

Andokides and a Curious Attic Black-Figured Amphora

MARY B. MOORE

Professor of Art History, Hunter College of the City University of New York

THE OPENING IN APRIL 1999 of the seven refurbished galleries exhibiting the Archaic and Classical Greek sculpture and painting in The Metropolitan Museum of Art was a greatly anticipated occasion. And it was well worth the wait. Exquisitely installed and bathed in light, the objects fairly sparkle in their new homes. Whereas in previous installations the large pieces, particularly the sculpture, often seemed to receive the lion's share of visitors' attention, in the new arrangement the smaller objects in metal and clay often steal the show. An Attic black-figured amphora is just such an example. The vase first came to the Metropolitan Museum in 1964 as a long-term loan from Christos G. Bastis, and in 1999 Mr. and Mrs. Bastis gave it to the museum in honor of Carlos A. Picón, curator in charge of the Department of Greek and Roman Art.¹ It has long interested me because it presents intriguing problems of epigraphy and attribution. The vase was made and signed by the potter Andokides and it should probably be dated about 540 B.C. (Figures 1–8, 23–25).

This little vase is a one-piece amphora of Beazley's Type B. The shape is characterized by a continuous-curve profile between mouth and foot, handles that are round in section, and a type of foot known as an echinus.² Its flaring mouth is flat on top to receive a lid.³ On the side of the mouth is a frieze of rosettes with a white dot in the core of each. Above the figures is a band of ivy with a wavy vine and a dot between each leaf. At each handle an ornamental configuration separates the scene on the obverse from the one on the reverse: a lotus-palmette cross with a dotted chain linking the three elements (Figures 3, 4). The center of the hanging lotus at handle A/B is red, as is the heart of the right palmette; at handle B/A, part of the heart of each palmette is red and so is the center of the hanging lotus. The root of each handle is superimposed over the upper lotus so that only the leaves and fronds appear, not the cuff. There are twenty-nine rays above the foot. The lid (Figure 5), which is preserved except for its knob, has several patterns. From

the knob out they are as follows: dot band, ribbon pattern, two dot bands, each separated by three lines. On the brim are myrtle leaves with dots.⁴

On each side of the amphora there is a chariot facing to the right. On Side A (Figures 1, 6, 7, 24), the charioteer, dressed in a long, red, belted chiton and a petasos with the brim turned up in the back, stands in the box of the chariot near its back edge. He holds the reins tightly in both hands, but has no goad. A Boeotian shield hangs down his back. The horses step forward smartly, looking nervous and high-strung. The right-hand pole horse is white; the pupil of its eye is red, as is the rein where it overlaps its neck. The forelocks of the two trace horses and the left-hand pole horse are tied in topknots. Manes are red; the tails of the right-hand pole horse and the right-hand trace horse are red;⁵ the breast band of the right-hand trace horse is also red, edged by a row of white dots above and below. In the field are three inscriptions (Figure 8).

Side B is similar, but there are a few differences (Figures 2, 23, 25). The charioteer wears a black chiton, his petasos is white with a red dot on the black brim near the front, and he holds a goad. The right-hand pole horse is white, but its mane is incised. As on Side A, the rein is red where it overlaps the neck. This horse's tail and the tail and mane of the right-hand trace horse are red. The girth of the latter horse is decorated with white dots. The right-hand trace horse has a small incised circle within the triangle created by the divided cheek strap of the headstall and the cheekpiece of the bit. This may be a very early rendering of a bit burr, a device that made turning a quadriga easier.⁶ In front of the team, a small, nude man stands to right, holding a wreath in his lowered right hand and a palm branch in his raised left (Figure 25). His diminutive size was probably dictated by the small amount of space available for him. An eagle holding a long serpent in its beak flies to left above the croups of the horses (Figure 23).

ANDOKIDES AND THE POTTING INSCRIPTION

Writing appears very frequently on Greek vases and the letters may be painted or incised.⁷ Inscriptions are

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Figure 1. Side A of an Attic black-figure amphora signed by Andokides as potter, ca. 540 B.C., showing a chariot moving to the right. H. 26 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Christos G. Bastis, in honor of Carlos A. Picón, 1999 (1999.30a, b)

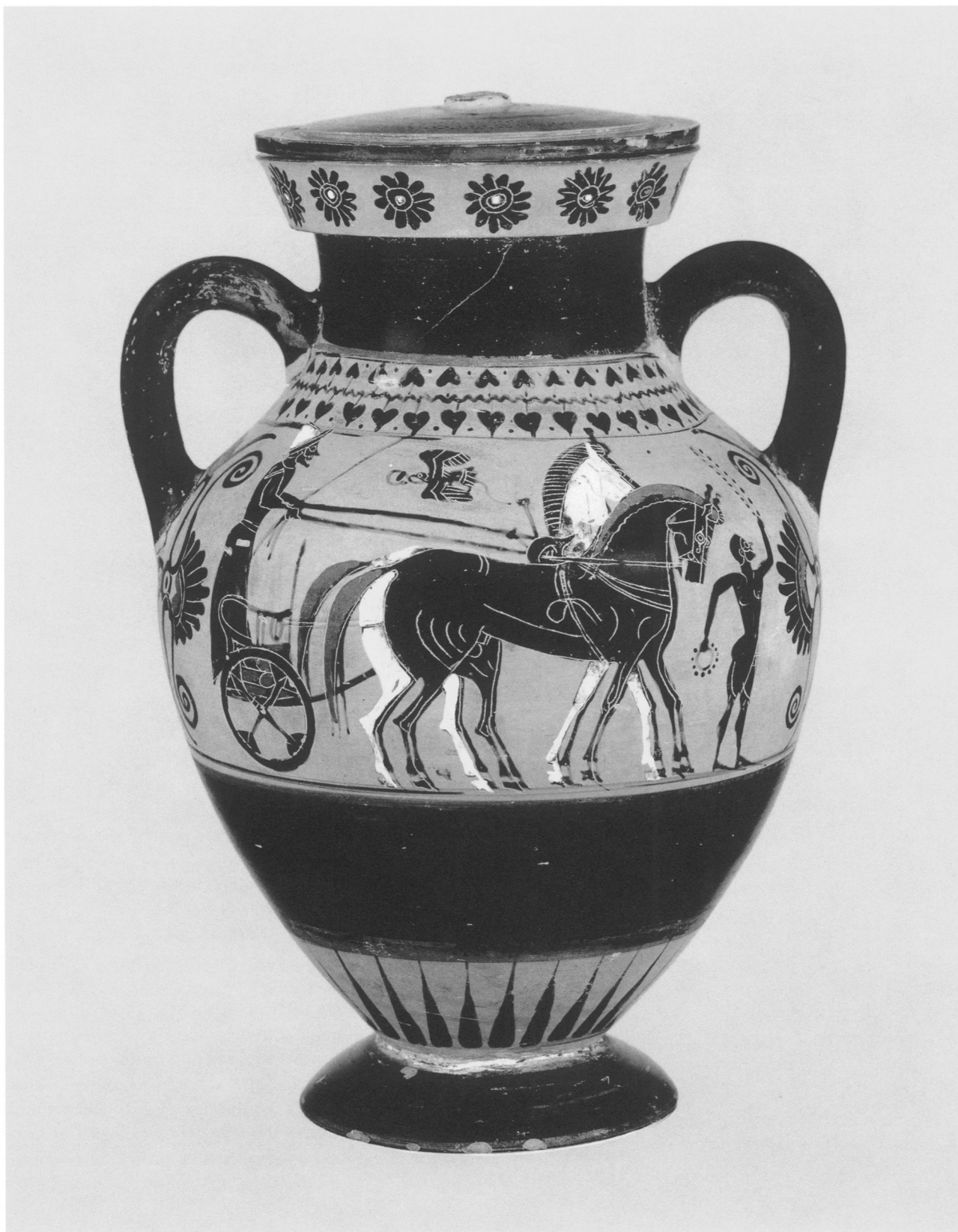


Figure 2. Side B of the amphora in Figure 1 showing a chariot moving to the right



Figure 3. Side A/B of the amphora in Figure 1 showing the configuration below the handle

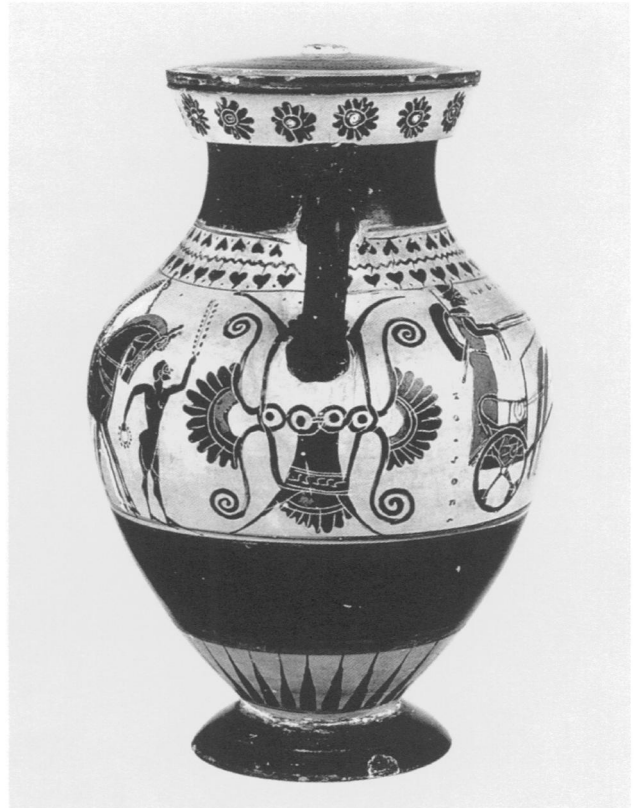


Figure 4. Side B/A of the amphora in Figure 1 showing the configuration below the handle



Figure 5. Top of the lid of the amphora in Figure 1

used for various purposes. They may be the signature of the potter (as on MMA 1999.30) or of the painter; they may identify figures depicted in the illustration; or they may fall into other categories, such as signifying the purpose of the vase, citing part of a text, or naming objects.⁸ The earliest known inscription on an Attic vase is incised on the shoulder of an oinochoe dated in the third quarter of the eighth century B.C., that is, in the Late Geometric period. The inscription indicates that the vase was awarded to the person who danced the most gracefully.⁹ The earliest artist signatures appear on works of the late eighth century and seventh century B.C.; they give the names of potters and are not of Attic origin. The first preserved example, on a Late Geometric krater fragment found at Pithekoussai, was made by a potter whose name ends in []ΙΝΟΣ. The next occurs on a krater of uncertain fabric found at Cerveteri and dating about 650 B.C.; this potter's name is Aristonothos. Another potter is Kallikleas, who signed a candlestick-like object found at Ithaca that is roughly contemporary with the krater

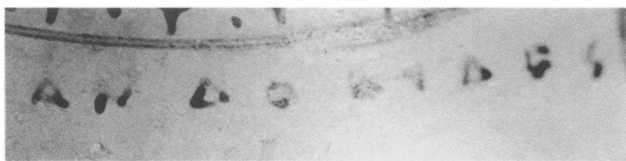


Figure 6. Detail of Side A of the amphora in Figure 1 showing the name “Andokides” in the potter’s signature (photo: the author)



Figure 7. Detail of Side A of the amphora in Figure 1 showing the verb *epoiese* in the potter’s signature (photo: the author)

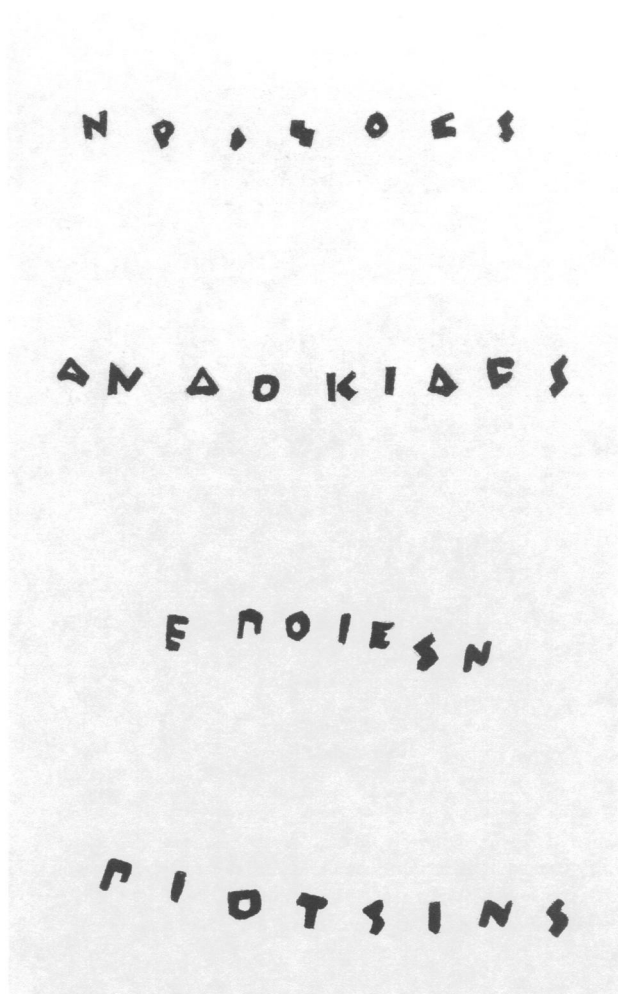


Figure 8. Inscriptions on Side A of the amphora in Figure 1, behind the charioteer—nonsense inscription; in front of the charioteer’s face—ANDOKIDES; beneath the horses’ bellies—EPOIESE (made it); and in front of the horses—nonsense inscription (drawing: the author)

by Aristonothos.¹⁰ In Attica, the first signatures appear about seventy years later, about 580 B.C. They are by Sophilos, who signed both as potter and as painter.¹¹ Next is Kleitias, who collaborated with the potter Ergotimos. The most famous of their collaborations is the François Vase in Florence,¹² but on a small stand of about 570 B.C. in the Metropolitan Museum, Kleitias and Ergotimos signed their names and the appropriate verb on the sloping surface of the stem.¹³

On Side A of MMA 1999.30, there are three inscriptions, one identifying the potter—on which we shall concentrate—and two that are nonsense. A nonsense inscription is composed of Greek letters whose sequence does not make a name or a word.¹⁴ On the Andokides amphora, the two nonsense inscriptions

seem to be fillers, especially the one in the space in front of the team.

Of considerably more interest is the potting inscription (Figures 6–8). The name “Andokides” is written horizontally above the backs of the horses, and the verb appears vertically below their bellies; its last two or three letters seem a little too close together. This is the earliest preserved signature of Andokides.

Andokides is best known as the potter of early red-figured amphorae of Type A, the largest and the most impressive of the three variants of one-piece amphorae. The decoration of four of these amphorae is attributed to the Andokides Painter, who takes his name from the potter.¹⁵ He is the earliest of the red-figure artists and was active about 530–515 B.C. The

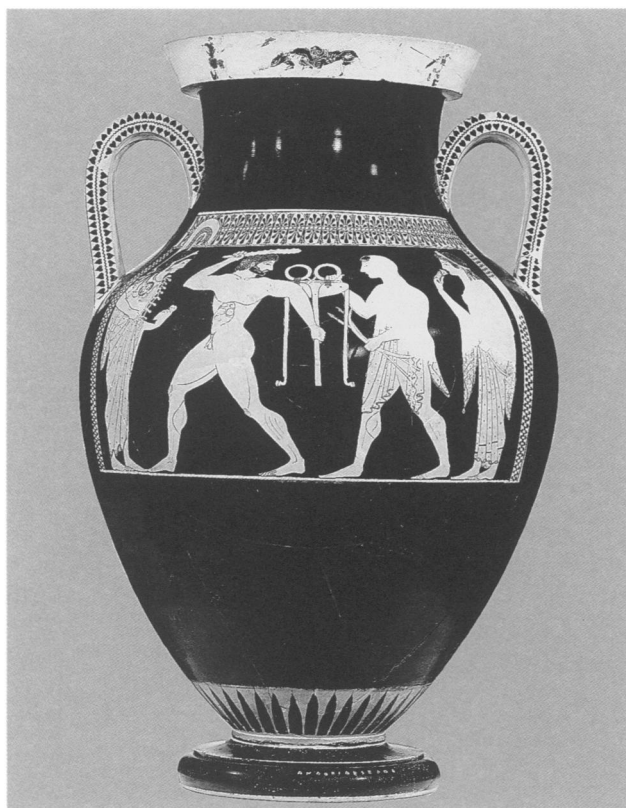


Figure 9. Side A of an amphora of Type A signed by Andokides as potter and attributed to the Andokides Painter, ca. 530 B.C. H. 57.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1963 (63.11.6)



Figure 10. Side A of an amphora signed by Andokides on the top of the mouth and attributed to Psiax, ca. 530 B.C. H. 39.5 cm. British Museum, London, B.M. 1980.11-29.1 (photo: courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)

Andokides Painter is also the first red-figure painter of whose work we have enough examples to chart his chronology and establish his artistic personality.¹⁶ The four extant amphorae of Type A signed by the potter Andokides and attributed to the Andokides Painter are these: MMA 63.11.6 (Figure 9); Berlin 2159; Louvre G 1; and Louvre F 203, a small amphora with the figures painted white instead of being left the reddish color of the clay ground, as is standard in red-figure practice.¹⁷ This “white-figured” vase seems to be an experiment that was not repeated.



