

The Literate Potter: A Tradition of Incised Signatures on Attic Vases

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DEDICATED TO DIETRICH VON BOTHMER

INCISION—cutting or engraving with a sharp tool—is commonly associated with metalwork, but it played a major role in pottery decoration as far back as the Stone Age.¹ Incision may have reached its finest hour in Greece during the sixth century B.C. as the drawing line of the black-figure technique, which was invented in Corinth, refined in Athens, and brought to sublime heights by the great Attic master Exekias. Indeed, incision was also a convenient way to write on Greek pots, even though most intentional vase inscriptions of the historical period were painted in glaze rather than incised.

The present study is devoted to a remarkable phenomenon on Attic vases: incised rather than painted signatures that employ the verb *epoiesen* (made), indicating that they must have been those of Athenian potters. Fewer than seventy-five preserved examples are known to me, yet this unusual mode of signing happens to be very well represented on vases in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. These signatures constitute the primary tradition for intentional incised inscriptions on Attic pottery of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Most of the individual examples are well known, but to date they have never been examined together. The following survey reveals how this uncommon practice mirrored both the aesthetic and the technological integrity of vase production.

The original meaning of *epoiesen* in signatures on Attic vases has been debated since the nineteenth century. According to Sir John D. Beazley:

Two forms of signatures are found on vases: the name is followed either by ἐποίησεν “made,” or by ἐγράφεν “painted.” Two explanations have been offered of the *epoiese*-signature. One, that it gives the name of the potter, the man who fashioned the vase; the other, that it gives no more than the owner of the establishment from which the vase came. At one time I held it more prudent to adopt the second explanation, but now I believe that, *in general*, the first explanation is the right one: Εὐφρόνιος ἐποίησεν means that Euphronios fashioned the vase with his own hands.

That is what the statement *means*: it does not follow that the statement is always *true*.²

Scholars since Beazley have taken gratuitous pleasure in rejecting his position. Now *epoiesen* is often taken to connote workshop ownership rather than vase making.³ The actual execution of the signatures has been relegated either to a foreman checking batches for shipment or “to the whim of the individual painter.”⁴ Finally, artisans’ names given on Attic vases have been said to refer not to workers in the lowly pottery industry, but to craftsmen of more expensive and highly regarded metalwork.⁵ Relating the *epoiese*-signature to an individual potter’s sense of pride in his craft is definitely out of fashion at present.⁶

My interest is focused on the reasons for, and the aesthetics of, writing on pottery with incision, but the aim here is not simply to support or refute any of the above points of view. In telling the history of incised Attic *epoiese*-signatures I hope to explain clearly for the first time why these special signatures must have been created by potters rather than painters (the former certainly were the workshop art directors if not their owners) and when, if ever, “so-and-so *epoiesen*” means that “so-and-so” not only

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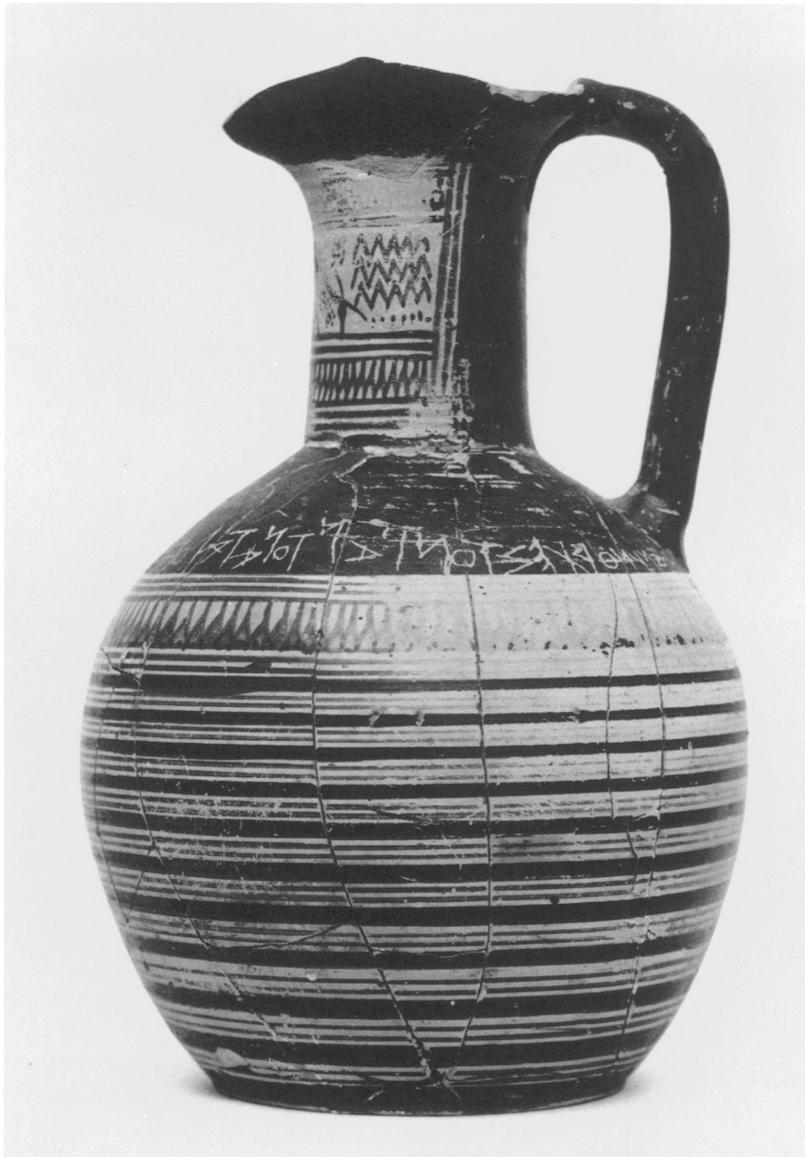


Figure 1. Attic Late Geometric oinochoe, ca. 740 B.C. H. 23 cm. Athens, National Museum 192 (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)

made the vase but also actually signed his own name with his own hand.

First, we should examine why and how incision was used for writing on Greek vases. Painted inscriptions had to be applied before a pot was fired. Incised inscriptions could be applied before firing, like the incised drawing line of black-figure,⁷ but sometimes they were added later. It is important, therefore, to distinguish between intentional incised inscriptions on Attic pottery and the more common secondary graffiti, as in the following examples.

Incised writing had already been employed in Athens for the earliest extant datable inscription of the first millennium B.C. on the famous Dipylon oinochoe (Figure 1).⁸ This pitcher, with a water bird and deer on its high neck, in addition to a measured patterning of glaze, lines, and triangular ornament covering its rounded body, was found in an Attic grave of about 740 B.C. It is a typical product of a local Late Geometric pottery workshop,⁹ but the hexameter Greek verse incised around its black-glazed shoulder makes this common jug extraordinary. This inscription alludes to the pot's enhanced

function as a prize awarded to “whomever of all the dancers dances most gracefully.” The direction of the incised inscription is retrograde (from right to left), and the handwriting is inconsistent, growing larger and sloppier toward the end. These scrawled words are at odds aesthetically with the vessel’s controlled shape and painted decoration. Possible correspondences to letters of the Phoenician alphabet have even prompted the suggestion that the author(s) may not have been Athenian.¹⁰

This inscription is undoubtedly a secondary graffito scratched onto the Dipylon oinochoe after firing, probably after its sale and clearly not by the local artisan(s) who made this Geometric vessel. That the inscription is also a virtually unique occurrence on eighth-century Attic vases suggests that Athenian potters and painters were not yet literate.¹¹ When local craftsmen began to write—on Orientalizing pottery of the following century—they painted inscriptions in glaze before the firing process.¹²

The best-known later group of incised pottery inscriptions from Athens should also be characterized as secondary graffiti, applied with total disregard for vase design and even original function. Names of Athenian citizens were written, usually with incision and generally by Athenian citizens, on sherds of broken Attic pots. Vase fragments inscribed thus are known as *ostraca*, because they were used as ballots for ostracizing men from the fifth-century polis.¹³ The only preserved incised ostrakon naming Perikles (Figure 2) has been dated to 443 B.C., and thus is contemporary with the latest Attic vases in this study. Its inscription was written in two lines in the distinct hand of a writer who preferred old-fashioned Attic letter forms to then-popular Ionic intrusions.¹⁴ As in the case of the Dipylon oinochoe’s inscription, this graffito takes advantage of a completely black-glazed surface, so that the resulting contrast of light letters (scratched through to the clay) against a dark ground ensures optimum legibility. Concern for legibility often meant placing an incised inscription on the glazed interior of a vase fragment, rather than on an exterior surface that was left in the color of the clay (reserved). The relatively coarse implement employed here for writing on the previously fired, glazed clay has left thickly scratched lines with ragged edges.¹⁵

The finely incised signatures that are the subject of this study also take special advantage of the aesthetic affinity of incision for black glaze and its inherent legibility. Unlike the above examples, these

Attic inscriptions were carefully planned by the vessels’ makers and applied during manufacture. Moreover, they play a particular role in the design of the vases on which they appear.



Figure 2. Ostrakon of Perikles, 443 B.C. Maximum preserved dimension 7 cm. Athens, Agora P 16755 (photo: Agora Excavations, American School of Classical Studies at Athens)

BLACK-FIGURE: INTRODUCTION

Most intentional Corinthian vase inscriptions of the Archaic Period were name labels; these, as well as the rare *Meistersignaturen*, were usually written in glaze on the reserved background and placed within the picture field.¹⁶ Dedications, which formed the primary genre of Corinthian inscriptions, were commonly incised on areas of black glaze outside the picture field.

In Corinth the signing of vases never became a strong tradition. The surviving signatures, of only three craftsmen, employ the verb *egraphse* (painted); all but one identify themselves as painters rather than as makers (potters).¹⁷ Only Timonidas, the artist of a famous Middle Corinthian Troilos flask, signed at least one other work in comparable Corinthian letters—interestingly, on a painted clay pinax (plaque) rather than a vase.¹⁸ Both of this painter’s signed works appear to date to about 570 B.C. and thus immediately precede the first examples of incised Attic signatures. On the obverse of Timonidas’ pinax, painted and incised writing are juxtaposed. The painter-signature, with big Corinthian letters arranged in two rows, was brushed in black

glaze onto the reserved ground beside the polychrome image of a warrior and his dog; and a dedication, in this case to the god Poseidon, was scratched into the black-glazed border along the left side of the plaque.¹⁹ According to Darrell Amyx, “most of the pinakes were dedicated by members of the pottery industry,” and “it is easy to assume that in nearly all cases the dedicant is the maker (and the painter) of the pinax. . . .”²⁰ Not only is the incised dedication of Timonidas’ plaque epigraphically consistent with the painted artist’s signature, but a pottery kiln is represented on the reverse. On Corinthian wares in general, inscriptions commemorating the act of making were differentiated technologically from those celebrating the act of dedication, which were presumably added later. Evidently, even when maker and dedicator were the same individual, this potent symbolic distinction between glaze and incision was maintained.

It was standard on very early Attic black-figured pottery of about 615–575 B.C. to paint inscriptions in big letters (usually black, but occasionally red) on reserved picture backgrounds before the vessel was fired. The labels for the hero “Herakles” and the Centaur “Net[t]os” (in Attic dialect) on the name-piece of the so-called Nettos Painter offer a well-known example.²¹ This form of writing was adopted from Corinth along with the technique, and even the style, of vase painting.²²



Figure 3. Attic black-figured stand, with signatures of Kleitias as painter and Ergotimos as potter, ca. 570 B.C. H. 5.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1931, 31.11.4

According to Fritz Lorber, most Attic signatures first occur when vase painting in Corinth began to decline.²³ Indeed, during the great flowering of Attic black-figure, about 575–525 B.C., the names of many craftsmen in the local industry appear in pottery inscriptions. *Sophilos* is the first we know. Three signatures on his extant vases employing the verb *egraphsen* (painted) are preserved. One (and perhaps as many as three) of his other fragmentary signatures can be restored to read: “Sophilos made me.”²⁴ His inscriptions—signatures, name labels, even a title—are always written freely in red glaze on the reserved picture backgrounds of his vase paintings. They exude the joy of writing.²⁵ Since *Sophilos* appears to have been both potter and painter, all of his signatures unquestionably are autograph.

Even early in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., inscriptions reveal the increasing complexity in Attic workshops, for a vase’s painter was not always its potter. The first famous collaboration brought together the potter Ergotimos and the painter Kleitias. On their great black-figured volutekrater in Florence, known as the François vase, of about 570 B.C., double signatures ΕΡΓΟΤΙΜΟΣ ΜΕΓΟΙΕΣΕΝ, ΚΛΕΙΤΙΑΣ ΜΕΛΑΡΑΦΕΣΕΝ (“Ergotimos made me, Kleitias painted me”) can be restored in two zones.²⁶ These are written in black glaze, both by the same hand, alongside the careful labels of figures and objects in the vase paintings. Here Kleitias signed not only his own name as painter but inscribed the signature of the potter as well, a practice that has been believed by scholars to be the norm throughout the course of Attic pottery production.²⁷ As we shall see, incised potter-signatures bring such a conclusion into question.

Two other significant features in the work of Kleitias and Ergotimos are of fundamental importance to the present study. First, two of the 129 inscriptions on the François vase are incised. In the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, ΒΟ [ΜΟ] is inscribed on the black altar before which the bridegroom stands, and, in the Achilles and Ajax frieze, ΘΑΚΟΣ identifies Priam’s black-glazed seat.²⁸ Were these labels incised directly on black objects because such placement was suitable for inanimate architectonic forms? Were they incised for sake of clarity (given a lack of reserved ground around each object), or were they omitted in the painting and added afterward? For Kleitias, evidently, incision was not a normal black-figure way to write but could be pressed into service when needed.

The second feature is that signatures of Ergotimos and Kleitias are sometimes intentionally iso-

lated, even removed entirely from the picture field. Their signatures are written in black glaze, with an especially neat hand, on a reserved band around the stem of the Metropolitan Museum's little stand with the Gorgoneion (Figure 3), and other examples of their signatures appear on the reserved exteriors of Gordion cups. A potter's signature isolated as a design element became standard on the so-called little-master cups (lip-cups and band-cups) of the mid-sixth century (see Figure 11), and this genre is believed to have ensured the subsequent importance of potter-signatures on Attic vases.²⁹

ATTIC INCISED SIGNATURES: CATEGORY A

The earliest preserved incised Attic *epoiese*-signature, about 560 B.C., is on a round-bodied aryballos of Corinthian type by Nearchos in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 4, 5).³⁰ This vessel, evidently intended for private use, is covered with exquisite decoration. Multicolored crescents envelop its body and shoulder, tongues encircle the top of its mouth, Pygmies and Cranes battle along its lip, and other miniatures adorn its handle: Tritons on top, Hermes and Perseus at the sides, and, at the back, a trio of masturbating satyrs. All the little figures are enhanced by playful inscriptions painted on the reserved ground in the usual black-figure manner. Surprisingly, much of the writing, although finely lettered, is nonsense rather than real words.³¹ NEAPXOΣ ΕΡΟΙΕΣΕΝΜΕ ("Nearchos made me"), with name and verb on two lines, is incised across an arc of black glaze on the back segment of the aryballos' shoulder.

According to Gisela Richter, "since the letters were traced after firing, as indicated by the extensive chipping, the possibility presents itself that they were added later, to enhance the value of the vase."³² Whenever this signature may have been written, however, it was definitely not an afterthought. On the section of the shoulder exposed by the unusual upward-curving handle root, Nearchos must have intentionally substituted solid black glaze for painted crescents, setting aside this area as a place for special writing, perhaps inspired by inscriptions (including graffiti) found in similar locations on Corinthian pottery. An example of what he might have seen happens to be preserved in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 6), a Middle Corinthian round-bodied pyxis. Women's heads in relief decorate its handles, and beneath each head a different woman's (hetaira's?) name has been incised in black glaze on the pyxis' shoulder.³³ Whereas a dif-



Figure 4. Back view of Attic black-figure aryballos, with the potter-signature of Nearchos, ca. 570 – 550 B.C. H. 7.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Cesnola Collection, by exchange, 1926, 26.49

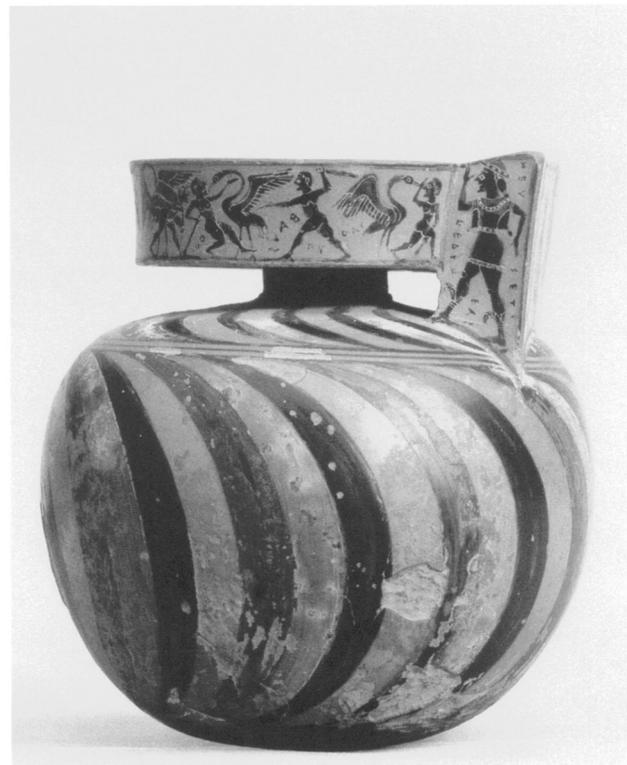


Figure 5. Profile view of aryballos in Figure 4



Figure 6. Middle Corinthian round-bodied pyxis with handles in the form of female heads, ca. 575–550 B.C. H. 14.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cesnola Collection, Purchased by subscription, 1874–76, 74.51.364

ferent Attic aryballos of Corinthian shape in Athens was footed and signed by its painter in black glaze on the reserved foot profile,³⁴ Nearchos artfully retained the purely Corinthian frame of reference of his own model with its incised inscription.

Nearchos' incised signature—squeezed onto the tiny black arc—is eye-catching and yet subordinate to the rest of the decoration. Archaic potters of Boeotia may have signed with incision even before their Attic counterparts, and a nearly contemporary product from this Corinthianizing provincial fabric

provides an interesting contrast. The Boeotian aryballos of Corinthian shape in the British Museum (Figure 7) is likewise laden with surface ornament. The signature of its potter, Gamedes, was incised with Boeotian letters in the wide central band before firing, surrounded by a chevron pattern that was evidently incised after firing.³⁵ Here the signature is the focal point. Significantly, on the aryballois by both the Athenian Nearchos and the Boeotian Gamedes the meaning of *epoiese(n)* appears to have extended beyond potting to decorating, and conse-

quently their proudly displayed incised signatures must be true autographs.

Nearchos is also known as an early maker of lip-cups, and his sons evidently entered the family business. He must have attained considerable wealth, since in his later years he was able to dedicate a marble kore on the Athenian Acropolis.³⁶ His humble beginnings recall Corinthian tradition, however, and are particularly relevant here: Nearchos apparently dedicated wares from his own pottery in the city goddess's main sanctuary, because a fragmentary plaque and two kantharoi, all bearing remains of his painted signatures, were found on the Acropolis. The best preserved of these inscriptions, on the famous Achilles kantharos, can be restored with two verbs that fully identify Nearchos as both painter and potter: ΝΕΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΕ ΛΡΑΦΣΕΝ ΚΑ- [ΓΟΙΕΣΕΝ], as would be suitable for a dedication.³⁷

In 1932 Gisela Richter cited “neat, carefully drawn letters, and similar forms of letters” as grounds for attributing the black-figure decoration of the tiny aryballos in New York, signed only with the verb *epoiesen*, to the same Nearchos who both potted and painted the monumental kantharos found on the Athenian Acropolis.³⁸ A technical feature augments her assessment of Nearchos' handwriting: lightly incised guidelines for letters of the magnificent painted signature can still be made out on the reserved ground of the Achilles kantharos.³⁹ This indicates not only the potter-painter's supreme care, but also the extraordinary importance he placed on both writing and signing. On the New York aryballos Nearchos initiated the Attic tradition with which we are concerned here, not merely by isolating a potter-signature in a special location, but also by distinguishing it technically from ordinary glaze inscriptions associated with vase painting.

The next incised Attic signature, dating to the mid-sixth century, is on the fragmentary dinos with a Gigantomachy by Lydos found on the Athenian Acropolis.⁴⁰ The partially preserved inscription was incised on the red-glazed side of the dinos' mouth, clearly removed from the picture field. Lydos' distinctive signature as “the Lydian” is preserved between parts of the verbs *epoiesen* and *egrapsen*, and the order of the words clearly indicates he was the painter. According to Beazley, “The *maker* may have been Lydos himself, or may have been someone else.”⁴¹

Inscriptions in glaze on other vases painted by Lydos document the fact that he worked for two different potters.⁴² Scholars have argued, how-

ever, that the signature on this dinos should be reconstructed with Lydos named as both potter and painter.⁴³ The most likely restoration is ΗΟΙΛΥΔΟΣ ἰ ΕΓΡΟΙΕῖ ΣΕΝ ἰ ΗΟΙΛΥΔΟΣ ἰ ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ.⁴⁴ Mary Moore's reconstruction of the incised signature's careful placement on the rim suggests that it appeared over the heads of the deities “intended to be seen first” (e.g., Athena and Zeus), and that it would “take up, at the very most, only about one half of the circumference of the rim.”⁴⁵ It is likely that an incised dedication filled the other half.⁴⁶ As Moore says, “We cannot prove that Lydos himself, and not another, dedicated this impressive vase to Athena but such a suggestion is well worth consideration.”⁴⁷

The incised inscription that survives was written by a single hand in neat letters tall enough to fill the rim. While the signature is distinguished by both scale and technique from the smaller painted labels for figures in the Gigantomachy, letter forms are consistent throughout the inscriptions on the vase. Interestingly, a label for one of the Giants was omitted, and the vase painter later added an incised name, writing the letters directly on the figure's black-glazed knee and thigh.⁴⁸ Although incised as



Figure 7. Boeotian aryballos, with the potter-signature of Gamedes, ca. 600 – 550 B.C. H. 9 cm. London, British Museum A 189 (photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)



Figure 8. Attic black-figured eye-cup, with the potter-signature of Exekias, ca. 530 B.C. H. 12.8 cm. Munich, Antikensammlungen 8729 (2044) (photo: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München)

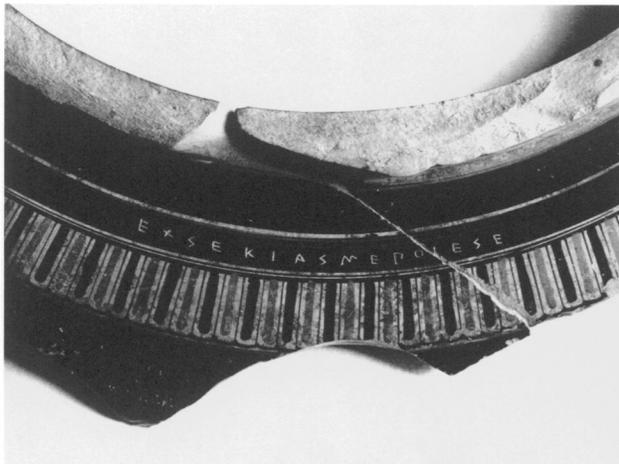


Figure 9. Detail from shoulder of Attic black-figured dinos showing the potter-signature of Exekias, ca. 530 B.C. estimated H., restored, 28 cm; estimated Diam., 40.5 cm. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia 50599 (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)

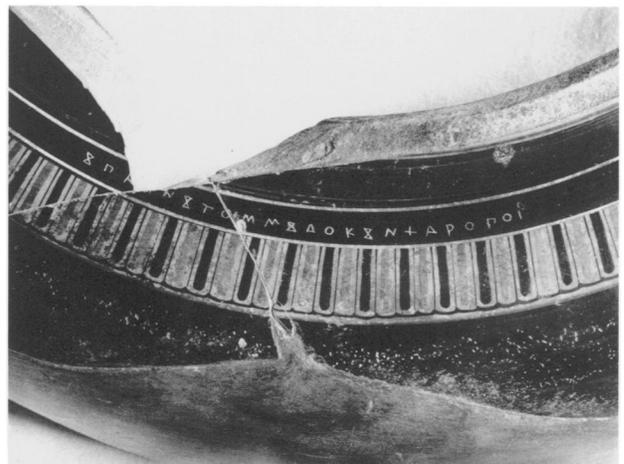


Figure 10. Detail of dinos in Figure 9 showing the inscription in Sicyonian alphabet (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)

well, the big signature is, of course, neither the rectification of an omission nor a mere graffito written as a spontaneous afterthought. The very use of incision for a signature isolated from the vase painting should provide graphic evidence that Lydos was not only the painter of this great dinos but also its potter. It would have been appropriate for a masterwork dedicated by an artist to have been entirely a product of his own hand, right down to the writing of the inscription. While this practice recalls Corinthian clay votive plaques with incised dedications by their makers, the fact that here an incised rather than a painted inscription should give the signature of the artisan and not only a (lost) dedication is typically Attic.⁴⁹

During the generation after Nearchos and Lydos, Exekias was the great exponent of the monumental tradition of Attic pottery, and he refined earlier local conventions for signing. Painted signatures of Exekias both as painter and potter, ΕΞΕΚΙΑΣΕΛΡΑΦΣΕΚΑΓΡΟΕΣΕΜΕ and solely as potter are preserved. Some of his potter-signatures appear on vases attributed to other painters.⁵⁰ On vases entirely by Exekias' own hand, one painted signature of each variety—painter-potter or potter only—is preserved on the ground of his black-figure paintings, finely lettered in a horizontal or vertical line,⁵¹ and both varieties are also preserved in isolated locations: on the reserved ground at the top of an amphora's mouth or on the vertical surface of an eye-cup's footplate (Figure 8).⁵²

Exekias also continued the use of incision for writing. His fragmentary dinos from Cervetri in the Villa Giulia bears decoration pristinely limited to the sort of ornament that normally was applied by a potter rather than a painter.⁵³ Black-figure ships set sail inside the mouth, but the exterior must have been glazed entirely black, except for ivy outside the mouth and alternately black and purplish-red tongues on the shoulder. On the band of black glaze above the tongues, an incised inscription appears on each side of the vessel (Figures 9, 10). According to Beazley, "both inscriptions were added by Exekias after the vase was complete, doubtless at the request of the purchaser."⁵⁴ The first (Figure 9) gives the potter-signature, "here Exekias potted me," written with calligraphy as exquisite and spacing as measured as his painted potter-signature on the foot of the Munich eye-cup (Figure 8).⁵⁵ The second inscription incised on the dinos (Figure 10), although evidently also in Exekias' own superb calligraphy, is extraordinary because it is in the Sicyonian alpha-

bet. It gives the names of the buyer (Epainetos) and the person for whom the dinos was purchased (Charopos). Exekias must have copied a pattern for the second inscription, written either by Epainetos or by his agent, but he certainly transformed the script with his own fine hand.⁵⁶ Since incision was appropriate for an Attic vessel covered almost entirely with black glaze, Exekias may well have planned from the outset to execute both inscriptions with this technique. By elevating a utilitarian graffito to become an integral part of the decoration, this Athenian craftsman has enhanced the vase's dedication as a special gift.

