V POTTERS, PAINTERS, AND CLIENTS

Clay is a versatile material with remarkable properties and serves a multitude of purposes. The Greeks shaped and fired clay for statues and figurines, for architectural elements such as metopes and akroteria, for drain pipes, beehives, lamps, and so forth. The major output was pottery, produced in great numbers by different methods (wheel-made, handmade, moulded) and in various categories (coarse, plain, decorated).[1] It was a basic commodity that had many functions – for cooking, drinking, libation, storage, transport, and as offerings to the gods and to the dead. Over the centuries, painted pottery played a large and practical, if unsung, part in the lives of Greeks; it has been estimated that the hundreds of thousands of pots and fragments that are now extant comprise less than one per cent of the pottery produced. Current research into Greek ceramics is strong, and conferences, both national and international, over the past generation, mostly centring on Attic pottery, show how essential the study of pottery is for all aspects of the classical world and how it furnishes wide avenues for investigation. The contents of the published proceedings of the conferences show the main trends.[2] Work on the traditional elements such as techniques, shaping, and painting, and iconography – that is, the initial stages of production – still continues, but there is now much more interest in functions, markets, find-spots, customers, reception, and the like, with complex pie charts, histograms, maps, and statistics, – that is, enquiries into the pottery once it had left the workshop (see Figure 4). This chapter deals with the manufacture of the pots, the shapes fashioned, the painting, and the contexts of use, with a little about the business elements; it also looks at the subject of attribution. The final chapter is mainly concerned with the variety of images and scenes that the pots carry. The chapters cannot be exclusive nor all-encompassing; they can highlight only various aspects. The emphasis,

[1] See Rasmussen and Spivey 1991; Sparkes 1991 and 1996; Scheibler 1995; R. M. Cook 1997; Crielaard, Stissi, and van Wijngaarden 1999; Boardman 2001b; Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002; Mannack 2002; Oakley 2009b.

[2] The subjects discussed at recent conferences (followed shortly after by the publication of the proceedings) have covered such topics as Athenian potters and painters, functions and use, destinations, cultural context, clients, special techniques, shapes and uses, and hermeneutics.

as in the conference proceedings mentioned above, falls on Attic pottery of the Archaic and Classical centuries, because it affords the fullest evidence.

The modern trend is to move away from an art historical treatment of painted pottery – 'vases' have become 'pots', to be studied as archaeological objects alongside the other material remains. There is, indeed, a broad sweep in the output of Greek painted pottery from run-of-the-mill goods to quality products; at one end of the spectrum the term 'art' can hardly be applied to the objects, but at the other it is difficult to deny the term to the well-crafted shapes, even in a climate where it is questioned whether 'art' is a valid term to use of Greek 'material culture' at all.

Working conditions

Potters and vase-painters worked hard in the adverse conditions of heat, smoke, and dust.[3] It is difficult to believe that a man would choose such an occupation if the option were available to him; vase inscriptions show that sons followed fathers into the business. Many small-scale craftsmen would work at making pots in the winter months and turn to other work for the rest of the year, cultivating their small holding, if they were fortunate enough to have one. However, centres such as Athens and Corinth were from time to time likely to have provided a year-long occupation, and some workshops employed a large number of craftsmen. The complexity of the larger businesses should not be underestimated, as trade in pottery, particularly exports, was at times extensive. The names of potters that have been connected with inscriptions on the Acropolis that mention costly dedications suggest that some of these businesses in Athens were very profitable.[4] It is unlikely, however, that potters were highly regarded; their social standing was low. The notion that some potters hobnobbed with the richer elements of society is difficult to countenance, despite the incidence of names of potters and painters in the scenes of symposia on Late Archaic Attic vases.[5] The vase-painter Euphronios names Smikros, a fellow vase-painter, as a symposiast on one of his vases; on others, Smikros names Euphronios as a lover of Leagros, who was a

[3] See Noble 1988; Schreiber 1999; Cuomo di Caprio 2007; Hadjidimitriou 2005: ch. 1.
[4] Wagner 2000; Keesling 2003: 71–4.
[5] In favour of this elite association, see Neer 2002: ch. 3.

rich Athenian; and Phintias names a music student Euthymides (both were vase-painters) – by linking each other to symposia, homosexuality, and music, these craftsmen were giving the impression that they took part in the easy-going preoccupations of the elite of Athenian society. Jesting and wish-fulfilment seem likelier explanations than actual association with the elite, but a recent suggestion keeps the discussion buoyant: on the evidence of a vase inscription, the real name of the painter whom we call the Kleophrades Painter may have been Megakles, a name belonging to a high-placed Athenian family.[6]

Excavations continue to uncover the sites where pottery shops were located and give partial ideas of the workplace.[7] Some sites furnish evidence of kilns; others are identified by the presence of wasters, unfinished pots, and test pieces. Papadopoulos' important work on the early waste material from the Athenian Agora has shown that the site was the location of an extensive pottery before it became the civic centre – it was the 'original Kerameikos'.[8] Figure 29 is an illustration of a modern traditional pottery in Crete and contains the elements that were vital in the ancient potteries – courtyard, covered workroom, settling tanks, storeroom, kiln, and so forth. Scientific examination of the fabrics continues to contribute towards an understanding of the processes used. Besides the finds from excavations and the results from scientific analysis and experimental work,[9] there is other evidence that helps to build up the picture of potteries at work. Texts are negligible, but there are images of men on pots and votive plaques where they are engaged in the stages of production, such as extracting clay, fashioning pots on the wheel, painting, and firing pots in the kilns.[10]

Being in business, potters and painters, like other craftsmen, could take their skills elsewhere in search of work – either to a nearby rival or across the Mediterranean. The phrase 'immigrants or imports' neatly encapsulates the difficulty often faced by researchers studying material at sites away from the original centre of production. Combination of the scrutiny of style, clay, and inscriptions shows that potters and painters were often on the move: for example, Euboeans to Ischia and Etruria, Corinthians to Athens, Athenians to Boeotia and South Italy;

[6] Williams 1997; Kreuzer 2009.
[7] Oakley 1992; Blondé and Perrault 1992; Monaco 2000.
[8] Papadopoulos 2003 and 2009.
[9] Jones 1986; and see Aloupi-Siotis 2008 and Kahn and Wissinger 2008 (both in Lapatin 2008).
[10] Hadjidimitriou 2005; Williams 2009. A monograph on the important Penteskouphia plaques is forthcoming.