Figure 11. Detail of the amphora in Figure 10 showing the signature of Andokides on the top of the mouth (photo: courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)

A fifth amphora of Type A signed by Andokides as potter is the bilingual one in Madrid attributed to Psiax, a versatile painter active in the Athenian Kerameikos from about 530 until 510 B.C.¹⁸ A bilingual vase is decorated in both black-figure and red-figure and each technique is confined to one side of the vessel. The Madrid amphora is generally dated about 520 B.C. or possibly a little later. Each of these five signatures is incised on the torus of the foot in precise, neat letters and placed so that the initial A begins at the axis on the obverse (Figure 9).¹⁹

There is one more incised potting signature by Andokides. It occurs on the foot of a red-figured calyx-krater in the Villa Giulia, which also bears the incised signature of the painter Epiktetos written above the heads of the komasts on Side A.²⁰

More pertinent to this article and to our amphora are two potting signatures of Andokides that are painted instead of incised. The first is written on the top of the mouth of a neck-amphora of special type once in the collection at Castle Ashby and now in the British Museum (Figures 10, 11).²¹ This black-figured neck-amphora is attributed to Psiax, who also decorated

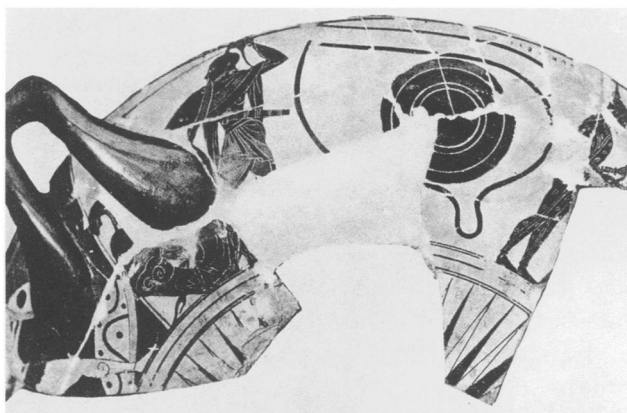


Figure 12. Side A of a bilingual cup signed by Andokides as potter and attributed to the Lysippides Painter, showing a fight under the handle, ca. 525 B.C. Diam. 53.5 cm. Museo Nazionale, Palermo, V 630 (photo: after CVA Palermo 1 [Italia 14], pl. 1 [658], 1)



Figure 13. Detail of a hydria signed by Timagoras as potter and praising Andokides as *kalos*, ca. 550 B.C. H. 42 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, F 38 (photo: Louvre)

the signed bilingual in Madrid, and it is dated about 530 B.C. or a little later. The signature of Andokides is centered directly above the figures on Side A, which shows Dionysos holding a vine in his left hand and a drinking horn in his right. The god walks to the left between two cavorting satyrs, looking back at one of them.

The second painted signature of Andokides appears on an odd bilingual cup in Palermo, Museo Nazionale, V 650 (Figure 12), a collaboration between the Andokides Painter, who did the red-figured decoration, and his colleague the Lysippides Painter, who was responsible for the black-figured painting.²² This is an eye-cup, so-named because a pair of apotropaic eyes appears on each side of the exterior.²³ Normally on bilinguals, each technique appears on just one side of the vessel, divided front and back as on the Madrid amphora just discussed. In part, this is the case with the Palermo cup. Black-figured archers appear between outline eyes on one side, and part of a red-figured archer is seen next to a red-figured eye on the other (the right half of this side is missing, but it would have had a similar eye). A most unexpected feature of this cup, however, is that the two techniques *overlap* in the handle zone, where combats take place between well-matched warriors fighting over a fallen comrade or enemy. In both fights, the injured man is drawn in black-figure against the light background, but his round shield is in red-figure with its emblems in black.²⁴ The effect is as peculiar as it is unique. On this cup, the signature of Andokides appears on the black-figured side above the left eyebrow, written retrograde, that is, from right to left, not left to right (see Figure 12).

The name "Andokides" appears on two other vases. The first is on a black-figured hydria attributed to the Taleides Painter, an artist active in the third quarter of the sixth century B.C.²⁵ The vase is signed by the potter Timagoras, and his inscription is painted vertically along the left side of the panel. Complementing it on the right is an inscription in which Timagoras praises Andokides: ΑΝΔΟΚΙΔΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ (Andokides seems *kalos* to Timagoras) (Figure 13). This hydria is usually dated soon after 550 B.C., a little earlier than MMA 1999.30, and the *kalos* name is one of the earliest. *Kalos* names praise youths, very likely well known or at least handsome young Athenians, in this case, Andokides. These names appear on Attic vases only; they begin around the middle of the sixth century B.C. and continue into the third quarter of the fifth, with the greatest concentration occurring in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. The length of time a youth was considered *kalos* was about ten years or a little longer, though

on occasion ancient authors refer to a man as *kalos*.²⁶

The last instance in which the name of Andokides occurs is on a marble pillar for a bronze statue dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis about 530 B.C., thus a decade later than our amphora. There, his name appears with that of a potter named Mnesiades. The inscription, written vertically down the center, reads: Μ]ΝΕΣΙΑΔΕΣΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣΜΕΚΑΙΑΝΔΟΚΙΔΕΣΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ (Mnesiades [the] potter and Andokides dedicated me).²⁷ On the Athenian Akropolis in the sixth century B.C., there were hundreds of dedications. They ranged from simple gifts made of inexpensive materials to monumental sculptures in bronze and marble and small objects made of precious materials. Understandably, most of these dedications have not survived. For the large sculptures, especially bronzes, the main evidence is epigraphical, gleaned from the inscribed bases, columns, and pillars that supported them.²⁸

The Mnesiades-Andokides dedication is the earliest preserved potter dedication from the Athenian Akropolis that is inscribed on stone,²⁹ and since it supported a bronze statue, it may reflect the economic status enjoyed by these two potters as a result of their lucrative business.³⁰ This important dedication raises a number of interesting questions and issues that cannot be answered for lack of sufficient evidence but are worth considering. Other than its material, we can say very little about the statue that surmounted the pillar. Raubitschek, whose interest was epigraphical, not sculptural, simply says that the statue was fastened to the top of the pillar by means of the Samian technique; he describes the cuttings to receive the statue as four grooves forming a rectangle with an estimated length of 22 centimeters parallel to the front edge and an estimated depth of 36 centimeters. The surface between the grooves was left roughly picked.³¹ Scheibler, following Raubitschek's description, suggests that the pillar probably supported an underlifesize seated bronze statue of Athena.³² The potter Peikon's dedication (mentioned above in note 29), a pedestal with part of a column shaft remaining, has a rectangular socket (not grooves) carved in its top surface; this feature prompted Raubitschek to suggest that the statue surmounting this column was "a seated figure rather than a standing kore," which would have a circular or generally oval base led into a socket of similar shape.³³ This may lend some credence to Scheibler's suggestion that the figure on our pillar was seated, though it may have been male, not female. On the analogy of the potter relief discussed in note 29 above, the statue surmounting the Mnesiades-Andokides column may have been a bronze statue of a seated potter. More than this, one cannot really say.

The wording of the inscription clearly links Mnesi-

ades with the word "potter" (κεραμεύς) and by implication also includes Andokides as a potter, thus assuming that they worked together.³⁴ I disagree with the interpretation by Vickers and Gill that the word κεραμεύς refers to Kerameis, a deme or township in ancient Attica, rather than to Mnesiades' occupation, and also with their suggestion that Andokides is not the same person as the potter who signed our vase and later codedicated the statue on the Akropolis.³⁵ For me, Beazley's and Raubitschek's judgments remain entirely persuasive. Beazley writes: "[M]nesiades is otherwise unknown, but Andokides must be the famous potter in whose workshop the red-figure technique was probably first employed."³⁶ Raubitschek thinks that Mnesiades may very well have been a potter who worked with Andokides and concludes: "It is certain, however, that the word κεραμεύς refers to the dedicator's occupation, not to the deme, Kerameikos."³⁷ So far, the signatures of Mnesiades and Andokides do not appear together on the same vase, but this is no reason to dismiss their collaborative dedication on the Akropolis.³⁸ Scheibler thinks that Mnesiades may be the older because he is named first, and she wonders if the two might be father and son.³⁹ I find the idea that Mnesiades was older than Andokides attractive because the two known signatures of Mnesiades are earlier than the Akropolis dedication and MMA 1999.30, as well as all the other known signatures of Andokides. They occur on vases of about 550–540 B.C. and thus are contemporary with the hydria in the Louvre mentioned above that is signed by Timagoras as potter and praises Andokides as *kalos* (Figure 13).

The first known signature of Mnesiades appears on the shoulder of a black-figured hydria in the collection of Herbert Cahn in Basel.⁴⁰ The potting inscription, which is complete, is written vertically next to the right side of the panel, behind a figure crouching to left: ΜΝΕΣΙΑΔΕΣΕΠΘΙΟΙΕΣΝ. This warrior holds a large, round shield emblazoned with the hindquarters and tail of a horse drawn in accessory white with incised details. In front of the warrior's face is written: ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜ[ΕΝΕΣΚΑΛΟΣ], retrograde.⁴¹ The second potting signature of Mnesiades is less well preserved, for only the first four letters of the name remain: ΜΝΕΣ[ΙΑΔΕΣ, retrograde. It occurs on a fragmentary Panathenaic Prize amphora dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis by an unknown victor in the games honoring Athena and is attributed by Beazley to the manner of the Princeton Painter.⁴² This is a pre-canonical prize vase because Athena (fragment *a*) does not appear between columns. Also, this Panathenaic amphora has a potting signature, and fragment *b* (from the reverse) bears an inscription that tells us the subject was a race for men called the *diaulos*.⁴³

On canonical prize Panathenaics, potting signatures do not appear before the end of the fifth century B.C.

As for the more tantalizing question raised by Scheibler, whether Andokides could be the son of Mnesiades, there is no proof one way or the other, and barring the future discovery of an inscription with a patronymic or a filial noun, we shall never know for sure. Still, chronological factors do not rule out the possibility.

As mentioned above, Andokides is praised as *kalos* by the potter Timagoras on a hydria that may be dated shortly after 550 B.C., and the length of time for a youth to be considered *kalos* was about ten years or a little longer.⁴⁴ If Andokides was in his mid-to-late teens at this time—that is, the early 540s—it would mean that he was probably born about the middle of the 560s. If this Andokides is the same Andokides who took up potting, it would strengthen the suggestion that he was younger than Mnesiades. The two vases signed by Mnesiades may be dated about 550–540 B.C. and thus are more or less contemporary with Timagoras's hydria. The evidence strongly suggests that at this time Mnesiades was already established as a potter and, if so, would have reached maturity, having been born in the late 590s or early 580s.

Although we really know nothing about the training of potters in the Athenian Kerameikos, presumably they began young.⁴⁵ It is very possible that Andokides was a youth when he began his apprenticeship as potter. At this time he would have developed the strength and coordination needed to shape a pot from a lump of heavy clay centered on a rapidly turning wheel. If Mnesiades was the older man, as he seems to be from the epigraphical evidence, he could have provided the proper instruction to the young Andokides. MMA 1999.30 not only is the earliest preserved vase signed by Andokides but also exhibits features that suggest he had not yet acquired the potting skills on which his fame would later rest (Figures 1, 2). Our amphora lacks the crisp, tight contours of the potter's later vases, such as MMA 63.11.6 (Figure 9). The proportions are top-heavy, for the mouth is 2 centimeters wider in diameter than the foot. This difference would be negligible in a vase 60 centimeters or more in height, but it is quite noticeable in one that stands only 26 centimeters high, including its lid. The elevation of the mouth as well as the rosettes decorating its side add to the top-heaviness. Yet the attention to details such as the precise tooling of the edges of the mouth and foot reveals the care with which Andokides applied the finishing touches to his vase before the clay dried and the pot was fired. The potting of this amphora suggests someone who has learned his lessons but has not yet mastered his craft. Is it possible,

nevertheless, that for Andokides, this vase was significant enough an achievement at this stage of his career that he proudly signed his name to it?⁴⁶ We probably shall never know for sure, but it is tempting to think so.

The next vases bearing the signature of Andokides are wholly accomplished. These are the London neck-amphora of special shape decorated by Psiax (Figure 10), and MMA 63.11.6 (Figure 9) and Berlin 2159 both by the Andokides Painter.⁴⁷ Each vase reveals the considerable potting skills that Andokides exhibited until about 520–515 B.C., when his latest preserved signature is recorded.⁴⁸ The London and New York vases may be dated about 530 B.C., the one in Berlin a little bit later.⁴⁹ These three vases are about contemporary with the bronze dedication on the Akropolis. Raubitschek thinks that “most of the potters must have made their dedications towards the end of their career.”⁵⁰ He is referring specifically to Euphronios's dedication, made long after that artist ceased to paint and had become a potter (see note 29 above), but in view of the chronology offered here for Mnesiades, the latter could have made his dedication with Andokides late in his career. None of these observations, of course, can answer the question raised by Scheibler as to whether Mnesiades and Andokides were father and son, respectively, but their chronology and the frequent occurrence of father-son potting associations during the third quarter of the sixth century favor such a possibility.

In any case, given the information known to us and presented here, it seems to me that the Andokides named in the *kalos* inscription and in the Akropolis dedication could well be the potter of our amphora.⁵¹

For more than a century, various scholars have thought the amphorae of Type A by Andokides indicate that for a time he worked with Exekias, who favored the shape and signed as both potter and painter the earliest known canonical example, the famous amphora in the Vatican of about 530 B.C.⁵² Exekias signed this vase on the top of the mouth. Andokides also signed the London neck-amphora on the top of the mouth. The two vases are roughly contemporary. Did Andokides get the idea from Exekias?⁵³ As early as 1887, Wilhelm Klein linked Andokides with Exekias: “Der Meister [Andokides] ist in den Traditionen der archaischen Technik aufgewachsen. Exekias blickt als Vorbild überall durch, so dass die Vermuthung, er wäre sein Lehrer gewesen, sehr nahe liegt. Schon die Gefäßformen und die beträchtlichen Dimensionen erinnern an ihn.”⁵⁴ In his publication of the Metropolitan Museum's red-figured amphora signed by Andokides, Dietrich von Bothmer remarked: “As a potter, Andokides is in the tradition of Exekias and may be considered his

follower.”⁵⁵ Bothmer went on to suggest that some of the late works attributed to Exekias but not signed by him as potter may have been made by Andokides. He stopped short of citing specific examples. In 1978 Beth Cohen noted peculiar features shared by some of the two potters’ signatures,⁵⁶ namely, the omission of the iota from *epoiesen*, the verb for “potting.” This occurs in all of Andokides’ *incised* signatures and twice in Exekias’s painted ones: Berlin 1720 (see note 11 above) and Munich 2044 (see note 24 above). She thought that “Exekias was probably the potter Andokides’ master,”⁵⁷ but did not elaborate. In 1991, Cohen restated her belief that the potter Andokides was a pupil of Exekias and later wrote that she thought Andokides learned from Exekias how to incise his signature.⁵⁸ Webster went so far as to say that Andokides “seems to have taken over the workshop of Exekias.”⁵⁹ Later, he modified this: “Andokides⁹ made an early amphora for a member of Group E and carried on the Exekias potting tradition into the red-figure period.”⁶⁰ Having Andokides take over Exekias’s shop may be stretching things a good bit, though it would be perfectly possible, since the signatures of Andokides seem to outlast both the potting and painting ones of Exekias, at least as they are known at the present time.

Following is a summary of the chronology and career of Andokides as suggested above. Andokides is praised as *kalos* by Timagoras on a hydria in the Louvre of about 550–540 B.C. His name next appears as the potter of MMA 1999.30, which may be dated on stylistic grounds to about 540 B.C.; for reasons given above, I believe it is an early work by a potter destined for greater fame as attested by his signature on the splendid later vases. In the late 530s, Andokides may have begun to work with Exekias and to learn from him how to make amphorae of Type A and to incise his signature on the glazed torus foot so it would stand out clearly and sharply. MMA 63.11.6 (Figure 9) and Berlin 2159, both early works by the Andokides Painter, are signed on the foot in crisply incised letters, a manner of signing that Andokides made his own, as indicated by his other signatures discussed briefly on page 20. Also, about this time, Andokides made the Akropolis dedication with Mnesiades.

Admittedly, all of our hypotheses are predicated on the supposition that the Andokides who was praised as *kalos* was the same person who became a famous potter and not a young Athenian of the same name belonging to a wealthy family. Furthermore, while each of these bits of evidence (*kalos* name, early potting signature, mature potting signatures, dedication on the Akropolis, activity with Exekias and also, as we shall see, probably with Nikosthenes), if taken by

itself, does not tell us very much about Andokides, when considered together, they help to map his career.

