

The Good, the Bad, and the Misleading. A Network of Names on (mainly) Athenian Vases.

Paper given in Honour of Sir John Boardman's 90th Birthday in Lisbon.

The earliest inscriptions

The earliest Greek inscriptions are incised graffiti on geometric pottery from around the middle of the 8th century. They were usually inscribed by their owners some time after the purchase. A late geometric oinochoe found in Athens¹ was presented as a prize in a dancing competition and bears the incised inscription $\text{HOΣ NYN OPXEΣTÔN ΠANTON ATALOTATA ΠAIZEI, TÔ TOΔE KΛ[.]MIN[...]}$, “Whoever of all these dancers now plays most delicately, to him this ...” on the black shoulder. Other vases name their owners, one of whom was clearly worried to lose a prize possession since he wrote “I am the cup of Hakesandros ... whoever steals me ... will lose his eyesight” on a late geometric cup excavated in Methone². Sir John Boardman donated an Attic late geometric fragment from Al Mina with an incised graffito ... ναβεο[...] to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford³. A late geometric Euboean skyphos, found in Pithekoussai⁴ and usually dated 740/720, preserves the first reference to the works of Homer: “ $\text{NEΣTOPOΣ [...] EΠOT[ON] ΠOTHPIO[N] OΣ Δ' AN TOYΔE Π[IHΣI] ΠOTHPI[OY] AYTIKA KHNON HIMEP[OΣ AIP]HΣEI KAAΛICT[EΦAN]OY AΦPOΔITHΣ}$ ”.

Signatures

The earliest known signature, ... INOΣ MEΠOIEΣE. , occurs on a krater fragment found in Pithekoussai dated around 700/680⁵. It is generally assumed that ‘epoiesen’ refers to the

¹ Athens, National Museum, 192.

² Powell, E.A., ‘When the Ancient Greeks Began to Write. Newly discovered inscriptions help explain how literacy spread’, *Archaeology* May/June 2017, 44-49, 48. See also, Strauss Clay, J., Malkin, I., and Tzifopoulos, Y.Z. (eds.), *Panhellenes at Methone, Graphe in Late Geometric and Protoarchaic Methone, Macedonia (ca 700 BCE)*, *Trends in Classics* 44 (Berlin and Boston, 2017).

³ Oxford Ashmolean Museum, 1982.889, CVA Oxford 4, 24, fig. e, pl. 51.3; *OJA* 1 (1982) 365-367, figs. 1-2.

⁴ Lacco Ameno, Villa Arbusto, Meiggs, R. & Lewis, D., *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the Fifth Century BC*. (Oxford, 1988); Faraone, C., ‘Taking the “Nestor's Cup Inscription” seriously: erotic magic and conditional curses in the earliest inscribed hexameters,’ *Classical Antiquity* 15 (1996) 77-112.

⁵ Hurwit, *Signatures*, 71-72 with fig.32.

potter⁶, but it is possible that it also denoted ‘potted and painted’; the artist responsible for the fragment may have been particularly proud of his frontal face, the earliest in Greek vase painting. Around 650 a West Greek artist signed a large bell-krater with Odysseus blinding Polyphemos on the obverse and a naval battle on the reverse ‘ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΘΟΣ ΜΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ’ using the Euboean script⁷. Sophilos was the first Athenian artist to sign vases around 580, a dinos in London and two dinoi in Athens bear the painted signature ‘ΣΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΜΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ’⁸. A third dinos in Athens is signed ‘ΣΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΜΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ ΟΡ ΜΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ’⁹. On the mixing vase excavated in Thessaly¹⁰ Sophilos also added the earliest known caption: ‘ΠΑΤΡΟΦΛΥΣ ΑΤΛΑ’.

Corinthian vase-painters began to sign their works in the second quarter of the sixth century. Most of these signatures appear on pottery dedications in sanctuaries, particularly the sanctuary of Poseidon at Penteskouphia¹¹. The artist usually signs as maker and giver; Milonidas wrote ‘Μιλονιδασμεγραψεκανεθεκε’ on a plaque found in the Poseidon sanctuary¹². A much humbler skyphos dated around 560 found in Corinth is inscribed with an unusually phrased signature ‘ΕΧΕΚΛΕΣ ΑΝΕ[ΘΕΚ]Ε ΠΟΕΣΑ[Σ]’¹³. The name of the maker Echekles may also appear on a fragmentary black-figure Panathenaic amphora from the Athenian Acropolis dated around 550¹⁴. The reading is far from certain: J.D. Beazley follows B. Graef and E. Langlotz reading [ΚΑΛΟ]Σ? ΕΧΕΚΛΕ[Σ]¹⁵. H. Immerwahr records the inscription as ‘FΕΧΕΚΛΕ[ΙΔΕΣ ...]’¹⁶, and agrees with A. Johnston¹⁷ who interprets the inscription as a

⁶ Hurwit, *Signatures*, 71-76; Boardman, *EGVP*, 82, fig. 162.

⁷ Rom, Museo Capitolini, Castellani 172, Wachter, R., *Non-attic Greek vase inscriptions* (Oxford, 2001) 29-30, no. INC 1; Gianni, G.B., ‘Aristonothos, il vaso’, *Aristonothos* 1 (2007) 5-15; Boardman, *EGVP*, 114, 140, fig. 282.

⁸ Athens, National Museum, 15165, 15499, London, British Museum, 1971.11-1.1, *ABV* 39.15. 16 *Para* 19.16bis; Boardman, *ABFV*, 28-29, figs. 24-6; Williams, D., *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 1 (1983) 13-34.

⁹ Athens, National Museum, 2035.1, *ABV* 42.36.

¹⁰ Athens, National Museum, 15499.

¹¹ Wachter, R., *Non-attic Greek vase inscriptions* (Oxford, 2001) 119-155.

¹² Black-figure Corinthian plaque, Paris, Louvre, MNC 212, Cuomo di Caprio, N., ‘Pottery Kilns on Pinakes from Corinth’, *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium* 5 (Amsterdam, 1984) 72-82.

¹³ Newhall, A.E., ‘The Corinthian Keramikos’, *AJA* 25 (1931) 10; Payne, H., *Necrocorinthia, a study of Corinthian art in the archaic period* (Oxford, 1931) 2270.