Incision made it possible to write inscriptions on solidly glazed areas on Attic black-figure pottery. Most incised inscriptions either were potter-signatures or included them, having apparently been executed by potters who were also painters. These leading artisans both shaped and decorated the inscribed vessels with their own hands. They may also have been workshop owners, but, in any event, the name given in the *epoiese*-signature surely belonged to the craftsman himself. Master potter-painters from the enchanted realm of Attic black-figure just as surely wrote their special incised signatures with their own hands.

ATTIC RED-FIGURE: INTRODUCTION

The last quarter of the sixth century B.C. saw the overwhelming success of a new technique for painting vases—red-figure—accompanied by growth in the size and number of workshops. Henceforth, not only the meaning of all types of potters' signatures but also their erstwhile nature as autographs become more complex. Nevertheless, from the Late Archaic into the Classical period, incised signatures continue to be a relatively rare phenomenon rather than the norm.

The potter Hischylos exemplifies how the transition from black-figure to early red-figure affected signing practices. The products of his workshop, sixteen preserved signed cups, changed markedly over the decades to conform to dominant fashions in pottery decoration. Hischylos is known to have worked with several painters, and his oeuvre provides a good introduction to the range of questions and complexities that we will encounter.

Hischylos' earliest signature-type appears on two purely black-figure band-cups of the mid-sixth-century, one in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure

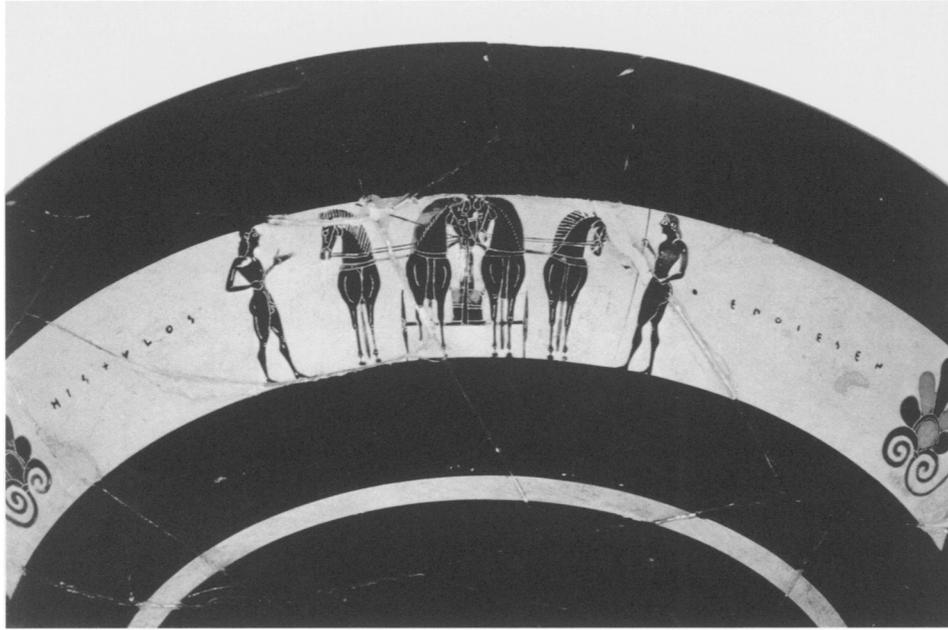


Figure 11. Attic black-figured band-cup, with the potter-signature of Hischylos, ca. 540–530 B.C. H., as restored, 12.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1929, 29.131.6

11) and one in Civitavecchia.⁵⁷ Carefully spaced, small black-painted letters give potter's name and *epoiesen* across the reserved zone to either side of a central black-figure miniature,⁵⁸ a convention repeated on both sides of both cups. The decoration of both is attributable to the same otherwise unidentified hand. Since an *egraphse*-signature commonly is suppressed in the decorative miniaturist format of black-figured little-master cups, one can only guess whether a separate painter or a master black-figure potter-painter applied both the images and the potter-signatures on the band-cups.

During the decade following 530 B.C., Hischylos turned to production of the new black-figured eye-cup. An extremely elaborate model at the Fitzwilliam Museum (Figures 12, 13) provides evidence of collaboration. The signatures of Hischylos as potter and Sakonides as painter were written in black glaze on either side of the reserved foot profile, following Exekias' prototypical eye-cup formula (see Figure 8).⁵⁹ In the painter's signature two interpoints divide name and verb, while in the potter's signature the two words run together, and the iota has been omitted from *epoiesen*. Yet both were written by the same hand, perhaps that of Sakonides.

A second eye-cup by the potter Hischylos at the Fitzwilliam Museum is a bilingual model, red-figured outside, black-figured within (Figures 14, 15). The bilingual decorative format was popular

during the transitional period after the introduction of the red-figure technique. In this example the potter-signature is incised on black glaze, just above the cup's reserved groundline and directly under one handle. Comparable incised handle-zone signatures are preserved on a similar eye-cup formerly on the Swiss market and on a cup fragment in the Vatican.⁶⁰ This unusual signature type is encountered only in the oeuvre of Hischylos. The decorator of the bilingual cups, who did not sign his name, has been called "the Painter of the Cambridge Hischylos."⁶¹

Why were Hischylos' potter-signatures incised? The usual answer is that incised inscriptions appear on the black-glazed ground of the earliest red-figured and bilingual vases because the use of red glaze, which greatly facilitated writing and eventually became the norm, had not yet been adopted.⁶² But this is only a partial explanation. On the Cambridge bilingual eye-cup, for example, Hischylos' potter-signature easily could have been painted in traditional black glaze either on the reserved foot profile or inside, on the reserved ground of the black-figure tondo. Both solutions occur elsewhere in Hischylos' oeuvre, on the Cambridge black-figured eye-cup, as we have seen, and, somewhat later, on mature bilingual eye-cups, on which he collaborated with the painters Epiktetos and Pheidippos. Both painters wrote potter-signatures of His-

chylos in black glaze on their black-figure tondi (and Epiktetos wrote his own *egraphse*-signature in the by-then standard red glaze on the red-figured exteriors).⁶³ Perhaps there was a practical reason for the use of incision. For example, the Painter of the Cambridge Hischylos might have forgotten to paint the signature onto some reserved area, and it had to be added after firing. The survival of several similar examples, however, makes the simple rectification of an omission an unlikely explanation.

Translation of the black-figured eye-cup scheme into a bilingual format must have prompted Hischylos himself to consider how the new type should be signed. The Execian footplate signature was not simply reapplied. Black-figured cups traditionally bear the potter's signature on their exteriors (see Figures 8, 11–13), and some are signed in the handle-zone.⁶⁴ The placement of Hischylos' incised potter-signatures beneath a handle on red-figured cup exteriors, while new, evokes earlier conventions.

It is not known whether the Painter of the Cambridge Hischylos was Hischylos, and I cannot determine whether this potter incised these signatures with his own hand. In any event, Hischylos must have been aware of the special association of incised signatures with potters, both in Attic black-figure and in the early red-figure period, to which we shall now turn.

ATTIC INCISED SIGNATURES: CATEGORY B

Incised potter-signatures assume a new significance on red-figured and bilingual vases. The story begins appropriately enough with the potter Andokides, a pupil of Exekias,⁶⁵ in whose workshop the red-figure technique appears to have been invented. The earliest work attributed to a painter with whom Andokides collaborated, the so-called Andokides Painter, is preserved on four amphorae of the shape



Figure 12. Attic black-figured eye-cup, with the signatures of Sakonides as painter and Hischylos as potter, ca. 530–525 B.C. H. 13.2 cm. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, GR.38-1864 (60) (photo: Fitzwilliam Museum)

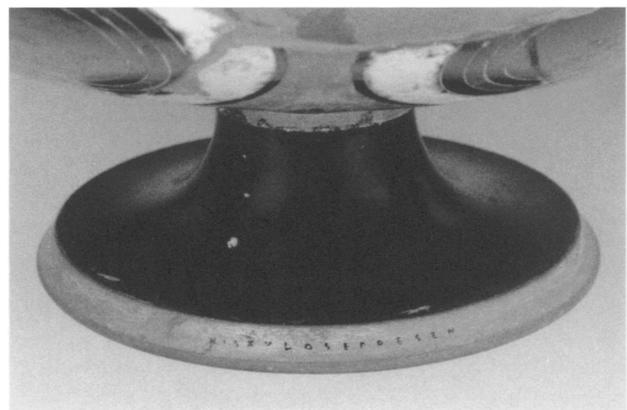


Figure 13. Detail of foot of eye-cup in Figure 12 showing potter-signature of Hischylos (photo: Fitzwilliam Museum)



Figure 14. Attic bilingual eye-cup, with the potter-signature of Hischylos, attributed to the Painter of the Cambridge Hischylos, ca. 525–520 B.C. H. 13 cm. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.14-1937 (37.14) (photo: Fitzwilliam Museum)

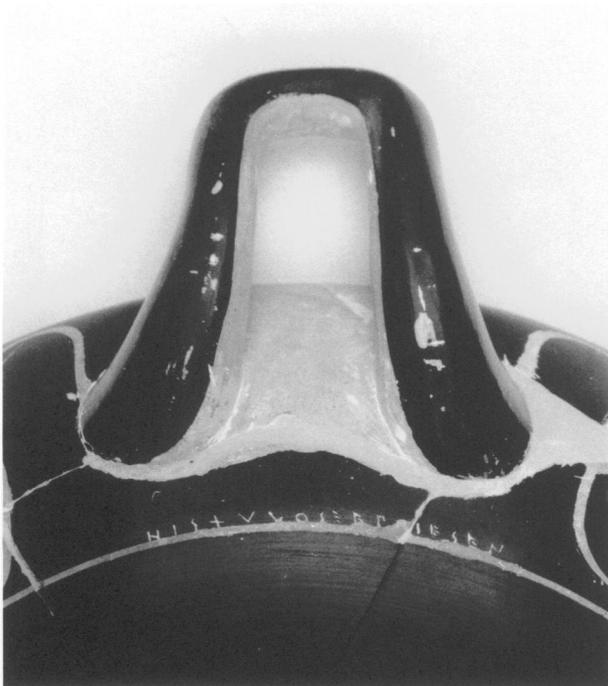


Figure 15. Detail of eye-cup in Figure 14 showing potter-signature of Hischylos (photo: Fitzwilliam Museum)

known as type A, of 525–520 B.C. On the foot of each there is an incised signature of the potter Andokides, who I believe was a different person than the Andokides Painter. There are no inscriptions whatsoever in the latter's red-figure vase paintings, and it is likely that this painter did not know how to write.⁶⁶ Three of the amphorae are red-figured: one in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 16, 17), one in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (Figures 18, 19), and one in the Louvre (G1). The fourth, also in the Louvre (Figure 20), is decorated in an experimental white-ground technique.⁶⁷

The signature of the potter Andokides was incised on the lower degree of each amphora's foot, placed beneath the panel on the obverse and extending from the central vertical axis toward the right. On the Metropolitan's amphora (Figure 17), which must be the earliest, the incised letters are smaller and scratched through the black glaze with a thicker point than on the others illustrated here (Figures 19, 20), which are more stylish, if not more careful. In all four signatures the words run together without the interpoints or strokes that were popular earlier in black-figure. The New York signature gives the verb in the imperfect: $\text{AN}\Delta\text{OKI}\Delta\text{E}\text{-}\text{SE}\Gamma\text{OE}$, and the other three give the verb in the aorist: $\text{AN}\Delta\text{OKI}\Delta\text{E}\text{SE}\Gamma\text{OE}\text{SEN}$.⁶⁸ All of these incised signatures, unusually, omit the iota in *epoiese(n)*.⁶⁹

Psiax, a bilingual vase painter who sometimes worked for Andokides, provides the comparanda pertinent for understanding this potter's incised signatures. Psiax always has been rightly called an experimenter, not only because he worked in red-figure and black-figure but also because he employed white ground, coral-red glaze, and polychromy on black glaze, which is now called Six's technique.⁷⁰ On his alabastron in Six's technique, in the British Museum, the inscribed love names are incised.⁷¹ In his very early red-figure vase paintings he also employed incision for inscriptions within the picture fields. His name is known, in fact, from signatures incised on two red-figured alabastra in Karlsruhe and Odessa.⁷² Both signatures are delicately incised into the black ground, on the reverse sides, running vertically and directly alongside the little red figures. The obverse sides of both alabastra bear signatures of the potter Hilinos incised in a comparable manner and location. The verbs of the Karlsruhe signatures are given in the aorist, those of the Odessa signatures in the imperfect. All of these signatures include the iota in *epoiesen* and employ four-stroke sigmas. Both of these double signatures, like those on the François vase, must have been written by the vase painter.

A red-figure oddity, which appears to have been influenced by Psiax' work, bears mention here. It involves a plate in the Louvre, with a white-ground rim, depicting a male figure leading a horse (Figure 21). A potter's signature, written in small, neat, widely spaced letters, is incised in a straight horizontal line above the heads of the red figures: *Sokleeseipoiesen*.⁷³ The horse's reins were added in red, and shadows of added color remain for the animal's teeth, tail, and mane. Interestingly, individual strands of hair were indicated with fine, feathery incision. While the incised signature has been doubted, this is just the sort of object where the technically unusual should be expected.⁷⁴

The incised signatures of Psiax' own alabastra are comparable to inscriptions on his famous red-figured amphora in the University Museum, Philadelphia (Figures 22, 23). In the panel on the obverse, for example, the names Leto, Apollo, and Artemis were written with fine, incised letters that run vertically alongside these red-figure deities. The Philadelphia amphora also bears a potter-signature, which is incised on the lower portion of its foot: *Menonepoiesen* (Figure 23). This is the sole surviving signature of Menon, after whom Psiax (the Menon Painter) was once named.⁷⁵ The isolated

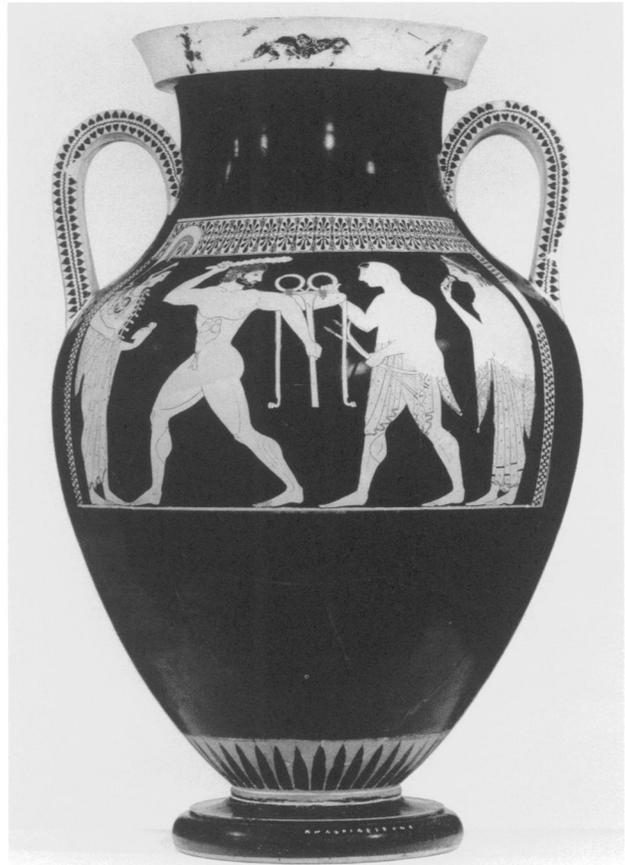


Figure 16. Attic red-figured amphora of type A, with the potter-signature of Andokides, attributed to the Andokides Painter, ca. 525 B.C. H. 57.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1963, 63.11.6



Figure 17. Detail of amphora in Figure 16 showing potter-signature of Andokides on the foot

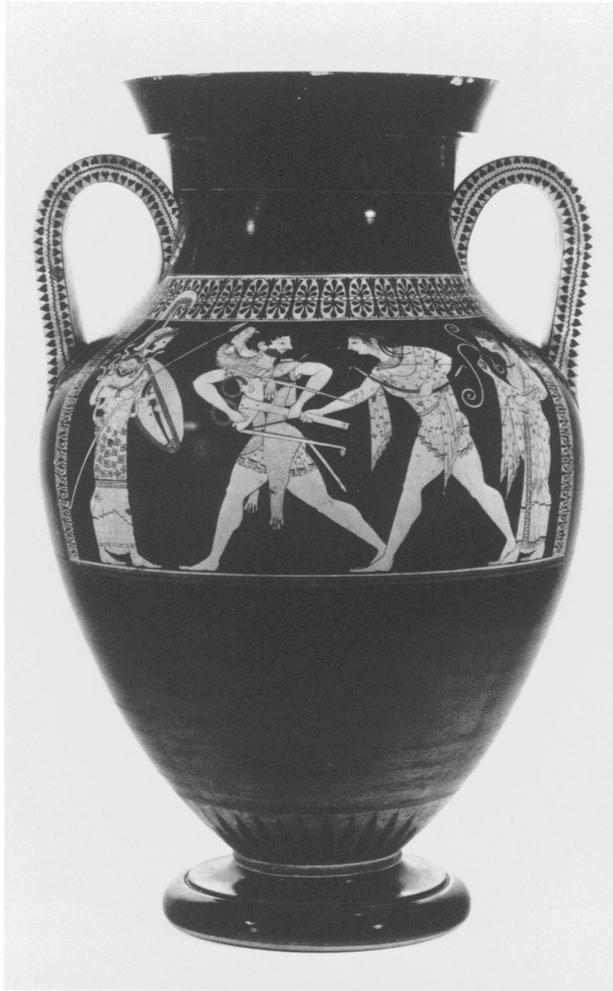


Figure 18. Attic red-figured amphora, with the potter-signature of Andokides, attributed to the Andokides Painter, ca. 525 B.C. H. 58.2 cm. Berlin, Antikenmuseum F 2159 (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)



Figure 19. Detail of amphora in Figure 18 showing potter-signature of Andokides on the foot (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)



Figure 20. Detail showing foot with potter-signature of Andokides on Attic white-ground amphora of type A, attributed to the Andokides Painter, ca. 525–520 B.C. H. (of vase) 40.6 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre F 203 (photo: Musée du Louvre)

placement of Menon's signature on the foot reflects the signed amphorae of Andokides, but the Menon inscription was executed differently. Although also located beneath the main panel, it begins at the far left rather than at the central axis, and large letters are widely spaced around the front of the amphora's foot. The letters in the name labels appear to be written with a slightly greater slant than those in the signature, but all are similar, standard Archaic forms. The signature scrawled across the foot, however, appears to display a different sensibility than the names, which are incised in controlled, delicate letters. It is unlikely that either the use of a coarser implement or the timing of the incision, before or after firing, can explain the dissimilarity in

the flavor of the writing.⁷⁶ If Psiax did not write this potter-signature, Menon must have signed his own name with his own hand.

Psiax painted a more elaborate composition of Apollo with Artemis, Leto, and Ares on the red-figure obverse of his bilingual amphora in Madrid, the only preserved bilingual amphora with a potter-signature of Andokides. *Andokidesepoesen* is incised on the foot beneath Psiax' red-figure panel,⁷⁷ but it does not at all resemble the potter-signature on the foot of Psiax' amphora in Philadelphia. Both of these signatures could not have been written by the same individual, i.e., the painter Psiax. He appears not to have written the Philadelphia potter-signature, and there is even more compelling evi-

dence that he did not write the Madrid one. The placement of the Madrid inscription to the right of center and the omission of the iota in the verb correspond with signatures of Andokides incised on the feet of red-figured amphorae attributed to the Andokides Painter (see Figures 17, 19, 20). The Madrid signature appears to have been written rapidly with a medium point. It recalls especially the epigraphy of the New York Andokides signature, but it also forms a link between the letter forms in the other incised signatures of Andokides.⁷⁸ All must have been written by the same hand. The simplest explanation is that it was Andokides, who not only devised a specific typology for his signature but actually incised his name on the amphorae feet himself.⁷⁹

The introduction of red-figure, which revolutionized Attic vase painting, is normally associated with Andokides' workshop, but a more subtle change also should be attributed to the same establishment. Departing from black-figure tradition of the Archaic period, Andokides redefined the incised signature, which he must have learned from his teacher, Exekias. Originally it was the autograph of the master potter-painter (category A), who did all of the work from shaping to decorating with his own hands. Now it is employed as the mark of the potter-entrepreneur or potter-collaborator (category B). "So-and-so *epo(i)ese(n)*," when removed from the picture field and incised on an extremity of a red-figured or bilingual vessel, indicates: "I have fashioned this vase with my own hands (in my own workshop) and have signed it myself; I did not paint the vase-paintings (but be assured that the decoration is the most up to date available)." After Andokides, category B predominates and can be traced in an unbroken line through subsequent generations of Attic red-figure workshops. Category A also continues, as we shall see later, but its currency was limited to the exotic realm of plastic vases fashioned in human and/or animal form. Nevertheless, both categories are branches of a single tradition, because each implies that the signature incised is the potter's autograph.

The Andokides Painter and Psiax were members of the first generation of red-figure artists. At the vanguard of the second generation were the members of the so-called Pioneer Group. Two Pioneers, both of whom evidently turned from painting to potting later in their careers, adopted incised *epoiesen*-inscriptions (B) like those of the Andocidean type. The first was Euthymides. An incised potter-signature on the foot of a red-figured oinochoe in

the Metropolitan Museum tells us: ΕΥΘΥΜΙΔΕΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ (Figures 24, 25).⁸⁰ Whereas the amphorae signed by Andokides are large storage jars and this oinochoe is a small wine pitcher, all are ovoid vessels that rest on mostly black-glazed, disklike feet. This similarity between the form of an amphora and an oinochoe assures that a potter-signature incised on the foot would be clearly visible and appropriate on either shape.⁸¹ Euthymides' signature, however, does not simply mimic the Andocidean format; its placement corresponds with the orientation of the oinochoe's body. A red-figure Judgment of Paris extends around the vase, and a break in the line of figures before Paris, indicating that he heads the procession, marks the position of the now-missing handle at the back of the jug. The potter-signature is inscribed around the front half of the foot, and the space between name and verb is located beneath the center of the figural composition and probably beneath this vessel's lost pouring spout as well.

