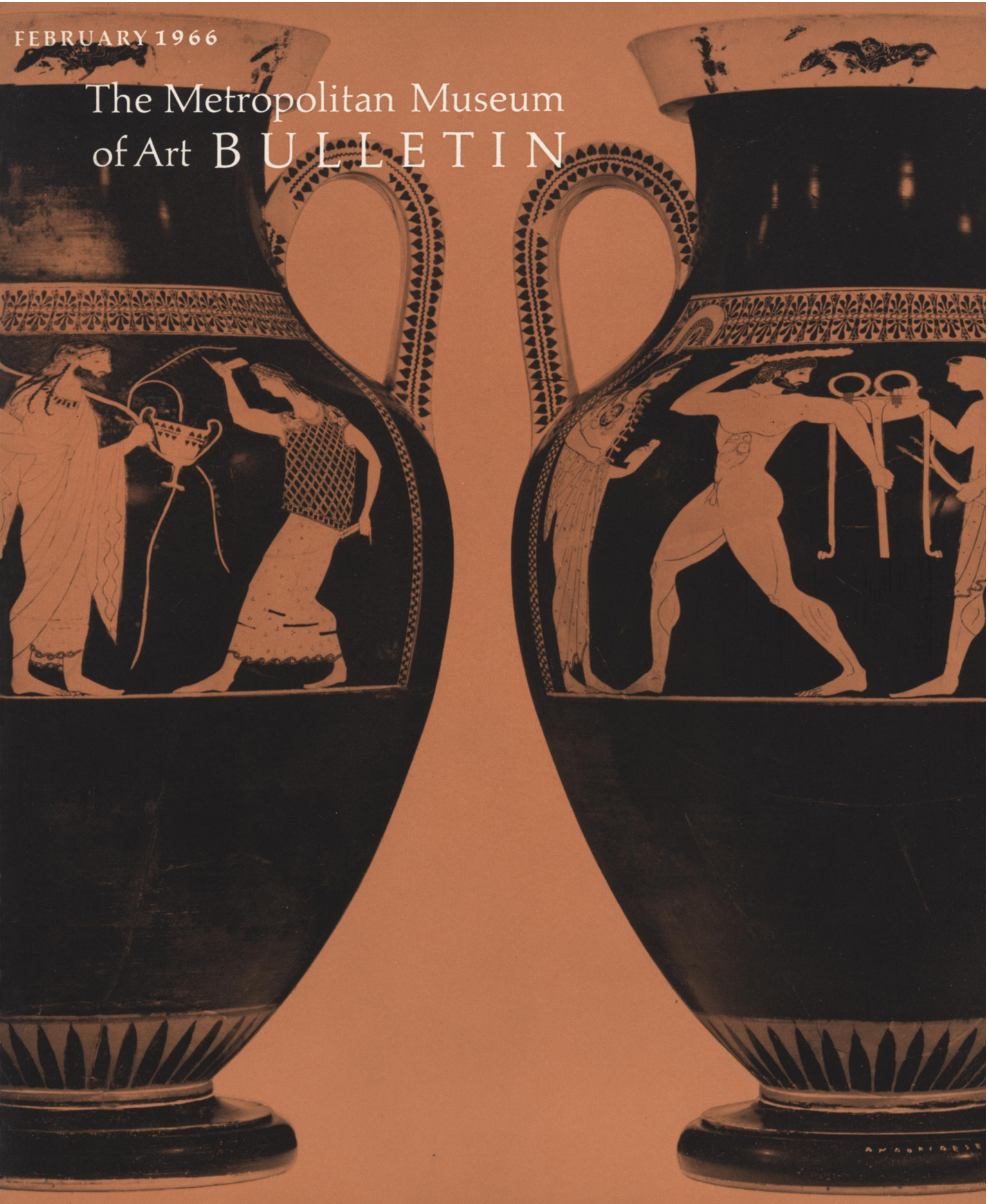


FEBRUARY 1966

The Metropolitan Museum of Art BULLETIN





Egyptian Turtles

HENRY G. FISCHER *Curator of Egyptian Art*

It seems likely that a considerable number of our five and a half million annual visitors provide food and lodging for the more than five million turtles that are sold each year in greater New York City. Turtles and tortoises do not please every taste, but they are exceptionally self-sufficient pets, unlikely to suffer from neglect regardless of how much time their owners spend looking at exhibitions. If the statistics were pursued in greater detail they might also reveal that testudophiles gravitate to the exhibitions featuring the Far East, where the turtle is one of the four cosmic animals, and a propitious symbol of longevity. Or they might prefer our collection of armor, for the same reasons that led its eminent founder, Bashford Dean, away from the American Museum of Natural History and his study of the protective armor of fish. Relatively few, however, could be expected to pursue the aesthetic ramifications of their hobby in the Egyptian Department. Egyptian art tends rather to be favored by ailurophiles, on account of the elegant bronze cats that are so popular a feature of every collection of pharaonic art, including our own. But statues of cats are but one example – and a relatively late example at that – of the ancient Egyptians' skill and delight in portraying virtually every living creature that existed in their corner of Africa. Since their life was sustained by the Nile it was natural that riverine fauna, including the three-clawed turtle *Trionyx triunguis* (Figure 1), should be depicted most frequently. As it happens, our museum contains a great many representations of this particular subject; as far as three-dimensional examples are concerned, we have more, in fact, than any other Egyptian collection in the world.

Our collection is characteristic in its exclusion of both land tortoises and sea turtles, both of which are attested in ancient Egypt by artifacts manufactured from their shells. The high-domed carapace of the land tortoise (*Testudo kleinmanni*) made a serviceable sounding board for lutes in the New Kingdom, and at all periods the plates of the sea turtle were cut into strips to be heated and bent into bracelets (Figure 2). No such use could be made of the leathery carapace of the Nile turtle, although it may have served as a shield at the very beginning of the First Dynasty. On the other hand, there is abundant evidence that the flesh of *Trionyx* was eaten by the earliest Egyptians. The Trionychidae are relished throughout the world for their excellent flavor, which the writer Gerald Durrell has compared to “rich and slightly oily veal,” and turtle meat is