¹⁴ Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll.: 1.914, *CAVI* 997; *ABV* 666; Bentz, M., *Panathenäische Preisamphoren, Eine athenische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.-4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* 18. Beihefte zur *Antiken Kunst* (Basel, 1998) pl. 10.6020. *Attic Script*, no. 956. Cf. *LGPN* II, 192, s.v. Εχεκλης.

¹⁵ Graef–Langlotz, 1, pl. 60.914; *ABV* 666.

¹⁶ *CAVI* 997.

¹⁷ Johnston, A., *ZPE* 54 (1984) 115-117.

potter's signature. This raises the –admittedly remote – possibility that a Corinthian potter moved to Athens to ply his trade.

Inscriptions representing Speech

Few inscriptions representing speech include names. Exekias' Ajax and Achilles shout out numbers¹⁸, the man on Euphronios' pelike in St. Petersburg invokes Herakles¹⁹, and the males on a fragmentary cup from the Acropolis invoke benevolent demons and Zeus²⁰. Proper names appear to have been inspired by recent events, such as Eurymedon on the Triptolemos Painter's jug in Hamburg named after the place of a victorious battle²¹, and a certain lack of imagination: Phintias chose his colleague's name, Euthymides, for the toast uttered by a hetaira on his hydria in Munich²².

Dedications

Many dedicatory inscriptions are incised, even on objects made specifically for that purpose such as a plaque offered by an otherwise unknown Ninnion²³. Among the specific commissions or dedications by potters and painters are phialai from Eleusis and the Athenian Acropolis inscribed by the potter Sosimos²⁴, and a black-figure plaque by Skythes²⁵. Neandros signed a pyxis, which he also inscribed for Phaikides, who offered the pot to Artemis in her sanctuary in Brauron²⁶. Sosias, perhaps the potter known from several signatures²⁷, incised his name on

¹⁸ Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, 16757, CAVI 6979.

¹⁹ St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 615, CAVI 7346.

²⁰ Athens, N.M. Acr. 2.434, CAVI 1361.

²¹ Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1981.173, Gerleigner, G., 'Tracing Letters on the Eurymedon Vase: On the Importance of Placement of Vase-Inscriptions', Yatromanolakis, D. (ed.), *Epigraphy of Art: Ancient Greek Vase-Inscriptions and Vase-Paintings* (Oxford, 2016) 165-184 with figs. 1-15; K.Schauenburg, 'Εὐρυμέδων εἶμι' *Athener Mitteilungen* 90 (1975) 118; CAVI 3880.

²² Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2421, CAVI 5285.

²³ Athens, National Museum, 11036, CAVI 231; Levente, I., and Metsopolou, C. (eds.), *Hiera kai latreies tes Demetras ston archaio helleniko kosmo* (Volos, 2010) 134.

²⁴ Eleusis, Archaeological Museum, 458, CAVI 3412. Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll., 2.1078, CAVI 1472.

²⁵ Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll., 1.2556, CAVI 1187.

²⁶ Brauron, Museum, CAVI 2868; *Para* 70.

²⁷ Cup, Berlin, Antikensammlung: F 2278, ARV² 21.1, 1620. Stand, Berlin, Antikensammlung: F 2315, CVA Berlin, Antikensammlung-Pergamonmuseum 1, 58-59, Beilage 6.2, pl. 36.7-8.

a cup and a skyphos on the Athenian Acropolis²⁸. Phintias showed Sosias on a belly-amphora in Paris in the company of the otherwise unknown Demonstratos, Chares, and Sotinos²⁹ and a painter from the Leagros Group with the equally unknown Pyles, Chariades, Dikes, and Leukon³⁰. A different Pedieus' beauty was praised by Skythes and other red-figure cup-painters around 500³¹, and the Achilles Painter named a Klenias or Kleinias, son of Pedieus, kalos in 450³². Kleinias' qualities were also appreciated by the Alkimachos Painter³³.

A cup from the Artemision at Thasos assigned to Epiktetos was inscribed before firing with the legend ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ ὁ ΔΙΦΙΛΟ ΑΝ[ΕΘΕΚΕΝ], both names are common³⁴. An Apollodoros, a contemporary of Epiktetos working from around 510 to 480, signed 3 cups as painter³⁵. The beauty of an Apollodoros was praised by an anonymous artist on a cup from Adria³⁶ around 470, and perhaps by the Argos Painter on a stamnos in Oxford dated around 480³⁷. The Euaion Painter used the name Apollodoros for a young komast on a stemless cup in Moscow around 460/450³⁸. A Diphilos made a joint dedication on the Athenian Acropolis in 500/480³⁹ and was known in the potters' quarter too⁴⁰. He was a favourite of the Brygos Painter in 490/480⁴¹. The Painter of Athens 12789 named a later Diphilos 'kalos' on white ground lekythoi about 460⁴² and the Beldam Painter inscribed the names Diphilos, Aristippos, and ...chos on funerary stelai on a white ground lekythos in Chicago around 450⁴³. Diphilos, son of Melanopos, identified by H.A. Shapiro as the Archon Eponymous of 442/441⁴⁴, was declared kalos by the Achilles Painter on 14 white ground lekythoi with domestic scenes from

²⁸ Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1.1401, 1.1628, Graef, B. & Langlotz, E., *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, 1 (Berlin, 1925) pls. 77.1401, 83.1628a-c.

²⁹ Paris, Louvre, G 42, ARV² 23.1, 1620.

³⁰ London, British Museum, B 199, ABV 367.89.

³¹ E.g. a cup by Skythes, Berlin, Antikensammlung: 4855, ARV² 1605.3

³² Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale, 21186, CAVI 7552, Shapiro, Patronymic, 109, 113-115; Robinson & Fluck, 127-129; LGPN II, 263, s.v. Κλεινίας. Probably the same as on the neck-amphora London, British Museum, 1867.0508.1052, CAVI 4563; ARV² 1590.

³³ Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 81487, CAVI 5430; ARV² 1590.

³⁴ Thasos, Archaeological Museum, CAVI 7665.

³⁵ ARV² 1580.

³⁶ Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 22202, CVA Adria 1, pl. 23.1.

³⁷ Brenne, Indices, 34; ARV² 1565, 1698. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1911.625.