This fine red-figure Judgment of Paris cannot be attributed to the hand of Euthymides as a vase painter, and the elaborate and mannered late Pioneer style of painting points to a younger artist.⁸² Hair borders of the red-figure coiffures are reserved, and either reserve or dilute glaze or relief line is employed for all other details of the drawing.



Figure 21. Attic red-figured plate with white-ground rim, with the potter-signature of Soklees, ca. 525–520 B.C. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 2182 (photo: Musée du Louvre)

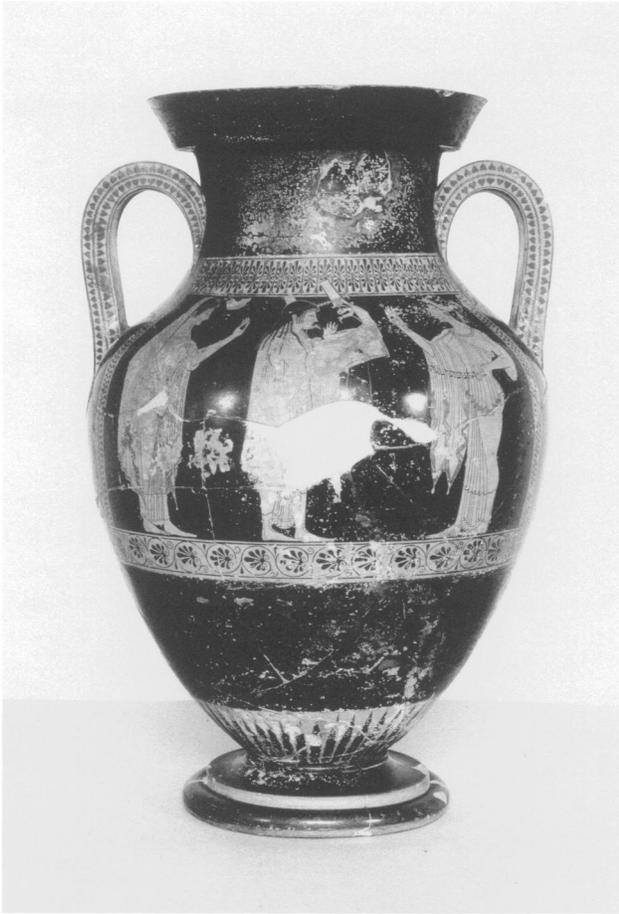


Figure 22. Attic red-figured amphora of type A, with the potter-signature of Menon, attributed to Psiax, ca. 525–520 B.C. H. 61.6 cm. Philadelphia, University Museum MS 5399 (photo: University Museum)



Figure 23. Detail of amphora in Figure 22 showing signature of Menon on foot (photo: the author)

Name labels for the mythological characters are painted in small, carefully aligned red letters; the best preserved, for Paris (Alexandros) and Aphrodite, are both retrograde. The only incision on the oinochoe occurs in the carefully lettered inscription on the foot. While our young vase painter might conceivably have written the potter's name, he could hardly have designed the incised signature.

The letters of *Euthymides epoiesen* are well spaced, and an even wider space is left between name and verb, a practice consistent with the many painted inscriptions found in Euthymides' own vase paintings.⁸³ We know that his hand was steady and practiced in incision, for he generally incised the hair borders of red figures in an old-fashioned manner.⁸⁴ Like his fellow Pioneer Euphronios, Euthymides frequently signed as vase painter,⁸⁵ and surely he seized the opportunity to make his mark as potter—signing his own name with his own hand—when the task of painting belonged to a young apprentice: “*Hos oudepote Euphronios.*”⁸⁶

As a painter Euphronios decorated several vase shapes, both large and small, including calyx-kraters, a volute-krater, stamnoi, neck amphorae, pelikai, a hydria, psykters, cups, and a plate.⁸⁷ He is known to have worked for the potters Euxitheos and Kachrylion.⁸⁸ He signed with the verb *egraphsen* at least nine times, usually in red glaze on the picture field, but twice in black on the reserved vertical surface of the footplates on cups.⁸⁹

Significantly, Euphronios also signed as potter at least a dozen times and always on cups. According to Beazley, “the ἐποίησεν vases are later than the ἔγραψεν and not by the same hand as they.”⁹⁰ Although Beazley was wary whether “the Euphronios is the same,” Takashi Seki has observed that the cups potted by Euphronios “prove that they can be made only by the person who mastered the cup-painting technique as perfectly as he” (i.e., Euphronios the painter).⁹¹ Most of the preserved signed cups are decorated either by Onesimos or not far from his hand.⁹² In fact, at the turn of the fifth century this potter and painter must have been the preeminent cup-producing team.

Onesimos, in marked contrast to members of the Pioneer Group, is known to have signed only once, and the name is now only partially preserved.⁹³ Yet he frequently wrote other things, such as labels for mythological characters (see Figure 26) and the distinctive *Panaitios kalos* inscriptions.⁹⁴ Roughly half of the preserved potter-signatures of Euphronios, furthermore, were written in red glaze on the black

ground of Onesimos' red-figured cup tondi. A few more *Euphronios epoiesen* inscriptions, also written in glaze, appear in other locations, often outside the picture field, as in the exergue of the tondo, the zone outside the picture on the interior, or on the exterior (on side B, under a handle, or on the foot).⁹⁵ There are also three incised signatures, which we shall consider shortly. In the case of the painter-turned-potter Euphronios, were his potter-signatures always applied by the vase painter?⁹⁶

Distinguishing between Euphronios and Onesimos simply on the basis of handwriting must be left to experts on those artists. The two men, who must have been teacher and pupil, employ a similarly varied repertory of archaic letter forms.⁹⁷ Selected examples of painted inscriptions, however, serve as a good introduction to our primary concern, Euphronios' incised signatures. The tondo of Onesimos' early cup in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 26) shows Herakles in full regalia of lion skin, quiver, bow and arrow, and club, accompanied by a small boy (mostly missing) carrying his baggage on a stick.⁹⁸ At the left, the label *HERAKLES* is painted in small red letters, retrograde, on the black ground between the hero's nose and his extended right hand. Around the right side of the tondo, behind the two male figures, a second, partially preserved inscription is written in bolder, larger, more widely spaced red letters: *ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ ΕΓΩΙΕΙΣΕΝ*. These two inscriptions appear to differ in spirit, causing one to wonder whether Euphronios instructed Onesimos not only to paint this potter-signature, but also to make sure that it was big, forcefully written, and prominently displayed, or whether Euphronios simply dipped a brush into the pot of glaze and wrote it himself.⁹⁹

The interior of Onesimos' famous Theseus cup at the Louvre is very elaborate (Figure 27).¹⁰⁰ A band of red-figure circumscribed palmettes encircles the bowl just within the rim, and a maeander surrounds the tondo, which depicts Theseus, accompanied by Athena, visiting Amphitrite at the bottom of the sea. The names of all the figures, including the little Triton supporting the hero, were painted in small, precise red letters. Around the left side of the tondo behind Theseus, avoiding a school of swimming dolphins, a potter-signature was written in bolder, larger, more widely spaced letters incised into the black glaze: *ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ ΕΓΩΙΕΙΣΕΝ*.

How strange to find an incised potter-signature on Onesimos' red-figure tondo. All details of Onesimos' early style of painting are rendered in re-



Figure 24. Attic red-figured oinochoe, with the potter-signature of Euthymides, ca. 510–500 B.C. Preserved H. 16.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Leon Levy Gift and Classical Purchase Fund, 1981, 1981.11.9



Figure 25. Detail of oinochoe in Figure 24 showing the name *Euthymides* in the potter-signature on the foot



Figure 26. Tondo on interior of Attic red-figured cup, with the potter-signature of Euphronios, attributed to Onesimos, ca. 500–490 B.C. Diam. of bowl, as restored, 32.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1912, 12.231.2



Figure 27. Interior of Attic red-figured cup, with the potter-signature of Euphronios, attributed to Onesimos, ca. 500 B.C. Diam. of bowl 28 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre G 104 (photo: Musée du Louvre)

serve, relief line, dilute glaze, and added red. Unlike earlier masters of the new technique, he does not employ incision in red-figure, and writing inscriptions in red glaze apparently was second nature to him. Three possible explanations of the signature are: (1) the incised potter-signature is a forgery; (2) Onesimos forgot to paint the inscription before the cup was fired and decided (or was instructed) to add it later by the best means still possible—incision; or (3) the potter Euphronios added the incised signature himself. It is difficult to choose among the three. The incised inscription's authentic-looking Late Archaic alphabet and the scale and forcefulness of the writing, along with the evidence of other extant incised Euphronios signatures (see below), lead me to favor the third explanation. Nonetheless, the placement of an incised inscription on this entirely painted, post-Pioneer red-figure tondo is undeniably peculiar, both technically and aesthetically.¹⁰¹

On another of Onesimos' great early cups, London E 44, the potter-signature of Euphronios was executed differently (Figures 28–30), also incised into the black glaze, but placed on the underside of one handle (the B/A handle at the juncture of this vessel's reverse and obverse sides).¹⁰² Name and verb were written with one word on each stem beginning near the root: ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ on B (Figure 29) ΕΓΩΙΕΣΕΝ and on A (Figure 30). The incised inscription removed to a vessel's extremity clearly belongs to the realm of the potter rather than that of the mature red-figure painter. Its placement and technique underscore the fact that the two were different individuals and directly suggest that the signature is an autograph applied by the potter's own hand. *Euphronios epoiesen*, furthermore, is the first potter-signature to appear on a cup handle.¹⁰³

Several factors suggest that the potter both invented the incised signature and actually wrote the inscription on the handle. Euphronios experimented with technique at the beginning of his own career as a painter, which was not long after the invention of red-figure. On one of his earliest known works, a cup once in the Hunt collection, name labels for the Sarpedon scene were painstakingly reserved in the black ground. This vase painting's unusual inscriptions, and such details as red spears and palmettes on the cup's tondo, reveal a special kinship with the bilingual Psiax, who may have been Euphronios' teacher.¹⁰⁴ As we have seen, Psiax worked for Andokides, but he also brought his personal preference for incised inscriptions to the potteries of Hilinos and Menon. In his own vase paint-



Figure 28. Exterior of Attic red-figured cup, with the potter-signature of Euphronios, attributed to Onesimos, ca. 500–490 B.C. H. 12.4 cm. London, British Museum E 44 (photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)



Figure 29. Detail of handle from cup in Figure 28 showing the name *Euphronios* in the potter-signature (photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

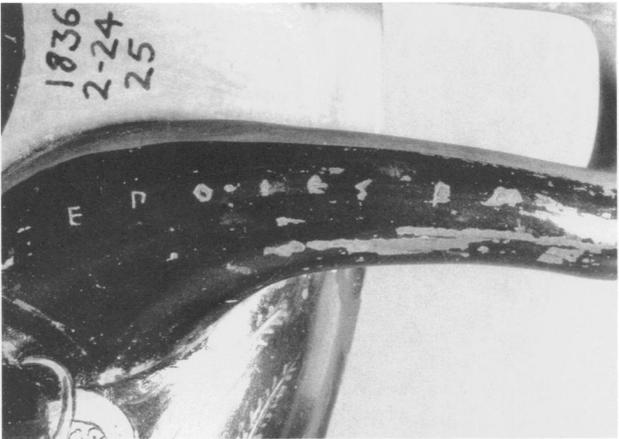


Figure 30. Detail of handle from cup in Figure 28 showing the verb *epoiesen* in the potter-signature (photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

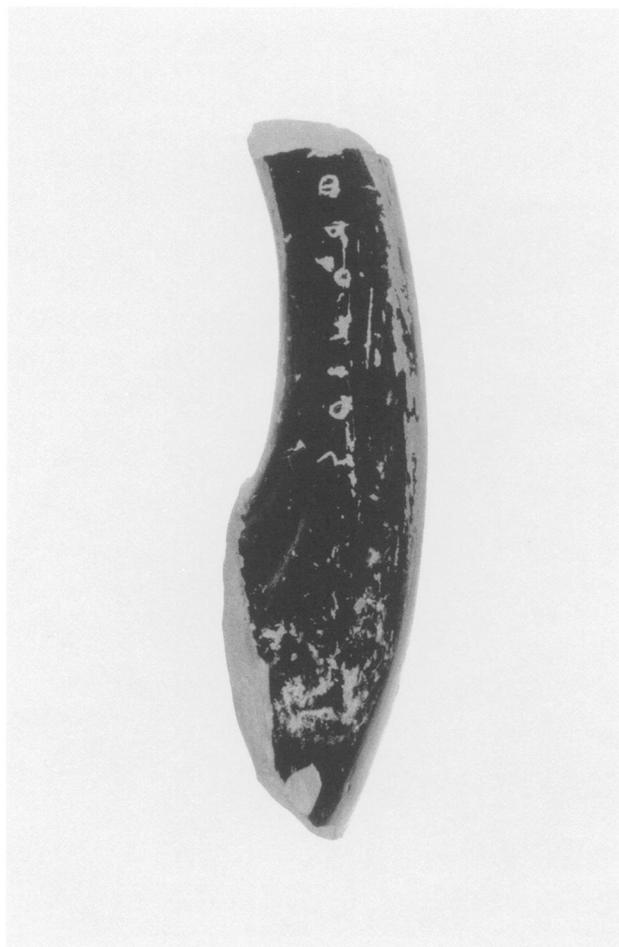


Figure 31. Fragment of handle from Attic red-figured cup, attributed to Onesimos, with the name *Euphronios* from the potter-signature, ca. 500 B.C. Maximum preserved L. 12 cm. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.19 (photo: J. Paul Getty Museum)

ing Euphronios often employed the technique of incision in hair borders of red figures (especially on the reverses). Furthermore, as Joan Mertens has shown, he actually mastered black-figure in order to work on white ground, and Euphronios also may have painted black-figured Panathenaic prize amphorae.¹⁰⁵

In addition to Andocidean/Psiacian influences, Euphronios' documented presence in the workshops of Kachrylion and Euxitheos also must have played a part in the formulation of the incised handle signature. In Kachrylion's shop he learned the Execian tradition of isolating potter and painter signatures on the cup's foot (see Figure 8).¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, on the early Sarpedon cup, which has special reserved inscriptions in the picture field, Euphronios wrote his painter-signature—unaccompanied by a potter-signature—in traditional black

glaze on the reserved vertical profile of the foot-plate.¹⁰⁷ Euxitheos' amphora (painted by Oltos) in London probably suggested to Euphronios the possibility of isolating the signature on handles, with name and verb divided, albeit written in glaze on reserve.¹⁰⁸

A second incised potter-signature of Euphronios belonging to a fragmentary cup attributed to Onesimos, in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Figures 31, 32) came to light relatively recently. This inscription is somewhat battered, and the name and verb are preserved on separate handle fragments.¹⁰⁹ Each word is incised in the black-glazed outer side of a handle-stem fragment, and each begins near what would have been the curve of the handle's outer end and then runs toward the root.¹¹⁰ The larger fragment (Figure 32), which preserves part of the curved end, gives the verb *epoiesen* (glaze very abraded or chipped off around the first three letters and the last). The smaller fragment (Figure 31), which should be oriented by the upper part of a diagonal stroke from an upsilon preserved at the break, gives the name, incised retrograde.¹¹¹ The direction of *Euphronios* evidently was reversed so that both words could run down the sides of a single handle, from its upper, outer arched end down toward its roots. In order to read both halves of the inscription one must look at the vessel from either side. Significantly, the incised handle-signature of Euphronios on London E 44 differs from that of the fragmentary Getty example (see Figures 29, 30). On the more mature London cup, where both words are begun at the roots, retrograde writing has been avoided, and since the position of the inscription has been shifted toward the underside of the handle, the entire signature can be read all at once.

Euphronios the potter must have formulated the incised handle-signature expressly for the kylix by drawing on traditions of the great early red-figure workshops from which he had emerged as a painter. Yet Euphronios did not merely repeat any one pre-existing convention. His distinctive signature could be seen to best advantage from the underside, when a cup was hung on a hook in storage, and Seki has championed the new importance of the latter aspect for kylikes around the turn of the fifth century B.C.¹¹² Clearly Euphronios the potter experimented with incised signatures to find a formula suitable for emblazoning the most impressive red-figured kylikes of type B. For some reason no longer documentable, whether grounded in commerce, social class, or aesthetics, these vessels were generally signed with the potter's signature rather than the

painter's, a convention that brings to mind traditional black-figured little-master cups of an earlier generation (see Figure 11).¹¹³ It may also be appropriate to recall that in the nineteenth century Euphronios/Onesimos cups were believed to have been both potted and painted by Euphronios on the basis of their signatures.¹¹⁴

The special significance of incised *epoiesen*-inscriptions becomes even more apparent in the early fifth century B.C. In mature Archaic red-figure, which employs reserve, added colors, relief line, and dilute and black glaze, incision has been abandoned virtually entirely for details of drawing.¹¹⁵ Red glaze for writing within the picture field has become a firmly established norm. Now incision is retained primarily as a potter's conceit reserved solely for application of the *epoiese*-signature when the red-figure vase painting has been carried out by a separate individual.

Scholars of the last century, misled by the signatures, attributed Late Archaic cups of another famous production team, Hieron and Makron, entirely to the potter. Adolf Furtwängler was the first to make the proper attribution to a distinct potter and painter, as in the case of cups inscribed only *Euphronios epoiesen*.¹¹⁶ The statistics of Hieron's signatures, related to the context of Makron's oeuvre, were tabulated by Dietrich von Bothmer in 1982, and all of the details need not be repeated here.¹¹⁷ A clear overall pattern emerges, which should retain its validity in the light of new finds.

Around fifty potter-signatures of Hieron have been preserved, and all appear on drinking vessels, mostly cups. With few exceptions, his distinctive *epoiesen*-inscriptions were written on handles; they are painted in red or black glaze (on the reserved inner surface) or incised (on the black-glazed outer part of the underside). The incised examples, which number more than thirty and constitute more than three-fifths of all the Hieron signatures known to me, almost equal the total of extant incised signatures by all other Attic potters combined.¹¹⁸ Most of Hieron's potter-signatures belong to vessels decorated by Makron, and they appear to have been emblazoned on the finest products of this long and undoubtedly lucrative collaboration.¹¹⁹

By contrast, with more than four hundred extant vases and fragments attributed to the hand of Makron, only one complete *egraphse*-signature and possibly part of a second have come down to us. The former is on a skyphos in Boston depicting the recovery of Helen (Figure 33) and the latter on a pyxis

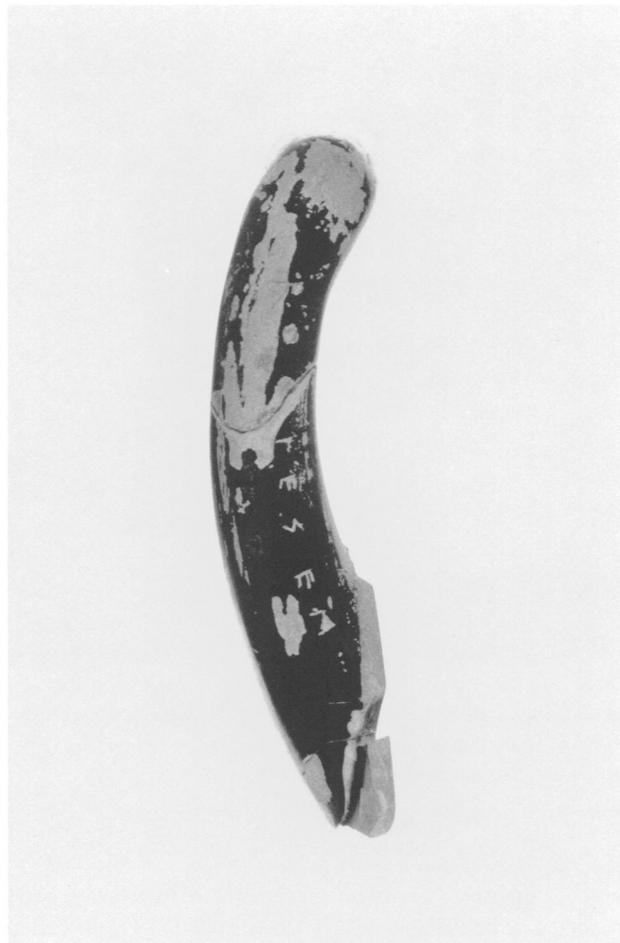


Figure 32. Fragment of handle from cup in Figure 31, with the verb *epoiesen* from the potter-signature. Maximum preserved L. 15.5 cm. (photo: J. Paul Getty Museum)

in Athens.¹²⁰ Bothmer remarks, "We are puzzled by the almost fortuitous survival of his signature(s) which stands in no rational proportion to his stupendous industry."¹²¹ The fact that this cup painter's name is known only from shapes other than the kylix may have a special significance. Both of the above signatures are written in red glaze on the black ground of Makron's fully mature red-figure pictures. Makron's complete Boston signature is painted vertically, at the far right on side A of the skyphos, beneath the left root of the unsigned A/B handle. A wide space and two interpoints divide name from verb, ΜΑΚΡΟΝ : ΕΛΡΑΦΣΕΝ (Figure 33).

The potter-signature on the Boston skyphos is incised into the black glaze on the underside of the right half of the B/A handle, ΗΙΕΡΟΝΕΓΡΟΙΕΣΕΝ (Figure 34). This example is characteristic of Hieron's signatures on Makron's vases: as usual, name and

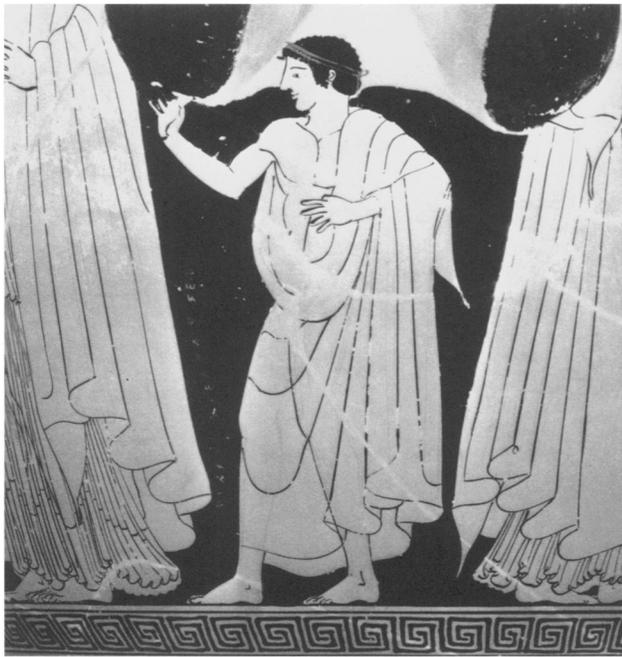


Figure 33. Side of Attic red-figured skyphos showing the painter-signature of Makron, ca. 490–480 B.C. H. 21.5 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Francis Bartlett Fund 13.186 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

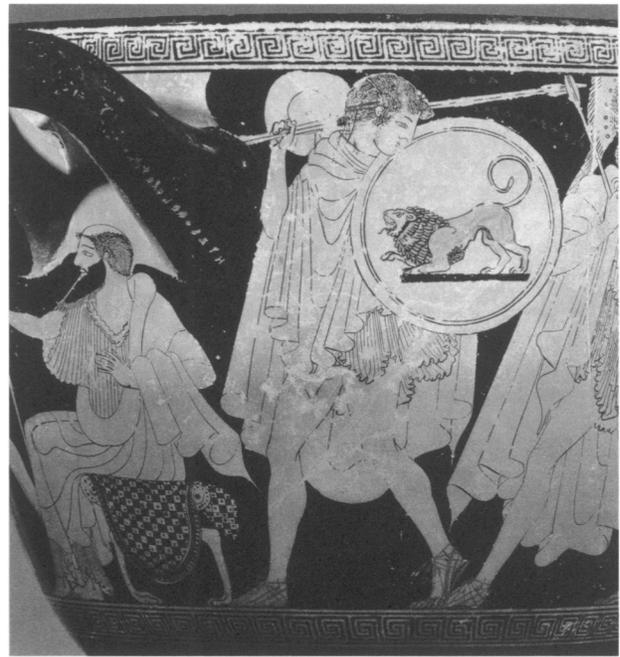


Figure 34. Detail of skyphos in Figure 33 showing the potter-signature of Hieron on the handle (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

verb, running together without an intermediate space, are inscribed neatly on one half of a handle. Here the incised letters are small and written close together; they begin near the right root and extend halfway up the handle. On the Achilles and Briseis skyphos in the Louvre the letters of the potter-signature are larger and more widely spaced, and they extend all the way up the left side of the B/A handle.¹²² Both skyphoi have long, upturned handles, “cup-like,” as Bothmer says.¹²³ The different dispositions of letters, partial-length and full-length, larger and smaller scale, in these incised signatures, as well as their right-side (more common) or left-side locations are analogous to the variations found on the inscribed handles of cups potted by Hieron.