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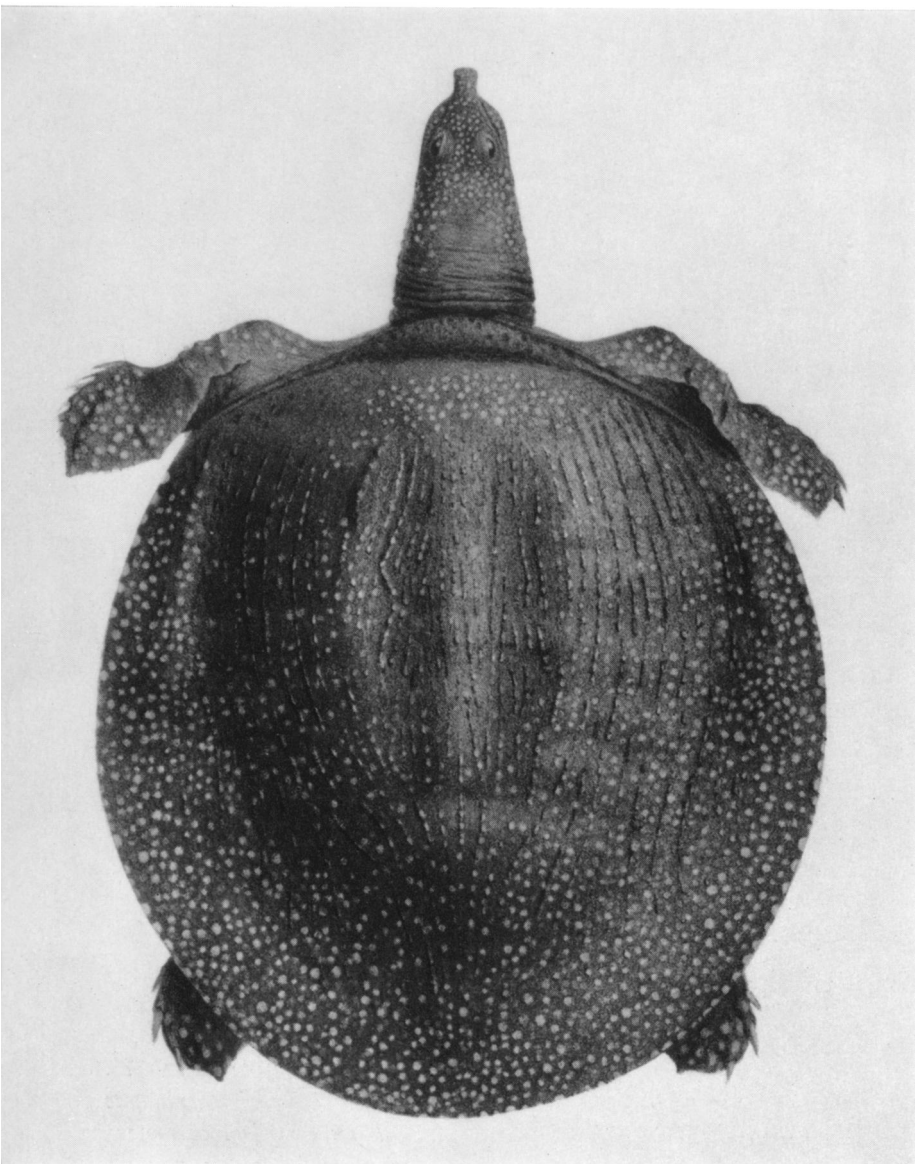
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FRONTISPIECE:

Egyptian turtle amulets of various periods. Slightly more than twice enlarged; greatest length 1⅛ inches. Reading left to right and top to bottom: carnelian, 10.130.2397; quartz and hematite, 10.130.2398 (both gift of Helen Miller Gould); steatite, 26.7.1275H (gift of Edward S. Harkness); amethyst, 10.130.2399, 10.130.2400 (both gift of Helen Miller Gould); amethyst and inlay, 26.7.1359 (gift of Edward S. Harkness); bone, 65.46.14, 59.100.11 (both Rogers Fund).

ON THE COVER:

Details of the amphora by Andokides discussed on pages 201-212



1. *Trionyx triunguis*, a young female specimen from the second cataract of the Nile. (Plate 3 in Volume I of *Zoology of Egypt* by John Anderson)

still eaten by the Nubian population of the Sudan and the southernmost region of modern Egypt. By the end of the Old Kingdom, however, this item of Egyptian diet evidently fell under a curious proscription that requires some explanation.

An aversion to river turtles might be explained on many grounds; the animal is carnivorous and grows to so formidable a size that it is capable of inflicting serious wounds if not handled with great respect. Even relatively young specimens, whose carapaces have attained only a fraction of the maximum recorded diameter of four feet, are capable of catching and devouring waterfowl; our own native species of *Trionyx*, at any rate, have sometimes incurred the hostility of farmers for this reason. The predatory nature of an animal would hardly explain its exclusion from the Egyptian diet, however. In the Middle Kingdom various parts of the turtle were prescribed as remedies (although for external use only), and there is no reason to suspect that its flesh was ever avoided for medical reasons. It is true that a family outbreak of salmonellosis was traced to one of the Nile turtle's American cousins last year, but this hazard does not seem to have been encountered, or diagnosed, elsewhere.

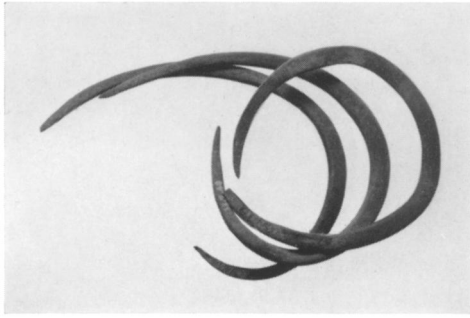
The actual motives for the turtle's disrepute were apparently far less rational. In the first place, the ancient approach to the classification of fauna was totally pragmatic, like that of the English railway clerk who consulted his regulations to determine whether a passenger's pet was in a category requiring payment of a fare, and concluded that it went

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART *Bulletin*

VOLUME XXIV, NUMBER 6

FEBRUARY 1966

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2. *Predynastic bracelets made from the carapace of a salt-water turtle. About 3400 B.C. Maximum diameter 3¾ inches. Museum excavations at Hierakonpolis, Rogers Fund, 35.7.47-49*

free because: “This ’ere turkle is a hinsect.” For the Egyptians a turtle was, only slightly more plausibly, a fish. The connection may seem much more innocuous than would its correct classification as a reptile, particularly since tombs of the Old, Middle, and New Kingdom contain scenes of daily life representing fish being caught by net, hook, or spear, as well as the preparation of fish and fish roe. Fish were clearly regarded with some disfavor, however, for no mention is made of them in any of the offering lists of the same tombs, and hieroglyphs representing fish are often avoided in inscriptions located near the body, on coffins, and in burial chambers where the coffins were placed.

An association with fish is admittedly not quite sufficient to explain why a Middle Kingdom coffin text should go so far as to say, in a spell protecting the deceased against the distressing possibility of having to eat excrement in the next world, “If you tell me to eat this, then Re will eat turtle.” It must have been, more specifically, the shadowy and secretive existence of Trionyx that brought it into opposition with the powerful sun god, who was obliged to pass beneath its dark domain on his perilous nightly journey. In much later times, when this opposition had greatly intensified, the animal’s name (*štw*) was written as though it meant “the mysterious one” (*šz*). The river turtle is, in fact, one of the most furtive creatures of the Nile, quite apart

from its ability to retract its limbs more or less completely between its carapace and plastron. Its most striking feature is a long double-tubed nose, which, like the snorkel of a submarine, it protrudes only very slightly above the water in order to breathe. And even this clandestine emergence is only occasionally necessary, since a gill-like apparatus in the throat enables it to remain submerged for as long as ten hours at a time. Although relatively shallow depths are sometimes preferred for warmth, an equal preference for darkness keeps it out of sight most of the time, and, like the crocodile, it is nocturnal.

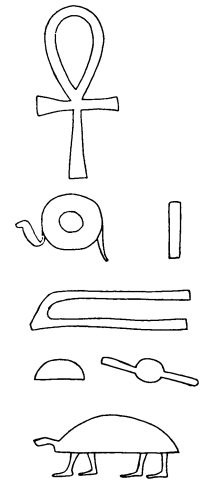
By the New Kingdom the sun god’s hostility toward the umbrageous turtle was even more strongly formulated in the phrase, “May Re live and may the turtle die.” The example of this passage in Figure 3 is interesting because it is, to my knowledge, the only representation of the turtle that is wholly in profile. An amusing touch is provided by the two pairs of very human legs that support a high-domed carapace like that of the land tortoise. One is reminded of Andrew Marvell’s salmon fishers who hoist up their leathern boats

And like antipodes in shoes,
Have shod their heads in their canoos.