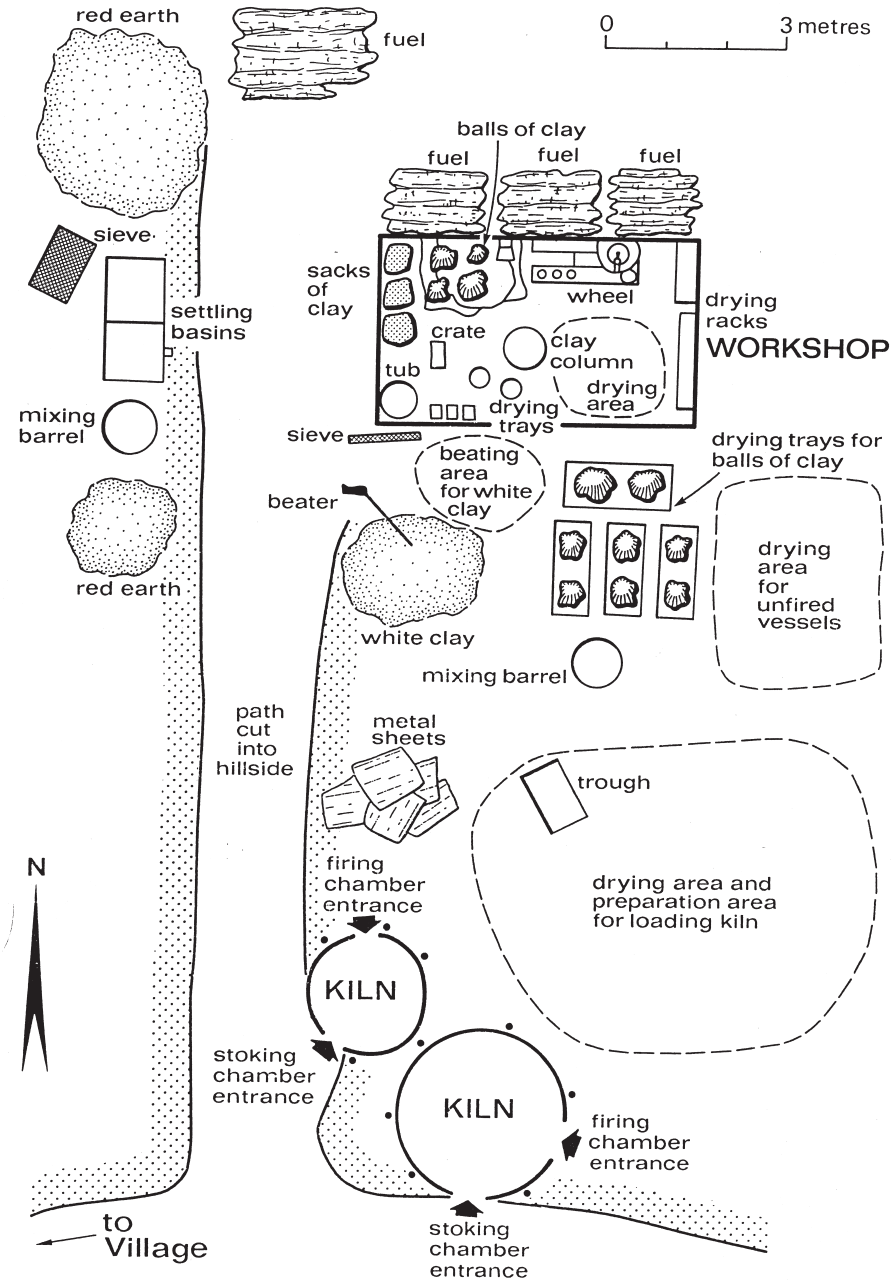

Figure 29 A modern traditional pottery workshop.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383510000744 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and in the sixth century there was a major emigration of craftsmen from the eastern areas of Greece to Etruria, likely to have been caused by political events back home. The inscriptions on the pots that furnish names of craftsmen include names that show that a proportion of the work force in Athens, particularly in the sixth century, was non-Greek and probably slave labourers (e.g. the painters Lydos [he signs as 'the Lydian'] and Skythes, and the potter Kolchos).

The work that went into shaping a pot on the wheel – throwing and turning, trimming and adding handles, feet, neck, and so forth – has been well studied by professional potters such as Toni Schreiber.[11] The kick-wheel was not used: the images always show young apprentices turning the wheel for the potter. The paint itself was a refined liquid clay slip that became black under the firing processes. Apart from the simple application of gloss that characterizes Geometric pottery and some later products, black-figure with its incision and added colours was the longest-lasting technique and the most widespread; red-figure was much more difficult, and it is mainly in Athens that the more sophisticated detailing, such as dilute and relief lines, was added to the flush black. The theory that the relief lines were created by applying animal hairs to the surface of the pots has still not won universal approval. Close study shows that some painters sketched out their proposed designs with a stick before applying the paint; this is most obvious when the painter changed his design for the finished version.[12] An ochre wash was sometimes added to enhance the colour, and the surface was burnished with a stone, wood, or leather to produce the final effect. Attention has recently turned to the more unusual techniques in Attic pottery.[13] The special slip that was applied to produce a coral red colour alongside the black (e.g. Figure 30, right) and is found from the mid-sixth to the mid-fifth century BC, is still giving scientific researchers a difficult puzzle to decipher. By the beginning of the fifth century, Athenian painters had adopted a white slip as the reserved background to some shapes (mainly cups [e.g. Figure 30, left] and *lēkythoi* [Figure 31]) with the image painted on top in black-figure, outline, or later polychrome. Another technique that set Athenian work apart from most of the other centres was the Six technique (named after the Dutch scholar Jan Six), by which whole figures are painted white over the black background, with inner details

[11] Schreiber 1999.
[12] Boss 1997: 345–51.
[13] Cohen 2006 and Lapatin 2008.

Figure 30 Mother and child and girl spinning a top on Attic white-ground and coral-red stemless cups, both related to the Sotades Painter, the coral-red cup signed by Hegesiboulos as potter, *c.*470–460 BC. Diameter of bowls 12.9 cm and 14 cm respectively.

incised. A prime example of the wide variety of decoration that some pots carried is the squat *lēkythos* signed by the potter 'Xenophantos the Athenian' (Figure 32). It combines red-figure painting and figures in raised relief, together with gold leaf and a range of colours from pink to lilac and brown to green, applied after firing.

Once shaped and painted, the pottery was left outside to dry before being fired. The updraft kilns – made of mud, clay, and stones – were usually circular and built about three metres high, with a stoking tunnel and combustion chamber below and a vaulted stacking chamber above. The three-stage firing (oxidation turns both clay and paint red; reduction turns both clay and paint black; but with re-oxidation the unpainted areas turn red again, while the painted surface remains black) would take days to complete and needed precision that grew from experience. The moment of truth came when the kiln was opened, and the instances of mistakes that can be seen on some pots show what a tricky business it was – the slip might have been too dilute and failed to fire black; the temperature in the kiln could have been uneven, giving a mottled aspect; cracks, bubbles, and dents can also appear on the surface of the pots. Even the ancient repairs indicated by lead rivets may have been needed in the pottery, though some breakages are likely to have been made at a later stage in the life of the pots.