The signatures of these two skyphoi, as well as the one incised around the short horizontal handle of the Triptolemos skyphos in the British Museum (Figure 35), have four-stroke sigmas rather than the three-stroke form most common in the cup signatures (see Figures 43–45).¹²⁴ The London skyphos also contains a tailed rho, which occurs but a few times on the cups.¹²⁵ Some spelling errors appear on the cup handles, such as the insertion of a heta between name and verb or the substitution of a pi for

the rho in Hieron (Figure 37).¹²⁶ A notable idiosyncrasy is the occasional omission of an iota in *epoiesen* as on the famous symposion cup in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 38, 39) and the Maenad cup in Berlin (Figure 36).¹²⁷ An incised mistake, of course, is indelible; it cannot be wiped away like wet glaze.

Hieron’s production also includes signatures written in red or black glaze on the reserved inner sides of cup handles (Figure 40).¹²⁸ Painted handle-signatures are familiar from the rival Late Archaic workshop of the potter Brygos (Figure 41). Bothmer has postulated a chronological distinction between incised and painted signature-types. “I am inclined to think that he began by *incising* HIERON ΕΓΩΙΕΣΕΝ following the example set by Euphronios, and that Brygos improved on the scheme by *painting* the signature on the reserved inside of the handle, an innovation that was promptly taken up by Hieron.”¹²⁹ Perhaps temporal differences also underlie significant variations in Hieron’s incised signatures, such as changes in scale and partial-handle as opposed to full-handle disposition of the letters (see Figures 34, 36, 37, 39, 43, 44). If so, arranging Hieron’s potter-signatures would depend upon establishing a precise chronology for Makron’s red-figure



Figure 35. Side of Attic red-figured skyphos attributed to Makron, showing the potter-signature of Hieron on the handle, ca. 490–480 B.C. London, British Museum E 140 (photo: courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

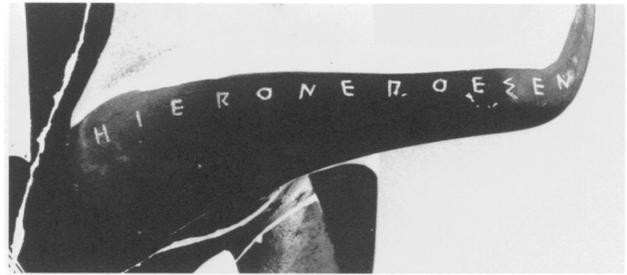


Figure 36. Handle of Attic red-figured cup attributed to Makron, with the potter-signature of Hieron, ca. 490–480 B.C. Diam. of bowl, 33 cm. Berlin, Antikenmuseum F 2290 (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)



Figure 37. Handle of Attic red-figured cup attributed to Makron, with the potter-signature of Hieron, ca. 490–480 B.C. H. of cup 12.6 cm. London, British Museum E 61 (photo: courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

vase paintings. The following are observations that can be made solely on the basis of inscriptions.

Without doubt Hieron's incised potter-signatures belong to red-figure category B, the Archaic Attic tradition that extends from Andokides to Euphrosios: they employ the technology and placement appropriate for a potter's signature when the painter is a different individual. In the earlier cases, as we have seen, the typology of incised signatures was generally formulated by potters, who actually wrote these inscriptions with their own hands. Given the above-mentioned variations in Hieron's signatures, are the implications of incision still the same? Are Hieron's signatures still autograph?

Something can be learned from the one vase on which both potter- and painter-signatures are preserved, the Helen skyphos in Boston (Figures 33, 34). Beyond its different technique, Makron's painted signature differs from Hieron's type in two details. A three-stroke sigma appears in Makron's painted *egraphsen*, while a four-stroke example is found in Hieron's incised *epoiesen*. Other painted inscriptions in Makron's red-figure work known to me employ the three-stroke sigma.¹³⁰ This distinction is not conclusive for craftsmen are known to have been inconsistent in their letter forms, and Hieron's

signatures on cup handles also normally employ the three- rather than the four-stroke sigma (Figures 37, 39, 44). The four-stroke sigma, in fact, appears to have been reserved for Hieron's signatures on the imposing skyphoi and on the greatest of the cups (Figures 34–36).

The second difference, on the other hand, may be of crucial importance. As we have seen, Makron separated name from verb with two interpoints in his painted Boston signature (Figure 33). The only other two-word inscriptions in his vase paintings involve love names. When describing a youth or maiden as fair (*kalos* or *kale*), Makron more often than not divided name from verb with a space, and several times he also inserted two interpoints.¹³¹ A special example is the $\text{H}\text{I}\Gamma\text{Γ}\text{O}\Delta\text{M}\text{A}\text{S} : \text{K}\text{A}\text{L}\text{O}\text{S}$ written in relief lines—undoubtedly by the painter—on the reserved mouth top of Makron's round aryballos in Oxford (Figure 42).¹³² Makron's use of interpoints was not restricted to clarifying a circular inscription. By contrast, in Hieron's incised Boston signature (Figure 34), both words run together, a format that was retained throughout this potter's long collaboration on cups with the painter Makron. I would guess that these modes (division of words with a space or interpoints versus running words together)

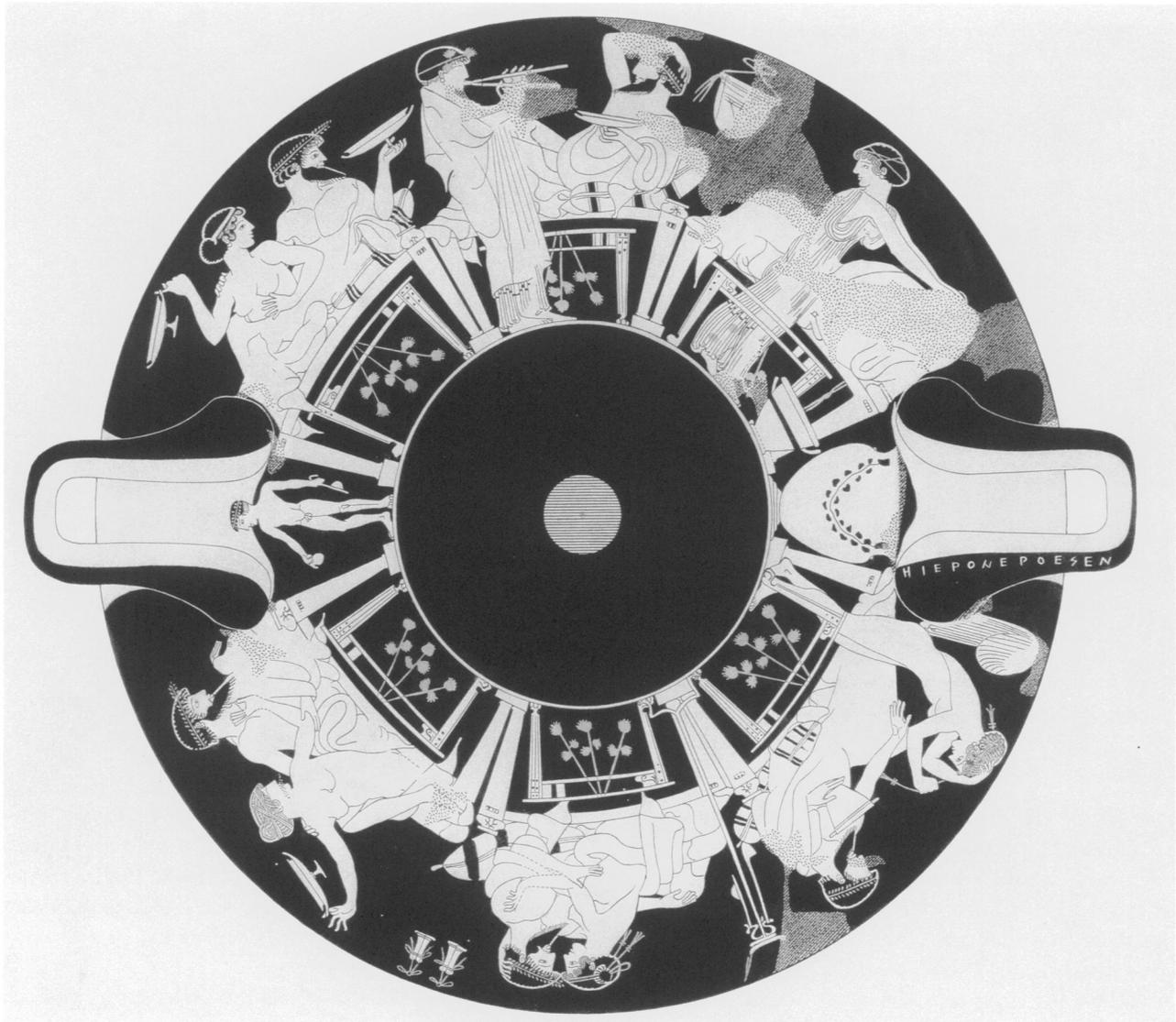


Figure 38. Drawing by L. Hall showing exterior of Attic red-figured cup with the potter-signature of Hieron, attributed to Makron, ca. 490–480 B.C. H., as restored, 12.9 cm.; Diam. 33.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.246

must represent instinctive preferences of the two men. Hence the potter Hieron, and surely not Makron, formulated the typology of the incised *Hieronepoiesen*.

Scholars who have studied shape rather than decoration point to the similarity of Hieron's cups and those potted by Euphronios.¹³³ More than simply "following the example set by Euphronios," Hieron's adoption of the incised handle signature may indicate that he began as an apprentice in the workshop

of the older master. Not only Hieron's shorter name, but also his personal preference for running words together, may have led him to place both name and verb on half of a handle rather than to duplicate the Euphronian division.¹³⁴ In a certain sense, Hieron's variation is an improvement, for now the entire signature, easily taken in at a single glance, becomes a special trademark. The compact partial-handle signature written in tight, small letters, which must be the original type, may be appreciated best on Ma-

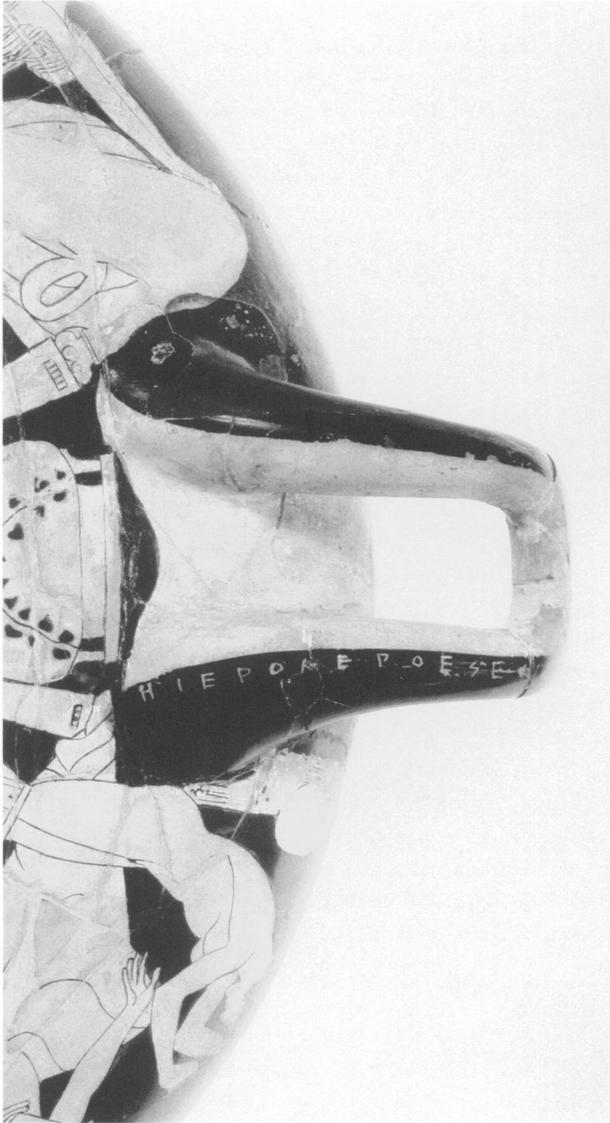


Figure 39. Detail of cup in Figure 38 showing handle with the potter-signature of Hieron



Figure 40. Detail of Attic red-figured cup attributed to Makron showing the handle with the painted potter-signature of Hieron, ca. 490–480 B.C. H. of cup 13.8 cm. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.12-1927 (photo: Fitzwilliam Museum)



Figure 41. Detail of Attic red-figured cup attributed to the Painter of the Oxford Brygos showing the handle with the painted potter-signature of Brygos, ca. 480–470 B.C. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1911.615 (photo: Ashmolean Museum)

kron's enchanting Judgment of Paris cup in Berlin (Figures 43, 44); it also occurs, in a less well-preserved example, on a cup in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 45).

The final question remaining is whether or not Hieron actually wrote his own incised *epoiese*-signatures. Answering this question is not as simple as it was for Nearchos, Exekias, or even Euphronios. Hieron was active in an increasingly complex age, the early fifth century B.C., which was marked by

greater specialization and more productivity in the Athenian Kerameikos.

The contemporaneous workshop of the potter Brygos commonly employed several painters.¹³⁵ Bothmer has observed that cups bearing the painted signature of Brygos on the left rather than the right half of their handles were generally decorated by artists other than the Brygos Painter, the primary hand in that shop.¹³⁶ Thus, at least a few of the variant Brygos-signatures must have been ap-

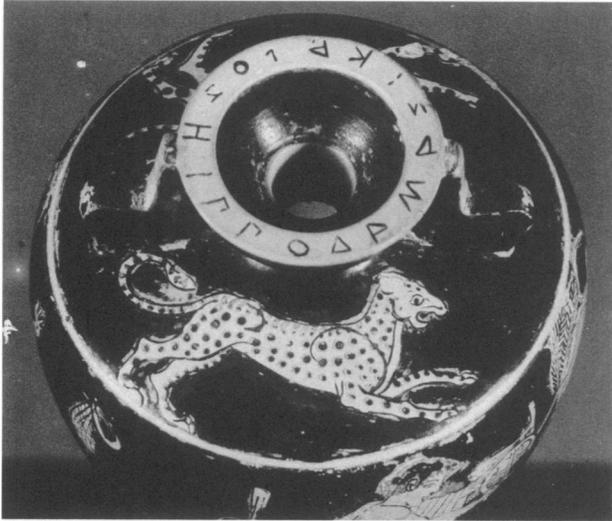


Figure 42. Attic red-figured aryballos attributed to Makron, ca. 490–480 B.C. H. 6.1 cm. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1929.175 (photo: Ashmolean Museum)



Figure 43. Detail of Attic red-figured cup attributed to Makron, showing the handle with the potter-signature of Hieron, ca. 490–480 B.C. Diam. of bowl 33.5 cm. Berlin, Antikenmuseum F 2291 (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)



Figure 44. Detail of handle in Figure 43 showing the potter-signature of Hieron (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)

plied by different vase painters, all attempting to follow the potter's normal formula for this inscription. Given the mass production of a very large shop, whether the wares are of high or low quality, some relegation of the actual writing of painted signatures to vase painters is not without precedent.¹³⁷ The left-side handle signature on the sole preserved cup attributed to the Painter of the Oxford Brygos reads: ΒΡΥΛΟΣΕΠΕΣΕΝ (Figure 41). This painter, apparently unaccustomed to signing a potter's signature, managed to get the *Brygos* right, but had trouble with the *epoiesen*.¹³⁸

Bothmer reasons that Hieron must have switched from incised to painted signatures following the precedent of the potter Brygos.¹³⁹ Did Hieron also relegate the actual writing to his painter(s) once he had established his signature's typology? Scant preserved evidence suggests that he ultimately did. Two cups with Hieron's incised signature in Boston, later than Makron's work and clearly not by him, were attributed to the Telephos Painter by Beazley (Figures 46, 47).¹⁴⁰ These Boston signatures, as Henry Immerwahr has observed, are markedly different from the normal types on the rest of Hieron's vases and must have been written by the Telephos Painter. The hand is more florid, and on the Telephos Painter's namepiece, Boston 98.931, the letter forms are inscribed with sloppy, disconnected strokes.¹⁴¹ One gets the impression that the writer was not only unpracticed in incision, but also impatient with the technique.

The remaining evidence consists of two abnormal signatures of Hieron preserved on stray cup handles in the National Museum, Athens, and the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. The former is incised and the latter painted. In both signatures the name *Hieron* and the verb *epoiesen* are separated by two interpoints,¹⁴² and both are in accord with Makron's preferred mode for writing two-word inscriptions (cf. Figures 33, 42). Was the potter influenced here by his long-term collaborator, or did the painter actually do the writing, inadvertently asserting his own preference over his potter's established formula? The abnormal painted signature in Paris, like other painted Hieron-signatures known to me, extends the entire length of the handle's reserved inner side. The Athens signature, though preserved only through the sigma in *epoiesen*, appears to have extended along most of its handle. These odd handles, while sadly not joined to attributed cups, might provide evidence that large, full-length Hieron signatures, whether painted or incised, ought to be associated with the hand of Makron.

In conclusion, a shift to painting handle-signatures might be considered innovative,¹⁴³ but it surely hastened the demise of the venerable incised potter-signature. By the second decade of the fifth century B.C. the primacy of Attic black-figure must already have seemed a phenomenon of the distant past. Incision for the most part no longer played a vital part in the decoration of mature red-figured vases produced in avant-garde pottery shops.¹⁴⁴ To be sure, vase shape, glazes, and ornament were still the potter's concern, but with time, the technique of incision must have lost both its currency and its original associations, and thus its role as guarantor of a potter's genuine autograph. Hieron surely began by incising his own name, gloriously refining the still historically potent convention he learned from Euphronios (cf. Figures 28–32). Occasionally Hieron must have relinquished writing personally to meet a demanding production schedule, and finally also in order to modernize with an entirely painted label for his products. Variations of the signatures in this potter's oeuvre betoken the waning of a special Archaic tradition.

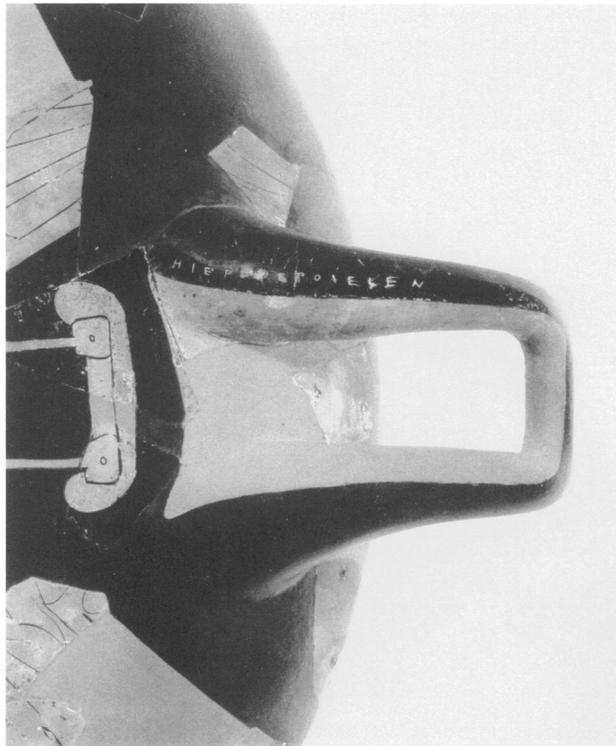


Figure 45. Detail of Attic red-figured cup attributed to Makron, showing the handle with the potter-signature of Hieron, ca. 490–480 B.C. H. of cup 13.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1908, 08.258.57

PLASTIC VASES WITH INCISED INSCRIPTIONS: CATEGORY A

Plastic vases pose an obvious challenge, for here the concern in the placement of signatures often was to avoid interference of the inscription with the modeled form. Special attention to this problem is evident on a perfume vase from Boeotia (Figures 48, 49), the Corinthianizing Greek fabric, which already employed incision for potter-signatures by the mid-sixth century B.C. This plastic aryballos in the form of a foot wears a strapped sandal as its painted

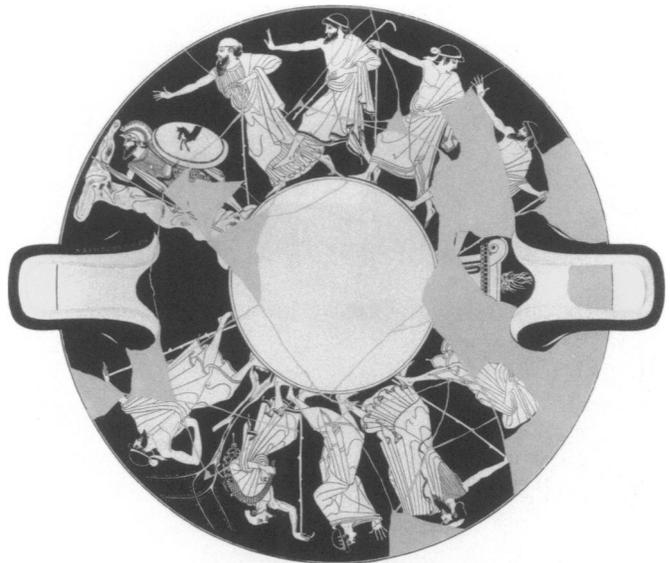


Figure 46. Drawing by S. Chapman showing exterior of Attic red-figured cup with the potter-signature of Hieron, attributed to the Telephos Painter, ca. 470–460 B.C. Diam. of bowl 32.69 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Perkins Collection, 95.28 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)



Figure 47. Detail of Attic red-figured cup attributed to the Telephos Painter, showing the potter-signature of Hieron on the handle, ca. 470–460 B.C. H. 11.5 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, H. L. Pierce Fund, 98.931 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

decoration. Here the potter Gryton signed with incision, cleverly scratching the inscription on the stand-surface (the sole) so as not to mar the vessel's image as a painted miniature sculpture.¹⁴⁵ This provincial craftsman's incised *epoiese*-signature, undoubtedly an autograph, clearly encompasses both potting and decorating in its meaning.

In Athens, the master potter-painter, who did everything from shaping to decorating himself, was prominent in the development of Archaic black-figure pottery. After the advent of red-figure this practice appears to have become rare, and only occasionally do signatures document that a vessel was both potted and painted by the same individual.¹⁴⁶ Early head vases, from the final decades of the sixth century B.C., may constitute a notable exception. Some bear incised *epoiesen*-inscriptions removed to black-glazed areas. These partly mold-made, partly wheel-made ceramic forms, gaily decorated with colored slips and glazes, might be regarded as essentially the work of a potter-coroplast.¹⁴⁷ Their incised signatures must be autographs and belong to category A. Interestingly, plastic vases rarely were signed, but when they were, it usually was with an incised *epoiesen*-inscription.¹⁴⁸

The earliest Attic example of relevance to the present study, an aryballos, with snake-handles, in

the form of a woman's head (Figures 50, 51), is notable for having been described by Beazley as "this ill-designed, styleless object, with its coarse neck and muddy features," or simply as "miserable."¹⁴⁹ This crude head-vase is of great interest here because its otherwise unknown potter coarsely incised his signature into a band of black glaze at the base: *Prokleeseipoiese*. The incised inscription, which is placed less precisely than other Attic examples, begins below the left ear and extends all the way across the front and around the right side of the head.

This plastic aryballos signed by Proklees is related to both late black-figure and early red-figure. Slight black-figure work, a youth with panther cub, even appears on a tondo underneath its foot. The incised pupils and bright, white-colored areas of the large female eyes recall black-figured eye-cups (cf. Figure 12) and give the head a very archaic look.¹⁵⁰ Significantly, the ivy wreath encircling the black hair has an incised stem and berries and added-white leaves.