In view of the sinister reputation it had acquired by the Middle Kingdom, it is possible – although difficult to prove – that even the earliest representations of the Nile turtle, dating back to predynastic and protodynastic times, had magical significance and were



3. “May Re live and may the turtle die.” Text on a New Kingdom sarcophagus. About 1300 B.C. (Plate 32 in Gurob by G. Brunton and R. Engelbach)

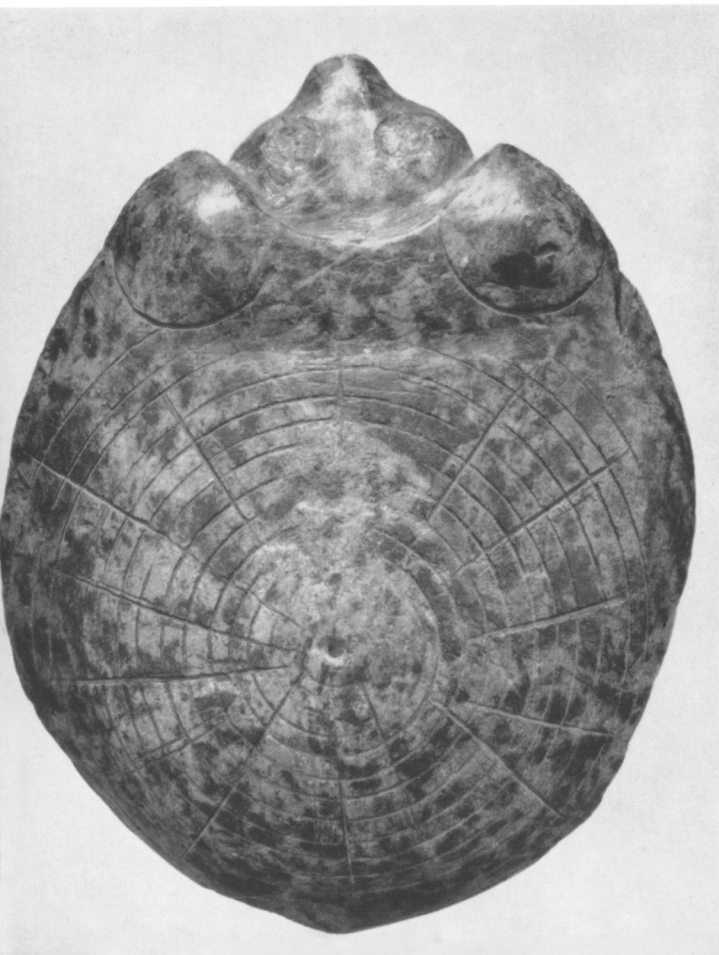


4. *Predynastic cosmetic palettes. About 3500 B.C. Schist; left, width 5⅞ inches; above, length 7⅞ inches. Rogers Fund, 10.176.78, 07.228.158*



5. Protodynastic turtle. About 3200 B.C. Serpentine, length $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches, thickness $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Gift of Helen Miller Gould, 10.130.2605

6. Protodynastic turtle. About 3200 B.C. Serpentine, length $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches, thickness 2 inches. Gift of Alice Hampshire Silver, 61.33

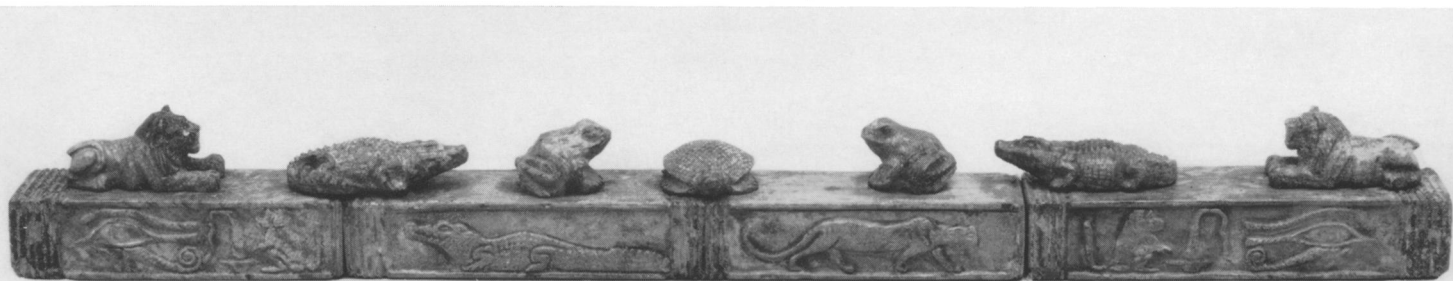


meant to ward off evil. Tombs of this period frequently contain flat schist palettes that had been used for grinding eyepaint; these objects commonly take the form of either fish or turtles (Figure 4), and in one case two turtles are fused in such a way that they seem to perform a lockstep dance. We have no example of the next most important class of objects representing turtles, a series of theriomorphic vessels in either dark green or mottled stone. We do, however, possess two solid stone figurines that are related to both these

edge; the equally characteristic dark-rimmed white spots are more realistically conveyed by the mottling of the stone. The schematic treatment of the legs on the underside of the figurines provides one of the most useful indications of their date, for similar rudimentary legs are likewise incised on the surface of some of the predynastic palettes.

After the Archaic Period almost all three-dimensional representations of the Nile turtle consist of small pendants that could be worn as homeopathic amulets, to protect the wearer

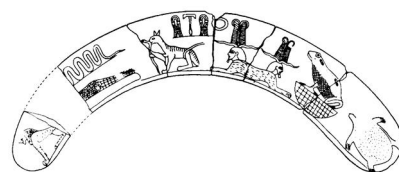
7. *Middle Kingdom amuletic animals. About 1800 B.C. Glazed steatite, length 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 26.7.1275*



groups, but also show some individual features that place them among the most interesting and important sculptures of archaic Egypt. The smaller one, 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches long, is carved from a piece of lustrous, mottled green serpentine (Figure 5). The upper surface is decorated with seven concentric circles that have been scribed by means of a primitive compass consisting of two points held at either end of a short loop of string. This evidence for the use of such circles is apparently unique in Egyptian art of any period, or was until we acquired a second and larger figurine of the same type, as a gift from Alice Hampshire Silver in 1961 (Figure 6). It measures 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length and is made of a black and olive-yellow serpentine. On its back are fifteen concentric circles, with several straight lines radiating from the center. In both cases it seems likely that the circles were suggested by the longitudinal lines of tubercles on the carapace of Trionyx, which approximate the curved contour of the shell as they near the

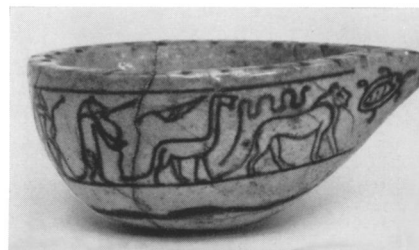
from the baneful influences that the animal embodied. The examples in the Frontispiece illustrate the variety that was lent even to so simple a subject. Most of them emphasize one or more of the salient features of Trionyx: its round, flat carapace, protuberant nose (blunted for the sake of compactness), and webbed feet. On the other hand, no attempt is made to reproduce the olive or olive-brown color of the carapace, for the choice of color in amulets generally bears little relation to the subject represented, and depends to some extent on the period when they were made. Bone or ivory was favored for amulets of the late Old Kingdom and the subsequent First Intermediate Period, for example, like those at the bottom of the picture, while the amethyst turtles evidently belong to the Middle Kingdom, when this most beautiful of semi-precious stones was frequently used.

The two largest amulets emphasize the patterning of the carapace—its longitudinal rows of small tubercles and profusion of spots.



8. *Middle Kingdom amuletic knife. About 1800 B.C. Ivory, length about 11 inches. Rogers Fund, 22.1.154*

9. *Middle Kingdom feeding cup. About 1800 B.C. Faience, length 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Museum excavations at Lisht, Rogers Fund, 44.4.4*





In the case of the amethyst pendant the effect of this all-over pattern is reproduced by means of 108 shallow pits, many of which still contain their original inlay, tiny disks of turquoise, red jasper, and lapis lazuli. The eyes are indicated by similar pits, from which the inlaid disks are missing. The use of this object as a pendant is indicated by a hole drilled through the neck to accommodate a cord, but there is also a fairly deep hole in the center of the underside, showing that at one time or another it was evidently affixed to a base by means of a round tenon.