Figure 31 A visit to the grave on an Attic white-ground *lēkythos*, attributed to the Achilles Painter, *c.*440 BC. Height 37.1–37.4 cm.

Functions and shapes

To try to understand the uses of painted pottery and therefore for whom the potters and painters were providing their wares, the subject can be approached from a number of different directions, always keeping in mind that painted pottery was only one element in ceramic production.[14] The main approaches to the study of shapes are: names, images, and shapes, whether in or out of context; it is contexts that receive most emphasis in modern studies.

Names. In our everyday naming of modern items such as bowls, cups, dishes, jugs, we make no claim to precision, and it is obvious that in classical times speakers and writers were similarly vague and

[14] For shapes, see Sparkes 1991: 60–92; R. M. Cook 1997: 207–29 and 252–3; Boardman 2001b: 244–68; Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002: 62–151; Mannack 2002: 37–44 and 179. For form in relation to function, see Stissi 2009.

Figure 32 Persians hunting on an Attic relief squat *lēkythos*, signed by Xenophantos as potter, found at Dubrux near Kerch, Crimea, *c.*390–380 BC. Height 38 cm.

inconsistent. The names that have become conventional in the study of Greek pottery are a mixture of ancient and modern terms. As might be expected, early modern scholars approached the problem of naming ceramic shapes from the direction of the ancient Greek language and literature, and the equation was haphazard and often incorrect. Today, the drawback is that it is impossible to break free from the unsound nomenclature adopted. Vase names occurred in all varieties of literary texts (epic, lyric, dramatic, historical, oratorical), at different levels (poetic, colloquial, technical), at assorted times, and in diverse dialects, and in most cases we cannot tell whether the words had a precise or general application, nor indeed whether they were used in reference to clay shapes or not. Perhaps best known are Pindar's typically high-flown reference to Panathenaic prize amphorae (e.g. Figure 33) in a Nemean ode to a winner from Argos – 'and in earth baked by fire the fruit of the olive came to Hera's brave people in the richly decorated walls of pots' (*Nem.* 10.33–5, *c.*464 BC) – and

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383510000744 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Figure 33 Victory at boxing on an Attic Panathenaic prize amphora, signed by Nikodemos as potter, 363–362 BC. Height (with lid) 89.5 cm.

Aristophanes' joke (*Eccl.* 996, 391 BC) about 'the one who decorates oil flasks for the dead (e.g. Figure 31)'. Athenaios, in compiling his *Deipnosophistai* (*Sages at Dinner*) in the second century AD, devoted many pages (Book 11) to an alphabetical list of over a hundred vase names connected with drinking, mainly taken from Attic comedy, and it is obvious that some names that he lists had contradictory meanings – his quotations referring to the word *pelikē* show that it was used in reference to a cup, a jug, and a Panathenaic amphora (11.495a). We now apply the name to a type of amphora, but with no real justification. Indeed, our common use of the word 'amphora' is suspect – it is not found applied to many of the shapes to which we give the name. This lack of precision is also encountered in studying the names that are painted or scratched on the pots themselves. Sometimes the words denote objects depicted in the scene or name the vases on which the words are written, usually indicating ownership. We are used to calling the small round oil-bottle an *aryballos*, but this word was never given

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383510000744 Published online by Cambridge University Press

to the shape we designate as such; it is painted and named *olpē* on an oil-bottle made in Corinth (Figure 50) and *lēkythos* on another made in Athens.[15] A detailed Greek lexicon of vase names is being compiled that separates the many variations in usage.[16]

Images. The scenes painted on pottery give evidence of the contexts in which the different shapes, plain and painted, were used. A subject that provides good evidence is the symposion, where the various shapes of cup, mixing bowl, jug, and so on are handled. Also helpful are the images of festivals with libation bowls, the contests at which prize cauldrons stand by, the gymnasia where oil-bottles for the rub-down are on hand, the weddings at which appropriate gifts and the distinctive paraphernalia for ritual bathing are in evidence, the women's scenes with their trinket and powder boxes and perfume pots, the visits to the graveside where oil containers are set by the tomb. There are naturally overlaps in the appearance of shapes in different contexts, as the vases served a number of secondary uses (such as amphorae being used as ash urns) or misuses.[17] In some instances, the painter makes plain that the vases are figured, but it is rarely clear whether the painter intended his shapes to be understood as clay or metal.[18]

Shapes in context

The find-spots from which painted pots have been unearthed also give clues to their use, whether in its primary or secondary location, and whether near to the place of manufacture or far away at the ends of the Mediterranean and beyond. There are four major areas: households, public places, sanctuaries, cemeteries.

(a) Households. The evidence for painted pottery in private houses is particularly slight and raises the question of how widespread it may have been in domestic contexts. Much the commonest vessels found *in situ* are cooking and coarse wares, together with plain, banded, and black-painted pottery. Of the decorated shapes, those connected with drinking, especially the mixing bowls, are the most prominent. The excavations of the 1930s at the town of Olynthos in Chalkidiki,

[15] See Nevett 1999: 41–3 with a useful grid of modern v. ancient names. For the Corinthian *aryballos*, see Amyx 1988: Inscr. 17. Modern terminology treats the *olpē* as a jug.

[16] Radici Colace 1992– and the associated website, http://ww2.unime.it/lexiconvasorum graecorum/; the lexicon gives variants, form and function, material, areas in which used, etc. See also Sparkes 1991: 62–5. For the pot names scratched on the undersides of shapes for export, see Johnston 2006: 19.

[17] Mitchell 2009.

[18] Venit 2006.

destroyed by Philip of Macedon in 348 BC, have provided us with a useful conspectus of painted pottery in domestic contexts, though other sites supply their own proportion of evidence.[19] A deposit dating to the Late Archaic period was excavated to the north of the Athenian Agora (J 2:4). It furnished an assemblage of black- and red-figure pottery that the excavators consider to represent material from a single household. If this is indeed discard from a domestic source, it provides a useful conspectus of the types of painted pottery that a house-owner might buy and use. Besides the coarse wares and black pots, there is a good spread of decorated shapes, mainly cups with scenes of partying.[20] By contrast, the shapes from the life of women, such as perfume pots and wedding vases, feature little among any excavated remains from houses; they are likely to have been buried alongside the wife or daughter.