One more aspect of our signature needs consideration, namely its placement within the figural composition (Figures 1, 6, 7). We do not know for sure if the potter himself always signed his own name or if he delegated the task to the painter, who would be more adept with brush and glaze.⁶¹ It is worth while, however, to consider the question. In the case of potters who were also painters, it seems reasonable to assume that they wrote their own names and verbs plus any other inscriptions. Sophilos, Nearchos, and Exekias are obvious examples, and in each case the character and quality of their letters complement the drawing.⁶² Comparison of each painted signature of Andokides with the drawing on the vase reveals stylistic similarities between the two. On the London amphora attributed to Psiax (Figures 10, 11), the position of the inscription and the carefully written letters are in keeping with the precise drawing on the neck. On the Palermo cup (Figure 12), the letters are not so neat, nor is the drawing.⁶³ On MMA 1999.30, the situation is similar. The letters are a little sloppy and so is some of the drawing (see pp. 26–27 below for a discussion of the letters and p. 31 below for the drawing). After studying in detail the drawing and the inscriptions on these three vases, I have concluded that in each case the painter was responsible for both the figures *and* the inscriptions. On the other hand, I think the potter probably indicated to the painter the place in which he wanted his name and the verb to appear.

As we have seen, a potting signature normally appears in one of two places. It may be written completely apart from the figural decoration, as on the London neck-amphora attributed to Psiax (Figure 11) and on Andokides’ amphora of Type A in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 9).⁶⁴ More often, however, particularly on Attic black-figured ware, the signature appears within the figural composition. It is this latter placement that is pertinent to our amphora, for it may provide another workshop connection for Andokides. Normally, signatures within the figural decoration are written so that the name and the verb appear together, either in one line or in two. Good examples are on the François Vase signed by Ergotimos and Kleitias and the Akropolis kantharos by Nearchos with the double signature.⁶⁵ Contemporary with Andokides, the most important signatures are those of Amasis and Exekias, who carefully relate name and verb to the figures; in their signatures the name is *never* separated from the verb.⁶⁶ There are not too many exceptions to this arrangement in general,⁶⁷ but the signature of one potter is especially significant. He was Nikosthenes, who ran a very successful pottery



Figure 14. Detail of the top of the mouth of a black-figured volute-krater signed by Nikosthenes as potter, ca. 530 B.C. H. 37.5 cm. British Museum, London, B.M. 1842.4-7.17 (B 364) (photo: courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)

shop during the third quarter of the sixth century and later (545–510 B.C.), with his largest output occurring between 530 and 515 B.C., at exactly the time when Andokides enjoyed his greatest fame as a potter.⁶⁸

The name “Nikosthenes” appears on vases more often than that of any other Greek potter known.⁶⁹ The signatures are usually placed within the figural composition or, infrequently, elsewhere on the vase. Usually the name and the verb are not separated by figures, but on seven known vases they are.⁷⁰ One more possible Nicosthenic link with Andokides is the placement of the latter’s signature above the left eye on the black-figured side of his cup in Palermo (Figure 12). A review of the eye-cups bearing the signature of Nikosthenes⁷¹ reveals that the inscription may be written in various places, but most often appears in the area of one or both eyes. Nikosthenes’ cup in Malibu, which is contemporary with the Palermo cup, has the inscription written above the left eyebrow, but from left to right, not retrograde.⁷²

Thus, the evidence suggests that Andokides worked with three potters. One, of course, is Mnesiades, though the actual potting evidence is slender due to the lack of surviving material. A second may be Nikosthenes. Besides the comparable placement of the signatures within the figural decoration, another link between the two may be the signatures on the top of the mouth of two vases in London, the neck-amphora signed by Andokides (Figure 11) and the volute-krater signed by Nikosthenes (Figure 14), as well as the latter’s signed psykter in Houston.⁷³ This unusual placement of a potting signature is known so far three times in the work of Exekias, who as potter may have exerted the greatest influence on Andokides, teaching him to create the splendid amphora of Type A with all its subtle nuances and perhaps instructing him how to incise fine and sure letters through the black glaze.

Admittedly, these observations are based solely on the artistic and epigraphical evidence; still, the conclusion should not be dismissed for mere lack of historical fact. Artists are often gregarious individuals who enjoy communicating with and learning from one another, and there is no good reason to think they were any different in the Kerameikos of the sixth century B.C. than they are in Soho and Chelsea today.

THE PAINTER

The inscription on Side A of MMA 1999.30 says that Andokides potted our amphora, but who painted it? In order to attribute a vase, it is necessary to consider its general appearance, the choice of ornament, and the style of drawing. It is possible that the potter, not the painter, chose the ornamental patterns, since these frequently emphasize details of shape, but it is quite likely that the painter executed them, since he would wield a brush more skillfully. Subject matter may also be a factor in determining who painted a vase. Some vases may be attributed very easily to a painter because the style of drawing is clearly his. Others require longer study before their painters can be recognized, and some appear destined to remain orphans.⁷⁴

Many of the potting peculiarities of MMA 1999.30, in particular the relatively large size of its mouth and its top-heavy look, have already been discussed. Another oddity concerns the choice of ornaments to articulate sections of the vase and to frame the figures. A brief description and an illustration of a typical amphora of Type B contemporary with MMA 1999.30 will reveal how elaborately decorated the latter is by comparison. MMA 56.171.12, by a painter from Group E, may serve as an example (Figure 15).⁷⁵ The

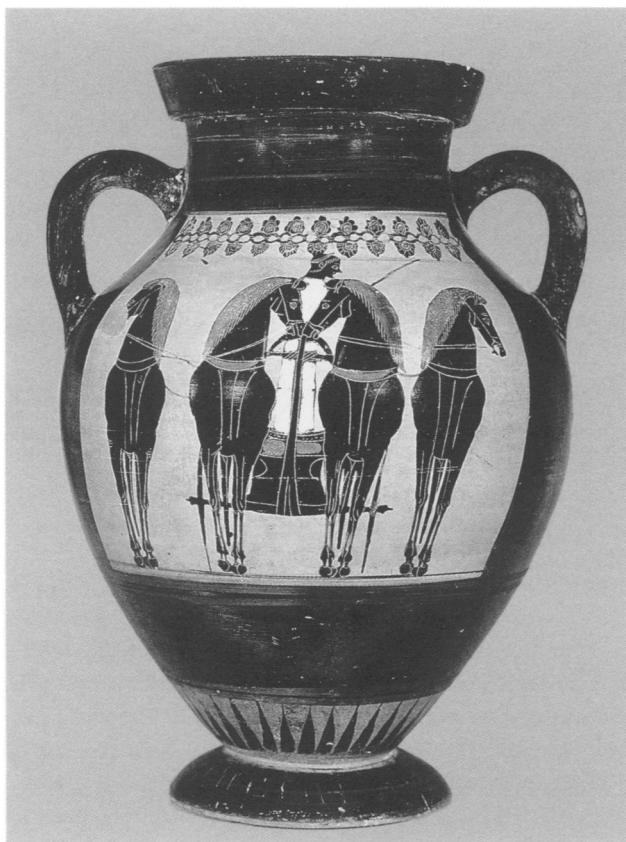


Figure 15. Side B of an amphora of Type B attributed to Group E, ca. 540 B.C. H. 40 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1956 (56.171.12)

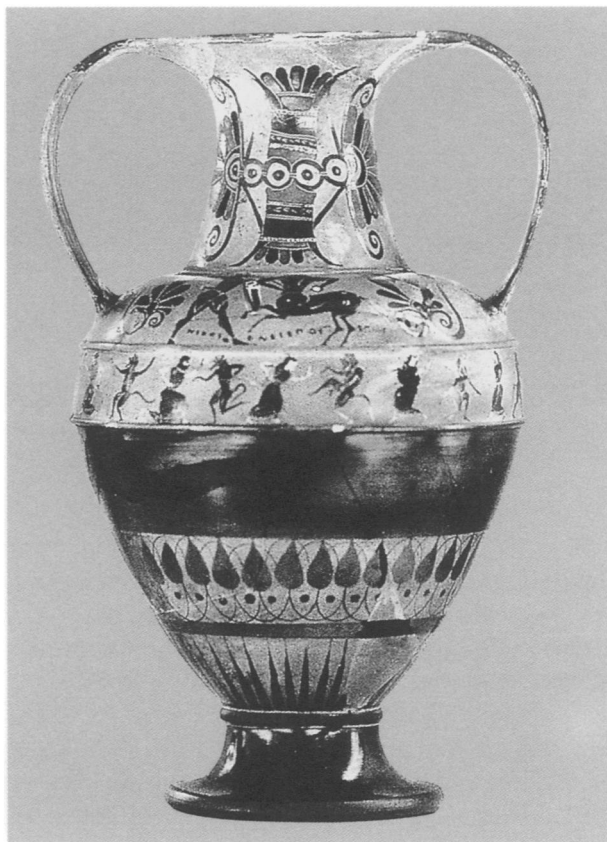


Figure 16. Side A of a Nikosthenic amphora signed by Nikosthenes as potter and attributed to Painter N, ca. 540 B.C. H. 29.5 cm. Villa Giulia, Rome, 20863 (photo: after Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ*, pl. 91)

side of the mouth is glazed, not decorated with ornament. On each side, the figures are set in a panel surrounded by black glaze and framed by ornament at the top only, usually by a lotus-palmette festoon or a lotus-palmette chain, or even by a simple chain of palmettes. There is no ornamental configuration beneath each handle separating obverse from reverse. Rays appear above the foot. The general effect is restrained and sober, in marked contrast with MMA 1999.30.

This observation holds true for the lids of Type A and Type B amphorae as well as for the lids of neck-amphorae. Most often, lid and pot do not survive together; sometimes they do but have become separated. In some cases, just the lid remains, and in lucky instances, both components stayed together.⁷⁶ In spite of the relative dearth of lids compared with vessels, we have enough lids belonging to one-piece amphorae and to neck-amphorae to make clear that their systems of decoration are normally very different from the lid of MMA 1999.30. In general, their appearance is rather conservative. Often the knob is in the shape of a pomegranate and glazed. A zone of rays encircles

the base of the knob and the only other pattern is the one that decorates the brim, often a frieze of ivy.⁷⁷ By comparison, the lid of MMA 1999.30 is very ornamental and complements the colorful appearance of the pot quite well.

In the section on potting signatures, connections with the workshops of Exekias and Nikosthenes were discussed, but these concern the making, not the decorating of vases. There is nothing Exekian in the drawing on MMA 1999.30, but there are connections with the Nikosthenes Workshop, the painters of Group E, the Princeton Painter, and his close colleagues.

Let us begin with Nikosthenes. The inscriptions on MMA 1999.30, which I think were written by the painter, share certain features with those by Nikosthenes. The signatures of Nikosthenes are always legible, but in general they lack the precision of placement and the perfect letter forms of those by his famous contemporaries Amasis and Exekias. The letters are quite often rather messy and lack uniformity, much as if they had been drawn with an old brush that had worn or missing bristles. Sometimes there is not quite enough space for all the letters, so the inscrip-

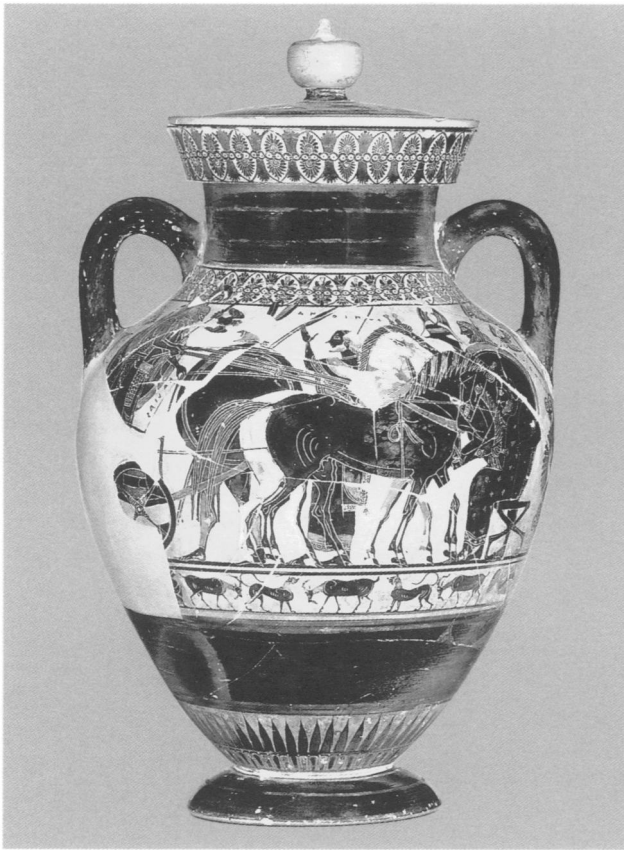


Figure 17. Side B of an amphora of Type B attributed to Group E, ca. 540–530 B.C. H. 47.5 cm. British Museum, London, B.M. 1839.11–9.1 (B 147) (photo: courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)

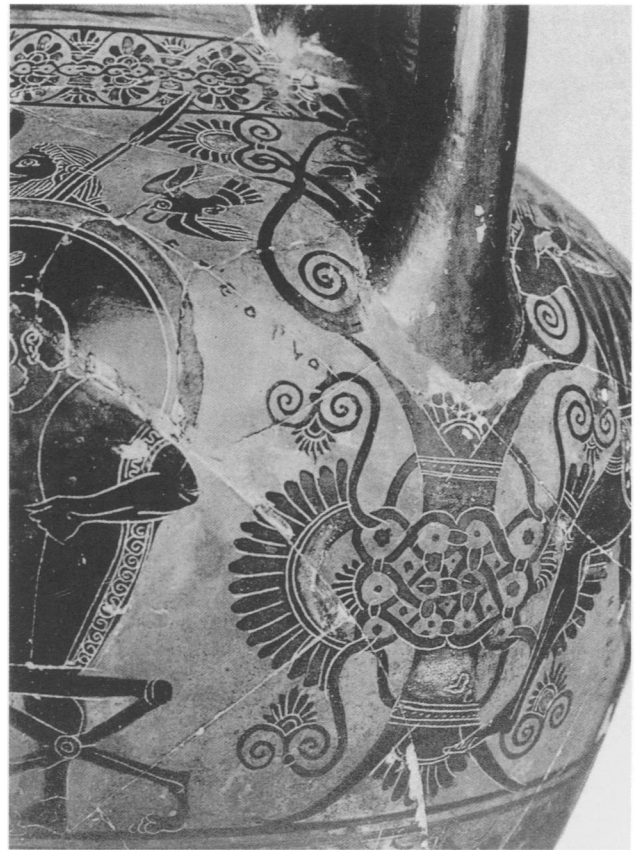


Figure 18. Detail of handle B/A of the amphora in Figure 17 (photo: after Paul Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen* [Berlin, 1927], pl. 18b)

tion may have to take a sharp turn to fit in. At other times, the letters are not spaced uniformly, but grouped as if to form units or syllables, and this results in a somewhat fragmented appearance. The signature of Andokides on MMA 1999.30 exhibits all of these features, but not to the degree that they appear on vases signed by Nikosthenes.⁷⁸

The colorful character of MMA 1999.30 makes it comparable to the products of the Nikosthenes Workshop, and some of the patterns also find parallels there, notably the lotus-palmette configuration, which our painter placed below each handle. A similar ornament appears on the neck of quite a few of Nikosthenes' amphorae of the special type known as Nikosthenic.⁷⁹ This pattern, a lotus-palmette cross, is characterized by addorsed vertical lotuses flanked by horizontal palmettes. It is an old motif, reaching back to the early decades of the sixth century B.C.⁸⁰ The painters in the Nikosthenes Workshop gave it their own interpretation, mainly by leaving the hearts of the palmettes relatively plain instead of decorating them with incision, by linking the units horizontally with tangential circles that are either plain or dotted, and

by drawing tendrils that terminate in tightly wound spirals that often have more than one revolution. The pattern is not found on vases elsewhere, and it was used throughout the life span of the Nikosthenes Workshop.⁸¹ The configuration at each handle of MMA 1999.30 compares with two contemporary examples by Painter N, the most prominent and prolific artist of the Nikosthenes Workshop: Kurashiki, Ninagawa Museum, formerly Paris, André Jameson collection; and Rome, Villa Giulia 20863 (Figure 16).⁸²

The rosettes on the side of the mouth and the ivy above the figures on MMA 1999.30 deserve consideration. The idea of decorating the side of the mouth of an amphora of Type B with a frieze of rosettes started with the Gorgon Painter, who was active in the opening years of the sixth century,⁸³ but it is more common in the work of the Painter of London B 76, who flourished during the second quarter of the century.⁸⁴ Still, its appearance on the mouths of amphorae is the exception in Attic painting. As far as I can tell, a frieze of rosettes is not an ornamental pattern favored by Nikosthenic painters: I have found it once, on the back of each handle of Louvre F 100 by Painter N, and

its appearance there is as unexpected as it is on the mouth of our amphora.⁸⁵ One further link with the Nikosthenes Workshop is the ribbon pattern on the lid of MMA 1999.30 (Figure 5), an ornament that appears on many different shapes produced in the workshop.⁸⁶

The use of ivy on our amphora, where it continues around the neck without interruption, including under the handles, is rare.⁸⁷ Ivy appears most often on the brims of lids and on the handle flanges of volute-craters and amphorae of Type A (Figure 9). These always have the leaves back-to-back, with or without stems—sometimes with dots between the leaves, more often without—and the separating stem may be wavy or straight.