Snakes, panther cub, and ivy wreath bring to mind the wild environment of maenads, indicating that this perfume vase may be related to those exotic creatures.¹⁵¹ A very early red-figure maenad, on the reverse of the Metropolitan Museum's amphora signed by the potter Andokides, wears an ivy wreath also rendered with incision and added color; pan-



Figure 48. Boeotian aryballos in the form of a foot, with the potter-signature of Gryton, ca. 600–550 B.C. H. 7.4 cm.; L. 9.2 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, H. L. Pierce Fund, 98.897 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)



Figure 49. Underside of aryballos in Figure 48 showing the potter-signature of Gryton (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)



Figure 50. Attic aryballos in the form of a woman's head, with the potter-signature of Proklees, ca. 520–510 B.C. H. 11.5 cm. Berlin, Antikenmuseum F 2202 (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)



Figure 51. Profile view of Figure 50 (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)

ther heads decorate the shoulder flaps of her tunic.¹⁵² The similarity may not be merely coincidental, since Andokides' amphorae set the precedent for a potter-signature incised on a vase foot, and Proklees surely adopted features seen on better works. Incising his own potter-signature into black glaze around the "foot" enabled Proklees to separate written words from the plastic form.

"Charinos," the title of Beazley's article on head-vases, stands as a tribute to this Archaic potter whose signature, incised with exquisite delicacy, graced some of the most refined Greek plastic ware to have come down to us.¹⁵³ The core of Charinos' signed oeuvre consists of seven plastic mugs (one-handled kantharoi) and oinochoai: one of the former is the head of a black man and at least five of the other vases are women's heads wearing elaborate hairnets (Figures 52, 53).¹⁵⁴ Several are very fragmentary, and for at least one stray handle the

precise form of its lost vase no longer can be determined (see Figures 54, 55).¹⁵⁵ Charinos' one-handled kantharoi, with wheel-made bowls covered in black checkerboard on white ground, apparently begin the famous series of about 510–500 B.C.¹⁵⁶ On the Tarquinia model, the woman's black hair has wavy incised strands, animals in black silhouette decorate her *sakkos*; and her eyes have pupils with incised borders as well as whites colored with added white.¹⁵⁷ Beazley compared Charinos' smiling heads of women to Archaic marble korai from the Athenian Acropolis, but the alluring ceramic creatures may be associated with Aphrodite rather than Athena.¹⁵⁸ The head-vases are preceded and succeeded chronologically by surprising works, signed in black glaze, to which we shall return later.

Most of Charinos' incised potter-signatures are placed on his vessels' black-glazed handles. His main activity coincides with Euphronios' beginnings as a



Figure 52. Attic oinochoe in the form of a woman's head, with the potter-signature of Charinos, ca. 500 B.C. H. 27 cm. Berlin, Antikenmuseum F 2190 (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)

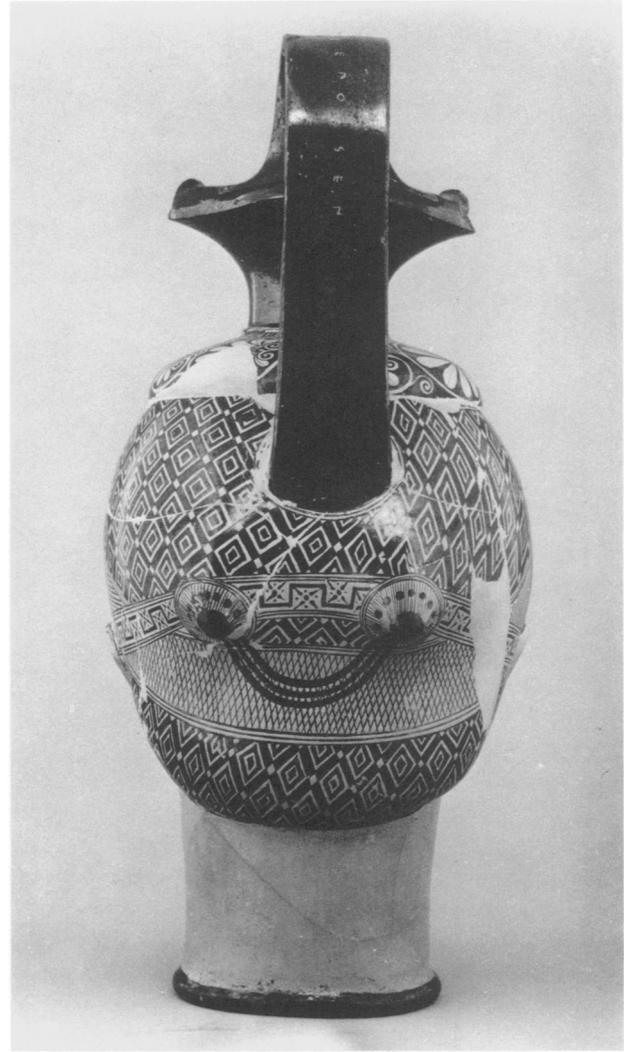


Figure 53. Back view of oinochoe in Figure 52 (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)

potter, and it is not known which one actually scratched in his name on a handle first (see Figures 28–32, 52–55). Preserved finds give the edge to Charinos. Whereas both Euthymides (Figures 24, 25) and Proklees (Figures 50, 51) adapted the Andocidean amphora-foot signature to different shapes, Charinos tailored his incised signatures to suit the distinctive vessels he potted. His plastic mugs and oinochoai are both one-handed, with the latter being straplike appendages that extend downward from bowl or lip to back of head (Figure 53).¹⁵⁹ Relegating the inscription to a handle, so that it

hardly could be seen from the frontal or the profile view, assured separation of written word from modeled image (cf. Figure 52). In fact, the potter's incised signature could be read best by someone picking up the vessel in order to drink or pour the wine. Name and verb always extend from the upper end of the handle toward the lower, with their letters oriented so as to be right-side up for the right-handed user.

There is some variation in the format of Charinos' incised signatures but none in his handwriting. Name and verb, always written neatly with evenly spaced letters, take on the syncopated rhythm of this potter's angled Archaic alphabet (Figures 53–

55).¹⁶⁰ Note especially the rho with angular rather than rounded top. Charinos' finely incised calligraphy is surpassed only by that of Exekias, and equaled possibly only by that of the Classical potter Sotades, whom we shall consider shortly. On Charinos' earliest works—the mugs in Tarquinia and the Villa Giulia, Rome—the handle inscriptions are written in two parallel lines.¹⁶¹ In the signature on the Tarquinia kantharos, name and verb are divided thus, displaying an affinity with Euphronios' incised signatures, in which each of the two words is placed on the opposite half of a cup handle (Figures 29–32). The two lines of incised writing on the handle of the fragmentary black-man's-head mug in the Villa Giulia are formed by potter-signature and *kalos*-inscription. On the oinochoe in Leningrad the potter-signature itself is again divided into two lines. On the other preserved handles, the fragments in Oxford (Figures 54, 55) and that of the plastic oinochoe in Berlin (Figure 53), the two words written without an intermediate space—*Charinosepoiesen*—run in a single line down the center.¹⁶²

An exceptional placement of the incised signature is found on the fragments of a woman's-head oinochoe in the collection of Herbert A. Cahn, Basel (Figures 56, 57). Here +ΑΡΙΝΟΣ ΕΓΓΟΙΕΣ[ΕΝ], originally carefully centered above the face, was scratched into the black glaze covering the vessel's wheel-made shoulder.¹⁶³ This shoulder element, which eases the transition between the plastic head and the oinochoe's potted neck and trefoil mouth, has been compared to the cushion used by women carrying vases atop their heads.¹⁶⁴ The two woman's-head oinochoai, from a single tomb at Vulci, now in Berlin (Figures 52, 53) and Leningrad, have shoulders decorated with red-figure palmettes and, as we have seen above, incised signatures of Charinos relegated to their handles. On all three the potter has separated the writing from the plastic form, but for the Vulci pair his solution is more subtle. Unusual placement of the signature, on a plain black shoulder, may indicate that Cahn's fragments belong to the earliest known woman's-head oinochoe by Charinos.

The very first signed work of Charinos must be an oinochoe with trefoil mouth in London.¹⁶⁵ This vessel, while not plastic in form, is unusual in several respects. The upper portion of its body is covered in white ground and decorated with an ornamental grapevine painted in black silhouette. Beneath the fruit-laden branches painted inscriptions in black glaze were carefully applied, enhancing the design.¹⁶⁶ Love names, now only partially preserved,

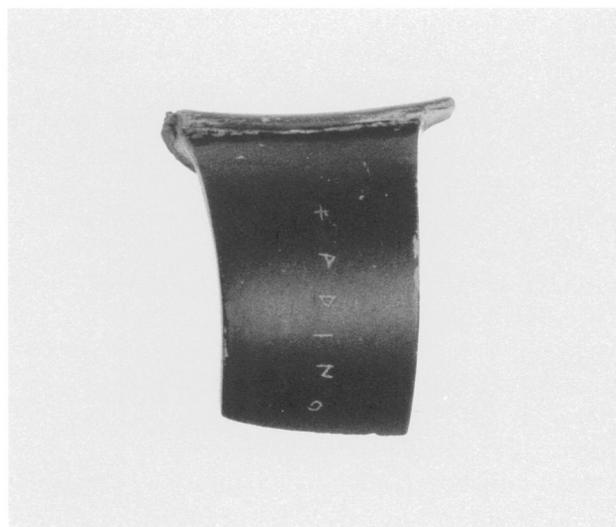


Figure 54. Fragment of handle with remains of the potter-signature of Charinos, ca. 510–500 B.C. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1966.981 (photo: Ashmolean Museum)

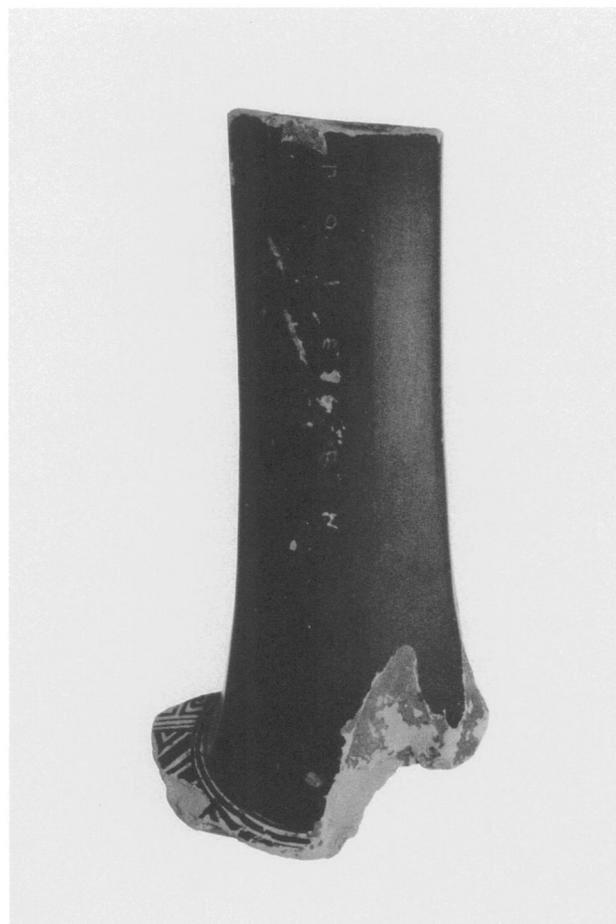


Figure 55. Fragment of handle with remains of potter-signature (of Charinos), ca. 510–500 B.C. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1966.982 (photo: Ashmolean Museum)

curve around to the right, echoed by the potter-signature, which curves in the opposite direction. Curiously, instead of being written retrograde, this signature was turned upside-down for the sake of the design. Most significantly, the handwriting here matches all the incised Charinos inscriptions, down to the angular shape of the rho.¹⁶⁷ His early woman's-head mug with a fancy hairnet in Tarquinia, furthermore, "shares with London B 631 a noteworthy appreciation of pure vegetation or patternwork as decoration; moreover, both works were painted in silhouette."¹⁶⁸ The conclusion is clear: from his early potted oinochoe through the latest plastic ones, Charinos must have done everything from shaping and molding to applying glazes and patternwork by himself, without the intervention of



Figure 56. Fragments of Attic oinochoe in the form of a woman's head, with the potter-signature of Charinos, ca. 510–500 B.C. Basel, Collection of H. A. Cahn, 732 (photo: H. A. Cahn)

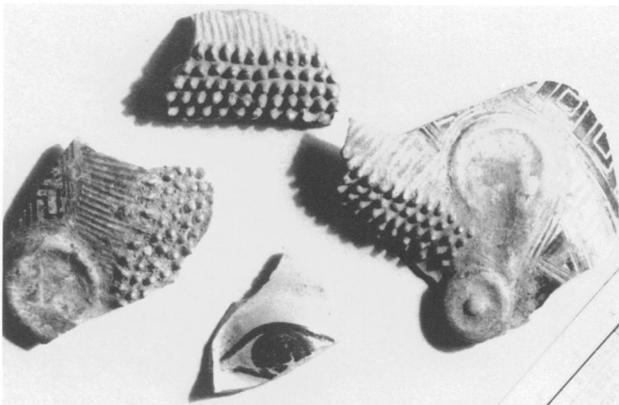


Figure 57. Other fragments of oinochoe in Figure 56 (photo: H. A. Cahn)

a vase painter. His standard autograph is an incised signature, the most appropriate mark for a master potter-decorator.

A surprising signed work of Charinos came to light relatively recently. This plastic vase, a ram's-head rhyton in Richmond, Virginia (Figure 58), of about 480 B.C., dates decades later than the other preserved examples.¹⁶⁹ Its potted lip bears an actual red-figure vase painting, a symposion attributed to a separate artist known as the Triptolemos Painter.¹⁷⁰ The potter's signature, however, is the most striking feature of all. χ ΑΡΙΝΟΣΜΕΕΓΓΟΙΕΣΕΝ is painted in black glaze down the center of the ram's head, extending from forehead to muzzle.

According to Robert Guy, "it was applied no doubt by Charinos himself (or by the painter, at his request)."¹⁷¹ Can we choose between these alternatives? Given the gap of decades, different-looking handwriting is not conclusive evidence. Worthy of note, however, might be the tailed rho, which appears here and in one of the name labels of the Triptolemos Painter's picture, but never in earlier signatures of Charinos.¹⁷²

The fundamental distinction lies rather in a change of aesthetics. Charinos' earlier works evidence a sensitivity to the separation of written words from plastic image. Would this potter ever have placed his own signature between the ram's eyes when the rhyton has an invitingly black-glazed handle at the back? This plastic vase, however, was not both shaped and decorated entirely by the same individual, and, perhaps for that reason, it did not merit this Archaic potter's incised autograph. In the most likely scenario, Charinos said to the Triptolemos Painter, "Hey, sign this rhyton for me, but don't put my name in your vase painting!" Charinos' late rhyton, a typical product of an Attic workshop of the early fifth century B.C., recalls the contemporary shift from incision to glaze in cup signatures of the potter Hieron, which, as we have seen, betokened the waning of a special Archaic tradition.

Finally, the incised signature was revived by a remarkable craftsman of the Classical Period. Sotades was "a potter who specialized in novel shapes that were widely exported and who used coral red almost as often as white ground; indeed, in some respects he seems a fifth-century counterpart to Nikosthenes."¹⁷³ While many of Sotades' fanciest products were exported, they must have been inspired in turn by exotic eastern imports.¹⁷⁴

His signed oeuvre is divided roughly between delicate drinking or libation vessels—luxuries destined



Figure 58. Attic red-figured rhyton in the form of a ram's head, with the painted potter-signature of Charinos, attributed to the Triptolemos Painter, ca. 480 B.C. H. 22.5 cm. Richmond, Virginia Museum, The Williams Fund, 1979, 79.100 (photo: Virginia Museum)

specially for Athenian tombs—and elaborate plastic rhyta, popular both at home and abroad. While several of the latter also certainly came to rest with the dead, one of the best has been called “a work of art perfect as a centerpiece at the banquet table.”¹⁷⁵ Sotades’ name written in glaze occurs on several vases with pictures attributed to the so-called Sotades Painter: a kantharos and two white-ground cups of the most exquisite technique.¹⁷⁶ According to Martin Robertson, “the potter, here and elsewhere, shows himself an ingenious and sure-handed exper-

imenter. The painter is of the same kind and caliber, and was most likely the same person.”¹⁷⁷ We cannot be sure of that, for Sotades signs once without a verb, yet never specifically as painter. Four times the verb is given as *epoie*, three as *epoiesen*, and in two examples not enough remains to choose between the imperfect and aorist forms.

Seven of Sotades’ preserved potter-signatures are incised: two on phialai, Boston 98.886 and London D 8, and the rest on plastic rhyta, to which we shall return shortly. The fluted phialai (Figures 59, 60)

are related in shape to metal prototypes,¹⁷⁸ and the life-sized cicada perched on the omphalos of Boston 98.886, now clay-colored, originally must have been gilded.¹⁷⁹ These phialai bear no figural decoration otherwise; they are decorated simply, but beautifully, with glazes that are the particular concern of the potter: shiny black, matte white, and lustrous coral red.¹⁸⁰ Each one was signed with incision on the exterior of its black-glazed lip; on London D 8 the inscription is fully preserved: ΣΟΤΑΔΕΣ ΕΠΟΙΕ. On the one hand, this practice recalls the signed vessels of the previous century, which were executed entirely by the potter and hence autographed with incision on an area glazed solidly black. On the other hand, the signature, for once, may be intended to evoke inscriptions on metal vessels.¹⁸¹

Sotades' incised signature in London, as well as every other preserved example, is marked by a special formality not seen heretofore. Name and verb always are written one above the other, separated in two horizontal straight lines of different lengths. The letters in the two words are carefully spaced but not always perfectly aligned; although not written in a strict, measured stoichedon, Sotades' signature evokes that style.¹⁸² The script is imbued with hints of monumentality. On the phiale London D 8 (Figure 60) and the base of a plastic rhyton in the Louvre (Figure 61) the omicron in the name is somewhat squared. On the Villa Giulia fragmentary sphinx an Ionic omega is substituted for the omicron; two sigmas have four strokes rather than three; and an eta is substituted for two of the epsilons (Figures 62, 63).¹⁸³ It is the Classical Period, and Sotades writes like a man of his time (cf. Figure 2).¹⁸⁴

Further associations are suggested by Sotades' impressive signed polychrome rhyta: the Amazon rider, Boston 21.2286 (Figures 62, 63); the two very fragmentary examples in the Louvre: a horse or horseman and a Persian leading a camel (Figure 61); and the remains of two sphinxes, in the Villa Giulia and the Brauron Museum (unpublished).¹⁸⁵ Each one was a molded terracotta sculpture or sculptural group, into which a wheel-made, rhyton-shaped vase had been incorporated to serve as the mouth. Each stood on a low rectangular base, and was signed only on its base. The side bearing the incised signature apparently always corresponded to the little sculpture's primary view. On the one hand, relegation of the inscription to the base, which was glazed black, recalls the conscious separation of words from plastic image already practiced by Archaic potters (cf. Figures 48–53). On the other

hand, setting a full-figure vase on an inscribed architectonic base engraved with a two-line inscription in stoichedon style evokes the realm of monumental Classical sculpture.¹⁸⁶ The magnificent Amazon rider of about 440 B.C. in Boston (Figure 62) has been compared to the sculpture of the Parthenon more than once.¹⁸⁷

Sotades was active in a different age than the Archaic potters in this study. External sources for his work beyond the realm of the Athenian Kerameikos—from overseas, from other media, and from great monumental artists—are more apparent than before and perhaps more significant now. Above all, Sotades may well be the consummate example of potter-cum-decorator-painter. To quote Robertson, "I find it very hard indeed not to think that a Greek who saw the vase supported by the figure of a mounted Amazon, with the inscription Σοταδης εποησεν, would have supposed Sotades to be the craftsman who created it; nor can I think that he would have been wrong."¹⁸⁸ And Sotades was the last Attic potter who chose to sign in incision with his own hand.

Finally, let us review the names preserved in incised signatures employing the verb *epoiesen*. We do not know very much about Soklees and Proklees, except that they, like Hischylos, Hilinos, and Menon, were active at the time of transition from black-figure to red-figure, during the very years Psiax worked in one shop and then another experimenting with technique. As we have seen here, however, both the history and significance of incised *epoiese*-signatures extend beyond a solution to the problem of writing on early red-figured vases. Could the duration of this incised signature-type for a century be considered an indication of master-pupil relationships between potters and, thereby, of links between workshops across generations?

We recall the major artisans: Nearchos, Lydos, Exekias, Andokides, Euthymides, Charinos, Euphronios, Hieron, and Sotades. From Nearchos to Lydos to Exekias the incised *epoiese*-signature surely must have been passed on from one master potter-painter to another. The potter Andokides applied the special signature he learned from his teacher, Exekias, to the vases with avant-garde red-figure pictures by painters in his employ. The Pioneer painters Euthymides and Euphronios looked to the red-figure precedent of Andokides when they became potters themselves. And the pioneering coroplast-potter(-painter) Charinos also appreciated the inherent suitability of an Andocidean incised sig-

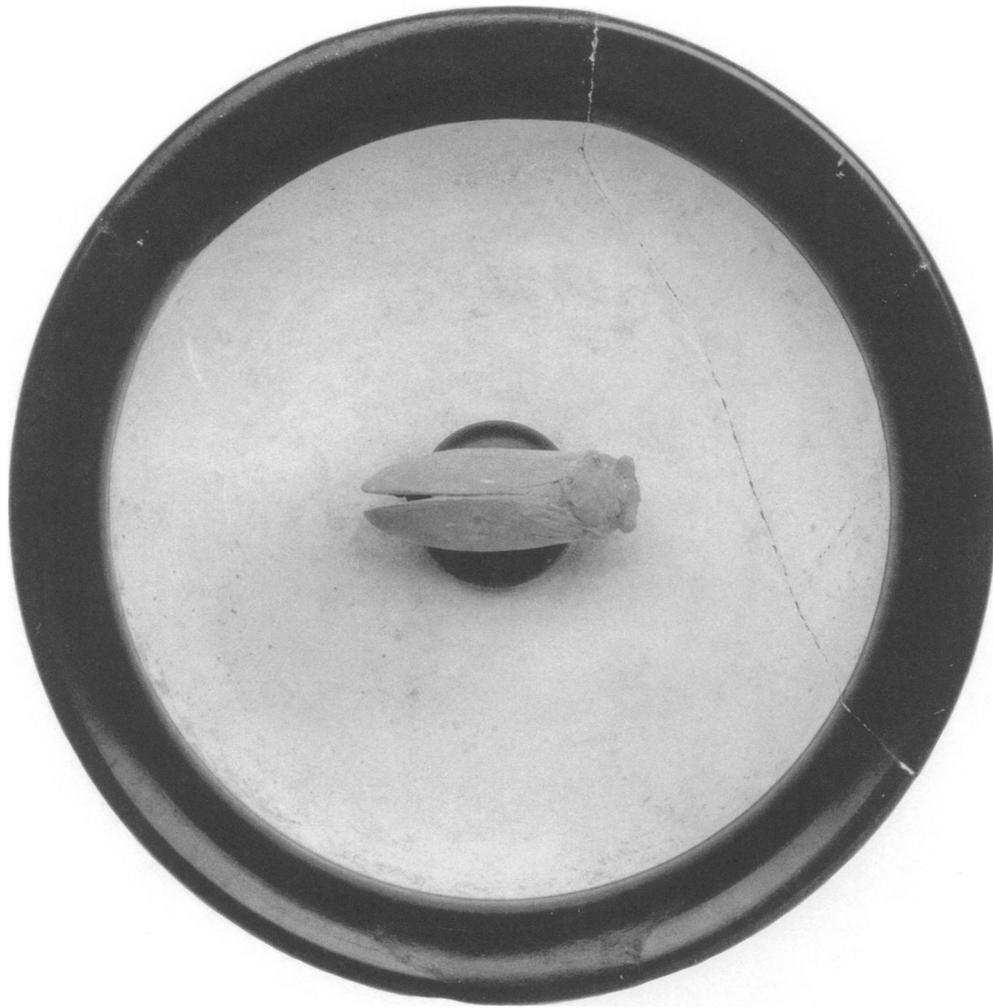


Figure 59. Interior of phiale with terracotta cicada on omphalos, and remains of potter-signature of Sotades on exterior, ca. 460–450 B.C. Diam., as restored, 16.35 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, H. L. Pierce Fund, 98.886 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

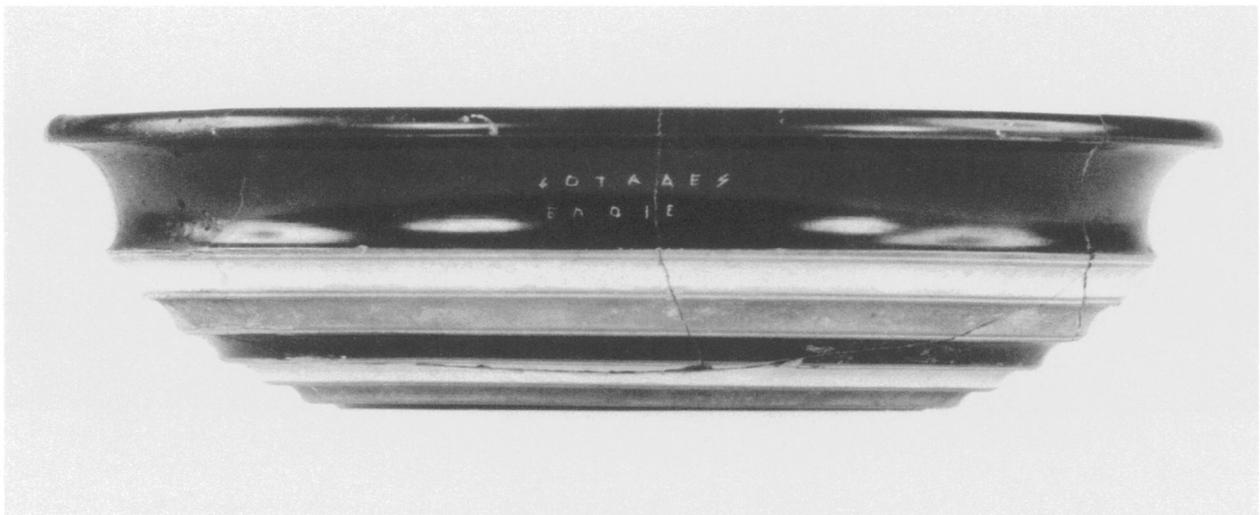


Figure 60. Profile view of phiale, decorated with black glaze, white ground, and coral red, showing the potter-signature Sotades, ca. 460–450 B.C. London, British Museum D 8 (photo: courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

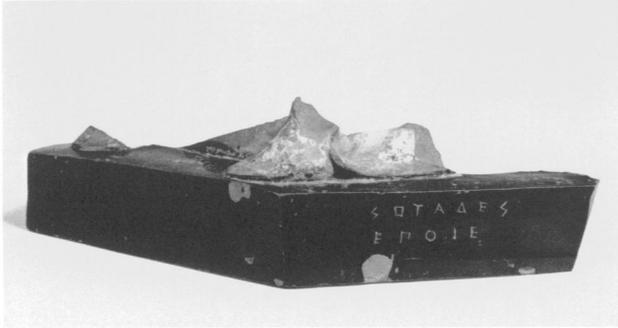


Figure 61. Base of fragmentary rhyton in the form of a Persian leading a camel, with the potter-signature of Sotades, ca. 460–450 B.C. Preserved H. 3.1 cm., preserved L. 13.3 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 3825 (photo: Musée du Louvre)

nature for his refined plastic wares. These men, who were evidently involved in the several major aspects of the pottery industry, understood best the tools and materials of the trade, and, thereby, the particular appropriateness of an incised signature for a potter. This Attic tradition came to an end in the fifth century B.C. with the incised signatures of one potter, Hieron, and one coroplast-potter (-painter), Sotades.