The second of the two largest figurines shown in the Frontispiece is made of green-

10. *New Kingdom turtle amulet. About 1400 B.C. Dark green faience, length $\frac{5}{16}$ inch. Museum excavations at western Thebes*
11. *Mutilated head of a kneeling statue of Queen Hatshepsut. About 1490 B.C. Red granite, height about 2 feet 10 inches. Museum excavations at Deir el Bahri, Rogers Fund, 29.3.1*



glazed steatite. It was similarly fixed to a base by means of a tenon and is not, properly speaking, an amulet. Together with its base (Figure 7), however, it obviously did serve an amuletic purpose. The base is a steatite rod made up of three segments. The sides of this pedestal show a crocodile and a cat, the latter preceded by a lion in one instance, between two similar groups consisting of a wedjat-eye (emblematic of soundness), a brazier, and an ape; on the top is a single turtle—obviously the centerpiece—flanked by two frogs, two crocodiles, and two lions. Most of these motifs, including the turtle, are incised on the so-called magical knives (Figure 8) that are a product of the same period, the Middle Kingdom, and were intended, according to their inscriptions, to protect the women and children of a household. In these incised representations the carapace of the turtle is frequently cross-hatched, although the effect is less realistic than it is in the case of the steatite turtle. Similar crosshatching of the turtle's shell reappears on yet another amuletic object of the Middle Kingdom, a blue faience feeding cup (Figure 9) that shows an analogous procession of magical figures, intended to protect the child who drank from it.

The very round carnelian amulet in the Frontispiece may be as late as the New Kingdom, since a similar specimen in the Brooklyn Museum is known to come from an early Eighteenth Dynasty cemetery at Sawama, near Akhmim. The brown and white amulet, a mixture of quartz and hematite, is of unknown date but can hardly be much later than the other examples; it is perhaps to be compared with a brown stone turtle found by Carnarvon and Carter in a Theban burial of the Second Intermediate Period. No examples whatever can be assigned with any certainty to the period following the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, which is evidently the date of a small headless faience turtle (Figure 10), that turned up during the Museum's excavations in the palace of Amenophis III. Perhaps by that time the subject was considered altogether too dangerous to keep about one's person. At all events, it is surely no coinci-



12. *The turtle killed as an enemy of Re. From a Nineteenth Dynasty tomb at Thebes (no. 157). About 1250 B.C. (Figure 1 of an article by T. Säve-Söderbergh on page 176 of Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, 14, 1956)*

dence that representations of turtles are not found among the increasingly plentiful supply of amulets recovered from the succeeding dynasties.

The subsequent misfortunes of the Nile turtle are dramatically illustrated by the present condition of the protodynastic figurine acquired in 1961, which was deliberately mutilated in antiquity. The eyes in particular have been most assiduously pecked by a sharp pointed instrument, and in addition to being blinded, the animal was maimed. The laming of the feet was carried out somewhat haphazardly, but the back, on the other hand, received a great concentration of blows, as evidenced by a worn patch between the cen-

ter and front of the carapace. Such mutilations are known from every period of Egyptian history; the New Kingdom statues of Queen Hatshepsut, which were methodically broken by her stepson and successor Tuthmosis III, afford the most striking example in our own collections. As the head in Figure 11 shows, their destruction was begun by hammering away the uraeus cobra on the brow, the symbol of royalty, and, like our ill-fated turtle, by pecking out the eyes.

The motive behind the mutilation of the turtle is readily explained by its evil reputation as an enemy of Re. No other images of turtles are known to have been dealt with in this manner, however, and it therefore seems

likely that the punishment was inflicted at some period after the turtle ceased to be represented. The immolation of *Trionyx* is first depicted in a tomb as early as the Nineteenth Dynasty, where the deceased is pictured harpooning a turtle, accompanied by the familiar formula, "May Re live and may the turtle die" (Figure 12). In the succeeding dynasties magical stelae often show the demonic solar god Harmerti triumphing over his enemies, a procession of animals reminiscent of the magical knives of the Middle Kingdom; the animals, all of which (including the turtle) embody evil, are enclosed by a ring to prevent their escape (Figure 13). By the Greco-Roman Period the extermination of turtles along with other malevolent creatures is frequently represented. Reliefs in the temples of Philae, Dendera, and Edfu show the turtle being ritually harpooned by the king, and there is reason to think that perishable models of wax or papyrus were destroyed by the king's priestly representatives who enacted his role. In the present case, however, we apparently have evidence that such a ritual was performed upon a more durable figurine, one

made between two and three thousand years earlier, which was then reburied for an almost equal length of time to await a place of honor in our Predynastic Room.

NOTES

I treat this subject in greater detail in *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles*, a monograph in the Metropolitan Museum Papers that is scheduled to appear later this year.

Descriptions of *Trionyx triunguis*: John Anderson, *Zoology of Egypt*, I, pp. 32-34; Gerald Durrell, *The Overloaded Ark* (Penguin Books, 1953), p. 221.

Mythology: B. van de Walle, "La Tortue dans la religion et la magie égyptienne" in *La Nouvelle Clio*, V (Brussels, 1953), pp. 173-189.

Medical considerations: B. J. Rosenstein et al., "A Family Outbreak of Salmonellosis Traced to a Pet Turtle" in *New England Journal of Medicine*, CCVXXII (1965), p. 960.

The couplet by Andrew Marvell is from "Upon Appleton House," stanza 97. The remaining lines of the stanza unwittingly echo the anti-solar notion of the ancient Egyptians:

How tortoise like, but not so slow
 These rational amphibii go?
 Let's in, for the dark hemisphere
 Does now like one of them appear.

13. Detail of a schist magical stela of the Thirtieth Dynasty. About 350 B.C. Height of area illustrated $2\frac{11}{16}$ inches. Fletcher Fund, 50.85





1. Signature of the potter *Andokides* on the Museum's red-figured amphora attributed to the *Andokides Painter*. Attic, about 530-520 B.C. Height 22 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Purchase, 1963, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 63.11.6

Andokides the Potter and the Andokides Painter

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER *Curator of Greek and Roman Art*