The comparisons cited above suggest that the painter of our amphora was quite familiar with the products of the Nikosthenes Workshop, particularly some by Painter N. But there also appear to be links with painters of Group E, artists who were active during the third quarter of the sixth century and were, as Beazley once put it, “the soil from which the art of Exekias springs.”⁸⁸ Webster claimed authorship of our New York vase for a painter from Group E, but without offering details.⁸⁹ Much of the output of the Group E Workshop is rather conservative, and the amphora described above on page 26 illustrates this very well (Figure 15). But some of their vases are pertinent to MMA 1999.30. One is London, B.M. 1839.11–9.1 (B 147),⁹⁰ an amphora of Type B that has an elegant lotus-palmette chain on the side of the mouth, a frieze of animals below the figures that continues around the vase, and stacked rays above the foot (Figures 17, 18). While both vases share one obvious feature—the side of the mouth is ornamented rather than left black—other details may be more significant. First of all, the figures on the London vase are not set in panels, but extend to the handles, where the two sides are separated by a lotus-palmette cross placed below the handle root. The upper tendrils of the cross wind around the root itself, which is superimposed over the cuff of a lotus, as it is on MMA 1999.30. There is a palmette painted below the upper handle attachment. The palmettes of the London configuration have large hearts, mostly reserved, similar to those on our amphora, and while the chain linking the elements is more elaborate on the London amphora, each link has a large dot in it, just like ours. The lotus-palmette chain above the figures extends to the handles and even a bit under them, a curious feature almost like the ivy on our amphora.

The dots in the links of the palmette-lotus crosses on MMA 1999.30 introduce one other contemporary painter who frequently used large dots in the links of his chains. This is the Princeton Painter, and a good

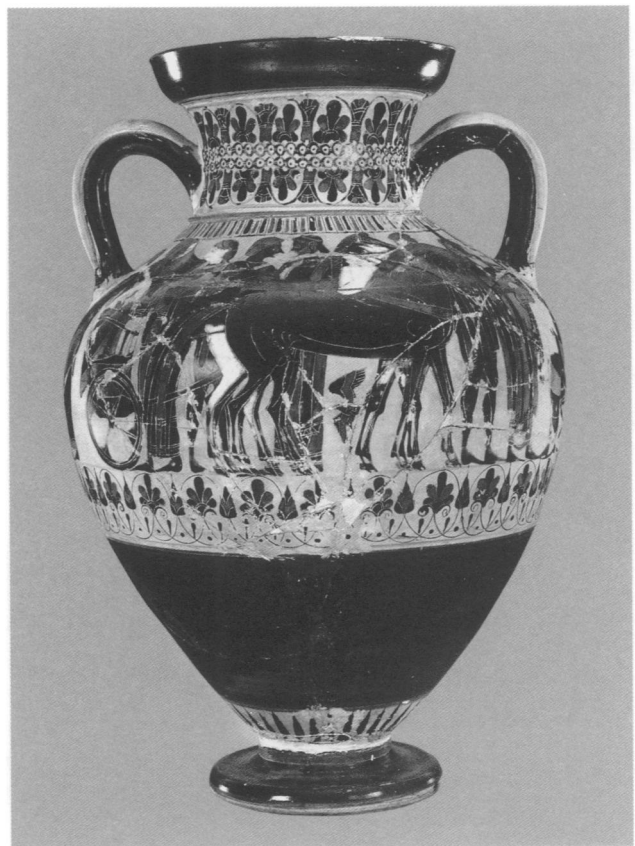


Figure 19. Side A of a neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape by the Princeton Painter, ca. 530 B.C. The Art Museum, Princeton University, Trumbull-Prime Collection, 188g, Princeton 16g (photo: Clem Fiori)

example of such detail occurs on his name piece, a neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape (Figure 19).⁹¹ This is also a vase where the pattern immediately above the figures, in this case black tongues, continues around the neck without interruption. Figures, not ornament, appear below the handles. The arrangement of figures and ornament recurs on a neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape by a painter of Group E, Tarquinia RC 1061.⁹²

These comparisons between the ornaments on MMA 1999.30 and those on some contemporary vases suggest that our amphora was painted by an artist who absorbed much of what he saw around him without copying slavishly and without following the conventions governing the ornamental decoration of most amphorae of Type B. That he was very much his own man is borne out by the figure drawing, which has an eclectic character to it.

We may begin with the horses, which are much better drawn than the human figures and look as if they would quickly provide criteria for identifying our painter. They have small, well-bred looking heads,

proudly arched necks, muscular bodies, and slender, clean-boned legs. They look well fed and cared for. The closest counterparts to the chariot team on MMA 1999.30 are found on two Group E amphorae of Type B of about 540 B.C. The first is Munich 1396, which shows a chariot scene on its obverse.⁹³ These horses have the same small, refined heads, strongly arched necks and filled-out bodies, but there is no white pole horse and the animals' hindquarters are not as powerfully built as are those of MMA 1999.30. Closer to our horses are those on London, B.M. B 160 (Figure 20).⁹⁴ The team holds their heads in almost exactly the same position as our horses, and their bodies are plump and healthy-looking; moreover, the right-hand pole horse is white and has a red rein crossing its neck. But because their legs are longer than the legs of the horses on MMA 1999.30, the proportions are more pleasing overall.

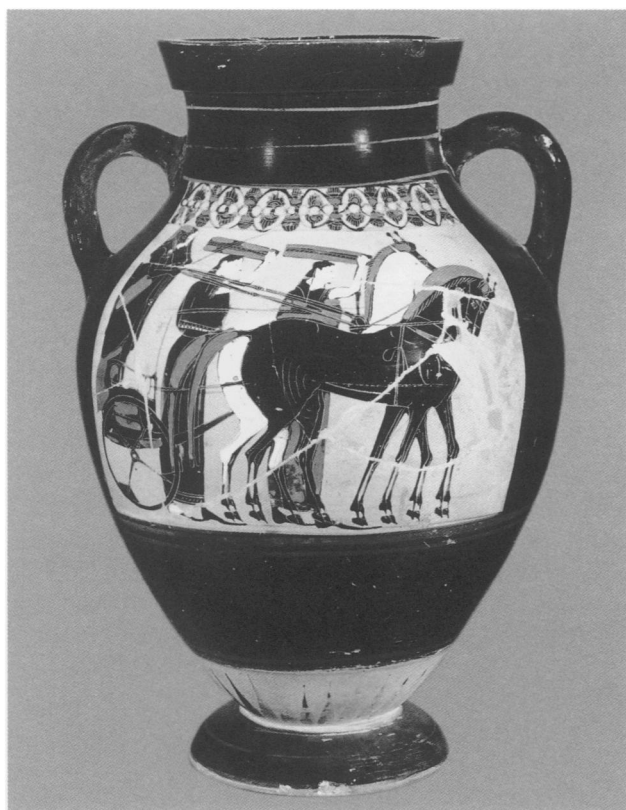


Figure 20. Side A of an amphora of Type B attributed to Group E, ca. 540 B.C. H. 41.1 cm. British Museum, London, B.M. B 160 (photo: courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)

Details of equine anatomy as well as of harnessing reveal further links between MMA 1999.30 and painters of Group E and the Princeton Painter. Foremost in importance are the concentric arcs on the hindquarters of both of our right-hand trace horses (Figures 1, 2); sometimes two similar arcs appear on the inside of the left hind leg (Figure 2). This treatment of the hindquarters is standard for horses of Group E and appears frequently in the work of the Princeton Painter—his name piece, for example (Figure 19), or London, B.M. 1843.11–3.100 (B 212).⁹⁵ See also Munich 1376, an amphora attributed to the manner of the Princeton Painter.⁹⁶ Here, however, the lines do not continue to the inside of the left hind leg. By the end of the 530s B.C., two converging lines became the conventional means of showing the musculature of equine hindquarters.

More difficult to parallel are the two biconcave arcs



Figure 21. Detail of a hydria probably in the manner of the Princeton Painter, ca. 540 B.C. H. 38 cm. Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, 158 (photo: after CVA, Musei Capitolini 1 [Italia 36], pl. 26 [1626], 1)

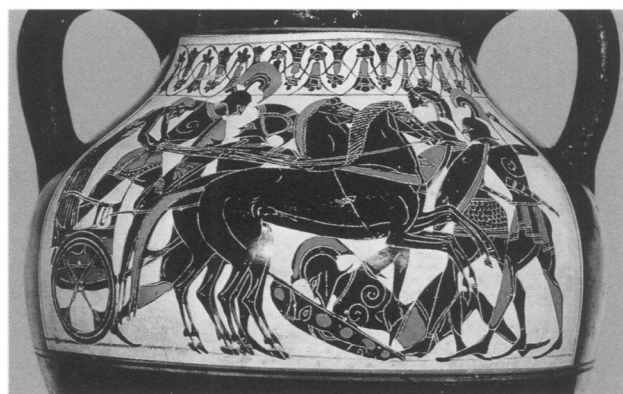


Figure 22. Side A of an amphora of Type B attributed to the Princeton Painter, ca. 540 B.C. H. 38.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1956 (56.171.9)

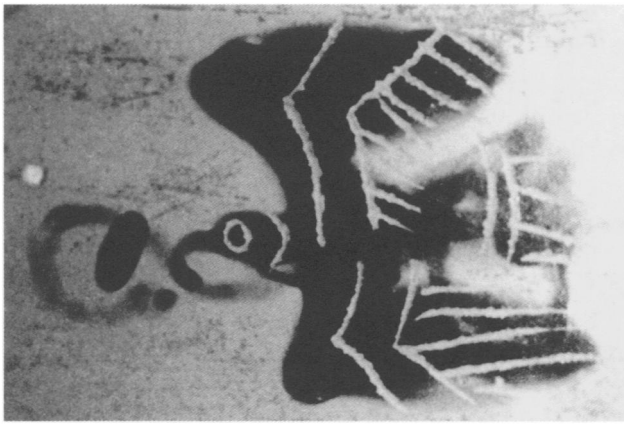


Figure 23. Detail of the eagle on Side B of the amphora in Figure 1 (photo: the author)

on the shoulders of our trace horses (Figures 1, 2). The formula used by painters of Group E consists of two biconvex arcs, with or without a short stroke between (Figure 20). I have been able to find this odd biconcave motif only once elsewhere, on the horses wheeling around on an unattributed hydria in the Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome (Figure 21).⁹⁷ The hydria is probably by the same hand as Munich 1376, attributed to the manner of the Princeton Painter, and both of them bring MMA 1999.30 a little closer to him, for they depict harness details not known in Group E work. An oddity of our amphora is that the headstalls of the trace horses on Side A have *both* throatlatches *and* browbands. Throatlatches, which prevent the headstall from slipping off the head of the animal, are the norm in both art and life. Browbands are decorative and also help to hold the headstall in place but may be dispensed with as they often are today in American Western riding. Browbands *and* throatlatches are common features on horses executed by the Princeton Painter, whether they are mounts or chariot teams (Figure 22), and as far as I know, he is the only artist to include these harness parts consistently. They are also worn by the two trace horses on Rome, Conservatori 158, mentioned above, which may be in the manner of the Princeton Painter (Figure 21).⁹⁸ Also, each trace horse on this hydria has small circles at the mouthpiece of its bit, much like the circle on the bit of the right-hand trace horse on Side B of MMA 1999.30 (Figure 2), which I think represents a bit burr.⁹⁹

Another harness detail takes us back to horses by painters of Group E, and to a lesser extent to those by the Princeton Painter and his manner. This is the

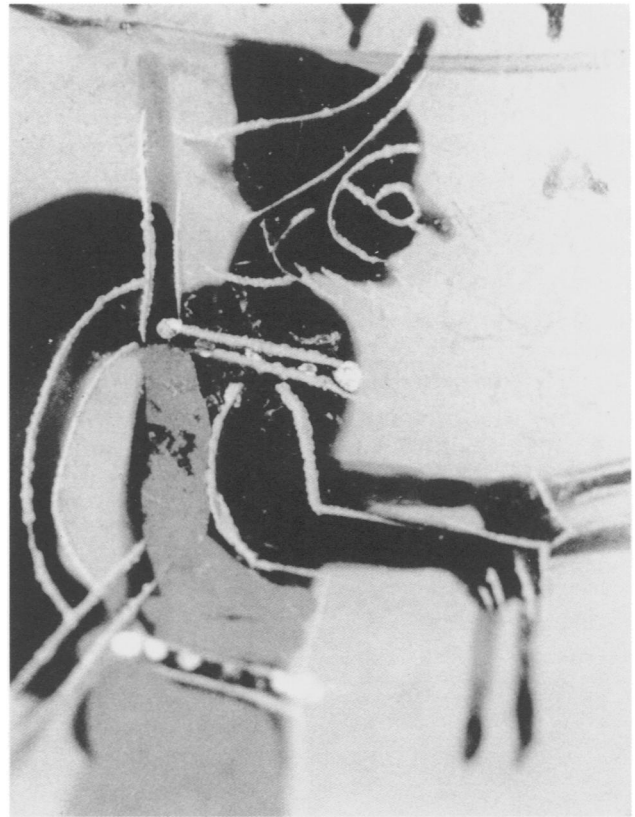


Figure 24. Detail of the charioteer on Side A of the amphora in Figure 1 (photo: the author)

girth, visible on each right-hand trace horse, a harness part that went out of fashion in vase painting during the 530s B.C. The painters of Group E treat this strap in a very distinctive manner (Figure 17). It is always knotted at shoulder level so that the loop hangs down next to the start of the rib cage, the ends overlap the shoulder, and the section of the strap above the knot is slightly wider than the part below it. This is exactly the configuration on MMA 1999.30 (Figures 1, 2). The Princeton Painter varies his drawing of this harness part. Sometimes, it may be a single line, as on MMA 56.171.9 (Figure 22); it may be a double line as on Rome, Villa Giulia 910; or it may be omitted altogether, as on the artist's name piece (Figure 19).¹⁰⁰ When the girth is included, the loop of the tie overlaps the shoulder and the ends extend toward the hindquarters. In other words, in this feature it is exactly the opposite of Group E and our amphora. Also, when the girth is indicated by a double line, the strap is of equal width throughout. Exceptions to this

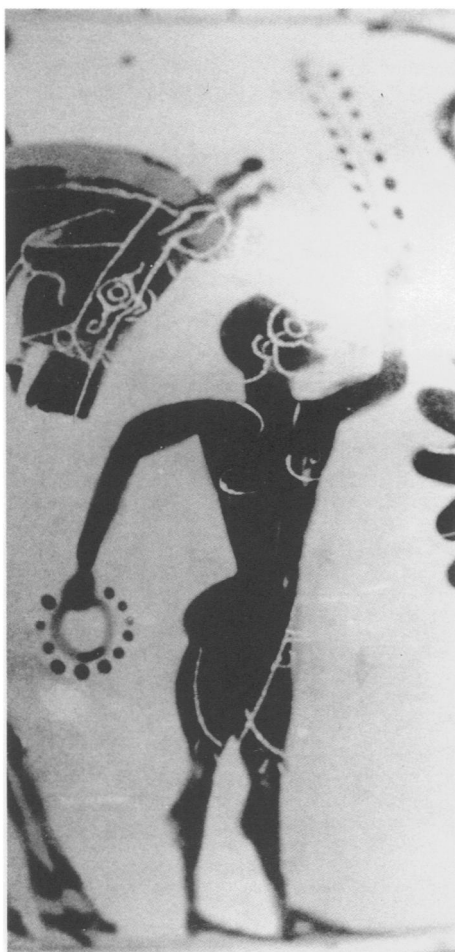


Figure 25. Detail of the man in front of the chariot team on Side B of the amphora in Figure 1 (photo: the author)

occur, however, on Munich 1376, in the manner of the Princeton Painter, and on Rome, Conservatori 158 (Figure 21), perhaps by the same hand. On both of these, the section of the girth above the knot is wider than the section below it, as on our amphora, but the knot is tied according to the preference of the Princeton Painter, not of the painters of Group E.

There is one further link with Group E, though perhaps a minor one. An eagle flying to left with a snake in its beak is tucked away in the upper right of the composition on Side B of London, B.M. 1839.11–9.1 (B 147) (Figure 18). It compares with our eagle (Figure 23), though our snake is considerably longer than the one on the Group E amphora.

If we had only the horses to consider for attributing MMA 1999.30, we would make a case for a painter from Group E or the Princeton Painter or one in his manner. But the drawing of the human figures and the composition on each side tell a different story.

In the *comparanda* discussed above, the scenes are



Figure 26. Detail of a pyxis probably by Exekias, ca. 540 B.C. Brauron, no number (photo: after Eleni Manakidou, *Παραστάσεις με άρματα* [8ος–5ος αι π.Χ.] [Thessaloniki, 1994], pl. 11, γ)

full, often with densely overlapping figures. Good examples are London, B.M. 1839.11–9.1 (B 147) and London, B.M. B 160 (Figures 17, 20) from Group E, the name piece of the Princeton Painter (Figure 19), and the hydria in the Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori that may be in his manner (Figure 21). By comparison, the arrangement of the figures on MMA 1999.30 seems timid, with only the horses forming a tight group. The drawing of the horses on MMA 1999.30 is, by contrast, quite accomplished and sure, suggesting to me that the painter may simply have “copied” a conventional composition standard in Attic vase painting beginning with the Gorgon Painter.¹⁰¹

By comparison, the drawing of the human figures and even that of the eagle with the snake in its mouth are far inferior. The incision is rather coarse and the glaze and accessory color are carelessly applied. This is particularly apparent in the case of the charioteer on Side A (Figure 24). He has a huge eye but no mouth, the drawing of his hands is quite inarticulate, one contour of his upper right arm is partly redrawn (without significant improvement), and the red is applied to his chiton in a slapdash manner. The charioteer on Side B is comparable. He, too, has a large eye, and his arm and hands are carelessly executed.