³⁸ Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, M 729, CVA 4, 48, pl. 42.2.4.

³⁹ IG I³ 950; Keesling, 'Patrons of Athenian votive monuments of the Archaic and Classical periods: Three Studies', *Hesperia* 74 (2005), 395-426. For the name, LGPN 132-133.

⁴⁰ Brenne, Indices, 36.

⁴¹ London, British Museum, 1848.0619.7, ARV² 1574.

⁴² ARV² 1575.

⁴³ Chicago, University of Chicago, D. & A. Smart Gallery, 1967.115.359, ARV² 1575; CAVI 3152.

⁴⁴ Shapiro, Patronymic, 114.

Eretria⁴⁵ and made a proxenos of Alea in 425⁴⁶. The names of eponymous archons were rarely inscribed on vases with the exception of 4th century Panathenaic prize amphorae. Among the few examples are a beautiful younger Hipparchos (496/495)⁴⁷, a youth named Euthippos (461/460) on a stamnos by Polygnotos⁴⁸, and Dromokleides (475/474) as father of Dromippos⁴⁹.

In the third quarter of the 5th century, a further Diphilos was a beau on a cup from the Athenian Agora⁵⁰ and the Kraipale Painter wrote the name next to two athletes on the obverse and reverse of a pelike in the British Museum⁵¹.

Added Names (and further Signatures)

Vase-painters added names to figures from around 670/650 when the Polyphemus Painter wrote ‘MENEΛΑΣ’ next to one of five identically dressed bearded males with spears in procession on a stand once in Berlin⁵². The name is written in the Doric dialect, the painter may have therefore been a resident foreigner. However, the inscription might represent a spoken word, the chant of a theatrical chorus, which used the Doric dialect in Attica⁵³.

The painter of a Protoattic bowl from Aegina⁵⁴ added the inscriptions ΑΡΕΙΨΥΙΑ, ΠΙΕΠΕΥΣ, and ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ next to his figures. Around the same time, a vase-painter in Corinth named the participants in the Judgement of Paris on a splendid Protocorinthian olpe excavated in Veii ΑΘΑΝΑΙΑ and ΑΦΡΟΔ[...]. He did not use the Corinthian, but a West Greek script⁵⁵. Three explanations have been offered: the vase is not Corinthian, given clay, style, and

⁴⁵ Athens, National Museum, 1923, ARV² 1574.

⁴⁶ Dittenberger, *Inscriptionen von Olympia*, no. 30; Robinson & Fluck, 98; Siewert, P, ‘Archaische Bronzeplatte eines unteritalischen Proxenos der Eleer’, *Tyche* 28 (2013) 153.

⁴⁷ Mannack, T, ‘Hipparchos Kalos’, Yatromanolakis, D. (ed.), *Epigraphy of Art: Ancient Greek Vase-Inscriptions and Vase-Paintings* (Oxford, 2016) 43-52

⁴⁸ University, University of Mississippi, 1977.3.96.

⁴⁹ Shapiro, *Patronymic*, 114.

⁵⁰ Athens, Agora Museum, P 15436, ARV² 1575, CAVI 504.

⁵¹ London, British Museum, 1865,0103.24 (E 389), CAVI 4581.

⁵² Berlin, Antikensammlung A 42, CVA, Berlin, Antiquarium 1, 5-8, 24-25, pls. 31.1-3, 32.1, 33.1; Boardman, *EGVP*, 104, figs. 207.1-2.

⁵³ Ferrari, G., Menelas, *JHS* 107 (1987) 180–182; Ferrari, G, *Alcman and the cosmos of Sparta* (Chicago, 2008).

⁵⁴ Berlin, Antikensammlung, F 1682, CVA Berlin, Antiquarium 1, 5-8, 36-39, pls. 46.1-2, 47.1-2.

⁵⁵ Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 22679, CVA Roma, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 1, III.C.E.1, pls. 1-4; Mugione, E. and Benincasa, A. (eds.), *L’Olpe Chigi, Storia di un agalma, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Salerno, 3-4 giugno 2010* (Salerno, 2012).

technique are typical of Corinthian products, this appears unlikely; that the buyer specified a 'legible' script, equally unlikely, since the Etruscans did not object to the Corinthian script on other vases; or that the painter of the olpe was a foreigner working in Corinth. Signatures on Athenian vases show that non-Greeks or their descendants were active in the potters' quarter. Among these putative foreigners are two Lydoi, the famous vase-painter Lydos who signed a fragmentary dinos from the Athenian Acropolis as potter and painter, '[HO ΛΥΔΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕ]ΣΕΝ : HO ΛΥΔΟΣ Ε[Γ]ΡΑΦΕΣΕΝ', 'the Lydian made it, the Lydian painted it'⁵⁶, and an amphora in Paris 'HO ΛΥΔΟΣ ΕΓΡ[ΑΦ]ΕΣΕΝ', 'the Lydian painted it'⁵⁷. The second Lydos signed as a slave: 'ΛΥΔὸς ἔΓΡΑΦΕΣΕΝ ΟΛΟΣΟΝ ΜΥΔΕΑΣΣΕΥΤΕ[...]Ο.', 'Lydos has painted it, a slave from Myrina'⁵⁸. That potters and painters could also be Athenian citizens is attested by well-known vases with signatures with patronymic. Tleson signed as the son of Nearchos⁵⁹, a potter who signed a kantharos⁶⁰, and aryballos⁶¹, and several Little Master Cups⁶². The red-figure potter Nikias incised his signature, 'ΝΙΚΙΑΣ ΕΡΜΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΑΝΑΦΛΥΣΤΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ' in the formal democratic way, citing his father's name and the deme in which he was registered as a citizen⁶³.

Double rays above the feet of some of Lydos' amphorae⁶⁴ are seen as an 'eastern' element, which was also used by the Amasis Painter, who regularly worked for the potter Amasis and may have been the same man. Sir John Boardman has shown that Amasis, his name is the Greek version of the Egyptian name Ahmose, probably hailed from Egypt, and may have been black, since Exekias named an Ethiopian soldier with club and pelta 'Amasos'⁶⁵. A potter

⁵⁶ Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll., 1.607, CAVI 975; ABV 107.1, 684.

⁵⁷ Paris, Louvre, F 29, CAVI 6283; ABV 109.21, 685.