One might have expected intentional incised inscriptions to have been common on Attic pottery, but that never was the case. The incised *epoiese*-signature was a special mode. We have seen that usually it was an authentic signature and, furthermore, that this signature became ever more isolated from



Figure 62. Attic red-figured rhyton in the form of a mounted Amazon, with the potter-signature of Sotades, ca. 450–440 B.C. H. 34 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts Expedition, 21.2286 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

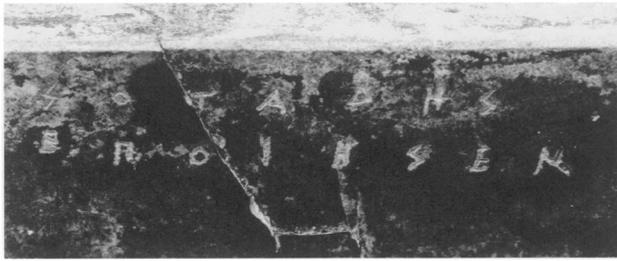


Figure 63. Detail of base of rhyton in Figure 62 showing the potter-signature of Sotades (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

the techniques and pictures of the Attic vase painter.

Coinciding with the decline of Attic pottery toward the end of the fifth century B.C., intentional incised inscriptions were continued in South Italy. Here certain indigenous clays fired especially pale, so that letters scratched through the glaze contrasted well with the black ground of locally produced red-figured pots. Light, incised letters also may have been intended to recall the white inscriptions popular in later Attic red-figure. For whatever reason, incision was a preferred technique for writing the infrequent inscriptions on South Italian wares well into the fourth century B.C.: from names labeling individual figures (the most common) to the rare painter-signature, such as that of the Paestan Python.¹⁸⁹ These inscriptions were not random graffiti but an intentionally executed feature of the design, which certainly enhanced the iconography of the representations in accord with classic Greek tradition and perhaps also the local market value of the vessels. Incised on an amusing Apulian red-



Figure 64. Apulian red-figured calyx-krater, attributed to the Tarporley Painter, ca. 400 B.C. H. 30.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1924, 24.97.104

figured calyx-krater by the Tarporly Painter in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 64) is a dialogue, juxtaposing sense and nonsense, of comic actors in a phlyax play. Perhaps these unusual incised inscriptions reflect the wishes of a commissioning patron who had produced such plays.¹⁹⁰ In any event, surely Nearchos (cf. Figures 4, 5) would have approved wholeheartedly of the result.

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NOTES

1. G. A. Christopoulos, J. C. Bastias, eds., *Prehistory and Protohistory* (Athens, 1974) pp. 66, 74, 82; D. R. Theocharis, *Neolithic Greece* (Athens, 1973) pl. 61; J. V. Noble, "An Overview of the Technology of Greek and Related Pottery," in H. Brijder, ed., *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (Amsterdam, 1984) p. 34.
2. "Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens" (1944) reprinted in D. C. Kurtz, *Greek Vases, Lectures by J. D. Beazley* (Oxford, 1989) p. 50. The infrequency of signatures and the reasons some vases are signed but not others are questions for another study, cf. p. 54.
3. R. M. Cook, "'Epoiesen' on Greek Vases," *JHS* 91 (1971) pp. 137–138; Immerwahr, pp. 341, 343, 345, 347.
4. M. M. Eisman, "A Further Note on ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ Signatures," *JHS* 94 (1974) p. 172, and Immerwahr, p. 345, for painters applying signatures in the Nikosthenes-Pamphaios workshop. In general, see H. R. Immerwahr, "A Projected Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions," in *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge, 1967* (Oxford, 1971) p. 54.
5. E.g., M. Vickers, "Artful Crafts: The Influence of Metalwork on Athenian Painted Pottery," *JHS* 105 (1985) pp. 108–128, and cf. M. Vickers, O. Impey, and J. Allan, *From Silver to Ceramic: The Potter's Debt to Metalwork in the Graeco-Roman, Oriental and Islamic Worlds* (Oxford, 1986). Interestingly, K. Reichold believed that the name given in the *epoiese*-signature belonged to the person who drew the design for the vase painting, and that the lowly worker who actually executed the final painting on the vase signed with *egrapsen*; see *Skizzenbuch griechischer Meister, ein Einblick in das griechische Kunststudium auf Grund der Vasenbilder* (Munich, 1919) p. 12.
6. For support of this view, see R. Rosati, "La nozione di (approprietà dell'officina) e l'*epoiesen* nei vasi attici," *Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna, Classe di Scienze Morali, Rendiconti* 65,2 (1976–77) pp. 45–73; cf. Guarducci, III, p. 474, and M. Robertson, "'Epoiesen' on Greek Vases: Other Considerations," *JHS* 92 (1972) pp. 180–183. Webster, esp. chap. 1, pp. 1–41, believes the signatures belong to the potters themselves who may have worked together in large workshops. See the general discussion in I. Scheibler, *Griechische Töpferkunst, Herstellung, Handel und Gebrauch der Antiken Tongefässe* (Munich, 1983) chap. 4, "Werkstätten und Meister," pp. 107–120.
7. G. M. A. Richter, *The Craft of Athenian Pottery, An Investigation of the Technique of Black-figured and Red-figured Athenian Vases* (New Haven, 1923) p. 39: "Furthermore, an examination of the incised lines on the black-figured vases—which clearly go over the black glaze—shows also that these lines must have been made while the clay was still leather hard. The ragged edge of the glaze along the incisions has sometimes been thought to indicate that they were made after firing. But just this effect is produced by cutting through dry glaze on unfired clay . . ." See also Noble, p. 65. But opinions differ; cf. R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 2nd ed. (London, 1972) pp. 251–252, 257.
8. Jeffery, pp. 68, 431.
9. J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London, 1968) pp. 32–33; 330–331: Late Geometric 1B.
10. J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London, 1977) pp. 298–299; cf. Jeffery, p. 68. On the translation and interpretation now see Guarducci (1987) p. 42, and B. B. Powell, "The Dipylon Oinochoe and the Spread of Literacy in Eighth-Century Athens," *Kadmos* 27 (1988) pp. 65–86, esp. pp. 75–82.
11. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, pp. 298–299; W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, 1989) esp. pp. vii–viii, 46–47.
12. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, pp. 301–302 n. 20, partial signature of Early Protoattic Analatos Painter; cf. S. P. Morris, *The Black and White Style, Athens and Aigina in the Orientalizing Period* (New Haven, 1984), who attributes Middle Protoattic pottery to Aeginetan workshops, e.g., inscribed Menelas stand, pl. 16, 30, 42–43, 122 n. 9, and pl. 7. For an important group of seventh-century Attic dedicatory graffiti, see M. K. Langdon, "A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos," *Hesperia*, suppl. 16 (Princeton, 1976) pp. 9–50; see pp. 9–10 on the Dipylon oinochoe and pp. 47, 49 on the alphabet and the spread of literacy. But cf. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, pp. 46–48 and passim, who argues against widespread literacy throughout the population of early Greece.
13. Forthcoming publication of ostraca from Athenian Agora by M. L. Lang; see Lang, "Writing and Spelling on Ostraka," *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topology presented to Eugene Vanderpool, Hesperia*, suppl. 19 (Princeton, 1982) pp. 75–87, and E. Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," *Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple*, 2nd ser., 4 (Cincinnati, 1970).
14. Agora P 16755: T. L. Shear, "The Campaign of 1940," *Hesperia* 10 (1941) pp. 2, 3, fig. 2. On the writing, cf. Lang, "Writing and Spelling," pp. 77–79. But cf. Harris's stand against associating ostraca with the literacy of the average citizen, *Ancient Literacy*, p. 54. For the other known ostrakon of Perikles, which is painted, see H. A. Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1951," *Hesperia* 21 (1952) p. 113, pl. 31f.
15. For other genres of incised inscriptions on Attic pottery, see M. L. Lang, *Graffiti and Dipinti*, Agora 21 (Princeton, 1976); A. W. Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases* (Warminster, 1979). See also B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C., Agora* 12 (Princeton, 1970) II, index IV on graffiti and other inscriptions and figs. 22–23 for inscriptions on vases.
16. F. Lorber, *Inschriften auf korinthischen Vasen, Archäologisch-Epigraphische Untersuchungen zur korinthischen Vasenmalerei im 7. und 6. Jh. V. Chr.* (Berlin, 1979) passim, esp. pp. 109–110. For a fresh assessment of the inscriptions and earlier scholarship on Corinthian pottery, see Amyx, II, passim, esp. pp. 547–615. Still fundamental is H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931) esp. pp. 158–169.
17. Amyx, II, pp. 548, 552, 563 no. 27, and p. 564 no. 28 (Timonidas), 569–570 no. 57 (Chares); cf. p. 591 no. 120 (Milonidas). On signatures of Corinthian painters, see also Mertens, "Thoughts," pp. 418–419, 429.
18. Pinax from Penteskouphia, Berlin "East" F 846; flask, Athens, National Museum 277. See reference to Timonidas in note 17 above, and Amyx, III, pl. 84.1–2; I, p. 201; I agree that "on both stylistic and epigraphical grounds" the flask and plaque are by the same artist. Cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 163, 314, no. 1072 (ca. 580 B.C.).
19. The signature reads *Timonida[s] egraphse Bia* (Timonidas [son of] Bia painted this); see Lorber, *Inschriften*, p. 38, and Hop-

pin, *Bf*, pp. 14–15. Cf. Guarducci, III, p. 438, and Guarducci (1987) pp. 54–55. For the Corinthian alphabet and inscriptions, Jeffery, pp. 114–119, 131.

20. Amyx, II, pp. 603–604.

21. Amphora, Athens, National Museum 1002: *ABV*, p. 4, no. 1; *Para*, p. 2, no. 6; *Addenda*², pp. 1–2; *Dev*², p. 13, pl. 10.3, and *ABFV*, pp. 15–16. On this early Attic script see Jeffery, pp. 66–67, 70–71. The best single source for gaining a visual understanding of the development of Attic inscriptions is J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum, ein Bilderatlas epigraphischer Denkmäler Attikas*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1948).

22. But cf. note 12 above

23. Lorber, *Inschriften*, p. 109.

24. For Sophilos' signatures, see *ABV* p. 39, no. 15, Athens, National Museum, Acropolis 587 (painted); p. 39, no. 16, Athens, National Museum 15499 (painted, potted?); p. 42, no. 36, Athens, National Museum 2035.1 (new no. 15918; potted); *Para*, p. 19, no. 16bis, London, British Museum 1971.11–1.1 (painted). Also *ABV*, p. 40, no. 21, Athens, 2035.2 (new no. 15442; potted); D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, *Les "Louteria" Attiques* (Athens, 1965) p. 54. For an overview of Sophilos' signatures, see M. B. Moore and M. Z. P. Philippides, *Attic Black-figured Pottery, Agora 23* (Princeton, 1986) p. 79 n. 53, and cf. Mertens, "Thoughts," pp. 426, 434 nn. 53–54. Cf. G. Bakir, *Sophilos, ein Beitrag zu seinem Stil* (Mainz, 1981), pp. 5–7, pls. 1, 3, 6, 8.

25. The title is on the famous dinos fragment from Pharsalos of ca. 570 B.C., Athens, National Museum 15499, see note 24 above. For the nature and role of Sophilos' inscriptions, see A. B. Brownlee, "Sophilos and Early Attic Black-figured Dinoid," J. Christiansen and T. Melander, eds., *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Copenhagen August 31–September 4, 1987* (Copenhagen, 1988) pp. 84–85; *Dev*², p. 17; F. Lissarrague, "Paroles d'images: Remarques sur le fonctionnement de l'écriture dans l'imagerie attique," A. M. Christin, ed., *Ecritures II* (Paris, 1985) pp. 74–76, 88; J. Hurwitt, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100–480 B.C.* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1985) pp. 223–224. On the script, see Jeffery, p. 71.

26. Florence 4209: *ABV*, p. 76, no. 1; M. Cristofani et al., *Materiali per servire alla storia del Vaso François, Bollettino d'Arte*, ser. spec. 1 (Rome, 1981) p. 177, nos. 28, 78, 86; also figs. 160, 201, 208, and figs. 62, 81, 83, 131, 133. On the signatures and for the use of *me* in a signature—the "formula of the talking object," see also Guarducci (1987) pp. 43–44, 433.

27. Cf. Immerwahr, pp. 341, 345, and Guarducci (1987) p. 433.

28. Cristofani, *Vaso François*, figs. 133, 136, 209 (inscr. no. 87), 232 (inscr. no. 112). See also A. Minto, *Il Vaso François* (Florence, 1960) pp. 88, 112. J. Mertens, "Thoughts," pp. 422–424, calls attention to an Attic black-figure practice of drawing with incision on black-glazed areas.

29. MMA 31.11.4: *ABV*, p. 78, no. 12; Gordion cups: *ABV*, p. 78, nos. 13–15. See *Dev*², pls. 30.3–4, 44.1–3, and pp. 48–49. See J. D. Beazley, "Little-Master Cups," *JHS* 52 (1932) esp. pp. 168, 194–195, and M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975) I, p. 128.

30. MMA 26.49 (said to have been found in Attica): *ABV*, p. 83, no. 4; *Para*, p. 30; *Addenda*², p. 23. Carefully described by

G. M. A. Richter, "An Aryballos by Nearchos," *AJA* (1932) pp. 272–275; see also Mertens, "Thoughts," pp. 428–429. The MMA aryballos illustrates the shape in Richter and M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York, 1935) p. 16 and fig. 103, and in Noble, pp. 25 and 156, fig. 153. Bothmer, "Makron," p. 46, places Nearchos first in his list of Attic incised signatures.

31. On the inscriptions, see R. Hampe, "Korfugiebel und frühe Perseusbilder," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 60–61 (1935–36) pp. 295–296. For the profusion of inscriptions and use of nonsense inscriptions on sixth-century Attic vases, see Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, p. 52.

32. Richter, "An Aryballos by Nearchos," p. 274; see p. 275 on the incrustation which ensures the authenticity of the signature. I believe most chipping of glaze in that area was caused by the joining of the handle plate rather than the incision itself. See Noble, pp. 11 and 65, where he points out that, even before firing, "If the vase was too dry, the incising flaked off the dry glaze matter along the edge."

33. MMA 74.51.364, ca. 550 B.C.; the lid (MMA 74.51.433) is also preserved. For the names, see R. Arena, "Le iscrizioni corinzie su vasi," *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie*, ser. VIII, vol. 13, fasc. 2 (Rome, 1967) p. 117, no. 80, pl. 28. Lorber, pp. 92–93, no. 153; but cf. Amyx, p. 598, no. Gr. 15. On the pyxides of this type, see Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 322. The Corinthian round aryballos of *Aineta* in London, British Museum 1865.12–13.1, has painted inscriptions on the handle plate and beneath the handle, Amyx, p. 561, no. 18; Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 162 n. 5 and p. 287, no. 480. Cf. Guarducci, III, p. 462, fig. 181.

34. National Museum 1055: *ABV*, pp. 346–347; D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and his World* (Malibu, 1985) p. 195, fig. 103.

35. I. K. Raubitschek, "Early Boeotian Potters," *Hesperia* 35 (1966) p. 155; the glaze has seeped into the incised letters of the signature; on shape and date, see pp. 161–162. Cf. p. 156, pl. 46.a–b, Louvre CA 128, Boeotian aryballos signed by Menaidas. See also Hoppin, *Bf*, pp. 17, 22, and Beazley, "Aryballos," *BSA* 29 (1927–28) pp. 194–195, 201 n. 2. On the shape, see also M. G. Kanowski, *Containers of Classical Greece, A Handbook of Shapes* (St. Lucia, 1984) pp. 26–29. For classification of Boeotian, see P. N. Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsonia in Boeotia* (Cambridge, 1934), and for dating, esp. "Ring Aryballoi," *Hesperia* 15 (1946) pp. 48–50: "... among the mourners at Boeotian funerals the use of writing (in the form of incised words or abbreviations of words scratched on the vases they put in the graves) comes in only about the middle of the century, and this fact is an argument for not putting the Boeotian potters' signatures much earlier." On the script, see Jeffery, pp. 89, 92.

36. For lip cups signed by Nearchos as potter but not painted by him, see *ABV*, *Para*, p. 83, p. 31: e.g., MMA 61.11.2. The potters of little-master cups Ergoteles and Tleson sign as his sons, *ABV*, p. 162, 178–183, 688; *Para*, 74–76. E.g., MMA 55.11.13 and 56.171.34 signed by Tleson, son of Nearchos, as potter. See D. von Bothmer, "Five Attic Black-figured Lip-cups," *AJA* 66 (1962) pp. 255–258, pls. 65.2–3, 66.6–7. For the kore by Antenor and Nearchos' dedication, see A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949) pp. 232–233, no. 197, and pp. 481–482; and Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum*, p.

10, no. 10, pl. 5. On reconstructing Nearchos' history, see Webster, pp. 5, 7, 9–10, 26. Cf. F. Lorber, "Epigraphik und Archäologie—Vasenschriften," in G. Pfohl, *Das Studium der Griechischen Epigraphik, eine Einführung* (Darmstadt, 1977) p. 104 and n. 34; he, incidentally, is unaware of early incised signatures and assigns the first to Andokides, p. 103 and n. 23.

37. *ABV*, p. 82, no. 1; *Para*, p. 30, *Addenda*², p. 23. Graef-Langlotz, I, pp. 71–72, pl. 36.

38. Richter, "An Aryballos by Nearchos," p. 275. Cf. Bothmer, *Amasis*, p. 40. Guarducci, III p. 474, ". . . il verbo ποτείν, usato da solo, poteva assumere anche nell'Attica quel valore sintetico di (plasmare e dipingere). . . ."

39. Graef-Langlotz, I, pp. 71–72. The sketch lines are visible in Bothmer, *Amasis* p. 39, fig. 22. On the Achilles kantharos Nearchos also experimented by being the first to use white ground; *Dev*², p. 37, and esp. Mertens, *AWG*, pp. 27–28.

40. Acropolis 607. *ABV* 107, no. 1, p. 684; *Addenda*², p. 29; Graef-Langlotz, I, pp. 69–70, pls. 33–35. Lydos' dinos has been reconstructed by Moore, pp. 79–99; for the inscription, see ill. 1 and pl. 11, fig. 1. The fragments are reproduced by M. Tiverios, 'Ο Λυδός καὶ τὸ Ἔργον του (Athens, 1976), for the inscription pp. 15–16, pl. 1a.

41. *Dev*², p. 38, pl. 34.1. On Lydos' name and way of signing as an indication that he "was immigrant from Croesus' Empire," *ABFV*, p. 52.

42. E.g., Berlin 1732, potted by Kolchos: *ABV*, p. 110, no. 37; *Addenda*², p. 30; and Oxford 1966.768, potted by Nikosthenes, *ABV*, p. 113, no. 80; *Para*, p. 45; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, *Select Exhibition of Sir John and Lady Beazley's Gifts to the Ashmolean Museum 1912–1966*, exh. cat. (London, 1967) pl. 11.

43. Cf. Tiverios (Athens, 1976) pp. 15–16; Moore, p. 99 n. 166; cf. Guarducci, III, p. 475, no. 2. On the likelihood that Lydos was a potter, see also Moore and Philippides, *Attic Black-figured Pottery*, p. 83 n. 92.

44. Moore, p. 99 n. 166.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 99 and ill. 1.

46. Tiverios (Athens, 1976) p. 16.

47. Moore, p. 99.

48. Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 70, pl. 33c. Cf. fragment of Corinthian alabastron, Berlin inv. 3182., Suicide of Ajax—name of the hero incised on his body; Lorber, p. 50, no. 62, fig. 38, and Arena, "Le iscrizioni corinzie," p. 75, no. 12, pl. 4.

49. Several of Beazley's "signed strays" are objects evidently dedicated (and found) in sanctuaries and, therefore, bear incised inscriptions, including odd signatures, e.g., *ABV*, p. 350, compared to phiale from Eleusis signed by Sosimos, cup in Six's technique Athens, Acropolis ii, 1078; Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 84; *ABV*, p. 351, "anonymous" signature; Athens, Acropolis ii, 1348; Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 93, and Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum*, p. 12, no. 16, pl. 7. On "first fruits" dedications of potters, see Webster, pp. 4–5. See also the incised painter's signature (Sophon) and dedication on the lid of a black-figured pyxis, Athens, National Museum 19271; *Addenda*², p. 402; S. R. Roberts, *The Attic Pyxis* (Chicago, 1978) p. 33, pls. 16.2, 17.2. Cf. note 146 below.

50. See notes 51–54 below. On the signatures, see Guarducci, III, pp. 474, 480; for idiosyncratic accounts, see Webster, pp. 12,

26; K. P. Stahler, "Exekias bemalte und töpferste mich," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 49 (1968–71) pp. 79–113. Many of the signatures on vases not painted by him are on cups; in general, see *ABV*, p. 136, no. 49, pp. 146–147, nos. 1–5; *Para*, p. 61. See also Toledo 80.1022: *Addenda*², p. 400; *CVA Toledo 2* [USA 20] pls. 81.1, 82.1 [964.1, 965.1].

51. E.g., Vatican 344: *ABV*, p. 145, no. 13; London B 210, *ABV*, p. 144, no. 7; for both, see Arias and Hirmer, pls. 62–65 and xvii–xviii.