On the other hand, the small man in front of the horses on Side B (Figure 25)—far more accomplished in its drawing—is somewhat reminiscent of the youths leading the horses of Stesagoras’s victorious team on a pyxis probably by Exekias that is datable to about 540 B.C. (Figure 26).¹⁰² The body build is similar: broad shoulders with torso tapering to a thin waist, ample thighs, slender calves, and long feet. The man on MMA 1999.30 is slightly more animated than

Exekias's youth, for he holds a branch aloft, probably waving it slightly.¹⁰³ But this is a marginal difference. The idea of showing a male figure walking in front of a horse, not standing before it, is the same.

Examination of our painter's ornamental patterns and details of his drawing leads to connections with workshops, but not to an outright attribution. The painter of MMA 1999.30 seems to have been influenced by some of the painters he saw around him, most specifically, Painter N from the workshop of Nikosthenes, painters from the Group E Workshop, the Princeton Painter and those in his immediate circle, and perhaps the young Exekias. Our amphora is not by one of these artists, and I have not been able to find any vases that are undeniably by the same hand.

There remains one option to consider, namely, that Andokides himself decorated this amphora. There is no tangible evidence from his later work as a mature potter that Andokides ever tried his hand at decorating one of his vases. One may not, however, exclude this possibility in the case of his earliest preserved, signed vase. The chronology for Andokides, as I have tried to establish it, indicates that he was young and still learning his craft when he made and signed MMA 1999.30. Its top-heavy proportions and small size, compared with the elegant refinement and large size of the signed vases of his maturity, suggest a young man at work, applying lessons he has not yet perfected. Furthermore, the young Andokides must have been aware of the beautiful vases decorated by Exekias and the painters of Group E, or the Princeton Painter and his companions, perhaps even the Amasis Painter. Might it be that, fresh with enthusiasm for his youthful potting achievement, Andokides picked up brush and stylus to try his hand at painting? Such a bold idea may seem completely fanciful, even far-fetched. Still, everything about MMA 1999.30 convinces me that Andokides painted it, not another artist. This would explain, especially, the variation in the quality of the drawing: the painstaking attention to the ornament, both chariot teams, and the man in front of the horses on Side B, on the one hand; and the rather careless execution of the charioteers and the eagle, on the other. When Andokides had a model to guide him, his results were quite respectable. When he wanted to see what he could do on his own, here and perhaps elsewhere on pieces that have not survived or are not yet recognized, his eagerness to become an accomplished painter greatly surpassed his ability to fulfill his ambition. When Andokides realized this, he chose to perfect his innate potting skills and leave the decorating to others. The rest, as they say, is history.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABV

John D. Beazley. *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, 1956.

Addenda²

Thomas H. Carpenter. *Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV², and Paralipomena*. Oxford, 1989.

Agora XXIII

Mary B. Moore and Mary Z. Philippides. *The Athenian Agora*. Vol. XXIII, *The Attic Black-Figured Pottery*. Princeton, 1986.

AJA

American Journal of Archaeology

ARV²

John D. Beazley. *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. 2nd ed. Oxford, 1963.

Beazley, *Development*

John D. Beazley. *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*. 1951; 1964; 3rd ed., Berkeley, 1986.

Beazley, *Potter and Painter*

John D. Beazley. *Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens*. London, [1946].

Bothmer, "Andokides"

Dietrich von Bothmer. "Andokides the Potter and the Andokides Painter." *MMAB* 24 (1966), pp. 201–12.

BSA

British School at Athens Annual

Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases*

Beth Cohen. *Attic Bilingual Vases and Their Painters*. New York, 1978.

Cohen, "Literate Potter"

Beth Cohen. "The Literate Potter: A Tradition of Incised Signatures on Attic Vases." *MMJ* 26 (1991), pp. 49–95.

CVA

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum

Immerwahr, *Attic Script*

Henry R. Immerwahr. *Attic Script: A Survey*. Oxford, 1990.

John D. Beazley. *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, 1971.

Raubitschek, *Dedications*

Antony E. Raubitschek. *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*. Cambridge, Mass., 1949.

Scheibler, "Künstlervotive"

Ingeborg Scheibler. "Griechische Künstlervotive der archaischen Zeit." *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 30 (1979), pp. 7–39.

Scheibler, *Töpferkunst*

Ingeborg Scheibler. *Griechische Töpferkunst: Herstellung, Handel und Gebrauch der antiken Tongefäße*. Munich, 1983.

Tosto, ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ

Vincent Tosto. *Black-Figure Pottery Signed ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*. Allard Pierson Series 11. Amsterdam, 1999.

Webster, *Potter and Patron*

Thomas B. L. Webster. *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens*. London, 1972.

NOTES

1. L.64.31a, b; acc. no. 1999.30a, b. Bibliography: Christie's, London, sale cat., July 15, 1948, lot 12, ill.; Parke Bernet, New York, sale cat., December 7, 1951, lot 8, ill.; *ABV*, p. 253, top; Cornelius C. Vermeule and Dietrich von Bothmer, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain, Part Two*," *AJA* 60 (1956), p. 346, pl. 112, figs. 34, 35; D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections* (New York, 1961), p. 51, cat. no. 198, pl. 73; Bothmer, "Andokides," p. 207, fig. 8; Enrico Paribeni, "Attici Vasi," *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale*, suppl. 1970 (Rome, 1973), p. 100, fig. 103; *Paralipomena*, p. 113; Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases*, p. 3, pl. 1.2; *Addenda*², p. 65; Beazley, *Development*, p. 69 and pl. 79.1; Diana Buitron-Oliver, in *Antiquities from the Collection of Christos Bastis*, Emma Swan Hall, ed. (New York, 1987), pp. 248–50, cat. no. 150.

Dimensions and condition: Height to top of lid 26 cm; to top of mouth 24.7 cm; diam. of mouth 11.5 cm; width of rim 1 cm; diam. of body 14.7 cm; diam. of foot 9.6 cm; width of resting surface 1 cm. Knob of lid missing. Both handles and the foot reattached. A few chips on edge of mouth, on brim of lid, and on edge of foot. Some of the accessory white on each of the pole horses and on the charioteer's petasos on Side B has flaked.

2. A continuous curve between neck, shoulder, and body distinguishes the one-piece amphora from the neck-amphora, which has a distinct break between the neck and the shoulder. Sir John D. Beazley was the first to classify the three types of one-piece amphora. Type A is large and showy, with flanged handles decorated with ivy and a foot in two degrees, a vertical member above

a torus (Figure 9). Type B, the most common, has an echinus foot and handles that are round in section. Type C looks like Type B, except that it has a torus mouth that is glazed and, unlike the other two types, it was not lidded. It is the rarest of the three. See Beazley, "Citharoedus," *JHS* 42 (1922), pp. 70–71, for the three types. For the actual potting of an amphora, see Toby Schreiber, *Athenian Vase Construction: A Potter's Analysis* (Malibu, 1999), pp. 72–83.

3. An unusual feature of this amphora is that the top of the mouth is glazed. Normally, this is not the case with lidded vases. There is also a reserved line on the top of the mouth at the outer edge. The neck is glazed on the inside to a depth of 2.5 cm. Red lines are drawn in the following areas: one above the ivy on each side; two below the figures that continue around the vase and two more above the rays that also continue around the vase, one on the top of the foot and another at the lower edge.
4. Certain Greek vase shapes were designed to receive a lid. These are vessels intended for storage, the one-piece amphora and the neck-amphora being the principal examples pertinent to this article. A lid always complements its pot in both shape and system of decoration. The outer diameter of the lid equals the diameter of the mouth of the pot, and the thin side of the brim should continue the flare of the side of the mouth or be vertical to it, as on MMA 1999.30. See Dietrich von Bothmer, "Lids by Andokides," *Berliner Museen* 14 (1964), pp. 38–41. This article is mainly concerned with red-figured amphorae of Type A signed by Andokides as potter or attributed to the Andokides Painter, but Bothmer sets out the general principles for establishing whether a lid and a pot belong together.

For a good example of a vase from which an alien lid was removed, see Cab. Méd. 222, attributed to the Amasis Painter and signed by Amasis as potter (*ABV*, p. 152, no. 25; *Paralipomena*, p. 63, no. 25; *Addenda*², pp. 43–44). The diameter of this lid (14 cm) is much less than the diameter of the mouth of the amphora (16.8 cm). For a good color illustration showing the alien lid in place, see Paolo Arias, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* (London, 1962), color pl. xv. See also Dietrich von Bothmer, "Lids by the Amasis Painter," *Enthousiasmos: Essays on Greek and Related Pottery Presented to J. M. Hemelrijk*, Allard Pierson Series 6 (Amsterdam, 1986), pp. 83–91. For a well-fitting lid, see MMA 17.230.14, the Museum's neck-amphora attributed to Exekias (*ABV*, p. 144, no. 3; *Paralipomena*, p. 59, no. 3; *Addenda*², p. 39; for good photographs that illustrate the unity of lid and pot, see CVA, Metropolitan Museum 4 [USA 16], pls. 16, 17 [744, 745]).

5. The system for harnessing a four-horse team in the ancient Greek world hitched two of the animals to a yoke that rested on their backs and was bound to the chariot pole. They are called the pole horses and they supplied the main draft. The two outside horses were attached to the vehicle by a trace line that may have run directly from each horse to the chariot or may have passed through a ring on the girth of each pole horse before extending back to the vehicle. These two horses are called trace horses, or outriggers, and their function may have been to help with pulling or turning, or perhaps in setting the pace. In real life the four horses were probably abreast. In Greek art, however, when a quadriga is shown in profile, as on MMA 1999.30, the two trace horses appear to be slightly ahead of the two pole horses. This is very likely an artistic convention devised to clarify an otherwise dense composition. This may also be the reason why a white horse is usually the right-hand pole horse if the

- chariot moves from left to right. The first to identify this harnessing arrangement were Aldis Hatch Jr. and Christine Alexander in Gisela M. A. Richter, *Archaic Attic Gravestones* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944), pp. 56–58. See also the colored drawing by Lindsley F. Hall of MMA 36.11.13, a grave stele datable ca. 530–520 B.C., in G. M. A. Richter, “Polychromy in Greek Sculpture with Special Reference to the Archaic Attic Gravestones in the Metropolitan Museum,” *AJA* 48 (1944), pp. 321–33, pl. VIII. For ancient harnessing, see Jean Spruyette, *Early Harness Systems: Experimental Studies*, trans. Mary A. Littauer (London, 1983), passim, but esp. pp. 52–72 for the Greek chariot.
6. The bit burr was a small metal plate with spikes on the inside. It slipped onto the mouthpiece of the bit next to the cheekpiece and pressed against the animal’s mouth. Its function seems to have had to do with control and turning. For bit burrs, see J. K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* (Berkeley, 1961), pp. 48–49 and pls. 20–22; P. Vigneron, *Le cheval dans l’antiquité gréco-romaine* (Nancy, 1968), p. 65, pls. 18, 20c; also, Mary B. Moore, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. XXX, *Attic Red-Figured and White-Ground Pottery* (Princeton, 1997), pp. 147–48, under cat. no. 96.
 7. The most comprehensive study is Immerwahr, *Attic Script*, passim. For incised inscriptions, see Cohen, “Literate Potter,” pp. 49–95.
 8. Naming the purpose of the vase: The Panathenaic Prize amphora offers the best example. See, e.g., two in the Metropolitan Museum: MMA 14.130.12, a canonical Panathenaic on which the prize inscription is given in front of Athena alongside the left column (*ABV*, p. 322, no. 6; *Paralipomena*, p. 142, no. 6; *Addenda*², p. 87); and MMA 1978.11.13, a precanonical Panathenaic that has, in addition to the prize inscription in front of Athena, the signature of the potter Nikias in back of the goddess and, on the reverse, an inscription naming the athletic event for which the vase was awarded as the prize, in this case the sprint for men (see Mary B. Moore, “‘Nikias Made Me’: An Early Panathenaic Prize Amphora in The Metropolitan Museum of Art,” *MMJ* 34 [1999], pp. 37–56, figs. 5–8).
- Lines of a text: A good example occurs on the pyxis found at Aigina and attributed to the Amasis Painter, where part of a verse is preserved on one leg (Martha Ohly-Dumm, “Appendix IV: Tripod-Pyxis from the Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aigina,” in Dietrich von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World* [New York and London, 1985], pp. 236–38); another is on the cup in Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.324, attributed to the Akestorides Painter (*ARV*², p. 1670 to p. 781, no. 4 bis; Henry Immerwahr, “More Book Rolls on Attic Vases,” *Antike Kunst* 16 [1973], pp. 143–44, pl. 31,1–3; Mary B. Moore, *CVA*, Malibu 8 [USA 33], pp. 51–52, pl. 440 [1717], 2).
- Objects: See those in the scene of Achilles pursuing Troilos on the François Vase by Kleitias, Florence 4209 (*ABV*, p. 76, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 29, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 21; Mauro Cristofani, *Materiali per servire alla storia del Vaso François*, Bollettino d’Arte, serie speciale 1 [Rome, 1981], passim)—the fountain (KPENE), Cristofani, fig. 84; the hydria dropped by Polyxena (HYAPIA), *ibid.*, fig. 86; the block seat on which Priam sits (ΘΑΚΟΣ), *ibid.*, figs. 87, 88.
9. The oinochoe is in the National Museum in Athens, N.M. 192. It is attributed by J. Nicolas Coldstream (*Greek Geometric Pottery: A Survey of Ten Local Styles and Their Chronology* [London, 1968], p. 32, cat. no. 36) to the Dipylon Workshop and designated by him as a minor piece from this workshop. See the remarks in Cohen, “Literate Potter,” pp. 50–51, with bibliography, p. 86, n. 10; and in Immerwahr, *Attic Script*, p. 7. For a good color photograph, see Stavroula Kourakou-Dragona, *Κρατὴρ Μεσσήνης* (Athens, 1998), p. 86. See also Immerwahr, *Attic Script*, p. 18, n. 21, on the so-called Cup of Nestor from Pithekoussai, which bears an inscription, a graffito or a poem. This cup may be nearly contemporary with Athens N.M. 192, and Antony Raubitschek (review of Immerwahr, *Attic Script*, in *Gnomon* 65 [1993], p. 615) thinks it may even predate it. In any case, these are the earliest preserved inscriptions on Greek vases.
 10. For the Pithekoussai inscription, see Giorgio Buchner, “Recent Work at Pithekoussai (Ischia), 1965–71,” in *Archaeological Reports for 1970–71*, no. 17 (Athens, 1971), p. 67, fig. 8; and Margherita Guarducci, *L’epigrafi greca dalle origini al tardo imperio* (Rome, 1987), p. 433, fig. 149. Aristonothos’s name occurs on Rome, Conservatori, no no. (see Paolo Arias, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* [London, 1962], pls. 14, 15; also, Lilian Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C.* [Oxford, 1961], p. 241, cat. no. 24). For Kallikleas, see Martin Robertson, “Excavations in Ithaca, V: The Geometric and Later Finds from Aetos,” *BSA* 43 (1948), pp. 88–89, cat. no. 534 and pls. 38, 39; Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, p. 234, no. 2, pl. 45. For the term “candlestick,” rather than “torch,” see Robertson, “Excavations in Ithaca, V,” *BSA* 43, p. 88. For these early signatures, see Beazley, *Development*, p. 7, and Scheibler, *Töpferkunst*, pp. 112, 204–5 nn. 72, 73; see also Dyfri Williams, “Potter, Painter, and Purchaser,” in *Culture et cité: L’avènement d’Athènes à l’époque archaïque*, ed. Annie Verbanck-Piérard and Didier Viviers (Brussels, 1995), pp. 139–40, which illustrates (p. 140, fig. 1) a painting signature on a sherd from Naxos (only five letters of the verb remain). For a signature of Istrokles, who may be a potter or a painter (the verb is missing), see Lilian Jeffery, “Old Smyrna: Inscriptions on Sherds and Small Objects,” *BSA* 59 (1964), p. 45, cat. no. 1, and pp. 48–49 for a brief discussion of early signatures, these as well as a few others. Debatable is the fragment of a plaque found on Aigina, Athens N.M. 18872 that preserves]ΣΟΝΟΣΗΙΕΤ[. It was restored by John M. Cook to read: Λυσιάδης Αύ]σωνος ἐπιστ[αμένως ἐποίησεν (in his review of Eva T. H. Brann, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. VIII: *Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery, Mid 8th to Late 7th Century B.C.*, in *Gnomon* 34 [1962], p. 823). It dates ca. 700 B.C. Immerwahr (*Attic Script*, p. 9, cat. no. 9), however, thinks the inscription was a dedicatory one because it was found in the Apollo Sanctuary on Aigina.
 11. See *Agora* XXIII, p. 79 and n. 53, for the tabulation of the signatures as well as previous bibliography. Artists who signed as both potter and painter are rather rare. In Attic black-figure, only two others are known. Nearchos signed a kantharos found on the Akropolis, Athens N.M. 15155, ex Akrop. 611 (*ABV*, p. 82, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 30, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 23). The painting verb (*egrapsen*) is preserved and two letters of ΚΑΙ (and), indicating that the signature was a double one: ΝΕΑΡΧΟΣΕΓΡΑΦΕΞΕΝΚΑ [ΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ] (Nearchos painted and made me). Exekias signed three times as potter and painter, twice on the top of the mouth: Berlin 1720, a neck-amphora (*ABV*, p. 143, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 59, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 39), and Vatican 344, an amphora of Type A (*ABV*, p. 145, no. 13; *Paralipomena*, p. 60, no. 13; *Addenda*², p. 40). This is odd because each vase had a lid, which means that the inscription would have been covered. I have no explanation for this. On Vatican 344, Exekias signed again as