⁵⁸ Kyathos, Rome, Villa Giulia, 84466, CAVI 7257; BAdd 400.

⁵⁹ Toledo, Museum of Art, 58.70, Para 71.1bis; CAVI 7703; CVA Toledo, Toledo Museum of Art 1, 23-24, pls. 34.1-2, 35.1.

⁶⁰ Athens, National Museum, 15155, ABV 82.1; CAVI 976; Boardman, J., *The history of Greek vases: potters, painters and pictures* (London, 2001) 55, fig. 65.

⁶¹ New York, Metropolitan Museum, 26.49, ABV 83.4, 682; Boardman, J., *The history of Greek vases: potters, painters and pictures* (London, 2001) 55, fig. 66.1-2.

⁶² Ostermundigen, Blatter, *Attic Script*, no. 96; Jucker, H., 'Herakles und Atlas auf einer Schale des Nearchos in Bern, Krug, A. (ed.), *Festschrift für Frank Brommer* (Mainz, 1977) 191-99, pls. 53-55.

⁶³ London, British Museum, 1898.7-16.6, ARV² 13331; CAVI 4702; Boardman, J., *Athenian Red Figure Vases, The Classical Period* (London, 1989), fig. 319.

⁶⁴ Lydos: London, British Museum: 1848.6-19.5, ABV 109.29; Boardman, ABFV, fig. 66. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, Kä 420, Para 65. Amasis Painter: Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Mus., L 282, ABV 151.22; Boardman, ABFV, fig. 88. Paris, Cabinet des Medailles, 222, ABV 152.25; Boardman, ABFV, fig. 85.

⁶⁵ Boardman, J., 'Amasis, the implications of his name', *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World* (Malibu, 1987) 141-152. The name occurs on the amphora Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 3442, ABV 145.14; Boardman, J., 'Amasis, the implications of his name', *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World* (Malibu, 1987) 150, fig. 7.

from Thrace had a Little Master Band Cup signed ‘ΘΡΑΙΧΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ’⁶⁶, ‘Thrax made it’. The Kerameikos was also home to one or two artists signing their name as ‘Skythes’⁶⁷. It is not possible to discern whether these men with ethnic appellations were slaves, resident foreigners in Athens, or even Athenian citizens⁶⁸. Skythes occurs as the name of a slave on a late fifth century list of ship crews⁶⁹. Kriton, son of Skythes, dedicated a marble stele on the Athenian Acropolis signed by the sculptor Pollias⁷⁰ in the late sixth century. All three may be connected with the potters’ world. Skythes signed four red-figure cups as painter. Kriton is the name of a potter inscribed on a reserved panel of a black-bodied olpe dated around 520 in Warsaw: ‘ΚΡΙΤΟΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ : ΛΕΠΙΟΣΥΣ’⁷¹. The sculptor of the stele, Pollias, was the father of Euthymides, who signed a psykter in Turin⁷². ‘Ευθυμιδης εγραψενηο Πολ[λ]ιο’, and an amphora in Munich ‘ΕΥΘΥΜΙΑΔΕΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ ΗΟ ΠΟΛ[Λ]ΙΟ’ and ‘ΕΥΘΥΜΙΑΔΕΣ: ΗΟ ΠΟΛ[Λ]ΙΟ’⁷³. Pollias may have commissioned his son to make a white ground plaque showing the goddess Athena, which he dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis⁷⁴. Skythes’ name does not only appear as part of his signature, but was also borrowed by his contemporaries to name figures. A black-figure kyathos in Cambridge assigned to the Philon Painter⁷⁵ is decorated with three pairs of fighting warriors. The fourth is named ΣΜΙΚΥΘΟΣ, the sixth ΣΚΥΘΕΣ. If we judge people by the company they keep, Smikythos should be connected with the Athenian potters’ quarter. Phintias was aware of him, since he named four males in a music lesson on his hydria in Munich⁷⁶ [Δ]ΕΜΕΤΡΙΟΣ, ΕΥΤΥΜΙΑΔΕΣ, ΤΛΕΜΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ, and ΣΜΙΚΥΘΟΣ. Demetrios cannot be connected with any known individual in Athens. Euthymides should be Phintias’ fellow red-figure Pioneer. Tlempolemos, a rare name, is that of a potter of three signed Little Master cups⁷⁷, who was also deemed *kalos* by the painter of a red-figure cup in Orvieto⁷⁸.

⁶⁶ Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6222, *CAVI* 7605; *ABV* 178.

⁶⁷ Red-figure cup painter, Villa Giulia, 20760, *CAVI* 7146; *ARV*² 83.14; Boardman, *ARFVA*, figs. 90.1-2. A black-figure plaque was perhaps decorated by a second artist of that name working at the same time, Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll., 1.2556, *ABV* 352; *CAVI* 1187.

⁶⁸ Boardman, *ABFV*, 12.

⁶⁹ *IG* I³ 1032 line 127.

⁷⁰ *IG* I³ 658.

⁷¹ Warsaw, National Museum, once Goluchow, Czartorski, 98, *CVA* Goluchow, Musée Czartoryski, 17, pl. 16.2; *ABV* 446.2; *CAVI* 7988.

⁷² Turin, Museo di Antichità, 4123, *ARV*² 28.11, 1620; *CAVI* 7810.

⁷³ Munich, Antikensammlungen, 8731, *ARV*² 26.1, 1620; *CAVI* 5258.

⁷⁴ Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll., 1.2590 and Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1927.4602, *ARV*² 1598; Boardman, J., *JHS* 76 (1956) pls. 1.2, 2.1; Boardman, J., *ARFVA*, fig. 52; *CAVI* 1200.

⁷⁵ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, GR 22.1904, *ABV* 516.1; *CAVI* 3031.

⁷⁶ Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2421, *ARV*² 23.7, 1620; *CAVI* 5285; *FR* pl. 71.

⁷⁷ Berlin, Antikensammlung, 3152, *ABV* 171.13, 178.2. Berlin, Antikensammlung, F 1763, *ABV* 178.1. Basel, Borowski, *Para* 74.3; *ARV*² 1611.

⁷⁸ Orvieto, Museo Civico, *ARV*² 1699; *CAVI* 5801; Brenne, *Indices*, 45, 53.