52. Berlin 1720: *ABV*, p. 143, no. 13; Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum*, no. 8, pl. 4. Munich 2044: *ABV*, p. 146, no. 21. For the shape, see H. Bloesch, *Formen attischer Schalen* (Bern, 1940) p. 2, pl. 1.1, and Seki, pp. 19, 26, 28.

53. Villa Giulia 50599: *ABV*, p. 146, no. 20; Hoppin, *Bf*, pp. 104–105; P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani* (Rome, 1930) pp. 212–213, with review of earlier bibliography. For the ships within the rim, see *ABFV*, p. 57 and fig. 102. Cf. the well-preserved black-bodied dinos, W. G. Moon, ed., *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections* (Chicago, 1979) pp. 110–111, no. 63.

54. *ABV*, p. 146, no. 20. But cf. Athens, National Museum 2239, black-glazed kantharos with incised potter-signature as sole decoration: *Teisias epoiesen*. The potter Teisias of Athens typically produced such signed black-glaze ware. He may have been active in Boeotia, *ABV*, p. 177, and e.g., P. N. Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsonia in Boiotia* (1913) p. 9; Hoppin, *Bf*, pp. 347–349; J. D. Beazley, "Some Inscriptions on Vases. III," *AJA* 39 (1935) p. 475, and J. F. Crome, "Ein Kantharos des Teisias," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1938) cols. 76–77.

55. In both signatures (Figures 8, 9) the words run together; in both the verb is in the imperfect. The Munich signature (Figure 8) omits the iota in the verb and does not use the *me*; see note 26 above.

56. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, pp. 212–213; Scheibler, *Griechische Töpferkunst*, p. 47. Cf. Robertson, *History of Greek Art*, pp. 133–134. For the Sicyonian alphabet and Exekias, see Jeffery, pp. 138–139, 141, 143. Similar information is normally conveyed by crudely executed graffiti, added after firing, often on the underside of the vase's foot. See Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases* (note 15 above). Because these inscriptions also are reminiscent of Archaic dedications, one might wonder whether Charopos was simply a friend of the purchaser; e.g., according to J. Escher, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1899) III, col. 2184, no. 4, it was an epithet of Herakles. For incised inscriptions added after firing on funerary plaques painted by Exekias (*ABV*, p. 146, nos. 22–23) which appear to relate the plaques to a specific burial and not be written by his hand, see J. Boardman, "Painted Funerary Plaques and Some Remarks on Prothesis," *BSA* 50 (1955) pp. 51–66. For a red-figured vase with incised inscriptions that may have been added at the request of the purchaser, c.f. the squat lekythos by Douris, Athens, National Museum 15375: *ARV*, p. 447, no. 274; *Addenda*², p. 241. My thanks go to Diana Buitron and Robert Guy for collaborating on the nature of these inscriptions by Douris.

57. MMA 29.131.6 and Civitavecchia 1524: *ABV*, pp. 166–167, nos. 1–2.

58. *CVA*, New York 2 [USA 11] pl. 14, 22.a–c; on p. 9 Richter

observes, "Before the first E in epoiesen is a dot; perhaps the painter had started the inscription closer to the figure and then changed his mind." See note 29 above.

59. *ABV*, p. 172; *CVA*, pl. 18, no. 1; Hoppin, *Bf*, p. 321. For the shape, see Bloesch, *FAS*, p. 31, no. 1, and p. 32; see also Seki, p. 19, no. 3, and, on the signatures, p. 113. For the painter Sakonides, see *ABV*, pp. 170–172, 688; *Para*, p. 71. See also H. A. G. Brijder, "Some Fragments of Attic Black-figure Cups in Amsterdam," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 49 (1974) p. 108. See *Para*, p. 72, and *Addenda*², p. 49, for the incised name Sakonides on a band-cup fragment in Bucarest, not by this painter.

60. Vatican, Astarita 297. *ARV*², pp. 161 (bottom)–162, no. 2; J. D. Beazley, "Some Inscriptions on Vases: VII," *AJA* 1957, p. 6, no. x; see also Cohen, *Bilingual*, p. 354, no. C 30; pl. 76.3. The Vatican signature is scratched on more neatly and raised slightly above the groundline, enhancing the contrast of light letters and surrounding black glaze. Three interstrokes divide name from verb in the Cambridge signature (Figure 14), while in the Vatican one the two words run together. *ARV*², p. 1621, no. 4obis, and p. 1630, no. 1bis, for the Swiss market eye-cup. I have not seen its incised potter-signature.

61. Namepiece, Cambridge GR.14–1937 (37.14): *ARV*², p. 41, no. 40; p. 161 (bottom), no. 1; for the painter see under the Swiss market cup no. 1bis on p. 1630. Hoppin, *Rf*, II, p. 112, no. 1, and 113. *CVA*, Cambridge 2 [Great Britain 11] p. 55, pl. 5[514].1a–b. Cohen, *Bilingual*, p. 354, nos. B 55–56, and pp. 355–356, pl. 76.1–2. On the shape, see Bloesch, *FAS*, p. 31, pl. 8, no. 2.; Seki, p. 21, no 20, pl. 5.1–3, and p. 139, table 5.1.

62. E.g., D. von Bothmer, "Der Euphronioskrater in New York," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1976) p. 51; Cohen, *Bilingual*, p. 355; Immerwahr, p. 343. The only other incised signature of a potter on a bilingual eye-cup has been doubted, that of Pamphaios on side B of Oltos' cup, Paris, Louvre F 127 *ter*. *ARV*², p. 41, no. 29, and p. 54, no. 9, and *Addenda*², p. 163. *CVA*, Louvre 19 [France 28] pl. 23[1228].1–3. I argued for its authenticity conceptually in Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 325–326, but now have suspicions on technical grounds (thickness and depth of incision). I have not examined the cup foot with an incised signature of Pamphaios, Orvieto, Faina 114; see *ARV*², p. 130 n. 36. *CVA*, Orvieto 1 [Italy 41], inv. no. 3422, p. 11, pl. 28[1852].1, 3. On these Pamphaios signatures, see Immerwahr, p. 345, no. 29; p. 348, no. 10; p. 352, no. 59.

63. *ARV*², Epiktetos: p. 70, no. 1 (Orvieto, Faina, 97), no. 3 (London E 3), no. 9 (Villa Giulia and Heidelberg 18), p. 71, no. 4 (Leningrad 645), no. 7 (Berlin 2100), p. 78 (Rome, Torlonia, 158); Pheidippos: p. 165, no. 2 (Würzburg 467), no. 7 (Villa Giulia and Heidelberg 8); Cohen, *Bilingual*, Epiktetos: pp. 412–413, nos. B 87–89; p. 419, nos. B 90–92; pp. 424–426, no. B 93; Pheidippos: p. 439, pp. 454–455, no. B 102, pp. 460–461, no. B 104. For Epiktetos, see pls. 93.3; 94.3; 95.3; 96.1; 97.3; 98.2–3; for Pheidippos, see pls. 105.2; 106.3.

64. See band-cups signed by Archikles and Glaukytes as potters, e.g., Munich 2243, *ABV*, p. 160 (bottom), no. 2; *CVA*, Munich 11 [Germany 57] pl. 2[2771].7–8. See *Para*, p. 68, fragment of band-cup with signature of Glaukytes under the handle, Oxford, Ashmolean, 1966.1103; *Select*, pl. 12, 112. *Addenda*², p. 47.

65. See e.g., D. von Bothmer, "Andokides the Potter and the Andokides Painter," *MMAB* 24 (1965–66) p. 204. See also

Bloesch, *FAS*, p. 14, and "Stout and Slender in the Late Archaic Period," *JHS* 71 (1951) pp. 30, 35. Cf. Webster, pp. 7, 12.

66. I have argued in Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 3–8, that the omission of inscriptions in the Andokides Painter's vase paintings suggests that this red-figure painter may not have known how to write, and that, in any event, he was neither the same man as his later black-figure collaborator, known as the Lysippides Painter, nor Andokides himself. All of this is controversial. Cf. *ABV*, p. 105, and *ARV*², pp. 15–18. The focus elsewhere tends to be on the painter(s) rather than the potter, e.g., Hurwitt, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece*, pp. 285–286, 286 n. 11 cf. D. Williams, *Greek Vases* (London, 1985) p. 37.

67. *ARV*², p. 3, no. 1 (Berlin 2159), no. 2 (Louvre G 1), pp. 4–5, no. 13 (Louvre F 203), p. 1617, no. 2bis; *Para*, p. 320 (New York 63.11.6). For Berlin 2159, see E. R. Knauer, *Die Berliner Andokides-Vase* (Stuttgart, 1965); for Louvre G 1, see F. Hauser in A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich, 1909) II, pp. 267–271, pl. 111; for MMA 63.11.6, see Bothmer, "Andokides," pp. 201–212. For the white-ground lip of the MMA amphora and Louvre F 203, see Mertens *AWG*, pp. 33–35. Louvre F 203 is reproduced well in color: J. Charbonneaux, R. Martin, F. Villard, *Archaic Greek Art (620–480)* (New York, 1971) fig. 343. For all the amphorae, see Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 106–110, 119–150, 153–157, pls. 21–27, 29.

68. On placement of these signatures, see Bothmer, "Andokides," p. 202; cf. Bothmer, "Euphronioskrater," p. 510, and Knauer, *Andokides Vase*, p. 6. For the verb given in the imperfect, cf. Exekias, Munich 2044 (Figure 8) and notes 52, 54 above. A calyx-krater in the Villa Giulia: *ARV*², p. 77, no. 90, has an incised painter-signature of Epiktetos on its body. On the foot attached to this vase are the remains of the latter part of an incised signature of Andokides, which recalls MMA 63.11.6. 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. Cf. Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 4, 400–403.

69. For the omission of the iota in the verb, cf. Exekias (Figure 8) and note 68 above. See Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 3–4, pls. 1, 46, for discussion of painted signatures of Andokides, all of which include the iota in the verb: on a black-figured amphora (Bastis Collection), see *ABV*, p. 253, i; on black-figure half of bilingual cup, Palermo V 650, see *ABV*, p. 255, no. 7; p. 256, no. 21; *ARV*², p. 5, no. 14; p. 37, no. 1: and on top of mouth of black-figured neck-amphora, British Museum 1980.10–29.1 (ex Castle Ashby), see *ABV*, p. 293, no. 7; *Addenda*², p. 76; for Psiax, see *CVA*, Castle Ashby [Great Britain 15] pl. 6 [661].1–2. For other inscriptions with the name Andokides, see Bothmer, "Andokides," p. 202.

70. E.g., G. M. A. Richter, *Attic Red-figured Vases, A Survey* (New Haven, 1958) pp. 47–48; Arias and Hirmer, p. 304; *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica* (Rome, 1965) VI, s.v. "Psiax," pp. 533–534 (E. Paribeni); Mertens, *AWG*, pp. 36–40; D. C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi, Patterns and Painters* (Oxford, 1975) p. 10. In general, see Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 196–239, 277–287.

71. British Museum 1900.6–11.1: *ABV*, p. 294, no. 25; see P. E. Corbett, "Preliminary Sketch in Greek Vase-painting," *JHS* 85 (1965) p. 24, pl. 14; Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi*, pl. 1.3a–c.

72. Karlsruhe 242: *ARV*², p. 7, no. 4; Odessa, *ARV*², p. 7, no. 5. See Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 207–208, pl. 39. The name Psiax without a verb also is preserved written in red on two bilingual eye-cups not by his hand. MMA 14.146.2: *ARV*², p. 9, no. 1, p. 41, no. 38; Munich 2603: *ARV*², p. 9, no. 2, p. 41, no. 39; Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 349–350, 352–353, pls. 74.1–2, 75.1–2.

73. CA 2182: *ARV*², p. 164 (near Paseas): “. . . may or may not be the same as the Sokles whose signature appears on four black-figure cups (see *ABV*, pp. 172–173).” Add to the black-figure cups *Para*, p. 73, nos. 2–3.

74. Cf. Hoppin, *Rf*, II, p. 420. An early red-figured stemmed dish in the Louvre, CA 3662, which recalls Psiax, has reserved inscriptions. *ARV*², p. 12, no. 11; J. Mertens, “Some New Vases by Psiax,” *Antike Kunst* 22 (1977) pp. 23–24, pl. 13.3. An incised painter-signature of Pasiades appears on the black-glazed shoulder of a white-ground lekythos in Athens, Agora NS AP 422: *ARV*², p. 102, no. 1; Mertens, *AWG*, p. 205, pl. 29.1. The name is known otherwise only as belonging to the potter of white-ground alabaster: *ARV*², pp. 98–99, nos. 1–3; Mertens, *AWG*, pp. 128–129, 131–132, pl. 18.3–4; Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi*, p. 101 n. 5.

75. *ARV*², p. 7, no. 3; on the history of recognizing Psiax’ name, see Mertens, “Psiax,” p. 22. Cf., e.g., H. R. W. Smith, *New Aspects of the Menon Painter* (Berkeley, 1929) versus G. M. A. Richter, “The Menon Painter = Psiax” *AJA* 38 (1934) pp. 547–554. For the signature and other inscriptions on the Philadelphia amphora, see Hoppin, *Rf*, II, pp. 202–203.

76. The surface of the Philadelphia amphora is poorly preserved. According to the conservation department of the University Museum, the vase appears to have been waxed in modern times. Darkened wax must have penetrated the letters of the inscription on the foot, making them difficult to see and photograph. The vase has not yet been examined under a microscope. Cf. Immerwahr’s comments on these inscriptions, “Projected Corpus,” p. 55.

77. *ARV*², p. 7, no. 2; on the black-figure half see *ABV*, p. 294, no. 24; Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 229, 233–239, pl. 43; see also R. Olmos Romera, *Guías del Museo Arqueológico Nacional. 1. Cerámica Griega* (Madrid, 1973) pp. 48–51, figs. 16–19.

78. Cf. slant of the alpha and the nu, and especially deltas that do not quite close at the bottom right.

79. The careful placement and aesthetic consistency of Andokides’ signatures speak for their having been planned and executed by a craftsman rather than the workshop foreman proposed by Eisman (see note 4 above). For the signatures of Andokides painted on vases, see note 69 above. For placement of signatures on vase feet, cf. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 76.AE.48, *Addenda*², p. 401. This black-figured lekythos, attributed to the Taleides Painter, bears the potter-signature of Amasis on the underside of its foot. See B. Legakis, “A Lekythos Signed by Amasis,” *Antike Kunst* 26 (1983) pp. 73–74, pls. 19–20, and Bothmer, *Amasis*, p. 299. This signature of Amasis clearly is written by the same hand as the potter-signatures in the picture fields of vases painted by the Amasis painter; cf., e.g., Bothmer, *Amasis*, nos. 23, 24, 31. I believe the Malibu example provides proof that Amasis the potter and the Amasis Painter were the same man. Placement of the *epoiese*-signature underneath the Malibu vessel’s foot (rather than in the picture field) should mean, “this time

Amasis made (potted) me, but he did not paint me.” Cf., in favor of a separate Amasis Painter, Bothmer, *Amasis*, pp. 38–39.

80. MMA 1981.11.9; *Addenda*², p. 405; see D. von Bothmer, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Notable Acquisitions 1980–1981* (New York, 1981) pp. 13–14. The signature also is mentioned by Bothmer, “Makron,” p. 46, and by Mertens, “Thoughts,” pp. 425, 434 n. 52, in her discussion of the importance of Pioneer potter-painters, pp. 425–426. Traces of what may be light incision (rather than accidental scratching) may indicate that the writer mistakenly began to turn the iota in Euthymides into an epsilon.

81. For the shapes, see Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names*, pp. 3–4, 18–20; Kanowski, *Containers*, pp. 18–21, 108–111, and see Noble, pp. 12–13, 20.

82. H. A. Cahn and D. von Bothmer have compared the style with the Sosias Painter and early Makron; see *Kunstwerke der Antike*, sale cat. (Basel, 1972) no. 101, and D. von Bothmer, *Notable Acquisitions*, pp. 13–14. On the subject, see A. Shapiro, “The Origins of Allegory in Greek Art,” *Boreas* 9 (1986) p. 10 n. 36. For Euthymides the vase painter, see *ARV*², pp. 26–29, 1620, and *Addenda*², p. 404; for cup fragment, MMA 1982.386, see *Addenda*², p. 156, *ARV*², p. 29, no. 19. And see, e.g., *ARFV*, pp. 30–31; M. Wegner, *Euthymides and Euphronios* (Münster Westfalen, 1979) pp. 1–14, 29–35.

83. See especially the three amphorae of type A in Munich, 2307, 2308, and 2309: *ARV*², pp. 26–27, nos. 1, 2, 4. Many photographic details that include inscriptions have been published; cf., e.g., Arias and Hirmer, pls. 116–117; R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Griechische Vasen der reifarchaischen Zeit* (Munich, 1953) pls. 19, 21, 23, 25–28, 30–31.

84. See *ibid.*, pls. 18–21, 27–31, for the amphorae cited in note 83 above.

85. On Munich 2307 and 2308, see note 83; Turin 4123: see *ARV*², p. 28, no. 11; Bonn 70: *ARV*², p. 28, no. 12; Adria Bc 64.10: *ARV*², p. 28, no. 18. See *Addenda*², p. 156; *ARV*², p. 29, no. 19, for the cups: Florence 7 B 2, Boston 10.203, London 1952.12–2.7, Vatican, Astarita 121.

86. The challenge of Euthymides to Euphronios (“As never Euphronios”) written on Munich 2307, see note 83. It is often discussed, e.g., *ARFV*, p. 30; Wegner, *Euthymides*, pp. 33–34.

87. *ARV*², pp. 13–18, 1619; *Addenda*², p. 404. Catalogues of Euphronios exhibition in Arezzo, Paris, and Berlin.

88. E.g., calyx-kraters with potter-signature of Euxitheos: Louvre G 33: *ARV*², p. 14, no. 4; MMA 1972.11.10: *Addenda*², p. 404; cup with potter-signature of Kachrylion, Munich 2620: *ARV*², p. 16, no. 17; cf. Louvre C 11981: *ARV*², pp. 17, 21.

89. On signatures of Euphronios, see *ARV*², p. 13. Painter-signatures in picture field: e.g., Louvre G 103, G 110, C 11071: *ARV*², p. 14, nos. 2–3, p. 15, no. 10; Leningrad 644: *ARV*², p. 16, no. 15; Athens, Acropolis 176: *ARV*², p. 17, no. 18; MMA 1972.11.10; New York, collection of L. Levy and S. White (ex Hunt): *Addenda*², p. 404 (Munich 8953 also listed there as a signed work). Painter-signatures removed to cup feet, Munich 2620: *ARV*², p. 16, no. 17, and ex Hunt: *Addenda*², p. 404; on the cup-signatures, see text of this article.

90. *ARV*², p. 13.

91. *Ibid.* and T. Seki, “Euphronios and Python, Analytical

Studies on the Structure of Their Cups,” in Brijder, *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, p. 155; for Euphronios as potter, cf. Bloesch, *FAS*, pp. 70–80.

92. See *ARV*², p. 313, e.g., definite signatures: Louvre G 105: p. 324, no. 60; Louvre G 104: p. 318, no. 1 (Figure 27); London E 44: p. 318, no. 2 (Figure 28, 29), Cabinet des Médailles 526 plus: p. 319, no. 5; MMA 12.231.2: p. 319, no. 6; Amsterdam: p. 322, no. 27; Boston 95.27: p. 325, no. 79; and Perugia: p. 320, no. 8. *Para*, p. 360, no. 93ter: New York, Bothmer. *Addenda*², p. 404, Malibu, Getty 84.AE.8 and Malibu, Getty, 79.AE.19 (Figures 31, 32); Oxford, private joins Louvre C 11342: *ARV*², p. 327, no. 97. *ARV*², p. 19, no. 1: Berlin 2281 and Vatican, added by D. Williams, “The Ilioupersis Cup in Berlin and the Vatican,” *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 18 (1976) pp. 9–23. Manner of Onesimos, Athens Acropolis 434: *ARV*², p. 330, no. 4. The other examples with the potter-signature of Euphronios are white-ground cups attributed to the Pistozenos Painter: Berlin 2282, Athens, Acropolis 439, and Taranto: *ARV*², pp. 858–859, nos. 1–3.

93. Louvre G 105, in red glaze on side B, *ARV*, p. 324, no. 60 “The first four letters of Ὀνήσιμος are now missing”; on the 19th-century history of the signature, p. 1645 (Bothmer). See Beazley, “Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens” in Kurtz, *Lectures*, pp. 54–55, on frequency of signing.

94. *Panaitios kalos* inscriptions, e.g., London E 44: *ARV*², p. 318, no. 2; Baltimore: *ARV*², p. 320, no. 10; Florence 3917: *ARV*², p. 320, 12; Berlin 3139: *ARV*², p. 321, no. 23; Boston 95.27: *ARV*², p. 325, no. 76.

95. See note 89 for signatures in the picture field and on cup feet. Berlin 2281 and Vatican (note 92), in the exergue; Athens, Acropolis 434 (note 89), in the zone; Cabinet des Médailles 526 (note 92), under a handle. Cf. the incised signatures of Hischylos under a cup handle (Figure 15).

96. Cf. Immerwahr, pp. 341, 345.

97. Onesimos was apparently Euphronios’ pupil; cf., e.g., Robertson, *History of Greek Art*, I, p. 228; the investigation of early Onesimos by D. Williams (see note 92); B. A. Sparkes, “Aspects of Onesimos,” in C. G. Boulter, ed., *Greek Art: Archaic into Classical* (Leiden, 1985) pp. 19, 20. This may play a role in their similar choice of letter forms. Both men, for example, alternate between the tailed and untailed rho.

98. MMA 12.231.2: *ARV*², p. 319, no. 6.

99. Cf. the very different painted potter-signature of Euphronios on Onesimos’ tondo of Boston 95.27: *ARV*², p. 325, no. 76; L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Oxford, 1954) II, pls. 41–42. Robert Guy has independently arrived at a similar conclusion about MMA 12.231.2 (Figure 30); he is certain the signature of Euphronios was applied by Euphronios. I extend my thanks to him for a lively discussion of signatures.

100. *ARV*², p. 318, no. 1, Louvre G104 and Florence PD 321.

101. Cf. Louvre Soklees plate (Figure 22), where an incised inscription better suits the style of painting (see text above). The fragment of a bilingual cup in the manner of Onesimos, Heidelberg 52: *ARV*², p. 330, no. 1, with a black-figure and coral-red exterior, I take to be representative of the pottery shop of Euphronios rather than of the style of Onesimos; W. Kraiker, *Die*

rotfigurigen attischen Vasen, Katalog der Sammlung antiker Kleinkunst des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg (Berlin, 1931; reprint Mainz, 1978) I, p. 18, no. 52 and pl. 9 (only the red-figured part). Cf. B. Cohen, “Observations on Coral-red,” *Marsyas* 15 (1970–71) p. 8.

102. *ARV*², pp. 318–319, no. 2.

103. See note 95. For Euphronios’ cup-handle signatures, see Bothmer, “Makron,” pp. 46–47.

104. For the ex-Hunt Sarpedon cup, its unusual technical details and relationship to Psiax, see M. Robertson, “Euphronios at the Getty,” *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 9 (1981) pp. 23–26, figs. 1, 3–4 (for palmettes in the tondo, see also Getty 77.AE.20, pp. 25–27); J. M. Cody in J. F. Tompkins, ed., *Wealth of the Ancient World, The Nelson Bunker Hunt and William Herbert Hunt Collections* (Fort Worth, 1983) pp. 55, 57; *Sotheby’s Catalogue, June 19, 1990* (New York, 1990) no. 6. For reserved inscriptions, see note 74 and Bothmer, “Euphronioskrater,” p. 510. For Psiax, see Mertens, “Psiax,” pp. 31–34, pls. 11–13; D. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi Patterns and Painters* (Oxford, 1975) pp. 9–10; Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 207–209, 277–287, pls. 38.3, 56, 57.1–2. I prefer to see Oltos as a contemporary shopmate of Euphronios rather than as a source-teacher. In this context see London E 41: *ARV*², pp. 58, 51, now attributed to Euphronios as an early work; Robertson, “Euphronios at the Getty,” p. 26 and n. 2; cf. Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 379–382.