- potter on Side A behind Achilles. For the signatures of Exekias, see Beazley, *Development*, p. 58. The third double signature by Exekias occurs on his amphora in Taranto (to be published by Heide Mommsen in her contribution to the forthcoming *Festschrift* for Dietrich von Bothmer). On this amphora, the potting signature is separate from the painting signature, and each is written in the panel, not on the top of the mouth. I wish to thank Andrew J. Clark for this information.
12. Florence 4209 (see note 8 above). The signatures occur on the front of the vase in the main scene, the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis. Kleitias's name appears in the vertical space between Peleus and Chiron (Cristofani, *Materiali* [note 8 above], figs. 82, 83); that of Ergotimos in the comparable space in front of Zeus and Hera's chariot, between it and the Horai (ibid., fig. 81)
 13. MMA 31.11.4 (*ABV*, p. 78, no. 12; *Paralipomena*, p. 30, no. 12; *Addenda*², p. 22; Cohen, "Literate Potter," p. 52, fig. 3). For a good illustration, see Immerwahr, *Attic Script*, figs. 20, 21. For a list of other signed collaborations between potters and painters, see Scheibler, *Töpferkunst*, pp. 205 n. 81, 206 n. 85.
 14. This is a little different from imitation inscriptions, which may or may not be letters and sometimes are just a row of dots placed between the figures in a composition to suggest the appearance of inscriptions. For another example in which the letters do not make words, see MMA 41.162.179, a neck-amphora attributed to the Group of Würzburg 210 (*ABV*, p. 373, no. 174; *Addenda*², p. 99; *CVA*, Metropolitan Museum 4 [USA 16], p. 43, for a facsimile). For a true imitation inscription, where the letters are a row of dots between the figures, see Agora P 1261 from the Group of North Slope AP 942, dated in the third quarter of the 6th century B.C. (*ABV*, p. 89, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 24; *Agora XXIII*, pl. 37, cat. no. 375). For nonsense and imitation inscriptions, see Immerwahr, *Attic Script*, pp. 44–45. For a good example of sense and nonsense inscriptions on the same vase, similar to MMA 1999.30, see the Museum's aryballos by Nearchos, MMA 26.49 (*ABV*, p. 83, no. 4; *Paralipomena*, p. 30, no. 4; *Addenda*², p. 23; see especially, Gisela M. A. Richter, "An Aryballos by Nearchos," *AJA* 36 [1932], pp. 272–75).
 15. In Greek vase painting, one cannot assume that the potter is also the painter, not even when several vases signed by one potter may be attributed to a single artist. Therefore, in lieu of a painter's signature, and to be on the safe side, we name that painter after the potter. Besides the Andokides Painter, the Amasis Painter offers a good example of this practice. For the latter artist, see *ABV*, pp. 150–58; *Paralipomena*, pp. 62–67; *Addenda*², pp. 42–46. Some of the other ways modern scholars name painters who do not sign their vases are these: after a *ΚΑΛΟΣ* inscription praising a youth, e.g., London B.M. 1851.8–6.15 (B 211), the name vase of the Lysippides Painter (*ABV*, p. 256, no. 14; *Paralipomena*, p. 113, no. 14; *Addenda*², p. 66); for kalos inscriptions, see pp. 21–22; after the present location of the vase, e.g., Princeton 169, the name piece of the Princeton Painter (*ABV*, p. 298, no. 6; Figure 19 in the present article); after a subject, e.g., Louvre F 60, which depicts a girl on a swing and gives the Swing Painter his name (*ABV*, p. 308, no. 74; *Paralipomena*, p. 133, no. 74; *Addenda*², p. 82; Martine Denoyelle, *Chefs-d'oeuvre de la céramique grecque dans les collections du Louvre* [Paris, 1994], pp. 84–85, cat. no. 37).
 16. A basic bibliography on this artist includes: *ARV*², pp. 2–6; *Paralipomena*, pp. 320–21; *Addenda*², pp. 149–50. The most comprehensive study of the painter is Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases*, chap. 3. Cohen not only clearly defined the style and the artistic person-ality of the Andokides Painter, traced his development, and pointed out his close ties with the sculptures of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi but also settled—once and for all, I think—the question that has tantalized scholars for generations: are the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter different artists or are they a single man working in both red-figure and black-figure? Cohen made the strongest possible case for keeping the two artists separate, even though they collaborated on several bilingual vases, i.e., vases decorated in both techniques (see pp. 20–21).
 17. MMA 63.11.6: *ARV*², p. 1617, no. 2 *bis*; *Paralipomena*, p. 320, no. 2 *bis*; *Addenda*², p. 149. Berlin 2159: *ARV*², p. 3, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 320, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 149. Louvre G 1: *ARV*², p. 3, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 320, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 149; Denoyelle, *Chefs-d'oeuvre de la céramique grecque*, pp. 92–93, cat. no. 41. Louvre F 203: *ARV*², p. 4, no. 13; *Addenda*², p. 150; Denoyelle, *Chefs-d'oeuvre de la céramique grecque*, pp. 94–95, cat. no. 42. For the signatures of Andokides, see Immerwahr, *Attic Script*, p. 58; and, for a briefer account, see Beazley, *Development*, p. 69.
 18. Madrid 11008: *ABV*, pp. 253 no. 1, and 294 no. 24; *ARV*², p. 7, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, pp. 128 no. 24, and 321 no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 150. For Psiak, see *ABV*, pp. 292–95; *ARV*², pp. 6–9; *Paralipomena*, pp. 127–28, 321; *Addenda*², pp. 76–77, 150–51.
 19. Dietrich von Bothmer was the first to point this out, in his 1966 article "Andokides," p. 202. See also Cohen, "Literate Potter," p. 60.
 20. Rome, Villa Giulia, no no. (*ARV*², p. 77, no. 90; *Addenda*², p. 169). Cohen ("Literate Potter," p. 89, n. 68) thinks the foot may not belong to this krater: "In reexamining my notes, I notice no preserved join between this calyx-krater's body and the foot, and I am now inclined to believe that the foot does not belong. The foot's profile suggests it may have come from a lost amphora—a sibling of the Metropolitan's amphora [63.11.6]." Calyx-kraters and amphorae of Type A have similar feet, a vertical member above a torus, and it can be quite difficult to determine to which vase shape a foot belongs without a break-to-break join. Nevertheless, the signature on this foot is not in doubt.
 21. London B.M. 1980.11–29.1 (*ABV*, pp. 253,—no. 2, 293, no. 7; *ARV*², p. 6; *Paralipomena*, p. 127, no. 7; *Addenda*², p. 76). The amphora displays several oddities. It has ridged handles with side flanges and rotelles that attach each handle to the mouth (usually, three ropes of clay joined together form the handle of a neck-amphora; see Schreiber, *Athenian Vase Construction*, p. 79). Neck-amphorae have ornamental patterns on the neck and figures on the body. On the London vase, the figural decoration appears on the neck only; the rest of the pot is black, except for the triple net pattern on the side of the mouth (normally this area is black). An elegant palmette configuration appears below a key pattern on the root of each handle instead of below it. Also peculiar is the absence of rays above the foot.
 22. For the cup, see *ABV*, p. 256, no. 21; *ARV*², p. 5, no. 14; *Paralipomena*, pp. 114 no. 21, 321 no. 14; *Addenda*², p. 150. On the collaboration between the two painters, the best and most thorough discussion is Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases*, pp. 163–91.
 23. For bilingual eye-cups, the basic study is Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases*, pt. 2.
 24. For a good illustration of the red-figured side of the cup, see *CVA*, Palermo 1 [Italia 14], pl. 1 [658], 2. See the discussion by Cohen (*Attic Bilingual Vases*, pp. 247–49), who also remarks (p. 247) that the depiction of combats at the handles of this cup

very likely reflects the similar concept on the somewhat earlier eye-cup in Munich signed by Exekias as potter and attributed to him as painter (Munich 2044: *ABV*, p. 146, no. 21; *Paralipomena*, p. 60, no. 21; *Addenda*², p. 41). Exekias signed on Side A of the foot, the letters centered below the eyes. For a good illustration, see Arias, *A History of Greek Vase Painting*, pl. 59, above; also, Cohen, "Literate Potter," p. 56, fig. 8.

25. Louvre F 38 (*ABV*, p. 174, no. 7; *Paralipomena*, p. 72, no. 7; *Addenda*², p. 49). For the Taleides Painter, see *ABV*, pp. 174–77; *Paralipomena*, pp. 72–74; *Addenda*², pp. 49–50.
26. The basic study is still David M. Robinson and Edward J. Fluck, *A Study of Greek Love Names* (Baltimore, 1937), pp. 1–14, for a general discussion with bibliography as well as a history of the various interpretations of the meaning of *kalos* on vases. See also the brief remarks by Gisela M. A. Richter and Lindsley F. Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven, 1936), pp. xxix–xxx; and G. M. A. Richter, *Attic Red-Figure Vases: A Survey* (New Haven, 1946), pp. 43–45; Webster, *Potter and Patron*, pp. 43–44; Brian A. Sparkes, *Greek Pottery: An Introduction* (Manchester, England, and New York, 1991), p. 53. For a list of *kalos* names on black-figured vases, see *ABV*, pp. 664–76; *Paralipomena*, pp. 317–19; *Addenda*², pp. 391–92.
27. See Raubitschek, *Dedications*, pp. 213–16, cat. no. 178; also the illustration by Bothmer in his "Andokides," p. 206, fig. 7; Scheibler, "Künstlervotive," p. 9; and the brief remarks by Williams, "Potter, Painter, and Purchaser," pp. 147–48 (see note 10 above). For other potter dedications on the Akropolis, see note 29 below.
28. The source for these is Raubitschek, *Dedications*, passim.
29. Beazley, *Potter and Painter*, p. 21; Webster, *Potter and Patron*, p. 5; Scheibler, "Künstlervotive," p. 9. The potter dedications inscribed on marble are discussed in some detail by Beazley in *Potter and Painter* (pp. 21–25), who cautiously separated those he thought were certainly dedications by potters from those that were uncertain or improbable (for these, see *ibid.*, pp. 23–24, n. 1; and Scheibler, "Künstlervotive," pp. 12–13). See the brief discussion in Webster, *Potter and Patron*, pp. 5–6, and in Scheibler, "Künstlervotive," pp. 9–11, both with references to the pertinent catalogue numbers in Raubitschek, *Dedications*; also Scheibler, *Töpferkunst*, pp. 124–28. The most recent account of potter dedications, stone as well as clay, is by Claudia Wagner, "The Potters and Athena: Dedications on the Athenian Acropolis," in *Periplus: Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology Presented to Sir John Boardman* (New York, 2000), pp. 383–87. The negative assessment of them by Michael Vickers and David Gill, who for the most part discard them as dedications made by potters, seems excessive (*Artful Crafts: Ancient Greek Silverware and Pottery* [Oxford, 1994], pp. 93–95). Besides the Mnesiades-Andokides monument, there are four other assured potter dedications inscribed in marble from the Athenian Akropolis.

1. Akropolis 681, the kore dedicated by Nearchos and made by Antenor, son of Eumares (Beazley, *Potter and Painter*, p. 21; Raubitschek, *Dedications*, pp. 232–33, cat. no. 197; Gisela M. A. Richter, *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens* [London, 1968], pp. 69–70, cat. no. 110; Scheibler, "Künstlervotive," pp. 9–10). The noun *κεραμεύς* (potter) is restored in the inscription on the basis of the presence of Nearchos's name (Beazley, *Potter and Painter*, p. 21). The kore is dated ca. 520 B.C., which would be compatible with the career of the potter Nearchos, who flourished about the middle of the 6th century B.C. and whose two sons, Ergoteles and Tleson, signed as potters of Little-Master

cups well into the third quarter of the century (see *ABV*, p. 162 for Ergoteles, pp. 178–83 for Tleson; see also note 39 below). By this time, the workshop (and family) might well have been wealthy enough to make such a large dedication in honor of Athena. The inscription also contains the word *ἄπαρχέν* (first-fruits), which refers to the offering of an unspecified portion of the best that one has earned (see Scheibler, "Künstlervotive," p. 10).

2. Akropolis 1332, E.M. 6520, and Agora I 4571, the famous relief that shows a man seated to left on a diphros holding in his lowered left hand two drinking cups, one by a handle, the other by its foot and stem (Beazley, *Potter and Painter*, pp. 22–23; Raubitschek, p. 75, cat. no. 70 with extensive bibliography, esp. his article "An Original Work by Endoios," *AJA* 46 [1942], pp. 245–53, where he restores the name of Endoios as the sculptor of the relief; Scheibler, "Künstlervotive," p. 10). The relief may be dated in the last decade of the 6th century B.C. That the dedicant was a maker of cups is suggested by the subject, hence the inclusion of this relief in the list of assured marble dedications by potters. The inscription also tells us that he gave a tithe, a tenth (*δεκάτην*), of his annual earnings in honor of Athena, a more precise percentage than "firstfruits" (*ἄπαρχέν*; see Scheibler, "Künstlervotive," p. 10). But only the last three letters of the potter's name remain (*ΙΙΟΞ*), not enough to link him definitively with a known potter, although Beazley speculated that the name might be Pamphaios (*Potter and Painter*, p. 22). Also, the better preserved of the two cups he holds may not be matched detail for detail with a known variant. Its offset lip reminds one of the Little-Master cups, but the offset is too sharp and the bowl is too deep. Several authors, starting with Hansjörg Bloesch (*Formen attischer Schalen von Exekias bis zum Ende des strengen Stils* [Bern, 1940], p. 144), link it with a rare variant called the Acrocup, short for "Acropolis-cup" (Beazley, *Potter and Painter*, pp. 22–23); however, it lacks the thick fillet between bowl and stem that is a defining feature of the Acrocup, for which see Brian A. Sparkes and Lucy Talcott, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. XII, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.* (Princeton, 1970), pp. 92–97.

3. Athens, Epigraphical Museum, E.M. 12750, a fragment of a pedestal with the start of a column shaft and part of a cutting on top for a statue (O. Broneer, "Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis," *Hesperia* 4 [1935], p. 150, cat. no. 2, fig. 38; Beazley, *Potter and Painter*, p. 23; Raubitschek, *Dedications*, pp. 46–47, cat. no. 44; Scheibler, "Künstlervotive," pp. 11–12). The inscription reads that a potter named Peikon, whose name is otherwise unknown, dedicated a tithe to Athena. The monument is dated by Raubitschek to ca. 500–490 B.C.

4. Athens, Epigraphical Museum, E.M. 6278, three fragments of a pillar monument (Beazley, *Potter and Painter*, pp. 21–22; Raubitschek, *Dedications*, pp. 255–58, cat. no. 225; Scheibler, "Künstlervotive," pp. 10–11). The inscription says that Euphronios the potter made the dedication to Athena as a tithe. Raubitschek dates the inscription to ca. 480 B.C., well after Euphronios turned from painting large vases to fashioning drinking cups, of which several are decorated by Onesimos, who was active during the time of the Persian Wars and perhaps a bit beyond. For Euphronios as potter, see *ARV*², pp. 313–14; also Dyfri Williams, "Euphronios: vom Maler zum Töpfer," in *Euphronios der Maler*, exh. cat., Sonderausstellungshalle, Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem (Milan, 1991), pp. 47–51, with previous bibliography.