Two inscriptions from the Athenian Acropolis mention Smikythos. A marble capital dedicated in the early 5th century is inscribed: ‘Β ΘΕΟ[ΔΟ]ΠΟΣ : ΑΝ[ΕΘΕΚΕΝ : ὈΝ]ΕΣΙΜΟ : Η[ΥΙΟΣ]. Α ὈΝΕΣΙΜΟΣ : Μ’ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ : ΑΠΑΡΧὲΝ ΤΑΘΕΝΑΐΑΙ : ΗΟ ΣΜΙΚΥΘΟ ΗΥΙΟΣ⁷⁹, a dedication by Theodoros, the son of Onesimos, and Onesimos, the son of Smikythos. A slightly later marble louterion bears the inscription [ὈΝΕΣΙ]ΜΟΣ : Α[ΝΕΘΕΚ]ΕΝ : ΑΠΑ[ΡΧΕΝ :] Ο ΣΜΙΚ[ΥΘΟ : ΤΑΘΕ]ΝΑΙ[ΑΙ]⁸⁰. An Onesimos signed a red-figure cup in the Louvre⁸¹. Theodoros was also known to vase-painters; the Epeleios Painter wrote ‘ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ’ on two of his cups⁸².

Occasionally, names disappear. A chous in Oxford showing a satyr attacking a sleeping maenad by the Codrus Painter⁸³ was recently examined by Nuala Marshall, a CAAH undergraduate, who noted the complete absence of two well attested inscriptions. When Percy Gardner published the vase in 1905, he stated: “above [the nymph] is the inscription ΤΡΑΓΟΙΔΙΑ” omitting any mention of further names, as did G. Nicole’s drawing published in 1908⁸⁴. Beazley also noted the name Tragoidia in 1918⁸⁵. In 1923, he observed: “the maenad is named ΤΡΑΓΟΙΔΙΑ, the silen, in almost imperceptible letters, ΚΙΣΣΟΣ”⁸⁶. Later publications followed Beazley⁸⁷. Kissos occurs twice as a satyr and once as an athlete on cups assigned to the Eretria Painter⁸⁸. A chous in Florence and Leipzig portrays Kissos in the company of the maenad Tragoidia⁸⁹. The lack of even a shadow of the inscriptions on the Oxford chous suggests strongly that the names were added after the vase was fired.

⁷⁹ IG I³ 699.

⁸⁰ IG I³ 931; Keesling, ‘Patrons of Athenian votive monuments of the Archaic and Classical periods: Three Studies’, *Hesperia* 74 (2005) 395-426.

⁸¹ Paris, Louvre, G 105, ARV² 324.60, 1645, 1579, 1595.

⁸² Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2619A, ARV² 146.2, 1610, 1575.2, 1576.1, 1587.1, 1628. Bryn Mawr (PA), Bryn Mawr College, P 96, ARV² 147.18, 1610; Brenne, *Indices*, 44, 53.

⁸³ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G 284 (V 534), ARV² 1258.1.

⁸⁴ Gardner, P., ‘Vases added to the Ashmolean Museum’, *JHS* 25 (1905) 69-70, no. 534. Nicole, G., *Meidias et le style fleuri* (Geneva, 1908) 115.

⁸⁵ Beazley, J.D., *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge, 1918) 179-180.

⁸⁶ Beazley, J.D., *CVA Oxford* 1, 34, pls. 43.2, 39.3-4.

⁸⁷ *Eretria-Maler*, 192, fig. 61B, pl. 195a, no. 211; CAVI 5918; Avramidou, A., *The Codrus Painter, Iconography and reception of Athenian vases in the age of Pericles* (Madison, 2011) 17.

⁸⁸ Berlin, Antikensammlung, F 2532, Warsaw, National Museum, 142458, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 3581, *Eretria-Maler*, 25, fig. 4b, g right, 80, fig. 22a, 158, fig. 51, pls. 26-27.31, 78, fig. 21c, pls. 57, 58e-f, no. 76, 25, fig. 4e (right), 32, fig. 6b, 45, fig. 11a, pl. 17, no. 22.

⁸⁹ Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 22 B 324 and Leipzig, Antikenmuseum d. Universität Leipzig, T727, *Eretria-Maler*, pl. 142c, no. 230; *CVA Oxford* 1, 34; *CVA Firenze, Regio Museo Archeologico* 1, III.I.23, III.I.24, pl. 22.324; CAVI 3690.

Beautiful Men and Beautiful Banausoi

Vase-painters named men and – far less frequently – women as beautiful from about 550 when members of Group E praised Stesias, otherwise completely unknown, as *kalos*⁹⁰. W. Klein was the first to suggest that these names are homoerotic praise of fashionable young aristocrats, who had caught the attention of older eupatrids and that vase-painters named the *beau* of the moment to attract buyers⁹¹. However, a fair number of these beautiful boys appear to be potters and vase-painters⁹². The Ambrosios Painter praised the beauty Tleson⁹³. The Taleides Painter wrote ‘Ἀνδοκίδες κα[λ]ος δοκεῖ Τιμα[γ]ορα’ on a black-figure hydria in the Louvre⁹⁴, the painter of a black-figure Nikosthenic pyxis incised the inscription ‘Nikosthenes kalos’⁹⁵ on a platform with musicians, and an unnamed painter wrote ‘ὁ Μυς καλὸς δοκεῖ, ναί’ and nonsense inscriptions in the spaces between blacksmiths working at a forge⁹⁶. Mys, who probably came from Mysia, signed a lekythos in Athens as painter⁹⁷. Smikros portrayed himself in a symposium on a stamnos in Brussels⁹⁸ and was also shown at a feast by his colleague Euphronios⁹⁹. A fellow Pioneer inscribed ‘Σμικρος καλός’ next to two naked women washing at a laver on a hydria in Berlin¹⁰⁰. All three vases bear numerous further inscriptions. As a Pioneer, Smikros was once thought to have been worthy of appearing in an aristocratic context, while the presence of a potter at a symposium has more recently been regarded as a joke. However, the name was common. Men named Smikros made dedications on the Athenian Acropolis¹⁰¹ and the name occurs on at least two annual lists of fallen warriors¹⁰². It is therefore probable that Smikros and his colleagues thought of the painter when inscribing the name,

⁹⁰ E.g. black-figure amphora signed by Exekias as potter, Toledo, Museum of Art, 1980.1022, CVA Toledo, Toledo Museum of Art 2, 10-11, pls. 81.1-2, 82.1-2, 83.1-2; CAVI 7712; Brenne, Indices, 44.