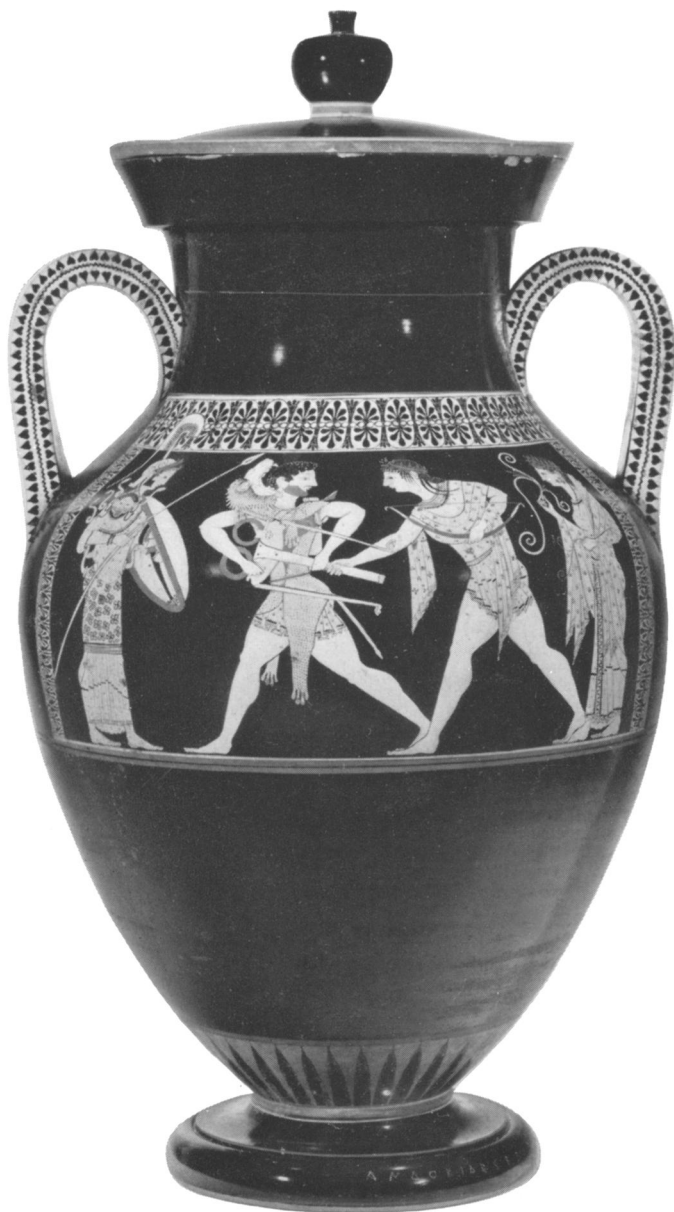
Ancient Greece produced painted pottery for close to a thousand years, yet when one hears of vase painting one thinks particularly of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., the great centuries of Greek art, and of Attica, the home of the best clay and the finest black glaze. It is from this period and region that more than a hundred potters and painters are known to us by name, and even those whose names have not been recorded often emerge as real personalities through their style.

If one were to select a single period of Attic vases as the most interesting, one would probably choose the last thirty years of the sixth century and the very beginning of the fifth – that is, the last generation of archaic artists, who in a very short time made greater advances in drawing and composition than those who either preceded or followed them. This period was ushered in with the invention of a new technique, red-figure painting, which for a time existed side by side with the older, black-figure technique, but largely supplanted the latter by the end of the sixth century B.C.

While Attic red-figure vase painting has always been well represented in the Museum, an example of the beginning of the new technique was lacking until the acquisition, two years ago, of an amphora signed by the potter Andokides. This amphora (Figure 2), though put together from over seventy fragments, is remarkably complete, with noticeable gaps on one side only. The principal pictures, set in two big panels, are in red-figure. On the front Herakles is shown struggling with Apollo for the possession of the Delphic tripod. Each protagonist is accompanied by an allied spectator: to the left of Herakles stands his protector Athena, her owl in her hand; behind Apollo is his sister Artemis, holding a bow and arrow and smelling a flower. The reverse (Figure 4), in a quieter mood, shows Dionysos with two of his followers, a satyr and a maenad. The rim of the

OPPOSITE:

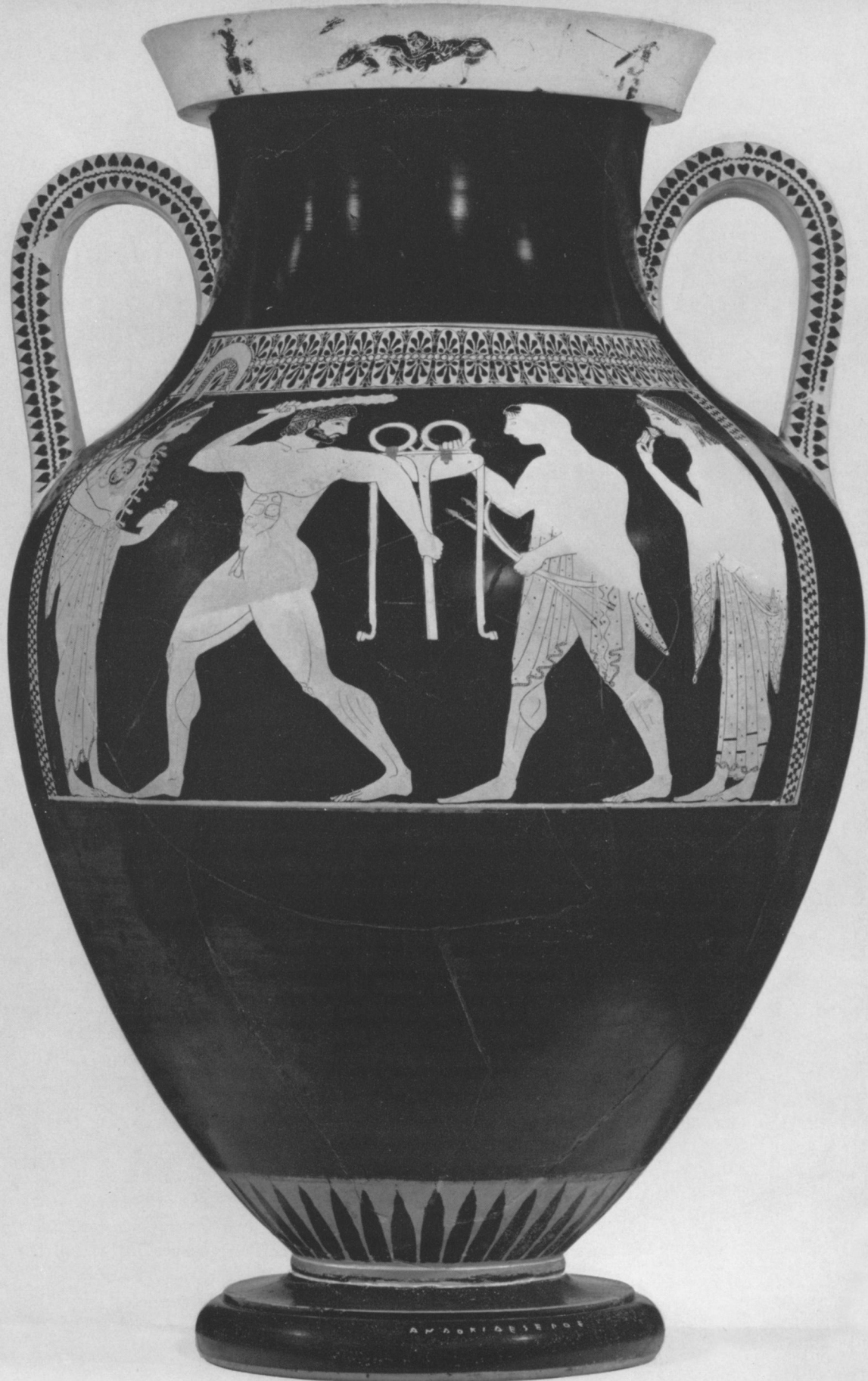
2. *The struggle for the tripod. Obverse of the Museum's amphora by Andokides*



3. *Red-figured amphora signed by Andokides as potter and attributed to the Andokides Painter. Attic, about 530-520 B.C. Height, with lid, 26¼ inches; without lid, 22⅞ inches. Staatliche Museen 2159, Berlin*

vase, coated with a white slip, bears two subsidiary scenes, painted in black-figure. In each Herakles wrestles with the Nemean lion, flanked by two seated onlookers: Athena, and his nephew and charioteer Iolaos. The top of the mouth is unglazed and shows signs of wear near the inner edge: this amphora, like all others of its type (Figure 3), once had a lid. The flanged handles are decorated with sprays of ivy on the sides and a large inverted palmette at their base (Figure 5). A chain composed of palmettes and lotuses forms the upper border of each panel, and laterally the panels are framed by a net pattern, with three knots on the obverse and two on the reverse. Thirty-nine rays or sepals spring from the base above the foot. On the lower part of the foot (Figure 1) Andokides has put his signature as potter, Ἀνδοκίδης ἔποιε ("Andokides made [me]"), in neat incised letters. The writing is not centered, but, as always with incised signatures by Andokides, begins at a point along the center axis of the panel above.