- These are the dedications in stone. For vases dedicated by potters, which are not pertinent to this article, see Webster, *Potter and Patron*, pp. 4–5, and Wagner, “The Potters and Athena,” pp. 385–86.
30. The inscription does not specify whether this is a dedication of “firstfruits” or a “tithe.” For these portions of annual earnings as dedications, see note 29 above. Scheibler (*Töpferkunst*, pp. 125–26) says that a dedication could have been an offering as the fruits of work of several years.
 31. Raubitschek, *Dedications*, p. 213. For bronze statues mounted on marble bases by the Samian technique, see Anton Raubitschek, “Zur Technik und Form der altattischen Statuenbasen,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 12 (1938), pp. 134–35. According to this technique, four channels or grooves are drilled on the top of the base, forming a rectangle. The statue is joined to a flat base with down-turned edges that fit into the channels, where they are secured with lead. On some of the examples, traces of lead remain. The bronze statue of a striding warrior represented on the name piece of the Foundry Painter, Berlin 2294, seems to stand on such a base, as noted by Raubitschek (“Zur Technik und Form,” p. 135, n. 1). For the Berlin cup, see *ARV*², p. 400, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 370, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 230.
 32. Scheibler, “Künstlervotive,” p. 9.
 33. Raubitschek, *Dedications*, p. 47. For korai and their bases, see Richter, *Korai*, passim.
 34. See the remarks in note 29 above. Vickers and Gill (*Artful Crafts*, p. 94, n. 114) write: “*Kerameus* is linked to [M]nesiades and need not be associated with Andokides.” This seems to me to be a willful and arbitrary dissociation.
 35. *Ibid.*, p. 94. Their sole reason for rejecting the Mnesiades-Andokides monument as a potter dedication seems to be that the noun *κεραμεύς* (potter) appears without the definite article *ho* (the); thus, they think it should refer to the deme Kerameikos to which Mnesiades may have belonged, not to his occupation. See the more measured remarks by Alan Johnston, in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World*, Colloquium Sponsored by the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities and Symposium Sponsored by the J. Paul Getty Museum (Malibu, 1987), pp. 135–36: “Where *kerameus* is assuredly preserved, on less prestigious bases, two of the three dedicants appear to be known potters, Mnesiades and Euphronios, while Andokides is associated with Mnesiades. It would be a striking coincidence if they were from the deme Kerameis and yet none of them were the potters known to us by that name from the relevant period. . . . We can conclude therefore that some potters did accede to modest wealth, and that is a measure, however unsatisfactory, of the financial success, if not social status, of the members of the Athenian Kerameikos in the years following the career of our particular artist [the Amasis Painter].” Williams (“Potter, Painter, and Purchaser,” p. 147) thought that the dedication might have been made to record “the transfer of ownership or direction of the business from Mnesiades to Andokides” or even the “merging of two smaller operations into one larger workshop.” He then concluded somewhat awkwardly (pp. 147–48): “Whatever the circumstances, the chances against the two men named on the inscription not being potters must be very high—for the obvious metrical reasons *kerameus* appears only once.” Most recently, Claudia Wagner has reviewed these dedications and concluded (“The Potters and Athena,” p. 387): “The case for identifying the *kerameus* as potter is indeed strong.

We have shown motive and opportunity, as well as the strong circumstantial evidence of names known from the potters’ quarter. The possibility of a misinterpretation seems to be minute.”

 - 36. Beazley, *Potter and Painter*, p. 21. Beazley wrote this before he learned of the hydria fragment signed by Mnesiades that was once in the Riaz collection in Cairo and is now in the Cahn collection in Basel. For the fragment, see *ABV*, p. 314; *ARV*², p. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 136; *Addenda*², p. 85; Bettina Kreuzer, *Frühe Zeichner 1500–500 vor Chr.: Ägyptische, griechische und etruskische Vasenfragmente: der Sammlung H. A. Cahn, Basel* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1992), p. 64.
 - 37. Raubitschek, *Dedications*, p. 216.
 - 38. Collaborations between potters whose signatures appear on the same vase are rare. Thus far, it seems to occur only twice, each on a Little-Master cup. Archikles and Glaukytes both signed Munich 2243, Archikles under one handle, Glaukytes under the other (*ABV*, pp. 160,— no. 2, 163,— no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 68,— no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 47). Anakles and Nikosthenes both signed Berlin 1801, one potter on each side (*ABV*, pp. 159,— no. 4, 230,— no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 108,— no. 1; Tosto, *NIKOSΘΕΝΕΣΣΕΠΙΘΙΕΣΣΕΝ*, pp. 230–31, cat. no. 158. This cup has been missing since World War II [*pace* Tosto]). See also Beazley (*Potter and Painter*, pp. 26–27), who remarks that it is difficult to see how the potting responsibilities could be divided on such a small vase and why such a division of labor would have been recorded. Also Webster (*Potter and Patron*, p. 14), who suggests that the presence of the two signatures “may merely mean that an older master is allowing a younger potter to sign with him.” Collaborations between potters and painters are more common; see, for example, the list given by Dietrich von Bothmer, “Ἀμασις, Ἀμάσιδος,” *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 9 (1981), p. 1, which names those collaborations known before the middle of the 19th century. I have already mentioned Ergotimos and Kleitias. For others, see also Webster, *Potter and Patron*, pp. 11–14. Collaborations between *painters*, however, as opposed to those between potters and painters, are known only from attributions, one of the most famous being that between the Lysipides Painter and the Andokides Painter (see note 16 above). For others, see Beazley, *Potter and Painter*, pp. 27–30; Webster, *Potter and Patron*, pp. 15–18.
 - 39. Scheibler, “Künstlervotive,” p. 9. Inscriptions on vases attest that sons of potters sometimes became potters themselves. Since there are not very many, it is worth reviewing them. The names of two, Ergotimos and Nearchos, have already been mentioned. Ergotimos had a son named Eucheiros, who signed two cups with his patronymic. One is London, B.M. 1847.8–6.44 (B 417) (*ABV*, p. 162,— no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 68, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 47), signed on Side A: ΕΥΧΕΙΡΟΣ:ΕΠΙΘΙΕΣΣΕΝΜΕ (Eucheiros made me); signed on Side B: ΗΟΡΓΟΤΙΜΟΗΥΙΗΣ (son of Ergotimos). The other is Berlin 1756 (*ABV*, p. 162,— no. 3), signed on Side A, below the female head in outline: ΕΥΧΕΡΣΕΠΙΘΙΕΣΣΕΝ. ΗΟΡΓΟΤΙΜΟΗΥΙΗΣ (Eucheiros made me. Son of Ergotimos). Eucheiros, in turn, had a son, who signed a lip-cup in the Vatican, frf (*ABV*, p. 163,—; *Paralipomena*, p. 68), but only the patronymic and the filial noun remain in the inscription, on Side A: ΕΥΧΕΡΟΗΥΙΗΣ (son of Eucheiros); on Side B: ΗΟΕ[]ΗΥΙΗΣ (the [] son of). Better known are the two sons of Nearchos, Ergoteles and Tleson, especially the latter. Ergoteles signed two cups, each with the name of his father written after the potting verb. One is Berlin 1758 (*ABV*, p. 162,— no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 47), signed on each side: ΕΡΓΟΤΕΛΕΣΕΠΙΘΙΕΣΣΕΝΗΟΝΕΑΡΧΟ (Ergoteles

made [me], the son of Nearchos). The second is a cup formerly on the Florence art market (ABV, p. 162, —, no. 2), signed in the handle zone: ΕΡΤΟΤ ΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ ΕΝΗΟΝ[ΕΑΡΧΟ (Ergoteles . . . made [me], the son of Nearchos). Tleson signed many cups, too numerous to list here, always using the formula that places the potting verb after the patronymic (ABV, pp. 178–83; *Paralipomena*, pp. 74–76; *Addenda*², pp. 50–51): ΤΛΕΣΟΝΗΟΝΕΑΡΧΟΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ (Tleson, the son of Nearchos made [me]). In both inscriptions, the name of Nearchos is in the genitive case. Two inscriptions have revealed that the potter Kleophrades was the son of Amasis. One is on Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AE.54, signed on the side of the foot, the rest of the cup lost: ΣΙΔΟΣΗΥΥΣ (son of [Ama]sis). The other is on Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.217, a cup signed in the tondo by Douris, and on the side of the foot: ΚΛΕΟΦΡΑΔΕΣ: ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ: ΑΜΑΣΙΔΟΣ (Kleophrades made [me] of Amasis); for this cup, see Diana Buitron-Oliver, *Douris: A Master Painter of Athenian Red-Figure Vases*, Kerameus 9 (Mainz, 1995), p. 75, cat. no. 38, pl. 24. For Kleophrades as the son of Amasis, see Bothmer, “Ἀμασς, Ἀμασίδος,” pp. 1–4, which sets out the history of the problem and establishes the father-son relationship. Until this new evidence came to light, Kleophrades was known from his signature on the foot of a cup in Paris, Cab. Méd. 535, 699, that is his name piece (ARV², p. 191, no. 103; *Addenda*², p. 189): ΚΛΕΟΦΡΑΔΕΣ: ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ: ΑΜΑΣ[. . .]Σ (Kleophrades made [me]: of Amasis); and on a cup attributed to Douris, Berlin 2293 + Rome, Astarita 134 (ARV², p. 429, no. 21; *Addenda*², p. 236; Buitron-Oliver, *Douris*, p. 74, cat. no. 34): ΚΛΕ[Ο]ΦΡΑ[ΔΕΣΕΠΟ]ΙΕΣΕΝ (Kleophrades made [me]).

Scheibler (*Töpferkunst*, p. 114) remarks that it is probably no accident that the largest number of potting signatures on Attic black-figured vases occurs on drinking cups, and she suggests that this may be because they were difficult to make. She does not elaborate but implies this may be due to their small size and delicate features. There may also be a simpler answer. The handle zone of most drinking cups is a plain, narrow reserved band (elaborate cups like Munich 2243 by Archikles and Glaukytes, with its full frieze of figures, would be an exception), and this undecorated zone provides the perfect space for a signature.

40. See note 36 above.

41. This *kalos* name is also known on a slightly later neck-amphora by an artist formerly included with painters near Group E, Louvre F 218 (ABV, p. 139, no. 9; *Paralipomena*, p. 57, no. 9: the attribution withdrawn; *Addenda*², p. 37).

42. Akropolis 921 (ABV, p. 300, 16; Martin Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren: Eine athenische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.–4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Achtzehntes Beiheft Antike Kunst [Basel, 1998], p. 124, cat. no. 6.011, pl. 7).

43. For precanonical Panathenaic prize amphorae, see note 8 above.

44. See pp. 21–22 and note 26. One *kalos* name that appears on pottery for well over ten years is “Onetorides” (ABV, p. 672). The earliest of these that has been preserved occurs on Berlin 1720, a very early work by Exekias (ca. 540 B.C.) that he signed as both potter and painter (see note 11 above). The latest examples occur in the second half of the 520s, e.g., MMA 14.105.10 by the Mastos Painter (ABV, p. 261, no. 37; *Addenda*², p. 68).

45. An exception, of course, to this generalization is Euphronios, who turned to potting after a successful career as a painter. For Euphronios as potter, see note 29 above. Dietrich von Bothmer (“Andokides,” p. 202) suggested that during the career of

Timagoras, Andokides must have been a boy, and this may have been when he served as an apprentice to Mnesiades.

46. Scheibler (*Töpferkunst*, p. 128) suggests that, in general, signatures on pottery are a mark of pride. This may be true, not only for young potters but also for established ones. For example, Exekias signed as potter certain shapes that were new to the repertory, such as the Munich eye-cup (see note 24 above) or the Vatican amphora (see note 11 above), or old shapes that offered new features that would become standard, such as London, B.M. 1836.2–24.127 (B 210) (ABV, p. 144, no. 7; *Paralipomena*, p. 60, no. 7; *Addenda*², p. 39). See the tabulation in *Agora XXX* (see note 6 above), p. 81, n. 3. The striking exception seems to be Nikosthenes, who signed more than one hundred vases. Perhaps this was a case of “company policy”; see Klaus Stähler, “Exekias bemalte und töpferte mich,” *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* 49 (1968–71), p. 112. For the signatures of Nikosthenes, see notes 69 and 70 below.

47. See above, p. 22 and note 17; p. 22 and note 21.

48. This is probably Madrid 11008, the bilingual amphora by Psiax (see p. 22 and note 18 above). For a discussion of this amphora and the problem of dating it, see Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases*, pp. 233–39, esp. p. 237.

49. Bothmer (“Andokides,” p. 202) suggests that by this time Andokides was probably a prosperous citizen.

50. Raubitschek, *Dedications*, p. 258.

51. Other than Vickers and Gill, the main dissenter from this interpretation was Gisela M. A. Richter, who in 1936 expressed doubt: “If this Andokides was the well-known potter, as has been thought, we should obtain support for dating the vases signed by him about 525–520. But as we have records of a distinguished Athenian family from about the middle of the 6th century on in which this rare name also occurs,²³ it seems more likely that the Andokides praised as *kalos* was a young scion of that family than that he was a potter” (Richter and Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases*, p. 11). The work cited in Richter’s n. 23 is Johannes Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 62–63.

Richter probably had in mind the Athenian family whose first attested historical member, Andokides (I), is among those possessing land that produced 500 measures of corn yearly; his name appears on a bronze plaque recording a dedication on the Athenian Akropolis by the treasurers. The plaque, N.M. 6975, is dated ca. 550 B.C. See John K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 27–28. For the plaque, see Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, p. 77, cat. no. 21, pl. 3, and p. 401, cat. no. 21, for the transcription. Besides Andokides, the inscription mentions Anaksion, Eudikos, and Lysimachos, as well as an individual whose name is preserved only in the initial letter S.

Davies (*Athenian Propertied Families*, p. 28) writes: The Andokides “named on a Bf. hydria of ca. 540 . . . is at least a generation younger than Andokides (I). He may be identical with the potter of the name, but could equally well be a younger relation of Andokides (I).”

Richter’s conclusion that the Andokides described as *kalos* is not the same person as the potter was echoed by Robinson and Fluck (*Greek Love Names*, p. 82): “This Andokides is probably not the well-known potter, though the vase [the hydria in the Louvre signed by Timagoras: see note 25 above] (c. 540 B.C.) dates from his time but probably a young member of a distin-

- guished family of this name, known from the middle of the sixth century on."
52. Vatican 344 (see note 11 above).
 53. Usually signatures appear within the figured compositions or on the side of the foot. There are not many vases signed by a potter on the top of the mouth. Besides the Vatican amphora, the following are the ones I have been able to find. Berlin 1720, the very early neck-amphora by Exekias that has the double signature (see note 11 above). Vienna, formerly Klein, a fragment of an amphora or a neck-amphora with the first five letters of Exekias's name (*ABV*, p. 146, —, no. 1). Eleusis 280, ex 4267, a long-necked amphora signed by Kleimachos and dating ca. 570 B.C. (*ABV*, p. 85, —; *Paralipomena*, p. 32). London, B.M. 1842.4-7.17 (B 364), a volute-krater by Nikosthenes of ca. 530 B.C. (Figure 14); (*ABV*, p. 229; *Paralipomena*, p. 108; Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, p. 227, cat. no. 136). Finally, Houston, De Menil Foundation 70.53DJ, a psykter also signed by Nikosthenes but attributed to the Antimenes Painter (*Addenda*², p. 401; Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, p. 234, cat. no. 183, pl. 152). The attribution is Bothmer's (see M. B. Moore, "The Giganatomy of the Siphnian Treasury: Reconstruction of the Three Lacunae," in *Études delphiques, Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, suppl. IV, 1977, p. 314, n. 38). Oddly, Tosto merely mentions the unusual placement of these two potting inscriptions (*ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, p. 182).
 54. Wilhelm Klein, *Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen* (Vienna, 1887), p. 188.
 55. Bothmer, "Andokides," p. 204.
 56. Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases*, pp. 3-4.
 57. *Ibid.*, p. 4, n. 9.
 58. Cohen, "Literate Potter," pp. 59, 63. In the same article (pp. 53-59), Cohen also discusses the incised signatures on Attic black-figured vases, which do not occur very often, probably because it was so easy to find an unglazed space in which to paint a signature. Exekias seems to have incised his signature only once, on his fragmentary dinos in Rome, Villa Giulia 50599 (*ABV*, p. 146, no. 20; *Addenda*², p. 41; Cohen, "Literate Potter," p. 56, fig. 9). This is, if not the first, one of the first dinoi to have the body glazed black and the figures (in this case, sleek warships) painted on the inside of the mouth. The large area of black glaze may have prompted Exekias to sign his name as potter in precise letters on the shoulder above the carefully painted tongue pattern. He also incised the name of the buyer (Epainetos) and the person for whom the dinos was purchased (Charopos). For this inscription, see Cohen, *ibid.*, p. 56, fig. 10. According to Beazley (*ABV*, p. 146, no. 20), the inscriptions were incised after firing. This dinos may be dated ca. 530 B.C., about the time Andokides may have started working with Exekias.
 59. Webster, *Potter and Patron*, p. 7.
 60. *Ibid.*, p. 12. The bibliographic citations in Webster's n. 9 in this quotation are the Beazley references for MMA 1999.30.
 61. See Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases*, p. 4: "There is evidence to show that while the painted potter-signatures may have been executed by the vase-painters, those incised on the feet of the vessels are by a single distinctive hand, almost certainly the potter's own." In 1984 Henry Immerwahr ("The Signature of Pamphaios," *AJA* 88 [1984], p. 341) put the idea more strongly: "There can be no doubt that *epoiesen* signatures painted in the scenes together with other inscriptions are the work of the painters. Exceptions are of course possible, given the large corpus of vase inscriptions, but I am not aware of any at this point."
 62. The following are good examples. Athens, N.M. 15499 by Sophilos (*ABV*, p. 39, no. 16; *Paralipomena*, p. 18, no. 16; *Addenda*², p. 10); the exuberant, somewhat rough-and-ready drawing complements the letters, and one word (ΑΤΛΑ: "games") is even misspelled (it should be ΑΘΛΑ). Athens, N.M. 15155, ex Akrop. 611 by Nearchos (see note 11 above), and Berlin 1720 and Vatican 344 (see note 11 above), both by Exekias. On these three, the fine, precise letters of the inscriptions parallel the elegant draftsmanship.
 63. There is one further point to be made concerning the potting inscription on this cup. The name "Andokides" appears on the black-figured side—the one attributed to the Lysippides Painter—not on the red-figured side, which is by the Andokides Painter. Cohen (*Attic Bilingual Vases*, pp. 3-5) noticed that the Andokides Painter never includes inscriptions in his compositions, but the Lysippides Painter does. She also makes the point (*ibid.*, p. 5) that there are no inscriptions on their bilingual amphorae. See also the remarks in note 61 above.
 64. See pp. 18-19 above. This placement of the inscription starts with the very earliest vase signatures, which are non-Attic, the one from Pithekoussai ending in []ΙΝΟΣ and the one from Ithaca, by Kallikleas (for both, see note 10 above).
 65. See notes 8 and 11 above.
 66. These are a few examples by each potter. Amasis: Boston, M.F.A. 01.8026, the signature written vertically between the two figures on each side (*ABV*, p. 152, no. 26; *Paralipomena*, p. 63, no. 26; *Addenda*², p. 44); Boston, M.F.A. 01.8027, written behind and above the figure of Apollo on Side A (*ABV*, p. 152, no. 27; *Paralipomena*, p. 63, no. 27; *Addenda*², p. 44); Cab. Méd. 222, written between Athena and Poseidon on Side A (see note 4 above); and London, B.M. 1849.6-20.5 (B 471), written vertically behind Perseus in such a way that the hero seems to be reading it (*ABV*, p. 153, no. 32; *Paralipomena*, p. 64, no. 32; *Addenda*², p. 44). On Würzburg 332, by the Amasis Painter, the inscription is written vertically between the two central figures, and a spear separates the name from the verb (*ABV*, p. 152, no. 30; *Paralipomena*, p. 63, no. 30; *Addenda*², p. 44).
 - Exekias: Vatican 344, the signature written horizontally behind Achilles' spear on Side A (see note 11 above); London, B.M. 1836.2-24.127 (B 210), written vertically behind Achilles on Side A and behind Oinopion on Side B (see note 46 above); and Louvre F 53, attributed to a painter from Group E, the potting signature of Exekias written vertically behind Herakles on Side A (*ABV*, p. 136, no. 49; *Paralipomena*, p. 55, no. 49; *Addenda*², p. 36). It is perhaps worth noting that on MMA 1999.30, Andokides placed the two nonsense inscriptions in a similar vertical framing position. Might this be a further link with the Exekias Workshop?
 - In each of these examples, even the last, and in many others, the placement of the inscription enhances the composition. In view of this, see Tosto's odd remark that "a signature was simply not considered by Greek potters and painters on the whole to be an integral part of the finished product" (*ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, p. 182).
 67. Several exceptions occur on band cups by Hermogenes, where a chariot to left separates the name from the verb: Cambridge GR 41.1864 (63) (*ABV*, p. 165, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 47); Florence 70996 (*ABV*, p. 165, no. 2); Munich 2232 (*ABV*, p. 165, no. 2); Melbourne, ex Castle Ashby (*ABV*, p. 165, no. 4; *Addenda*², p. 47); Oxford G. 244 ex 231 (*ABV*, p. 165, no. 5; *Addenda*²,