⁹¹ Klein, W., *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften* (Leipzig, 1890).

⁹² Scheibler, I., *Der Neue Pauly*, s.v. Kalos-Inschriften.

⁹³ Brussels, Musees Royaux, R 349, ARV² 174.24; CAVI 2947; Brenne, Indices, 45.

⁹⁴ Paris, Louvre, F 38, CAVI 6286; ABV 174.7, 664; CVA Paris, Louvre 6, III.HE.42, III.HE.43, pl. 62.1-4; BAPD 301126; Brenne, Indices, 34.

⁹⁵ Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, IV 1870, ABV 671; CAVI 7899; Brenne, Indices, 41.

⁹⁶ London, BM, 1846.6-29.45, CAVI 4338; Chatzidimitriou, pl. 22.X2.

⁹⁷ Athens, National Museum, 1626, ARV² 663; Kaltsas, N. (ed.), *Athens-Sparta* (New York, 2006) 235, no. 122; BAPD 207770; Brenne, Indices, 41.

⁹⁸ Brussels, Musées Royaux, A 717, ARV² 20.1, 1619; CVA Brussels 2, III.I.C.6-III.I.C.7, pls. 12.1a-d, 13.1a.1b.1c; BAPD 200102.

⁹⁹ Calyx-krater, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 9300+, ARV² 1619.3bis, 1705, 1699; CAVI 5363; BAPD 275007.

¹⁰⁰ Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1966.20, *Para* 503; CAVI 2498; CVA Berlin, 9, 18-20, figs.2, 3, Beilage 1.3, pls. 4.1-5, 56.3; Brenne, Indices, 44.

¹⁰¹ IG I³ 646, a tanner. IG I³ 718.

¹⁰² IG I³ 1147; IG I³ 1144.

while drinking aristocrats would probably identify the name with their aristocratic acquaintances. Smikros is not the only named person on the Brussels stamnos, the painter also added the names of Antias and Eualkides as *kaloi*, and Euelthon, Euarchos, Automenes, and Pheidiades without the epithet *kalos*. Euarchos may be a fellow potter, his ‘signature’ Εὐαρχο[ς] ἐποίησεν survives on a black-figure cup in Florence¹⁰³. An Euarchos made a dedication on the Acropolis around 480/470¹⁰⁴, and the Ambrosios Painter used the name for a komast around 500 on a cup in Munich.

Megakles the Potter or Artists Lost and Found

The same may be true of Megakles, a name with impeccable aristocratic credentials and given to sons of the clan of the Alkmaionidae. Vase scholars distinguish two men of that name, Megakles, the son of Hippokritos and an unknown Megakles deemed beautiful on a bell-krater attributed to the Orestes Painter¹⁰⁵ and a stamnos assigned to the Kleophon Painter¹⁰⁶ around 440. Megakles, the son of Hippokritos, is thought to be named *kalos* on a hydria signed by Phintias¹⁰⁷ and on a white ground plaque from the Athenian Acropolis¹⁰⁸. The plaque was originally inscribed ‘Μεγα[κ]λ[ε]ς καλος’, the inscription was later erased and repainted with ‘Γλαυ[κ]υτ[ε]ς καλος’ and Boardman proposed that the name was erased after the ostracism of Megakles in 486¹⁰⁹. Megakles is also deemed ‘*kalos*’ on a fragmentary cup from the Kerameikos which bears the inscription Μεγ[ακλες] καλο[ς] in added red paint; an incised graffito, ‘Μεγακ[λες] ηἱπ[π]οκρ[α]τος is proof that the fragment was used in the ostracism of the most famous Megakles¹¹⁰. Megakles’ father had also come to the attention of Athenian

¹⁰³ Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, *Prospettiva Rivista dell' arti antica e moderna* (Siena) 3 (1975) 45-47, figs. 1-7; BAPD 30407.

¹⁰⁴ *IG* I³ 825.

¹⁰⁵ Paris, Musée du Louvre, A 258, *ARV*² 1113.10, 1559; *CAVI* 6248; Davies, J.K., *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.* (Oxford, 1971) 381, Megakles VI.

¹⁰⁶ St. Petersburg, Hermitage, 2353; *ARV*² 1147.7, 1684, 1590, 1599; *CAVI* 7384.

¹⁰⁷ London, BM, E 159; *ARV*² 24.9, 1620; *CAVI* 4512.

¹⁰⁸ Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll., 2.1037, *ARV*² 1598.5; *CAVI* 1463; Boardman, J., ‘Some Attic Fragments: Pot, Plaque, and Dithyramb’, *JHS* 76 (1956) 20-22; Boardman, J., ‘Painted Votive Plaques and an Early Inscription from Aegina’, *BSA* 49 (1954) 201, no. 8.

¹⁰⁹ *CAVI* 1463; Boardman, J., ‘Painted Votive Plaques and an Early Inscription from Aegina’, *BSA* 49 (1954) 201, no. 8; Bothmer, D. v., *Euphronios, der Maler* (Berlin, 1991) 142.

¹¹⁰ *CAVI* 1763; Willemsen, F., ‘Verzeichnis der Kerameikos-Ostraka’, *AM* 106 (1991) 137-145, pls. 26,1, 27,1-3, 28; Mann, C., Haake, M., Hoff, R. von den (eds.), *Rollenbilder in der athenischen Demokratie, Medien, Gruppen, Räume im politischen und sozialen System, Beiträge zu einem*

painters, since he was regarded as the ‘most beautiful’ on a black-figure Little Master band cup in London, which bears the ‘signature’ Γλαυκυτες εποιεσεν’ under one handle, and the inscription Ηιπ[π]οκριτος καλ[λ]ιστος’ under the other¹¹¹. Glaukytes, in turn, was thought to be kalos by the painter of a red-figure neck-amphora in Paris¹¹².