(b) Public places. In the public areas of a settlement the evidence is much more complex – wells and cisterns have revealed the rubbish from businesses, shops, and potteries, but few have given any clue to their original location. The rescue excavations carried out in Athens prior to the construction of the new Metro uncovered a useful cross-section of the debris from the life of everyday Athenians (some on view in the Metro stations), and the exhibition catalogue presents a broad spread of material from different contexts: sewers, ditches, wells, cemeteries, and so on.[21] By contrast, what might be derived from a close study of a single context is shown by the detailed investigation that Rotroff and Oakley made into a deposit on the west side of the Athenian Agora (H 4:5) where the debris came from a nearby dining place used by city officials.[22] The authors suggested that, given the presence of officially labelled containers, the large number of red-figure mixing bowls may have been gifts from individual magistrates; they certainly underlined the primacy of wine in their discussions.

(c) Sanctuaries. Demand for religious offerings must have kept the potteries very busy. There were many reasons for worshippers to take pottery to a sanctuary. They may have been participating in a ceremony at festival time, acting as officials in charge of the dedications or of the paraphernalia necessary for the libation and the feast to follow, or

[19] On various contexts, see Sparkes 1996: 64–89. On households, see Nevett 1999, esp. 41–50; Pritchard 1999: 13–21; Rotroff 1999; Steiner 2007: 232–3 and 236–45.

[20] Camp 1996: 242–52. Lynch writes of the deposit in Camp and Mauzy 2009 and illustrates some of the black- and red-figure pottery in colour.

[21] Parlama and Stampolides 2001.

[22] Rotroff and Oakley 1992.

perhaps they were wayfarers visiting an out-of-town site to leave an offering, whether a miniature gift or a large donation (what has been termed 'give-and-go'). As most offerings were intended to remain *in situ* – indeed, many were specially made for dedication – the passage of the years saw a build-up of detritus, whether the material was of top quality or commonplace, until time took its toll, and excavators have to decide on the various reasons for the presence of the broken fragments.

(d) Cemeteries. By far the largest amount of painted pottery has been excavated from graves in different areas of the Greek world and beyond. Few vases (such as the Geometric amphorae and kraters, Attic white-ground *lēkythoi* [Figure 31], and Apulian kraters and the like [Figure 49]), were made specially for the cemetery. Some offerings deposited in the grave at the time of burial often show signs of use and repair, indicating that they had been used in life (perhaps by the dead themselves); other vases look in mint condition, as if bought for the occasion.

Attribution

For most of the twentieth century, the study of Greek, particularly Attic, painted pottery had the primary aim of discovering the identity of individual painters. The influence of J. D. Beazley (1885–1970) on this approach was overriding and is still strong.[23] He was not the first to treat the subject in this way, but he revolutionized the study and organized the whole field of Attic black-figure and red-figure pottery. Though it is generally felt that the approach is now outmoded, many scholars choose to advance along a similar path. Beazley created a framework of individual potters and painters, groups, and classes, into which new finds are constantly being fitted. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to study each vase for its shape, technique, and draughtsmanship, to narrow down the figures and patterns, the composition of the scenes, the choice and arrangement of subject matter, and to make comparison with work in other media. It is not merely a case of taking note of trivial details and disregarding the rest; the comparison that has been made with the 'elementary' deductions of Sherlock Holmes is false. Attribution requires a trained eye and

[23] On method and background, see Kurtz 1985; Rouet 2001. Cf. Morris 1994: 36–8.

close application to all the elements of a composition as well as a retentive memory, and connoisseurs must go back and forth repeatedly between the works being studied. With enough evidence, the output of a craftsman can be seen to change and develop. However, such detailed work is not a closed operation – it takes the investigation from one workbench to others and to other workshops, near and far, and out into a broader look at the way in which society's religious and political life is reflected (or distorted). Beazley was careful to note the find-spot of each vase, when known and reliable, and thus gives assistance to present-day students whose primary concern is with contexts. This now traditional method of research is still stoutly defended, especially in relation to Attic pottery, and has its own momentum that derives from the massive body of work that has been published over the past century.[24]

Over the last generation attribution has come in for some hard knocks.[25] Maginnis' witty comparison, though not directed at the work on Greek painted pottery, has been felt to set the tone: 'Connoisseurship today enjoys a reputation not unlike that of Proust's Princesse de Luxembourg at Balbec: recognized by some as the *grande dame* of art history, viewed by others as an expensive and aging tart'.[26] It is only to be expected that after Beazley's death a reaction would set in against the emphasis given to his line of approach, and the attack has been wide-ranging. Some opponents have questioned the very validity of the method; others, less extreme, while accepting its validity, have queried its value and declared that this form of enquiry is introverted, anachronistic, subjective, and misguided in its emphasis. Also, by concentrating on the moment of production, and particularly on the surface decoration of the vases, this approach has been felt to pay insufficient attention to aspects such as the significance of the pots and of the images in the contexts in which they had their being: the functions of the pottery in home, sanctuary, or tomb; the viewers, the customers, and the traders. Yet others have highlighted the inappropriateness of emphasizing the identity of individual painters and potters of such utilitarian products and have questioned the extent to which the craftsmen could be said to reveal their personality, even on those rare occasions when they reveal

[24] Kurtz 1985; Robertson 1991 and 1992; Williams 1996; Oakley 1998 and 1999; Boardman 2001b: ch. 2. See also Morris et al. 1993, with comments from others.
[25] Beard 1991; Vickers and Gill 1994; Shanks 1996: 30–41, 64–5; Whitley 1997; Turner 2000.
[26] Maginnis 1990: 104.

their name. Greek painted pottery was never treated as high art in antiquity; there was no such figure as the 'studio potter'. The range in quality was vast, from exquisitely designed and executed images to slapdash scrawl. The inevitable consequences of giving an identity to a painter, especially when his name has been invented, are to overvalue his status in the eyes of modern connoisseurs of art, to raise the price on the art market, and to encourage illicit excavation.

A large percentage of extant painted pottery is still, and doubtless will remain, unattributed, and even among the attributed pieces there can be no absolute certainty. Beazley himself found difficulty in placing some vases and changed his mind as new material appeared; later scholars and students have not been slow to suggest changes to his final lists. As an example of the uncertainty in the matter of attributions we might instance one of the grandest of red-figure vase-paintings *c.*500 BC (Figure 34). The cup signed by Sosias as potter carries on the outside a parade of deities on the occasion of Herakles' introduction into Olympos; on the inside, the *tondo* shows Achilles binding Patroklos' wound, with their names written by them. Despite the presence of clear calligraphy and the high-quality draughtsmanship that the cup shows (complex poses and profile eyes), Beazley failed to assign the cup to any of his major painters, placed the painter among

Figure 34 Achilles and Patroklos on an Attic red-figure cup, signed by Sosias as potter, found at Vulci, *c.*500 BC. Diameter of *tondo* 17.8 cm.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383510000744 Published online by Cambridge University Press

his 'Pioneers', and named him the Sosias Painter after the potter whose name it carries. Martha Ohly-Dumm considered it to be the work of the painter Euthymides, but at the same time wished to see that painter identified with the painter Beazley regarded as Euthymides' 'pupil', the Kleophrades Painter. Robertson was unwilling to amalgamate Euthymides with the Kleophrades Painter and preferred to see the Berlin cup as a very early work of the Kleophrades Painter himself. Williams is still not satisfied that the problem has been solved.[27] Doubtless, such an approach is seen by some as an irrelevant exercise akin to 'deck-chair shuffling', while traditionalists applaud the scrupulous attention that such careful images are felt to deserve in making the foundations of the study of vase-painting more secure.