Although only nine vases have been preserved that bear Andokides's signature, more is known about him than about many of his colleagues. On a black-figured hydria in the Louvre (Figure 6) he is praised as handsome by the potter Timagoras, and his name appears, with that of the potter Mnesiades, in a metrical inscription on a marble support for a bronze dedication (Figure 7), found on the Acropolis in Athens. These eleven appearances of his name span a period of thirty or forty years and allow us to sketch his career. At the time of Timagoras (about 550-540 B.C.) he must have been a boy, perhaps serving as an apprentice. Not much later (about 540-530 B.C.) his first preserved signature is painted on a black-figured amphora (Figure 8). To this period may belong the dedication on the Acropolis, which reveals Andokides as an established and presumably prosperous citizen. Next come incised signatures on four amphorae (including ours) and one painted on a kylix (Figure 10), all dating from about 530 to 520 B.C. The red-figure work on these five vases is by one hand, the Andokides Painter, so named after the potter's signature. On the





4. *Dionysos with a satyr and maenad. Reverse of the Museum's amphora by Andokides*

remaining three vases Andokides collaborates with the painters Psiax (two amphorae) and Epiktetos (one calyx-krater). These three vases are somewhat later and are dated about 520 to 510 B.C.

If we can trust the fortuitous preservation of these signatures, Andokides appears to have been primarily a potter of amphorae, especially of the shape known as type A, which came into fashion shortly after the middle of the sixth century. The distinguishing marks of this shape are its relatively large size and its angular handles and foot. After a brief period of experimentation, this type was established by the great potter and painter Exekias about 540 B.C. and it was to remain canonical for almost a hundred years. As a potter, Andokides is in the tradition of Exekias and may be considered his follower. There

is also the possibility that some of the latest vases painted by Exekias were made by Andokides.

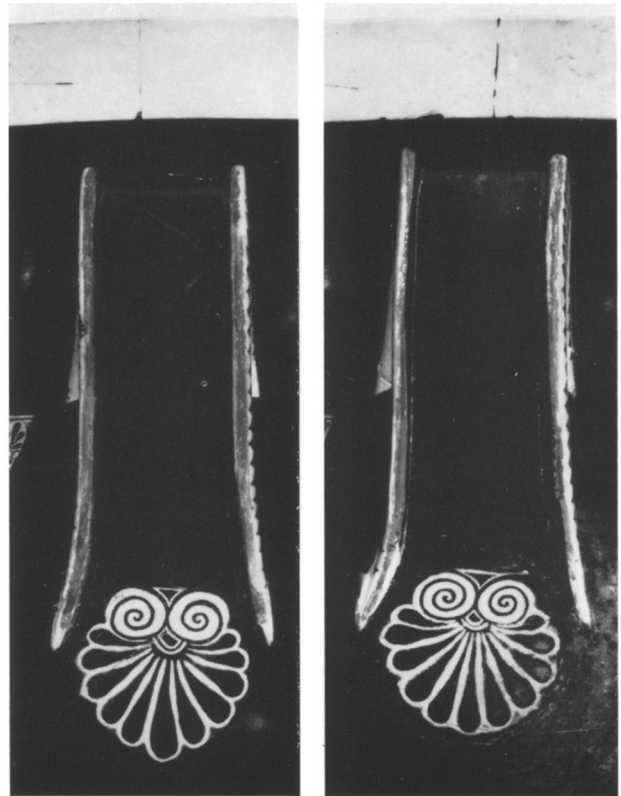
It is not certain if Andokides was only a potter, or if, like Exekias, he was also a painter. That the two professions could be combined by the same man is shown by many double signatures: "So-and-so made and painted [me]," or by separate appearances of the same name as painter and as potter. The potter required more equipment (clay pit, potter's wheel, kiln) than the painter, and it is probable that the potter was considered the more important. Next to nothing is known about the economic aspects of such establishments, but the fact that potters' signatures outnumber those of painters three to one is perhaps indicative of the potter's greater involvement in the trade, especially for export.

Whether or not Andokides was also a painter, the red-figure technique, invented in Attica about 530 B.C., occurs first on vases attributed to the Andokides Painter, and it is not unlikely that he is its originator. In the hundred years before this change, Attic vase painters practiced the black-figure technique invented in Corinth. The figures were painted with black glaze in solid silhouettes that were then lightened and clarified by lines incised through the glaze, laying bare the light-colored body of the vase. In addition, two matte colors, white and dark red, were used for details. White, for example, was regularly employed for the flesh of women, for contrast with the darker coloring of men. But by the middle of the sixth century B.C. the conventions of black-figure were no longer strictly observed. Outline drawing replaced the silhouettes for parts of figures, notably the faces and arms of women. The outlines were drawn with a fine brush, but as these parts are now of the same color as the surrounding background, they lack substance. In red-figure the outline technique was suddenly refined through a simple expedient: black glaze was used to fill in the surrounding background, and the figures, formerly so unsubstantial, stand out boldly, light against dark, almost in the manner of spotlighted performers on a darkened stage. The use of a black background, therefore, rather than the drawing of figures in outlines, is the truly revolutionary change of Attic red-figure. The advantages of the new technique are obvious: look at two vases, one black-figured, the other red-figured, from a distance and see how the composition of a red-figured vase can be recognized even from afar, while the black-figured painting remains obscure until you get quite close to it.

The new technique was not, of course, an easy one to practice at the time it was introduced, and many who tried their hand at it must have become discouraged. The preliminary sketch became more important than ever: the background has to be clearly delineated before it is blocked in, and the figures themselves must be outlined crisply. For this a brush is not really adequate: no matter how fine, a brush simply cannot produce a line that

is both delicate and solid, since the glaze-matter does not run so freely as ink or paint, but is of the consistency of honey. The glaze-matter for the thin yet solid line developed by Attic vase painters had to be extruded through the fine nozzle of a syringe or similar instrument. The principles must have been known since the middle of the sixth century B.C., when there first appear short, straight lines that stand out in relief and catch the light, much as the printing on engraved letterheads or calling cards. In the very beginning of red-figure, as can be observed on the amphorae by the Andokides Painter, not much use is made of these relief lines. Instead, most of the contours, and even the lines within figures, are still drawn with a brush. As a result, the lines are not solid black: to make the glaze-matter flow more easily from the brush, the painter had to dilute it. Soon, however, the value of relief lines came to be recognized, and their competent application becomes the hallmark of the great red-figure masters.