105. For incision in hair borders, e.g., the calyx-kraters, see *Addenda*², p. 404: ex Hunt, see *Sotheby’s*, no. 5; MMA 72.11.10, see Bothmer, “Euphronioskrater,” pp. 485–512, figs. 12–13, 22–23, 26. J. Mertens, “A White-ground Cup by Euphronios,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 76 (1972) pp. 271–281. For fragment of Panathenaic amphora, Athens, Acr. 931, see *ABV*, p. 403; *ARV*², p. 18, and K. Peters, *Studien zu den panathenäischen Preisamphoren* (Berlin, 1942) p. 56. Cf. the incised painter-signature of Sikelos on a contemporary Panathenaic amphora, Naples 112848: *ABV*, p. 403 (bottom), no. 1; Hoppin, *Bf*, p. 325; Peters, pp. 47–48. See Bothmer, “Makron,” p. 46.

106. Euphronios’ presence in Kachrylion’s shop documented by Munich 2620, see note 89; see also Louvre C 11981: *ARV*², p. 17, no. 21; London E 41 (see note 104) is signed by Kachrylion, and the Sarpedon cup (note 104) must also have been made by this potter.

107. Tompkins, *Wealth*, p. 57; *Sotheby’s*, no. 6.

108. British Museum E 437: *ARV*², p. 54, no. 4; see Bothmer, “Makron,” pp. 46–47. For reserved handles, cf. Psiax’s cup, MMA 14.146.1: *ARV*², p. 8, no. 9, see Mertens, “Psiax,” pl. 12.1.

109. This handle signature was published somewhat incorrectly by M. Ohly-Dumm, “Medeas Widderzauber auf einer Schale aus der Werkstatt des Euphronios,” *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 9 (1981) p. 14, figs. 9–10, p. 17. (See note 111 below.)

110. Cf. Bothmer, “Makron,” p. 46.

111. Only the epsilon in Euphronios is not preserved. Ohly-Dumm believes only the letters ΦΠΟΝΙΟ to be preserved, somehow missing both the final sigma and the upsilon. In her fig. 9, moreover, the inscription has been illustrated upside down, obscuring the fact that the name is written retrograde.

112. Seki, “Euphronios and Python,” pp. 154–155; cf. Bothmer, “Makron,” p. 46.

113. Seki, "Euphronios and Python," p. 112; for little-master cups, see note 29.

114. *ARV*², p. 314, e.g., W. Klein, *Euphronios, Eine Studie zur Geschichte der griechischen Malerei* (Vienna, 1886) esp. p. 183, and cf. P. Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blütezeit des strengen rotfigurigen Stiles* (Berlin, 1893) pp. 95–153, 447–448, 485, 487–488, 531.

115. An exception is the Kleophrades Painter, who sometimes employs incision for hair borders, e.g., Tarquinia RC 4196: *ARV*², p. 185, no. 35; Arias and Hirmer, pls. 119–121; see note 124 below.

116. *ARV*², p. 459; e.g., Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen*, pp. 270–306; Furtwängler, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, II, pp. 129–131; cf. note 114 above.

117. Bothmer, "Makron," pp. 29–52. For Hieron and Makron, see also *ARV*², pp. 458–482, 1654–1655, 1706; *Para*, pp. 378–379; *Addenda*², p. 405.

118. Incised examples listed in *ARV*², p. 458, nos. 1, 2 (Boston 13.186, Louvre G 146); p. 459, nos. 3, 4 (London E 140, Berlin 2291); p. 460, nos. 11, 20 (Leningrad 649, Athens, Acropolis 325); p. 462, nos. 47, 48 (Munich 2654, Berlin 2290 and Villa Giulia); p. 463, no. 50 (Louvre G 145); p. 465, no. 84 (Louvre G 141); p. 467, no. 118 (MMA 20.246); p. 468, nos. 144–146 (Cambridge 12.27, London E 61, MMA 12.231.1); p. 469, nos. 148, 152 (Louvre G 143, Oxford 1966.498); p. 471, nos. 185, 195, 197, 198 (Lausanne private, Berlin 2292, Villa Giulia 916, Louvre G 142); p. 472, nos. 199, 207, 209 (Frankfurt, Univ., MMA 08.258.57, Louvre S 1318); p. 482, nos. 37, 38, 39 (Athens, Acropolis 326, Villa Giulia, Munich, part of 2648); p. 816 (bottom), no. 1 (Boston 95.28); p. 817, no. 2 (Boston 98.931); p. 1654, no. 206bis (now Bochum, Funcke, S 507); p. 1655, no. 37bis (Philadelphia market). There are two additions in Bothmer, "Makron," p. 33, no. 19A and pp. 37–38, no. 185A, and two unpublished examples in the Metropolitan Museum. R. Guy, in N. Leipen, *Glimpses of Excellence* (Toronto, 1984) p. 14, notes that a handle with an incised signature augments *ARV*², p. 469, no. 164 (Villa Giulia), and *ARV*², pp. 473, no. 220 (ex Florence 20B73), which belong together. One incised signature has been doubted—*ARV*², p. 462, no. 42 (Mississippi)—see CVA, Baltimore, Robinson, 3 [USA 7] pls. 4.1c [298.1c], 5.1 [299.1].

119. The exceptions are the incised signatures on two cups in Boston attributed to the Telephos Painter (*ARV*², p. 482, nos. 32–33, pp. 816–817, and notes 1, 2) and one in glaze on the foot of a kantharos attributed to the Amphitrite Painter (p. 482, no. 34; p. 832, no. 36 [Boston 98.932]). Some odd signed cup handles and a cup foot (*ARV*², p. 482, nos. 37–40, and *infra*) have not been joined to attributed vases. Fewer than half of Makron's cups and nine of his vases of other shapes are well enough preserved to determine whether they could have borne Hieron's handle-signature. Nevertheless, not even one-fifth of Makron's production appears to have been signed by the potter. Cf. Guy, *Glimpses*, who estimates that one-tenth of Makron's vases were signed by Hieron.

120. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.186: *ARV*², p. 458, no. 1; Athens, National Museum, Acr. 560: *ARV*², p. 479, no. 336.

121. Bothmer, "Makron," p. 52.

122. G 146: *ARV*², pp. 458–459, no. 2. Here the glaze has chipped, and letters are difficult to see.

123. Bothmer, "Makron," p. 47.

124. British Museum E 140: *ARV*², p. 459, no. 3. Cf. Berlin 2290: *ARV*², p. 462, no. 48, for a four-stroke sigma on a cup (Figure 36). Cf. the signatures on cups by the Telephos Painter (Figures 46, 47). On London E 140 there is a special use of incision for the grain in Makron's vase painting of Triptolemos; see C. H. Smith, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum* (London, 1896) III, pp. 137–138.

125. E.g., Athens, Acropolis 325: *ARV*², p. 460, no. 20; see S. Karouzou, "Zur Makron-Schale von der Akropolis," *AM* 98 (1983) pl. 22.3; Berlin 2290 (Figure 36): *ARV*², p. 462, no. 48; Louvre G 143: *ARV*², p. 469, no. 148; Louvre G 142: *ARV*² p. 471, no. 198, and *Para*, p. 378.

126. On Louvre S 1318 and London E 61: *ARV*², p. 472, no. 209, and p. 468, no. 145; the mistakes were not listed by Beazley.

127. MMA 20.246; see G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven, 1936) no. 53, p. 76; Berlin 2290, see Seki, pl. 22.1–3, and note 118 above. There is an error in the L. Hall drawing (Figure 44 here) of MMA 20.246; a rho has been substituted for the pi in *epoiesen*. Cf., for omission of the iota, incised signatures of Andokides (Figures 17, 19, 20).

128. See Bothmer, "Makron," p. 45. Cambridge GR.12–1927 (Figure 46): *ARV*², p. 468, no. 144.

129. Bothmer, "Makron," p. 27. For Brygos, the Brygos Painter and his followers, see *ARV*², pp. 368–424, 1649–1652; *Para*, p. 367.

130. E.g., on Berlin 2291, MMA 20.246, and MMA 12.231, see note 118 above.

131. E.g., Munich 2655, see *ARV*², p. 471, no. 196; Munich 2656: *ARV*², p. 471, no. 186; Athens, Acropolis 560, see note 120. On punctuation, see Jeffery, p. 67; in the sixth century two dots are rarer than three. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971) p. 9: "Such a division is still found occasionally in inscriptions of v and iv b.c. But by this time the letters are more often written in continuous blocks (*scriptio continua*), and it has become the reader's business to divide them correctly into words."

132. Ashmolean Museum 1929.175: *ARV*², p. 480, no. 337. See Beazley, "Aryballos," p. 192.

133. Seki, "Euphronios and Python," p. 155; cf. Bloesch, *FAS*, pp. 91, 93, 95.

134. Cf. Bothmer, "Makron," p. 46.

135. See note 129. None of the names of the cup painters is preserved. See also *ARFV*, pp. 135–137.

136. Bothmer, "Makron," p. 47.

137. Cf. Immerwahr, pp. 341, 345, and *passim*. For a recent attempt to estimate the size of Attic workshops, see I. Scheibler, "Zur mutmasslichen Grösse attischer Töpfereien des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," in Brijder, *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, pp. 130–34.

138. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1911.615; see *ARV*², p. 399 (bottom), and *Addenda*², p. 230.

139. Bothmer, "Makron," p. 47.

140. MMA 95.28, 98.931; see note 119. See Beazley, "Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens," in Kurtz, *Lectures*, p. 56. On the

Telephos Painter, see also L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1963) pt. 3, p. 54; *ARFV*, pp. 179–180, 195–196, figs. 378–381; C. Schettino Nobile, “Il Pittore di Telefo,” *Studi Miscellanei, Seminario di Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte Greca e Romana dell’Università di Roma* 14 (1968–69) pp. 1–80.

141. I would like to thank Henry R. Immerwahr for calling the difference in handwriting to my attention. See also Immerwahr, p. 343 n. 14. Both of these inscriptions have tailed rhos and four-stroke sigmas.

142. In the case of Acropolis 326, the interpoints are not shown in Graef-Langlotz, II, p. 29, but are recorded by Beazley, *ARV²*, p. 482, no. 37; for Cabinet des Médailles 558, see no. 36 and Hoppin, *Rf*, II, p. 70. In addition to the above two examples of punctuation, a single interpoint in the Hieron handle-signature on Louvre G 153, which is written in red glaze, divides name and verb; see *ARV²*, p. 460, no. 14.

143. Cf. Bothmer, “Makron,” p. 147.

144. Black-figure continued even beyond the fifth century B.C. as the traditional technique of Panathenaic amphorae, which were commissioned from specific workshops, see *Dev²*, pp. 86–92. See also K. Peters, *Studien zu den panathenäischen Preisamphoren* (Berlin, 1942), and *ABFV*, p. 170.

145. A. Fairbanks, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928) I, pp. 146, 184; the inscription is encrusted. Hoppin, *Bf*, p. 20. Cf. M. I. Maximova, trans. M. Carsow, *Les Vases Plastiques dans l’Antiquité* (Paris, 1927) I, pp. 93, 198; II, pl. 26, no. 99. See note 35. Raubitschek, “Early Boeotian Potters,” pp. 155–156, 162 (“Pride in his skill as a potter must have been one of the reasons for the makers of vases to add their signatures”). On other Boeotian vases signatures were not placed so cautiously; cf. pls. 44, 45, 51. On early Greek sculpture inscriptions were often written directly on the figure, e.g., the bronze statuette dedicated by Mantiklos and marble korai dedicated by Nikandre and Cherymyes; see J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture, The Archaic Period* (London, 1978) nos. 10, 71, 87, and cf. Guarducci, III, p. 399, and Guarducci (1987) pp. 46–47, 49–51.

146. See Mertens, “Thoughts,” p. 430. Significantly, the red-figured vases signed by Epiktetos and Myson as both potter and painter were dedications on the Athenian Acropolis: Athens, Acropolis 6 and 806; *ARV²*, p. 78, no. 102, p. 240, no. 42; Graef-Langlotz, pls. 2, 72.

147. In *ARV²* Beazley classed head-vases, p. 1529, “according to the plastic part.” For application of slips and minimal decoration on early examples, cf. Mertens, *AWG*, pp. 147–150. For the technique of manufacture, see Noble, pp. 28–30, and “Pottery Manufacture,” in C. Roebuck, ed., *The Muses at Work, Arts, Crafts, and Professions in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969) p. 131.

148. Cf. Sotades (Figures 60–63), and see text below. For a signature in glaze, Figure 58; for other potter-signatures in glaze, e.g., *ARV²*, p. 1535, no. 25, Rhodes 12913 (on the handle, in white) and p. 1539, no. 6 (on the neck of the head, in red).

149. Hoppin, *Bf*, pp. 318–319; J. D. Beazley, “Charinos,” *JHS* 49 (1929), p. 4; *ARV²*, p. 1533; *ABV*, p. 350; *Addenda²*, p. 95; see also U. Gehrig, A. Greifenhagen, N. Kunish, *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung* (Berlin, 1968) p. 122, pl. 88.

150. Cf. white-whites of the large eyes on some black-figured eye-cups, e.g., Moon, *Greek Vase Painting*, p. 102, no. 59. J. Jordan, “Attic Black-figured Eye-cups” (PhD. diss., New York University, 1988) pp. 164–220, pls. 62–87.

151. In *ABV*, p. 350, it is called “woman’s-maenad’s-head,” but cf. *ARV²*, p. 1533.

152. See note 67; Bothmer, “Andokides,” p. 209, fig. 1.

153. Beazley, “Charinos,” p. 38.

154. *ARV²*, pp. 1531–1532; *Para*, p. 502; *Addenda²*, pp. 402–403. See I. Jenkins and D. Williams, “Sprang Hair Nets: Their Manufacture and Use in Ancient Greece,” *AJA* 89 (1985) pp. 411–418, pls. 44–46; they favor an association with hetairai.

155. Oxford 1966.981: see note 154; J. D. Beazley, “Some Inscriptions on Vases: VII,” *AJA* 61 (1957) p. 5, vi. No signature is recorded for the unpublished Palermo fragment; see *ARV²*, p. 1531, no. 5.

156. Mertens, *AWG*, p. 148. Webster, p. 19, associates Charinos with two craftsmen of central interest here, Psiax and Euthymides, on the basis of their use of a black checker pattern.

157. 6845: *ARV²*, p. 1531, no. 2; Hoppin, *Bf*, pp. 66–67; E. Reisch, “Vasen in Corneto,” *RM* 4 (1890) pp. 314–315; Arias and Hirmer, p. 335, pl. 32; Mertens, p. 66. Cf. Proklees, Figures 57, 58.

158. Beazley, “Charinos,” p. 44, Acropolis Korai 682, 674. Boardman, *Archaic*, nos. 151, 158. For representation of Aphrodite as a head or bust, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae LIMC* (Zurich / Munich, 1984) II, p. 108, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias). And see note 154.

159. Noble, pp. 14, 137, figs. 102–103 (illustrated on an amphora).

160. R. Guy, “A Ram’s Head Rhyton Signed by Charinos,” *Arts in Virginia* 21 (1981) p. 2. For the archaic Attic alphabet, see Jeffery, pp. 66–67; chart of chronological changes in E. S. Roberts, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy* (Cambridge, 1887) pp. 106–107.

161. See Hoppin, *Bf*, p. 73; *CVA*, Tarquinia 2 [Italy 26], pl. 42 [1191].3 and p. 12, fig. 2; and L. Campus, *Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia II, Ceramica Attica a Figure Nere, piccoli vasi e vasi plastici* (Rome, 1981) p. 102, pl. 88; the handle was broken and repaired in antiquity, the repair partly obscuring some of the letters.

162. Berlin 686: *ARV²*, p. 1531, no. 4; Gehrig, *Führer*, p. 123; A. Greifenhagen, *Antike Kunstwerke* (Berlin, 1966) p. 22.

163. *Addenda²*, pp. 403; technique and Archaic letter forms of the inscription not given. Guy, “Ram’s Head,” p. 2, fig. 1. The handle is not preserved. I would like to thank Herbert A. Cahn for allowing me to publish additional fragments of his head-vase.

164. Gehrig, *Führer*, p. 123; Greifenhagen, *Antike Kunstwerke*, p. 22.

165. British Museum B 631; oinochoe of shape I: *ABV*, p. 423; *ARV²*, p. 1532. My thanks go to Andrew Clark for allowing me to use his notes and photographs of this vase and his tracing of the inscriptions; see his forthcoming Ph.D. diss. New York University, “Attic Black-figured Oinochoai.” Hoppin, *Bf*, pp. 68–69; the signature is not, as Hoppin says, “incised.”

166. Mertens, *AWG*, pp. 65–66.

167. The only difference here is the use of punctuation—two interpoints between name and verb—which was more old-fashioned and perhaps better suited the “black-figure” context. See note 131.

168. Mertens, *AWG*, p. 66.

169. See Guy, “Ram’s Head,” pp. 2–15; H. Hoffmann, “Rhyta and Kantharoi in Greek Ritual,” *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 4 (Malibu, 1989) p. 148, figs. 17a–b. See also H. Hoffmann, *Attic Red-figured Rhyta* (Mainz, 1962) pp. 7–10, 16, 19–20, 31, 33, 36, 41, 45–46, pls. I.1–2, II.1–2, V.3–4, and VI–VIII; K. Tuchelt, *Tiergefäße in Kopf- und Protomengestalt* (Berlin, 1962) pp. 136–143. On different types of plastic vases, see Kanowski, *Containers*, pp. 130–134.

170. Guy, “Ram’s Head,” p. 12 n. 9; for attribution, see M. Ohly-Dumm, “Medeas Widderzauber,” pp. 2, 9–12. *ARV*², pp. 360–367, 1648; *Para*, pp. 364–365; *Addenda*², pp. 222–223; *ARFV*, pp. 139–140, figs. 302–307.

171. Guy, “Ram’s Head,” p. 13 n. 16.

172. For the Triptolemos Painter’s “Kekrops,” see Guy, “Ram’s Head,” p. 9; cf. also the tailed rhos in his Douris painter-signature on Berlin 2286 (*ARV*², p. 365, no. 59). Lang, “Writing and Spelling,” p. 79, on the idiosyncratic use of the tailed rho. *Me* inserted between *Charinos* and *epoiesen* did not appear in the earlier signatures but seems appropriate for this; *Tiergefäß*; cf. note 26 above.

173. Mertens, *AWG*, p. 145. On Sotades’ use of coral-red glaze, see Cohen, “Coral-red,” p. 11; *ARV*², pp. 772–773; *Para*, p. 416. No extant link connects Sotades’ incised signatures with the Archaic phenomenon. Webster, p. 20, places him as a latecomer to Brygos’ shop.

174. In general, J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases, the Classical Period* (London, 1989) pp. 39–40. See also F. Brommer, “Themenwahl aus örtlichen Gründen,” in Brijder, *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, p. 180, and M. Pfrommer, *Studien zu alexandrinischer und grossgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1987) p. 44 n. 54. For other vases attributed to the Sotades workshop, but not signed, see *ARV*², pp. 763–773; *Para*, p. 415.

175. C. C. Vermeule, *The Art of the Greek World: Prehistoric through Perikles* (Boston, 1982) pp. 183–184.

176. Kantharos: once Goluchow, Czartoryski, 76; *ARV*², p. 764, no. 7, p. 772, γ; white-ground cups, London D 6, D 5; *ARV*², p. 762, nos. 1–2, p. 772, α, β.

177. M. Robertson, *Greek Painting* (Geneva, 1959) p. 133; cf. Williams, *BMV*, p. 48.

178. *ARV*², p. 772, δ, ε; on Boston 98.886 only the letters ΣΟ and Ε of the signature are preserved. On the shape, Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names*, pp. 29–30. H. Luschey, *Die Phiale* (Bleicherode am Harz, 1939) pp. 108–109, 147–148, 153–154. G. Lippold, “Der Plaste Sotades,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3 (1952) pp. 92–93. Cf. silver and parcel gilt Greek bowls and phialai, sixth to third century B.C., in the MMA, D. von Bothmer, *A Greek and Roman Treasury* (New York, 1984), pp. 21, 26–28, 47–48, 50, 54. Also H. Hoffman, “The cicada on the *omphalos*: an iconological excursion,” *Antiquity* 62 (1988) pp. 744–745, earlier bibliography p. 749.

179. Hoffman, *ibid.*, pp. 746–748, on the meaning and wear-

ing of gold cicadas in fifth-century B.C. Athens; see also M. Davies, J. Kathirithamby, *Greek Insects* (Oxford, 1986) esp. pp. 114, 124, 128; and P. F. Davidson, A. Oliver, Jr., *Ancient Greek and Roman Gold Jewelry in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1984) pp. 13–14, see no. 4.

180. Cohen, “Coral-red,” p. 12; Mertens, *AWG*, pp. 145–146.

181. Cf. D. W. J. Gill, “Classical Greek Fictile Imitations of Precious Metal Vases,” in M. Vickers, ed., *Pots and Pans, A Colloquium on Precious Metals and Ceramics in the Muslim, Chinese and Graeco-Roman Worlds* (Oxford, 1985) pp. 12, 17, figs. 11–12, and cf. the placement of an owner’s monogram on the lip of the phiale, MMA 69.11.11: Bothmer, *Treasury*, p. 28, no. 30. Cf. also Vickers (see note 5 above).

182. Summary discussion by A. G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions* (Cambridge, Eng., 1981) pp. 29–33, 89, as well as R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions* (London, 1938). The Sotades signature on the white-ground cup, British Museum D 6 (see note 176), is written in the zone below the tondo in two horizontal lines; see Hoppin, *Rf*, p. 430.

183. *ARV*², p. 772, ζ. An eta is also substituted for the epsilon in Sotades on Boston 21.2286 (Figures 62, 63; *ARV*², pp. 772–773, ζ). On the omega, see Robertson, “‘Epoiesen’ on Greek Vases,” p. 182 n. 15; for encroachment of Ionic forms in fifth-century Athens, see Lang, “Writing and Spelling,” pp. 76–78; Woodhead, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 21–23. For insertion of an eta into an artist’s signature, a round statue base from the Athenian Acropolis: Raubitschek, *Dedications*, pp. 186–187, no. 166.

184. For writing in two lines, cf. ostrakon of Perikles (Figure 2, notes 13, 14). Cf. signatures of the Classical gem engraver Dexamenos, J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (London, 1970) pp. 287–288, figs. 466, 468; Guarducci, III, pp. 519–520 and Guarducci (1987), p. 438; Dexamenos’ letters conform to the Ionic alphabet of Chios. See also stoichedon-style inscriptions on Attic white-ground lekythoi, e.g., by the Achilles Painter, or the mimicking of inscriptions on stone monuments on vases by the Inscription Painter, Boardman, *ARFV Classical*, figs. 262–263, 257, p. 130.

185. Brauron 709 (inscription), other fragments include 707–708; forthcoming publication by Lily Kahil. For the other plastic vases, see notes 173, 178, 183; for Louvre CA 1526, see *ARV*², 772, and CA 3825, see *Para*, p. 416, and L. Kahil, “Un Nouveau Vase Plastique du Potier Sotadès au Musée du Louvre,” *Revue Archéologique* (1972) pp. 271–284.

186. Cf. the kneeling boy vase of ca. 540–530 B.C. from the Athenian Agora, which has no base and is nonmonumental in aspect, *The Agora of Athens, Agora* 14 (Princeton, 1972) pl. 93. Cf. also low bases of monumental Classical sculpture, Raubitschek, *Dedications*, chap. 2, esp. pp. 61, 153–154, no. 137.

187. J. Charbonneaux, *Les Terres-cuites Grecques* (Paris, 1936) p. 13; D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford, 1957) p. 222; Vermeule, *Art of the Greek World*, p. 183. The red-figure painting on Boston 21.2286 is not by the Sotades Painter (*ARV*², p. 773).

188. Robertson, “‘Epoiesen’ on Greek Vases,” p. 182 (as in note 6 above).

189. On the bell krater, London, British Museum F 149; for the signature, see Hoppin, *Bf*, pp. 452–453. The technique of

inscriptions is not discussed by Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily* (London, 1989). For white inscriptions on fifth-century Attic vases, see Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, p. 252. Incision also was employed occasionally on South Italian pottery, along with white for drawing on the black glazed ground; e.g., on the reverse of an Apulian Gnathia calyx-krater, depicting a satyr and probably a maenad, in the MMA, 10.210.17b-d. See M. Mayo, ed., *The Art of South Italy, Vases from Magna Graecia* (Richmond, 1982) pp. 252, 261, no. 119, and J. R. Green, "Some Gnathia Pottery in the J. Paul Getty Museum," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3 (Malibu, 1986) pp. 115-116, fig. 2.

190. MMA 24.97.104. Mayo, *The Art of South Italy*, pp. 82-83, no. 13; on inscriptions, see pp. 20-21.

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