The attack on the method pursued by Beazley and his followers has abated somewhat. His work is accepted as a launch-pad for other lines of enquiry and valued for the necessary framework he built to house the vast output of Attic pottery over the three centuries from 600 to 300 BC. There are few students of Greek pottery, even the opponents of the method, who do not depend on the groundwork that Beazley laid down, as it enables them to take their research in different directions.

The Beazley Archive of Classical Archaeology and Art

Besides the vast wealth of his writings and his scholarship, the other legacy that Beazley left is his research collection of photographs and drawings, on which the Beazley Archive has been built. It is now located in the School of Research in Classical and Byzantine Studies at the Stelios Ioannou Centre in St Giles, Oxford. In 1979, the Archive introduced a text-based electronic database, and internet access is now the way forward for accessing the information needed.[28] The present director of the pottery database, Dr Thomas Mannack, conscious of the vast nature of the undertaking, is pleased to be informed of any errors, any new material, and any alterations of location or suggested changes of attribution.[29] Students may also note that searchable database numbers are gradually being given to vases in the Archive, under the rubric *BAPD* (*Beazley Archive Pottery Database*), e.g. Sotades' figure-

[27] Ohly-Dumm 1984; M. Robertson 1992: 58–9; Williams 2005: 275.
[28] http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk.
[29] thomas.mannack@beazley.ox.ac.uk.

vase (Figure 36) is *BAPD* Vase 209548, and Xenophantos' *lēkythos* (Figure 32) is *BAPD* Vase 217907.

Over the years, the Beazley Archive has issued paper publications of research into aspects of collections, archaeology, and gems and jewellery. Mannack has published in hard copy an updated version (2000) of Carpenter's *Summary Guide to* Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum and has also issued *Haspels Addenda: Additional References to Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* (2006). No more paper volumes will now be published. In 2000, the Archive joined forces with the Archaeopress in publishing volumes in 'Studies in Classical Archaeology' and 'Studies in the History of Collections'.

The *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*

One might here contrast the Beazley Archive with the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (*CVA*) founded by Edmund Pottier.[30] Beazley was an academic art historian, Pottier a museum curator. The project was initiated in 1919 in a new institute located in Brussels, called Union Internationale Académique. Pottier compiled the first fascicule, published in 1922 as France 1, Louvre 1, with a national number and a museum number on each separate plate. The initial intention was to publish a complete corpus of every vase held by museums, ranging from Neolithic to Late Roman, with or without decoration – an overoptimistic enterprise. With time, the scope of the selection narrowed, and many museums have chosen to concentrate on Greek pottery, in many cases Athenian black-figure, red-figure, and white-ground (Beazley's approach has, in a sense, hijacked the undertaking). More and more is now expected of the publications. Most include drawn profiles to assist with the understanding of the potting, together with references to the Munsell colour chart, drawings of the inscriptions and/or graffiti and of the preliminary sketches, and notices of ancient repairs; indications of comparanda are *de rigueur*. Eventually, even information on the weight and capacity of each vase is expected, and CT scans are proposed to replace drawn profiles. The approach has veered from the archaeological to the art historical, and the historiography of vase-collecting is a current line of research. Between

[30] See Rouet 2001 on Pottier and Beazley, with a chapter on the early history of collecting; and Kurtz 2004, a tribute to Pottier.

2002 and 2004, at the request of the International Committee of the *CVA*, the Beazley Archive digitized the many out-of-print fascicules (*c.*250), and these are available on the web.[31]

Questions have been raised about the limited nature of the *CVA* format and the need to publish future fascicules electronically. The position has been expressed as a choice between 'corpus or corpse'. New offshoots from the central stem have been published in Germany and France: a series of Beihefte issued by the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaft and one *Cahiers du Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum France*, published by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. All consist of conference proceedings.

Painters

Over the last twenty years, study of vase-painting in all areas of the Greek world has continued apace. Some work maintains the traditional approach, while other investigations widen the scope to look at the social and cultural background, the influence of one centre on another, the movement of the craftsmen, and so on. Space forbids more than a résumé of some of the major work.

Boardman's 1998 survey of early Greek vase-painting is an abundantly illustrated and well-referenced treatment of the complex picture of pottery production from Protogeometric, through Geometric and Orientalizing, down to and including non-Attic products of the sixth century and beyond, and serves as an introduction to the more extended studies of the varied local wares. He is careful to indicate where researchers have been able to recognize an individual hand or a connected group.[32]

Attic black-figure studies modify or elaborate on Beazley's structure only slightly. Brijder's research into the cup-painters of the first half of the sixth century shows the advantages of a detailed approach, as he has shown that potters and painters were the same individuals, so closely did shape and painting develop in parallel.[33] Mommsen has produced a meticulous volume on Exekias' grave plaques of *c.*540 BC in which she demonstrates what a fastidious and humane craftsman he was. Mackay has now published her study of Exekias' remaining

[31] http://www.cvaonline.org.
[32] Boardman 1998. For Geometric, see Coldstream 2008.
[33] Brijder 1983 (Siana and Komast cups); 1991 (the Heidelberg Painter); 2000 (Siana cups).

vases.[34] As for Nikosthenes, whose work has been connected with the invention of red-figure, Tosto has proposed that his signature as potter (Figure 39) and its variants 'mark vases which Nikosthenes not only threw, painted and signed himself in his own workshop, but those which were thrown, decorated and signed for him, either entirely or in part, by craftsmen whom he employed' – hence forsaking (in this case at least) the notion that signatures are those of the individual craftsman.[35]