Like most of the popular *beaus*, Megakles also lends his name to figures in vase paintings, which very often have impeccable aristocratic credentials. On a black-figure white ground lekythos in Toronto¹¹³, Megakles is a young jumper practicing in the company of other youths named Spintharos, Dion, Pythis, and Olympiodoros. Most of these are unknown. Spintharos occurs only on this lekythos. Pythis is a *beau* on a black-figure hydria assigned to the Leagros Group dated around 510/500¹¹⁴, and the name of a sculptor who carved a marble column on the Acropolis, Πῦθις ἐποίησεν. Ἐπιτέλες ἀνέθεκεν : ἀπαρχὲν Ἀθηναίαι, at the same time¹¹⁵. Olympiodoros is named kalos on a hydria in the Vatican, which also praises Leagros¹¹⁶, on a red-figure loutrophoros dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis assigned to a Pioneer¹¹⁷, and with Dorotheos and Kephisophon on a cup attributed to the Proto Panaitian Group¹¹⁸. The painter of the cup added numerous names to his figures: Kleiboulos, Ambrosios, Antias, Batrachos, Phormos, Kleisophos, Eratosthenes, Epichares, Kleon, Timon, Euagoras, Phoinix, Antimachos, Euenor, and Asopokles. An Epichares is listed on an inscription dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis dated around 500/480¹¹⁹ as son of the donor, whose name is lost and may have been the father of an Alkimachos named on several vases assigned to the Achilles Painter¹²⁰. His siblings are Opholonides, Charinos, and Charisios, of a fourth name only ...]kles survives. A Charinos signed seven oinochoes and figure vases around the time of the dedication¹²¹.

interdisziplinaren Kolloquium in Freiburg i. Br., 24.-25. November 2006 (Wiesbaden, 2009) 153-155, figs. 1-4.

¹¹¹ London, British Museum, 1857.8-5.1, CAVI 4301; ABV 163.1, 160.2, 667.1.

¹¹² Paris, Musée du Louvre, CP 11187, CAVI 6612.

¹¹³ Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 963.59, CAVI 7731; ARV² 1699; CVA Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 22, pl. 27.15-18.

¹¹⁴ Chicago, Univ. of Chicago, D.& A. Smart Gallery, 1889.15, ABV 673; CAVI 3139.

¹¹⁵ IG I³ 680.

¹¹⁶ Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 416, ABV 365.65, 695, 669.5, 671.

¹¹⁷ Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll., 2.636, Pala, E., *Acropoli di Atene, Un microcosmo della produzione e distribuzione della ceramica attica* (Rome, 2012) 43, fig. 10; ARV² 1604.

¹¹⁸ Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, 523, ARV² 316.4, 1575, 1589, 1604; CAVI 6156.

¹¹⁹ IG I³ 696.

¹²⁰ Cf. e.g. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 13.202, ARV² 1002.11, 1561; CAVI 2786.

¹²¹ ARV² 1531; Kyle, D.G., *Athletics in Ancient Athens* (Leiden, 1993) A 24; Richter, G.M.A., *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1936) 73 with note 10.

The situation is complicated by the presence of a third Megakles in Athens. He dedicated a marble pillar on the Acropolis around 500/480. An inscription identifies him as Megakles, son of Euryptolemos, '[Μεγα]κλε[ς ἀνέθεκεν –] [ho E]ὐρυπ[τολέμο –]' ¹²². Like Hippokritos, Euryptolemos was known in the potters' quarter and named kalos on three cups attributed to Apollodoros ¹²³ and a cup assigned to Makron ¹²⁴. It is therefore not entirely certain, which Megakles is deemed beautiful or good by Athenian vase-painters.

It is peculiar that on the plaque from the Athenian Acropolis ¹²⁵ the name of Megakles was not replaced with that of another aristocrat, but with the rather unusual name Glaukytes. In the potters' world Glaukytes is only known as the maker of 3 signed Little Master cups ¹²⁶, the Munich cup is curiously also signed for the *poiètes* Archikles. If the plaque has no political meaning, Megakles on the Acropolis plaque may have been a potter too and the inscription was rewritten in the workshop when its ownership changed ¹²⁷. A pyxis in Brussels attributed to the Pistoxenos Painter dated around 460 confirms that the aristocratic name Megakles was used by banausoi. An orthographically questionable signature on the body reads Μεκακλες εποιεσεν ¹²⁸.

In 1981, Sir John Boardman and U. Gehrig removed Epiktetos II, until then the name of the Kleophrades Painter, from the list of known artists when they recognized that the signatures Επικτετος εγραψεν on the neck on both sides of a pelike in Berlin are modern ¹²⁹. However, the Kleophrades Painter was not denied a proper name for long. In 1997, D. Williams recognized that fragments of a red-figure skyphos in Leipzig, which Beazley thought to have perhaps been painted by the Kleophrades Painter, join unattributed fragments in Malibu ¹³⁰. The obverse shows Achilles brought to Chiron, the reverse a scene from the Trojan War with Agamemnon, Briseis, and Athena. There are several inscriptions naming the figures, but also

¹²² IG I³ 707.

¹²³ Paris, Musée du Louvre, G 140, ARV² 120.1, 1580; CAVI 6481.

¹²⁴ New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1979.11.8, Kunisch, N., *Makron* (Mainz, 1997) 67, fig. 30, pl. 79.236.

¹²⁵ Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll., 2.1037, see n. 58.

¹²⁶ London, British Museum, 1857.8-5.1, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2243, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F 1761, ABV 163.1-2, 164.3, 667.

¹²⁷ Bothmer, D.v., *Euphronios der Maler. Katalog zur Ausstellung in der Sonderausstellungshalle der Staatlichen Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin - Dahlem* 20.3. - 26.5. 1991 (Berlin, 1991) 142.

¹²⁸ Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 9, ARV² 863.31, 1555; CAVI 2882.

¹²⁹ Boardman, J. and Gehrig, U., 'Epiktetos II, R.I.P.', *Anz* (1981) 329-32, figs. 1-3. Pelike, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F 2170, ARV² 185.28, 1632; CAVI 2288; CVA Berlin, Antikensammlung 15- 17, figs. 1-3, Beilage 1.1, pls. 1-2.

