<sup>39</sup> Contrast map 2 in Jubier 2003, 85.

<sup>40</sup> Thasos, without inv., Badinou 2003, cat. E 33 (with a different attribution)

<sup>41</sup> See above n. 32.

<sup>42</sup> For Thasos, skyphoi of the Pistias Class were reported by J.-J. Maffre but not published, *AEMΘ*, 20, 2009, 195.

<sup>43</sup> Kaltsas 1998, T 1638, pl.150.

<sup>44</sup> Id. T 1427, pl. 68. 69.

<sup>45</sup> *ΑΔ*, 66, 2011, B2 (2016), 837–838.

<sup>46</sup> *AEMΘ*, 20, 2009, 237–249 fig. 6. 7.

<sup>47</sup> Despoini 2016, 505. 508 f.

<sup>48</sup> *AEMΘ* 15, 2004 (2006), 543–550 fig. 11.

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