- p. 47); probably also the fragment Louvre C 10261, which preserves the name on the left, then a chariot wheeling round, and in the missing section on the right presumably the verb (*ABV*, p. 165, no. 6). Other exceptions are the following. The oinochoe Athens N.M. 1045, signed by Xenokles as potter and by Kleisophos as painter, where the two names appear together at the far left of the panel, the potting verb between the second and third figures, and the painting verb at the far right (*ABV*, p. 186,—; *Addenda*², p. 51). Pamphaios signed his name as potter above the figures on Cab. Méd. 254, a hydria by the Euphiletos Painter, and here the crest of Athena's helmet interrupts the letters of the name (*ABV*, p. 324, no. 38; *Addenda*², p. 88). The heads of two goats separate Theozotos's name from the potting verb on a kyathos in Paris, Louvre F 69 (*ABV*, p. 349,—; *Paralipomena*, p. 159,—; *Addenda*², p. 95). Thrax signed a band cup in Taranto in the same manner as those by Hermogenes (I.G.6222: *ABV*, p. 178,—; *Paralipomena*, p. 74,—).
68. See the new study by Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, passim.
69. Ibid. lists 139 in black-figure and 10 in red-figure (see p. 1 and especially chap. 11, "The Signatures in Nikosthenic Black Figure and the Catalogue of Signatures" [pp. 173–92]).
70. Ibid., pp. 175–76. It is worth listing them:
1. Berlin 1801, the cup cosigned with Anakles (see note 38 above), on which the name and the verb are separated by Herakles and the Hydra.
 - 2, 3. Two amphorae of Type B of ca. 540 B.C.: Rome, Villa Giulia 63643 and 63644 (*ABV*, p. 229, V; *Paralipomena*, p. 108; Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, p. 233, cat. no. 176, pl. 151, 1), the verb written between the legs of the left warrior and the name between the right warrior and the onlooker; Leiden I.1956/11.2 (Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, p. 233, cat. no. 177, pl. 151, 2), the verb written between the first two figures and the name between the second and the third.
 - 4, 5, 6. Three cups dated by Tosto between 525 and 520 B.C.: Louvre F 124 (*ABV*, p. 232, no. 15; *Paralipomena*, p. 109, no. 15; *Addenda*², p. 60; Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, pp. 228–29, cat. no. 145), the name and the verb divided by an upright lotus (for an illustration, see Joseph Clark Hoppin, *A Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases* [Paris, 1924], p. 263); Louvre F 121 (*ABV*, p. 231, no. 7; *Paralipomena*, p. 108, no. 7; *Addenda*², p. 59; Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, pp. 232–33, cat. no. 171, pl. 148, 2), the name written between eye and eyebrow of the left eye, the verb below the upper contour of the right eye; San Antonio 86.134.56 (Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, p. 233, cat. no. 172, pl. 149, 2), the name written between eye and eyebrow of the left eye, the verb in the same space in the right eye.
 7. Rome, Conservatori 57 (*ABV*, p. 220, no. 29; *Paralipomena*, p. 104, no. 29; Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, p. 215, cat. no. 38), a Nicosthenic amphora dated ca. 515 B.C. by Tosto, the name and the verb separated by a lotus-palmette cross, the first four letters of the name written between the legs of the left panther (for a good illustration, see Hoppin, *Handbook*, p. 269). This inscription may also be counted among those where name and verb are divided more or less syllabically between the figures. For three good examples, see these: Florence 76931, a pyxis on which the signature is divided between Herakles, Zeus, and Athena (*ABV*, p. 229, VII; *Paralipomena*, pp. 108, 109; *Addenda*², p. 59; Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, pp. 227–28, cat. no. 139, pl. 135, 2); Louvre F 106, a Nicosthenic amphora on which the inscription is divided between the hind legs of the Nemean Lion, the legs of Iolaos, and the lotus bud at the handle (*ABV*, p. 218, no. 13; *Addenda*², p. 57; Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, p. 210, cat. no. 7, pl. 89); MMA 14.136 (*ABV*, p. 232, no. 13; *Addenda*², p. 60; Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, p. 229, cat. no. 148, pl. 141, 2—here, the image is reversed), the signature written below the rim between the heads of the figures.
- For a discussion of the signatures of Nikosthenes as well as of the different hands that wrote them, see Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, pp. 176–82. It is a great pity that Tosto did not illustrate a sample of them in detailed photographs.
71. Conveniently collected in Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, pp. 229, 231–33.
72. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.170 (*ABV*, p. 231, no. 10; *Paralipomena*, p. 109, no. 10; *Addenda*², p. 60; *CVA*, Malibu 2 [USA 25], pl. 111 [1285], 2, and pl. 112 [1286], 1; Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, p. 232, cat. no. 166, pl. 149).
73. For London B.M. 1980.11-29.1, see note 21 above. For the volute-krater and the psykter signed by Nikosthenes, see note 53 above.
74. Here are some examples of vases, all of good quality, by painters who do not seem to have left us other work. Athens, N.M. 353 by the Piraeus Painter, a neck-amphora of ca. 620 B.C., depicting two chariot teams (*ABV*, p. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 1,— no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 1). Eleusis 280, ex 4267, a loutrophoros of ca. 570 B.C. signed by Kleimachos as potter, with a man and a woman on the neck (see note 53 above). Athens, N.M. Akropolis 2134, a fragmentary kantharos of ca. 560–550 B.C. that shows a very large-scale battle between the Olympian Gods and the Giants (*ABV*, p. 347,—; *Addenda*², p. 94); the vase was signed by the potter, but his name is lost. Louvre F 69, a kyathoid vase of ca. 540 B.C. signed by Theozotos and depicting a goatherd (see note 67 above). Oxford 189, a small standed dish dated ca. 520 B.C., signed by Oikopheles as potter and painter. It shows a Gorgoneion in a small tondo surrounded by a frieze consisting of four themes: a hare hunt, a sphinx, a satyr and a maenad, and Herakles and a Centaur (*ABV*, p. 349,—; *Paralipomena*, pp. 159–60).
75. *ABV*, p. 134, no. 22; *Paralipomena*, p. 55, no. 22.
76. Bothmer, "Lids by the Amasis Painter," pp. 83–91 (see note 4 above).
77. Examples include Zurich ETH 7 (*CVA*, Zürich 1 [Schweiz 2], pl. 16 [58], 2); and four lids in Brussels (*CVA*, Bruxelles 3 [Belgique 3], pl. 24 [118], 1–4). For a lid still in place, see MMA 98.89, an unattributed amphora dated early in the 5th century B.C. (*CVA*, Metropolitan Museum 3 [USA 12], pl. 23 [555], 2, and p. 19 for a description of it). For a neck-amphora with extant lid, see MMA 17.230.14 by Exekias (note 4 above and the illustration in *CVA*, Metropolitan Museum 4 [USA 16], pl. 19 [747], 1).
78. Tosto (*ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, p. 178, n. 824) gives a list of signatures he describes in the text as follows: "the lettering is careless and the line disorderly. Thickish strokes are the rule, often blotted and ragged, as if written with a brush clogged with clay-paint . . . ; the horizontal bars of many epsilons, for instance, have run together." Most of the examples cited by Tosto are later than MMA 1999.30. One signature, however, seems to me particularly relevant to that on our amphora. This is on Brussels R 388, an early Nicosthenic amphora that incorporates fragments once in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., and in Florence (*ABV*, p. 217, no. 11). The illustration in Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, p. 209, cat. no. 4, pl. 88, does not depict the side of the amphora with the inscription, which is preserved

- on the fragment once in the Fogg; for a good illustration, see Hoppin, *Handbook*, p. 193. Compare especially, the thickness of some of the letters, particularly, the epsilons and the meandering of the inscription.
79. The shape of these neck-amphorae, which is not pertinent to the present discussion, was borrowed from Etruria but given a distinctive Attic stylistic flavor. See the discussion by Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, chap. 1, "Nikosthenic Amphorae: An Etruscan Vase-Form 1-127," pp. 17-41.
 80. Examples of its early-6th-century use, all by the Gorgon Painter, are the following: Louvre E 817 (*ABV*, p. 9, no. 7; *Paralipomena*, p. 6, no. 7; *Addenda*², p. 2); Tübingen 5445/28 (*Paralipomena*, p. 7, no. 11; *Addenda*², p. 3); London, Russell (*ABV*, p. 9, no. 17)
 81. Briefly discussed in Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, pp. 83-84. Tosto (*ibid.*, p. 83) mentions the rarity of this configuration as it appears here, in particular the treatment of the hearts of the palmettes: "Most strikingly, about two-thirds of the palmettes in crosses, unlike those in chains, have bipartite cores, that is, the core is divided into two curving sections by an inner arch (*c-d*). The type is extremely rare in Attic painting. Insofar as I am aware, it recurs in the panel of an olpe by the Gorgon Painter, about 590; in the crosses at the handles of the black-figure type B amphora with an *epoiesē* signature of Andokides [MMA 1999.30], about 540; and next to the handles of a black-figure eye-cup, about 540-530." The last example, in the Jacques L. Theodor collection in Brussels, bears no resemblance to MMA 1999.30 (see Pieter Heeson, with contributions by Herman A. G. Brijder and J. L. Kluiver, *The J. L. Theodor Collection of Attic Black-Figure Vases*, Allard Pierson Series 10 [Amsterdam, 1996], p. 182).
 82. Kurashiki, Ninagawa Museum (*ABV*, p. 217, no. 9; Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, pp. 208-9, cat. no. 1, pl. 85); Rome, Villa Giulia 20863 (*ABV*, p. 218, no. 14; *Paralipomena*, p. 104, no. 14; Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, pp. 210-11, cat. no. 11, pl. 91).
 83. See Louvre E 817 (note 79 above).
 84. See the tabulation of this ornament in his work and remarks in *Agora XXIII*, p. 100, under cat. no. 6. Rosettes also appear on the sides of the mouths of loutrophoroi during this time. See, e.g., Charikleia Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou, *Ἰερό της Νύμφης. Μελανόμορφες Λουτροφόροι* (Athens, 1997), no. 246, pl. 48, nos. 280-81, pl. 55, and no. 291, pl. 58. All of these are significantly earlier than MMA 1999.30.
 85. *ABV*, p. 216, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 104, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 57; Tosto, *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, p. 215, cat. no. 43, dated ca. 535 B.C. (p. 14), so perhaps marginally later than MMA 1999.30. For a hardly legible illustration, see CVA, Louvre 4 [France 5], pl. 33 [199], 7 and 11. For earlier occurrences of rosettes on the backs of handles, see *Agora XXIII*, p. 121, under cat. no. 147.
 86. See the brief discussion by Tosto (*ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, pp. 79-80), who shows that the pattern on Greek vases begins in East Greek ware.
 87. I have only been able to find this treatment of ivy on an unattributed amphora of Type B dating from ca. 540 B.C. that was once on the Paris art market (Koutoulakis): Side A, showing a mounted youth leading a riderless horse, between two men; Side B, showing two mounted youths; in the field on each side, nonsense inscriptions. I know this piece from Bothmer's photographs. Similar is Würzburg 258, also unattributed, but on this amphora the upper half of the pattern is a border of esses, not ivy (Ernst Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg* [Munich, 1932], pl. 78). On these, the ivy leaves alternate red and black.
 88. J. D. Beazley, "Groups of Mid-Sixth Century Black-Figure," *BSA* 32 (1931-32), pp. 3-4.
 89. See note 60 above.
 90. *ABV*, p. 135, no. 44; *Paralipomena*, p. 55, no. 44; *Addenda*², p. 36. Probably ca. 540 B.C. or a little later. The similarity between the two amphorae was briefly noted by Beazley (*ABV*, p. 253).
 91. See note 15 above. A neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape, as the name implies, has the shape of the prize vase but not its subjects. It may be decorated in black-figure or in red-figure. See *Agora XXIII*, pp. 10-11, and *Agora XXX* (see note 6 above), pp. 9-11. For the dotted links, see also the Princeton Painter's handsome neck-amphora in London, B.M. 1843.11-3.100 (B 212) (*ABV*, p. 297, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 129, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 78). One further, if perhaps minor, link with the Princeton Painter's Workshop may be included here. In note 3 above, it was stated that the top of the mouth of MMA 1999.30 is glazed, instead of reserved. This is also true of Princeton 29.192 in the manner of the Princeton Painter (*ABV*, p. 300, no. 9; *Paralipomena*, p. 130, no. 9).
 92. *ABV*, p. 137, no. 63; *Paralipomena*, p. 55, no. 63; *Addenda*², p. 37.
 93. *ABV*, p. 135, no. 39; *Addenda*², p. 36.
 94. *ABV*, p. 134, no. 15.
 95. See note 90 above.
 96. *ABV*, p. 300, no. 12; *Paralipomena*, p. 130, —, no. 12.
 97. Rome, Conservatori 158: CVA, Musei Capitolini 1 [Italia 36], pl. 26 [1626], 1. This hydria is probably in the manner of the Princeton Painter. See Mary B. Moore, *Horses on Black-Figured Greek Vases of the Archaic Period: Ca. 620-480 B.C.*, Ph.D. diss. New York University, 1971 (Ann Arbor, 1972), p. 96, cat. no. 643. This biconcave pair of arcs occurs on the necks of the pole horses on Würzburg L 415, a Droop cup attributed to the Group of Toronto 289 (*ABV*, p. 196, —, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 53).
 98. Since this is a chariot wheeling around, the heads of the pole horses are frontal, and a throatlatch would not be visible. These horses have browbands.
 99. See note 6 above.
 100. MMA 56.171.9 (*ABV*, p. 299, no. 15; *Paralipomena*, p. 129, no. 25; *Addenda*², p. 78). Rome, Villa Giulia 910 (*ABV*, p. 298, no. 9; *Paralipomena*, p. 129, no. 9). For the name piece, Princeton 169, see note 15 above.
 101. See his name vase, Louvre E 874 (*ABV*, p. 8, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 6, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 2). For the convention, see note 5 above. This arrangement for a four-horse team in profile was also used for relief sculpture. A particularly good example is MMA 36.11.13 (see note 5 above). See also Athena's and Aphrodite's chariot teams on the west frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (Pierre de La Coste-Messelière, *Delphes* [Paris, 1957], figs. 66, 67). Each of these examples may be dated ca. 530 B.C. or a little later.
 102. *Paralipomena*, p. 61; Eleni Manakidou, *Παραστάσεις με άρματα (8ος-5ος αι. π.Χ.) Παρατηρήσεις στην εικονογραφία τους* (Thessaloniki, 1994), pp. 58-61 and pl. 11; see also Immerwahr, *Attic Script*, p. 34, cat. no. 144.
 103. For this feature, though it is less animated, see the figure of Stesagoras himself on Exekias's pyxis (Manakidou, *Παραστάσεις*, pl. 11, γ).