With the increase in numbers and distribution of Attic black-figure pottery during the sixth century, many regional schools, on the mainland, and to east and west, came increasingly under its influence, in most cases to be overwhelmed.[36] The attraction of the sixth century lies in charting the ways in which the influence was adapted and in which the centres had influence on one another, and how potters and painters moved from one area to another. The centres that produced pottery on the different islands of the Aegean and on the western coast of Asia Minor are gradually becoming better differentiated: Chios, Paros, Thasos, Rhodes (which has yielded the making of 'Fikellura' vases to Miletos), and others.[37] Iozzo has concentrated his research on the 'Chalcidian' pottery of southern Italy, most probably made at the Chalcidian colony of Rhegion (Reggio).[38] Its inspiration derived from Attic work and was most likely to have been established by an Athenian émigré (Figure 35). Many East Greek craftsmen moved to Etruria, and Hemelrijk has continued to investigate the painters of the colourful Caeretan *hydriai*.[39]

As might be expected, the art historical approach to Attic painting is strongest in the two centuries of the more difficult technique of red-figure, particularly in the Late Archaic period. Robertson's full study of the development of red-figure and white-ground vase-painting firmly adheres to the tradition of attribution and defends the vase-painters as deserving of the term 'artists', though he recognizes that much of their output was incompetent.[40] Throughout the volume he shows that this approach goes beyond the purely stylistic, and he fights off the

[34] Mommsen 1997; Mackay 2010.
[35] Tosto 1999 (quote from 1).
[36] E.g. Euboea: Kilinski 1994; Boardman 1998: 215–6; Lakonia: Stibbe 2004; Boeotia: Kilinski 1990.
[37] East Greek pottery: Cook and Dupont 1998; Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005.
[38] Iozzo 1994; True 1995; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 80–91.
[39] Hemelrijk 2009 for new additions to his 1984 study.
[40] M. Robertson 1992. Boardman's two volumes (1975 and 1989) provide the greatest range of illustrations.

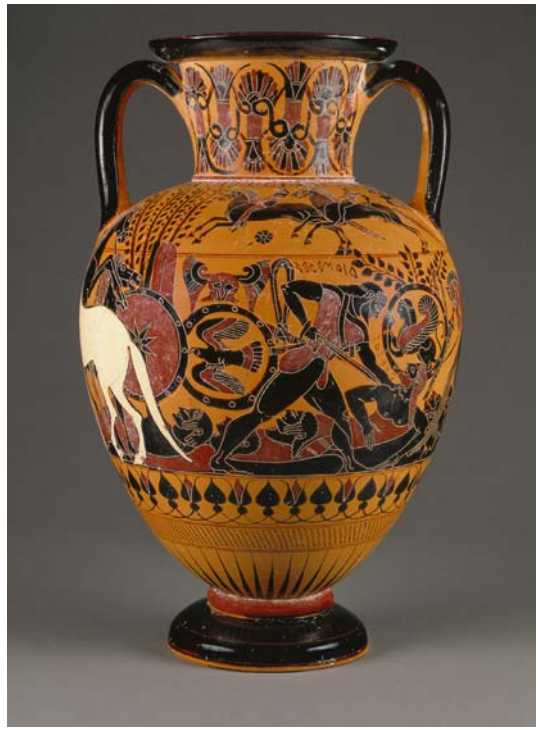

Figure 35 The killing of Rhesos on a Chalcidian black-figure neck-amphora, attributed to the Inscriptions Painter, *c.*550 BC. Height 39.6 cm.

attack by those who reject the importance of creating a picture of the Athenian Kerameikos as a grouping of workshops that boasted identifiable craftsmen. The question of the person(s) responsible for the important innovation of red-figure is still not settled. Various names have been proposed, and their adherents argue over the slight evidence that is available. The names most frequently advanced as inventors are the potter Amasis, the potter Andokides, the Andokides Painter, the painter Psiax, and the potter Nikosthenes (Figure 39). The reasons for the reversal of the technique are still unclear.

The 'Pioneers', the progressive painters of the second stage of red-figure development, continue to be very popular with students of vase-painting. In the early 1990s, Euphronios (known both as a painter and later as a potter) was singled out as a craftsman worthy of a travelling exhibition with related conferences, and the catalogues of the exhibitions and the proceedings of symposia present high-quality,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383510000744 Published online by Cambridge University Press

detailed illustrations that show the excellence of Euphronios' talent.[41] The last stage of the Late Archaic (down to 480 BC) includes some vase-painters who, for many students of the subject, represent the pinnacle of achievement in the way in which the constraints of the medium were successfully tested to the limit but not overstretched. Makron and Douris have been studied in monographs, and Onesimos has been intensively researched in view of the quality of his workmanship (Figure 44).[42]

The second quarter of the fifth century finds some vase-painters affected by the developments that were taking place in monumental painting (split level, three-quarter view). Denoyelle has investigated the Niobid Painter's name vase in detail.[43] Mannack, in his study of what Beazley termed 'the Late Mannerists', helps to explain what is meant by the sobriquet in the context of Athenian vase-painting and shows how it continued down to the later fifth century.[44] Sotades and the Sotades Painter continue to engage interest. Given the individuality of the shapes and of the scenes on them, the identity of the two seems likely, and Hoffmann's studies of the significance of the symbols in the shapes, the scenes, and the imagery are based on that assumption. Of particular interest are his figure-vases (Figure 36) and his white-ground paintings, and these have recently been studied by True and Williams.[45] Oakley's attractive and useful volume on funerary *lēkythoi* deals with the various ways in which the painters chose scenes of home life, myth, and the cemetery (Figure 31). Of the different painters of white-ground *lēkythoi*, the Achilles Painter stands out as the most skilled in his craftsmanship.[46] Oakley has also published a full study of the Achilles Painter's whole oeuvre (white-ground, red-figure, and black-figure Panathenaic prize amphorae) and has shown that about thirty other painters worked alongside him, as well as half-a-dozen potters.[47] Another vase-painter of the Classical period who has been studied in detail is Polygnotos. In her monograph, Matheson

[41] Catalogues: *Capolavori* 1990; *Euphronios, peintre* 1990; *Euphronios der Maler* 1991. Proceedings: Cygielman et al. 1992; Denoyelle 1992; Wehgartner 1992. On the other Pioneers, see Williams 1992 and 2005.

[42] For Onesimos, see Williams 1991 and Sgubini Moretti 1999; for Makron, see Kunisch 1997; for Douris, see Buitron-Oliver 1995.

[43] Denoyelle 1997.

[44] Mannack 2001.

[45] Hoffmann 1997. See True 2006 for Sotades' place in the history of figure-vases and Williams 2006 for the white-ground cups in the 'Sotades tomb'.

[46] On *lēkythoi*, see Oakley 2004. On polychrome, see Koch-Brinkmann 1999.

[47] Oakley 1997.