¹³⁰ Williams, D., Oakley, J.H. et al., *Athenian Potters and Painters: The Conference Proceedings* (Oxford, 1997) 197-199, figs. 2-4. Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität Leipzig, T 3840a-c; ARV² 193, 1598.4; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.270.1-3; CAVI 4183; LIMC Supplementum I, pl. 7 Achilleus Add 6

an incomplete dipinto naming Megakles, Μεγα[...] on the reverse. Beazley suggested a restoration as ‘Megakles kalos’. Since the Kleophrades Painter did not have any favourites, Williams proposed that the name could be part of a painter’s signature. There are admittedly a number of Greek names beginning with ‘Mega’¹³¹, but only two of these occur on Greek vases. The painter of a band cup from the Athenian Acropolis named a giant ‘Megarides’¹³² and a painter in the Group of Polygnotos wrote ‘Megareus’ next to a warrior in an amazonomachy on a red-figure dinos in London¹³³. It is therefore statistically likely that the Kleophrades Painter wrote ‘Megakles’.

The Reliability of Signatures or what is in a Name?

There was apparently no protection of names in ancient Athens. Best known is the example of Polygnotos. The name was uncommon in Athens¹³⁴ and does not seem to occur on the preserved annual lists of the fallen; a son of a Polygnotos made a marble dedication on the Athenian Acropolis in the early 5th century¹³⁵. However, when Polygnotos of Thasos became famous in the Classical Period, three Athenian vase-painters signed with that name, Polygnotos¹³⁶, the Nausicaa Painter¹³⁷, and the Lewis Painter¹³⁸.

Unknown painters have been accused of falsely claiming that the great Exekias shaped their five surviving Little Master cups with painted signatures¹³⁹. The handwriting on these cups is not that of Exekias¹⁴⁰, but since painters frequently signed for potters the case will probably remain unsolved.

Exekias did not take signatures too seriously. He was not content with using his colleagues’ name, Amasis, to name figures, but even purloined his entire signature to name

¹³¹ CAVI 4183.

¹³² Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll., 1.1632, CAVI 1077; Graef, B. & Langlotz, E., *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, vol.1 (Berlin, 1925) pl. 84.

¹³³ London, British Museum; 1899.7-21.5, ARV² 1052.29; CAVI 4706; Matheson, S.B., *Polygnotos and Vase Painting in Classical Athens* (Madison, 1995) 165-168, pls. 143a-d.

¹³⁴ LGPN II, 371, s.v. Πολυγνώτος.

¹³⁵ IG I³ 725.

¹³⁶ Brussels, Musees Royaux A 134, ARV² 1027.1.

¹³⁷ London, British Museum, 1846.0128.1, ARV² 1107.7.

¹³⁸ University, University of Mississippi, University Museums, 1977.3.104, ARV² 972, 974.26, 1676.

¹³⁹ See Hurwit, *Signatures*, 82. Lip Cup, Athens, National Museum, 1104, CVA Athens, Musée National 3, 38-39, Beilage 11.4, pl. 30.1-4; CAVI 741. Lip Cup, once Basel, Market, Münzen und Medaillen A.G., *Para* 61; CAVI 2106.

¹⁴⁰ *Attic Script*, nos. 146-150.

two Ethiopian squires ΑΟΙΗΣΝ and ΑΜΑΣΟΣ on a neck-amphora now in the British Museum¹⁴¹. The Apparent signature has led to some confusion. Reinach doubted that the signature is that of Amasis¹⁴². H.B. Walters assigned the vase to Amasis, but also doubted the inscription¹⁴³. Beazley attributed the neck-amphora firmly to Exekias¹⁴⁴. However, the inscriptions are intended as Amasis epoiesen, but clearly positioned as the figures' names, "the first inscription is nonsense, but both pretend to be the squires' names"¹⁴⁵.

It appears that vase-painters used signatures and names for a variety of reasons, often as an additional and erudite layer of decoration, and that their attitude to names could be light-hearted and insincere to downright dishonest. Three vase-painters claimed to be called Polygnotos to appropriate the fame of the far more eminent wall and panel painter. Modern forgery added a second Epiktetos, and perhaps names such as Kissos and Tragoidia in order to enhance the value of vases.

Signatures appeared around 700 and the names of potters and painters adorned Little Master cups as decorations in their own right, and were part of numerous other inscriptions on prestigious pots such as Exekias' amphora in the Vatican with Ajax and Achilles playing, probably added in the hope of attracting overseas buyers. When searching for names, the painter's mind often did not stray far from his immediate surroundings: Euphronios used Euthymides as the love interest of a hetaira; artisans donated their works to the gods; potters and painters represented themselves and others in aristocratic symposia; elevated each other to noble *beaus*, and Exekias used his colleague's name and even entire signature to name African archers.

¹⁴¹ London, British Museum, 1849.0518.10, ABV 144.8, 686; CAVI 4256; CVA London, British Museum 4, IIIHe.4, pl. 49.1a-c; Eschbach, N. and Schmidt, S. (eds.), *Töpfer, Maler, Werkstatt. Zuschreibungen in der griechischen Vasenmalerei und die Organisation antiker Keramikproduktion* (Munich, 2016) 88, figs. 1a-b; *Attic Script*, 33, no. 134, 35.

¹⁴² Reinach, S., *Repetoire des Vases Peints, Grecs et Etrusques* (Paris, 1922) II, 105.

¹⁴³ CVA London, British Museum 4, IIIHe.4.

¹⁴⁴ ABV 144.8, 686.

¹⁴⁵ CAVI 4256.

- Attic Script** Immerwahr, H., *Attic Script* (Oxford, 1990).
- Boardman, EGVP** Boardman, J., *Early Greek Vase Painting, 11th-6th Centuries BC* (London, 1998).
- Brenne** Brenne, S., 'Indices zu Kalos-Namen', *Tyche* 15 (2000) 31-53.
- Eretria-Maler** Lezzi-Hafter, A., *Der Eretria-Maler, Werke und Weggefährten* (Mainz, 1988).
- Hurwit, Signatures** Hurwit, J.M., *Artists and Signatures in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 2015).
- Klein** Klein, W., *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften* ²(Leipzig, 1898).
- Shapiro, Patronymic** Shapiro, H.A., 'Kalos-Inscriptions with Patronymic', *ZPE* 68 (1987) 107-118.
- Wernicke** Wernicke, K., *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsnamen. Eine archäologische Studie* (Leipzig, 1890).