5. *Palmettes below the handles of the Museum's amphora by Andokides*





6. Black-figured hydria by the potter Timagoras, with an inscription praising Andokides. Attic, about 550-540 B.C. Height 16½ inches. Musée du Louvre F 38

7. Marble base dedicated by Mnesiades and Andokides. About 540-530 B.C. Acropolis Museum, Athens. Photograph: A. E. Raubitschek



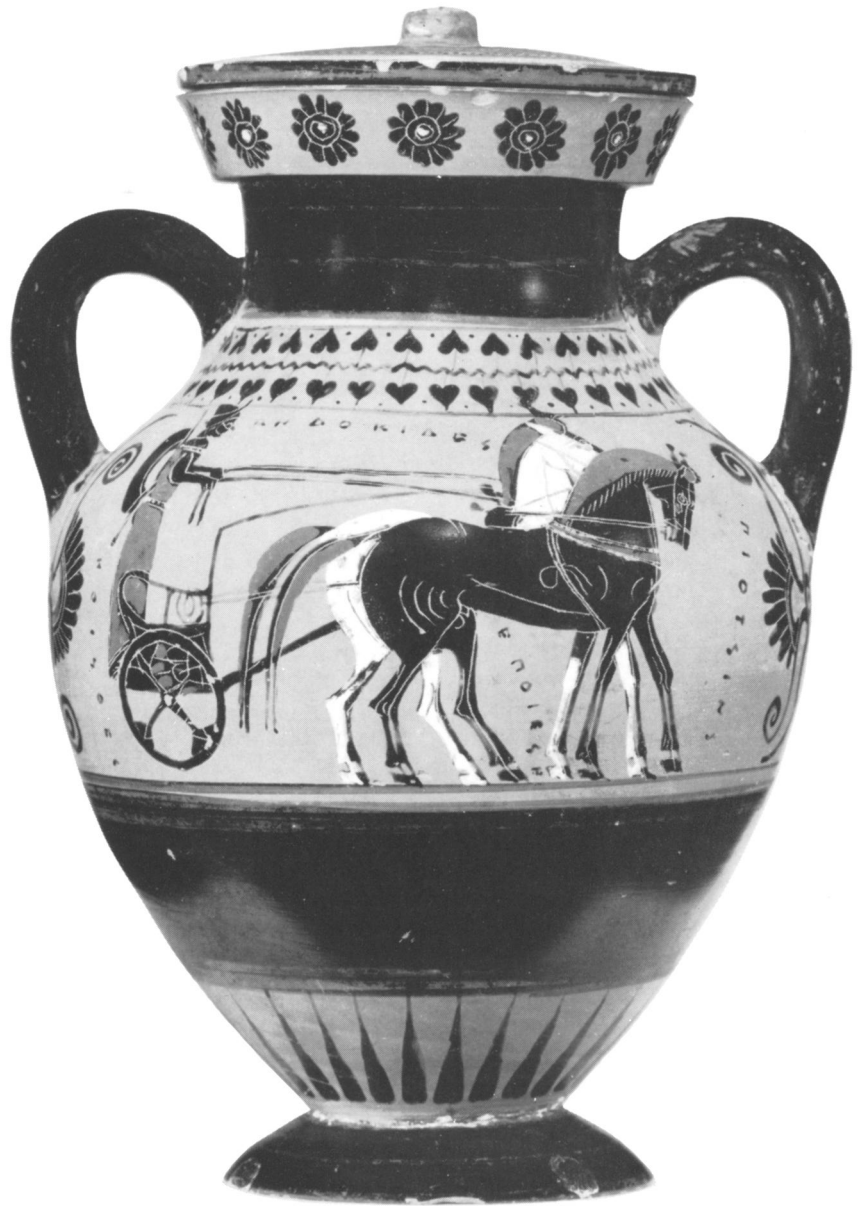
Another change necessitated by the new technique concerns the ornaments. Putting the main decoration in panels was a convention that originated in black-figure. There, of course, no frame was needed. On later black-figured amphorae it became fashionable to add a horizontal ornamental strip above the panel – usually a festoon or chain of palmettes alternating with lotuses. Ornaments on the sides of panels also occur occasionally, though they are hardly needed. When the panel convention was transferred to red-figure, it became necessary to separate the black of the vase from the black of the background, hence the emphasis not only upon the traditional top band, but, even more, upon strong lateral borders. The need for well-defined lateral framing led the Andokides Painter to some experimentation (palmettes, lotuses, curved swastikas) before he settled on the net pattern, either with triple or double knots, in which he was followed by other painters of red-figured amphorae. Still later, of course, the entire notion of a panel was abandoned, and the figures were allowed to stand freely or on a short base line against the black of the entire vase.

Fifteen vases have so far been attributed to the Andokides Painter, including the five signed by Andokides as potter. All but the signed kylix are amphorae. Only six are painted exclusively in the red-figured technique. The exterior of the kylix (Figure 10) is evenly divided between red-figure and black-figure: the bisection is under the handles and cuts

right through the subjects. On six amphorae, none of them signed by Andokides, that are painted in both techniques the division is less violent, since each panel is self-contained, one entirely red-figured, the other completely black-figured.

On the amphora in the Museum both panels are in the new technique, but the frieze on the rim is in black-figure (Figure 9). Although the fashion of decorating the mouth of an amphora with a small frieze goes back to the immediate predecessors of Exekias, the white ground or slip on which the frieze is painted is novel. A similar slip appears in the panel zone of another amphora by the Andokides Painter, a small vase in the Louvre, signed by Andokides. There, however, the subjects are not silhouetted as in black-figure, but reserved, with the background painted black as in red-figure. On neither vase has the black glaze fused properly with the background of the slip; it has peeled and flaked, probably during firing, because of the difference in the coefficient of expansion and contraction between the slip and the glaze. Later the technique improved—perhaps the slip was prepared differently or the glaze was modified—and in the last quarter of the sixth century black-figure on white ground became very popular for certain small vases: lekythoi, alabastra, oinochoai, kyathoi, and small hydriai and amphorae. In the fifth century some of the finest vases have figures drawn in outline and painted in colors on the white ground. In some parts of Greece, from earliest times on, a light-colored slip or engobe had been regularly added to the vase before it was painted, but the chalky-white background that appears first on late sixth-century Attic vases is without parallel elsewhere, and since the earliest instances of this white slip are on the two vases mentioned above, the Andokides Painter should perhaps be credited not only with the invention of red-figure but also the introduction of the white-ground technique.

There is one question that I cannot answer: are the small figures on the rim painted by the same man who did the red-figure panels? The black-figure work that appears side by side or back to back with red-figure on the so-called



8. *Black-figured amphora signed by Andokides as potter. Attic, about 540 B.C. Height, with lid, 10 $\frac{5}{16}$ inches. Lent by Christos G. Bastis, L 64.31*



9. *Black-figure painting on the white rim of the obverse of the Museum's amphora by Andokides*

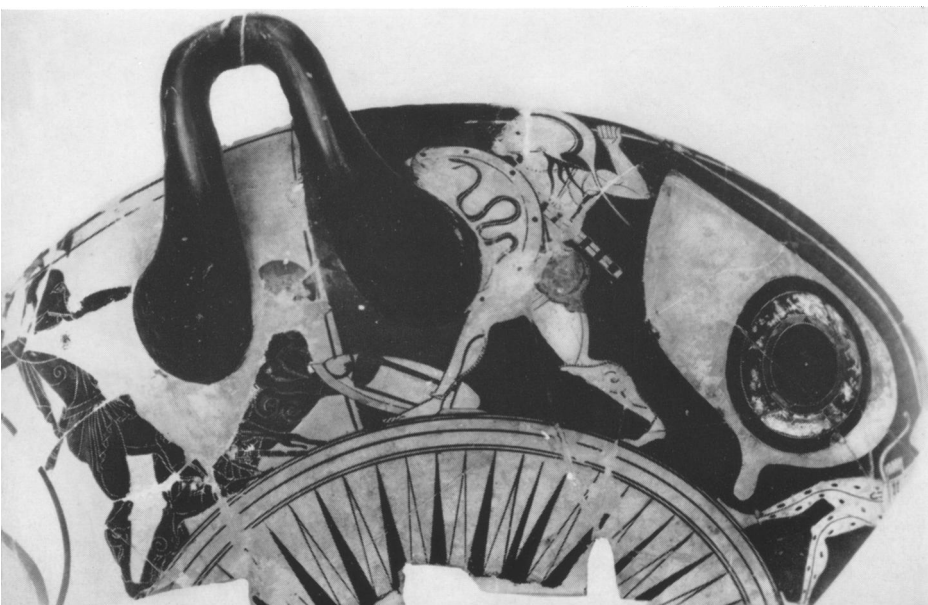
10. *"Bilingual" decoration on a fragmentary kylix signed by Andokides as potter, attributed to the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter. Attic, about 530-520 B.C. Museo Nazionale V 650, Palermo*

bilingual vases mentioned above is apparently not: the argument has swung like a pendulum, but for the last fifteen years Sir John Beazley has attributed the black-figured portions of these vases to another hand, the Lysippides Painter. Not everyone agrees, and many of the arguments can be used both ways. I nonetheless side with Beazley and shall go into this at greater length elsewhere. But as for the small figures on the amphora in the Museum, at the moment I cannot state with certainty whether they are by the Andokides Painter, the Lysippides Painter, or still another hand.