Figure 36 Attic figure-vase in the form of an Amazon on horseback, signed by Sotades as potter, found at Meroe in southern Egypt, *c.*440 BC. Height 34 cm.

emphasizes his links with sculpture, particularly the Parthenon, which was being built at the time that Polygnotos was at work.[48]

The concept of workshops in which a group of painters operated, as in Oakley's and Matheson's volumes, is also found in Lezzi-Hafter's study of the Eretria Painter, in which she has been able to show that the craftsmen divided the work on a vase between them, some painting the figures, others adding the floral ornament.[49] Burn's work on the Meidias Painter (Figure 47) revitalized interest in the elaborate vases of the late fifth century, and her study of the Meleager

[48] Matheson 1995.
[49] Lezzi-Hafter 1988 and 1997.

Painter has been followed by other work on him.[50] The decoration of the painting in this period is highlighted by vases that carry not only gilding and relief work but the addition of relief figures, as in the work of Xenophantos, who signed himself 'Xenophantos the Athenian' on two highly luxuriant squat *lēkythoi* found in south Russia (Figure 32).

For almost a century red-figure was an Attic monopoly, but from the middle of the fifth century other centres started to issue a small number of shapes with red-figure decoration and a limited range of subject matter. Local potters and painters either imitated imported Attic pottery or travelled to Athens to learn the craft; conversely, Attic potters and painters took their expertise to other regions. By studying the style of the drawing, and closely investigating the shape, the origin of the clay (not always easy to pinpoint), and the make-up of the gloss, researchers have begun to distinguish some local potteries from Attic red-figure and to investigate their development. Of the mainland centres, Boeotian red-figure, which was in production by the middle of the fifth century, was recognized early and has been researched more recently (calyx krater, Figure 37, left).[51] Other centres began later. McPhee is the main researcher in this field and has carried out detailed work on the various other local potteries: Euboea, Corinth, and Lakonia, where black-figure work had been produced in the sixth century.[52] Further afield there were other potteries producing red-figure: for example, in Elis in the Western Peloponnese (*pelikē*, Figure 37, right), in Chalkidiki in Macedonia (*skyphos*, Figure 37, centre), and at Agrinion on the west coast of the Black Sea.[53]

The regions where the largest amount of red-figure pottery was produced outside of Attica were south Italy and Sicily. A. D. Trendall (1909–95) was a pupil of Beazley's and set about investigating the difficult task of classifying the various centres of red-figure production spread over those Greek colonial areas. Following Beazley's method of attribution, he distinguished five major 'schools': Lucanian, Campanian, Apulian (Figure 38), Sicilian, and Paestan (which he was able to show had its roots in Sicily). Only two painters have left their names – the Paestan painters Asteas and Python (presumably

[50] On the Meidias Painter, see Burn 1987; for the Meleager Painter, see Burn 1991; Curti 2001; Kathariou 2002.

[51] Avronidaki 2007.

[52] Euboea: Gex and McPhee 1995; Corinth: McPhee 1983, 1991, 2004; Lakonia: McPhee 1986.

[53] Elis: Kunze-Götte et al. 2000; Chalkidiki: McPhee 1981; Agrinion: McPhee 1979 and Papadopoulos 2009.

Figure 37 Boeotian, Chalcidic, and Elean red-figure pottery, late fifth to early fourth century BC. Heights 28 cm, 15 cm, and 28 cm respectively.

Figure 38 The apotheosis of Herakles on an Apulian red-figure volute-krater, found at Bari, attributed to the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos, early fourth century BC. Height of vase 91 cm.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383510000744 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Greeks) – but by the usual process of attribution (clay, glaze, shapes, decoration, local costume, subject, etc.) the 'schools' were organized among individual potters and painters to whom, in the traditional manner, sobriquets were given. During the fifty years that Trendall researched, the whole landscape of western Greek pottery was mapped out in large volumes and summed up in a single handbook published in 1989.[54] Trendall had a clear eye and a willingness to explore the less appealing regions of his subject; the value of his large publications also lies in the fact that the volumes are lavishly illustrated.

As happened after the death of Beazley a generation before, with the major figure no longer able to advise, on Trendall's death there was the question 'Where do we go from here?'. A conference was held in 2000 to discuss the future, and Denoyelle and Iozzo's well-illustrated volume, which studies the whole range of production in south Italy and Sicily, and more detailed work on the various centres have advanced understanding.[55] A reassessment of the foundations on which Trendall built his structure, particularly of Apulian, is now under way, not to undermine the identity of his painters but to query the social pattern as he understood it (see below and Chapter VI).

Clients[56]

As has been mentioned, modern study of Greek pottery is mainly concerned with what one might call the afterlife of the products – prices and profits, markets and customers, trade and traders, patterns of distribution that the extant material might tempt us to create, and so forth. It is not easy to decide how many of those approaches come within the scope of a survey on Greek art. Some specific aspects that reflect the demands made on the potters and painters are germane and will be looked at here, as the craftsmen could not let any personal preferences outweigh their business interests.

Many small potteries throughout the Greek areas sold only locally, from the workshop or by taking their wares round the neighbourhood. At the larger centres, however, the procedure was more complex. Purchasers may have visited workshops to buy their personal items for a party or a funeral, and if the locality had a group of potters on site,

[54] Trendall 1989, with information on the earlier volumes.
[55] Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: chs. 5–10.
[56] Clients: Webster 1972; Johnston 1991; Williams 1995; de La Genière 1999 and 2006.

the customers would doubtless have compared products and prices. However, when the pots were to be sold to traders to take overseas, then perhaps the batches were taken down to the nearest docks, and the traders would keep the craftsmen up to date with the lines that were selling well abroad. As Lewis has remarked of Attic pottery, 'Pots once painted did not sit around on a shelf to be considered by rivals; they were painted, fired and dispatched in bulk to feed the markets abroad.'[57]

Pots were dispatched to all parts of the Mediterranean and beyond, and intensive research is being carried out by scholars concentrating on the find-spots (where known) of pots that are far from their place of manufacture, to see what the evidence tells us about the routes taken, the periods of activity, the significance of the shapes or images in the place reached, and so on. Particular interest has centred on the import of Attic pottery into Etruria, the area in which the greatest amount of black- and red-figure Attic pottery has been unearthed. It would seem that the Etruscans were the most enthusiastic non-Greek clients in the sixth century and first half of the fifth. Reusser has shown that Attic pottery was not simply bought to be laid in the tombs (as had once been understood) but was used in life, both in homes and at sanctuaries.[58] So the question arises – were they importing the material for the shapes or for the images? Attic potters fostered this export market by occasionally supplying the Etruscans with shapes they themselves did not make and with versions of shapes the Etruscans produced locally in bucchero, but with the addition of the typical bright-figured compositions. Best known is the output from Nikosthenes' workshop, which fashioned special amphorae (e.g. Figure 39) and one-handled *kyathoi*.[59] As with shapes, so with images Attic painters tailored some scenes for Etruscan clients; best known are the images of athletes wearing loincloths – the Etruscans, unlike the Greeks, did not race naked.[60] However, these instances of adaptation are few, the majority of shapes and images of the Attic pottery found in Etruria showing no departure from the standard products from Athens. The choice appears to lie between those who think that the Attic potters and painters mainly disregarded their Etruscan clients and painted their wares for the Athenians and those who consider the painted scenes

[57] Lewis 2009: 146.
[58] Reusser 2002.
[59] Tosto 1999.
[60] Shapiro 2000.

Figure 39 Attic black-figure amphora, signed by Nikosthenes as potter, and Etruscan bucchero amphora, from Italy, *c.*530–520 BC and 560–530 BC. Height 33.4 cm and 33.6 cm respectively.

were generic enough to be re-interpreted by the Etruscans to suit their own social background.[61] Nevertheless, what Lewis and others have noted is that, on the basis of the numerous find-spots, many Attic vases that figure scenes of symposia, sexual intercourse, athletics, and women's life in the later sixth and early fifth centuries, without obvious changes from the usual shape or image, were overwhelmingly popular in Etruscan contexts and were likely to have been painted specifically for the Etruscan market, as there are relatively few found elsewhere. These scenes became less popular at the same time as the Etruscan market for Attic pottery declined after the middle of the fifth century, suggesting a relationship between the images and this particular destination.[62] There are certainly indications from other

[61] Osborne 2001, 2004a and b; Marconi 2004b; Spivey 2007; Steiner 2007: 234–6.
[62] Lewis 2002: 116–29, 2003, and 2009; Lynch 2009.

areas that the Attic potters knew their markets. Some Thracian shapes (beakers, mugs, and small jugs) were made in Athens especially for the Thracian market, and there are some that imitate south Italian shapes, such as the *nestoris*.[63] In the fourth century, Attic painters promoted the market in the Greek centres around the Black Sea. They painted scenes of winged griffins being attacked by Arimaspians, a fabled tribe from the far north, sometimes decorating mixing bowls of a shape specially popular in the area – a further example of potters and painters being driven by an external agenda.[64]

We may contrast two geographically extreme examples of exported Attic pottery. A red-figure *rhyton* in the form of a mounted Amazon (Figure 36) was unearthed at Meroë in Sudan (southern Egypt).[65] Dated *c.*440 BC, it was found in a small royal pyramid of the early fourth century, so may have been an heirloom. The *rhyton* carries an incised signature – 'Sotades made' – and products from this particular workshop seem to have been popular in the east: besides a few from Egypt, there are others from Babylon and Susa. The red-figure scene shows Greeks fighting Persians, with a Persian rider overcoming a helmeted Greek, and the Amazon herself was often used as a symbol of Greece's eastern enemies. With its Persianizing imagery it may have been specially slanted to the eastern market. At the other end of the ancient world, a small red-figure Attic cup, decorated by the Pithos Painter (usually judged as the least talented of Attic vase-painters), was dredged up from the Thames in 1890 and assumed to have been thrown away not long before. Recently, however, it has been suggested that '[i]t could have been among a small number of bronze and pottery vessels deposited in the rivers of Southern England during the Early Iron Age. If so, they formed part of a more general tradition of votive offerings.'[66] The Pithos Painter's talent as a painter was outshone by his business acumen, as his cups have been found in north Syria with his trademark figure of a reclining youth wearing Oriental headdress – a nod in the direction of eastern clients?

To return to Apulian pottery, in his pioneering studies of the subject Trendall had always assumed that the people for whom the craftsmen made their pots were the Italiotes (i.e. Greek speakers in

[63] Thrace: Lezzi-Hafter 1997; Oakley 2009a and b: 614, fig. 12. South Italy: Denoyelle 2008; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: fig. 138, cf. fig. 151.
[64] McPhee 2000.
[65] See True 2006: no. 87. For other find-spots, see M. Robertson 1992: 186.
[66] Johnston 1991: 203–4, with fig. 85; Bradley and Smith 2007 (quote on 40).

Metapontion [Metaponto in Lucania] or Taras [Taranto in Apulia], the descendants of the original Greek colonists) and that the Italic peoples (the native population) were unlikely recipients of the large and elaborately decorated vases that are the major achievements of the Apulian workshops (Figure 38). Carpenter, commenting on the fact that Trendall paid less attention to the find-spots of the vases and that his basic, indeed overriding, approach to the vases was stylistic, has pointed out that the contexts of the finds (where known) indicate that the clients for those exuberant red-figure funerary vases with scenes related to Athenian tragedy (e.g. Figure 49) were the native population (see Chapter VI).[67] Moreover, it was Trendall's firm belief that the hub of Apulian pottery production lay in Taranto, the only Greek settlement in Apulia, but there is no hard evidence to indicate that this was certainly so. The Athenian foundation of a colony at Thourion (Thurii in Lucania) in 443 BC had always been judged the occasion for the emigration of potters and painters, but this too has now been queried. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that Attic pottery and painting lay behind the impetus for the local production in south Italy. The questions now asked are whether the painters were indeed émigrés from Athens or whether the direction should be reversed, with potters and painters travelling to Athens to learn their craft. Given that monumental vases have mainly been excavated on native sites, it would seem likely that the local population were the clients, and more cultured than Trendall had assumed. The consequences of this suggested cultural change have still to be assessed fully (see Chapter VI).

There were naturally occasions when clients requested that pots be made to their own specifications, whether official or personal. The most famous state order requested from Attic potters was the black-figure prize amphorae to be won at the Greater Panathenaia every four years (e.g. Figure 33).[68] They have recently undergone intense study, touching on widely different aspects of the subject: numbers needed each quadrennium, development of the shape over the centuries, choice of potters and painters, archons' names on fourth-century amphorae, the archaism of the Athena figure (whether she was intended to be a cult-state or an epiphany), contexts in which found (tombs [of winners?], sanctuaries, houses, and public spaces), and,

[67] Carpenter 2003, 2005, and 2009.
[68] Neils 1992b; Bentz 1998; Moore 1999; Palagia and Choremi-Spetsieri 2007.

given the modern research interest in trade, distribution throughout the Mediterranean and beyond, with the consequent matter of second-hand sale.[69] On a much smaller scale, private commissions ordered from the pottery can be recognized by the personal names painted on the vases themselves before firing: for example, the early sixth-century Corinthian *aryballos* (Figure 50) for 'Pyrwias', a prize for his success as 'leader of the chorus'.[70]

[69] Amyx 1958: 178–86 on the Panathenaic amphorae sold from the property of the profaners of the Mysteries and the mutilators of the Herms in 415 BC. For commissions and the second-hand market, see Rasmussen 2008.

[70] See n. 15 above.