The exact chronology of the vases decorated by the Andokides Painter has not as yet been fully established, and there is much disagreement about it. The vase shapes, the ornaments, and the placement of the panels are as important as the style of figure drawing. All of them require careful analysis, and a full presentation of all the arguments involved

would be both lengthy and intricate. The relative chronology of the amphorae, as I see it, is presented in a simple diagram on page 212. It appears that the amphorae painted in collaboration with the Lysippides Painter are later than those on which both panels are in red-figure, and it can also be stipulated that the newly acquired amphora is among his earliest.

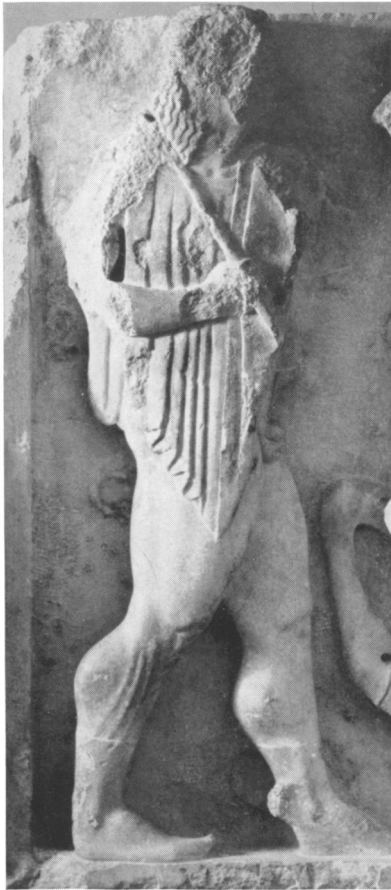
Although the relative chronology for the vases by the Andokides Painter can only be established by the internal evidence of style and technique, the dates of the introduction of Attic red-figure, and with it the beginning of the painter's career, can be established by external fact. His style is linked to one of the few sculptural complexes that can be dated with reasonable accuracy: the treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi, which was erected before 524 B.C., when Siphnos was captured by Samian rebels. The treasury was excavated from



RIGHT:

11. *Maenad, on the reverse of the Museum's amphora by Andokides*





OPPOSITE:

14. *Athena and Herakles with the tripod, on the obverse of the Museum's amphora by Andokides*

1893; most of its sculptural decoration was recovered, and constitutes the most completely preserved body of architectural sculpture of the sixth century known to us. Of special importance is the frieze, with its competent handling of ambitious compositions, masterful rendering of three-quarter views, and other stylistic innovations. These innovations, together with the subjects shown (especially the scenes from the Trojan War and the battle between the gods and the giants), find their counterparts in contemporary vase painting. The usefulness of the Siphnian sculpture in dating late archaic vases has long been recognized, and the style of the Andokides Painter is closer to the Siphnian sculptures than that of any other vase painter. These comparisons are based on the treatment of folds in drapery, the proportions of the figures, and details of armor and anatomy. Moreover, the subject of the pediment is the struggle for the tripod, which did not become popular in Attic vase painting until the Andokides Painter. There are over one hundred and eighty representations of this myth in vase painting, but of this large number only one, a pyxis (61.1256) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is earlier than the Siphnian pediment. All the others are later, and the two earliest among them are not in black-figure, but in red-figure. Both are by the Andokides Painter, and one is the scene on our vase. Lastly, a small but significant detail: on our vase the muscles on Herakles's left calf are drawn with three gently curved lines, a convention that I have found on no other vase. It does occur, however – and this surely is no coincidence – twice on the frieze of the Siphnian treasury (Figures 12, 13).

12, 13. *Details of the frieze from the Siphnian treasury at Delphi. Erected before 524 B.C. Delphi Museum. Photographs: G. de Miré*



It can therefore be stated now with even greater conviction that the Andokides Painter was inspired by the sculptures of the Siphnian treasury, and that he not only revolutionized Attic vase painting by his technical innovations but that he was also the first to translate into his medium these important new artistic ideas.



NOTES

The measurements of the Museum's amphora by Andokides are: height $22\frac{5}{8}$ inches (57.5 cm.); width $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches (37.5 cm.); diameter of mouth $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches (24.8 cm.); diameter of foot $7\frac{15}{16}$ inches (20.2 cm.); width of handle $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches (5.4 cm.).

Added red is used for a thin line on each side of the neck, the flanges of the handles, some of the cuffs of the lotus in the frame, two lines below the panels, a line above the rays, and on the fillet. In the pictures, added red occurs on the obverse for the cheekpiece of Athena's helmet and the snakes issuing from her gorgoneion, the beard and fillet of Herakles, the straps connecting the rings with the tripod, the chord of Apollo's bow and the arrowheads, the leaves of Artemis's wreath and part of her flower. On the reverse, red occurs for the leaves of all wreaths and of the ivy branch carried by Dionysos, his beard, the background of the panther heads on the maenad's shoulders, and dots on the black lozenges of her short tunic.

Incisions are used in the panels for the contours of hair, the stems of all wreaths, the contour of Athena's helmet, its two volutes, and the stippling on the hair of the figures on the obverse.

Sketch lines are visible on the obverse in the figure of Apollo. On the reverse the central meridian was marked with a lightly depressed line all

the way from the lip to foot. Vertical glaze lines mark the division between obverse and reverse on the lip.

The principal restorations consist of part of the owl, Athena's hand, her forearm, three snakes of the aegis above; most of the head, the neck, shoulders, and midriff of Apollo; most of the right arm and the upper body of Artemis. The restored portions of the figures are merely blocked out, without any inner lines, and are therefore easily recognizable.

References and bibliography are to be found in John D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (1963), pp. 1-5, and p. 1617; add H. Marwitz, "Zur Einheit des Andokidesmalers" in *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 46 (1961-1963), pp. 73-104, and Elfriede R. Knauer, *Die Berliner Andokides-Vase* (1965). On lids by the Andokides Painter see *Berliner Museen*, n.s. 14 (1964), pp. 38-42.

The photographs of details from the Siphnian frieze are reproduced from prints of the negatives by G. de Miré, kindly lent by the Marquis de La Coste Messelière, who, as co-author of the original publication (*Delphes*, 1943, 1957), permitted the reproduction of the details (*Delphes*, pls. 69 and 75).

Relative chronology of vases by the Andokides Painter

All amphorae except Palermo V 650 (a kylix), dating about 530 to 515 B.C.

| RED-FIGURED | RED-FIGURED AND BLACK-FIGURED | WHITE GROUND |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------|
| *Berlin 2159 | | |
| *New York 63.11.6 | | |
| *Louvre G 1 | | |
| †Leipzig T 635 | | *Louvre F 203 |
| Orvieto, Faina, 64 | | |
| Swiss Private Coll. | Boston 01.8037 | |
| | *Palermo V 650 | |
| †Taranto and Reggio (possibly bilingual) | Bologna 151 | |
| | London B 193 | |
| | Louvre F 204 | |
| | Munich 2301 | |
| | Boston 99.538 | |

*signed by Andokides as potter

†foot missing

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