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THE ANDOKIDES PAINTER AND GREEK CARPENTRY

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The Andokides Painter and his role in the development of the Attic red-figure technique have been of compelling interest to students of Greek vase-painting for over a century. The corpus of vases with decoration attributed to the Andokides Painter has long been the subject of debate, with discussion revolving around the identity of the artist who decorated the black-figured sides of his bilingual vases. Since Adolf Furtwängler's suggestion in 1904 that the red-figured and black-figured pictures on one of these vases might have been painted by two different artists,¹ the question has persisted, perplexing generations of scholars, and remaining unresolved in the minds of many today.² J.D. Beazley, after prolonged consideration, eventually decided that the black-figured sides were the work of a second painter, whom he had identified and named the Lysippides Painter and to whom a considerable corpus of black-figured vases had also been assigned.³ But Beazley's word is not law, especially in light of the modern controversy over

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Abbreviations:

ABS	J.D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-figure: A Sketch</i> , Proceedings of the British Academy xiv (London 1928)
Agora xxx	M.B. Moore, <i>The Athenian Agora xxx: Attic Red-figured and White-ground Pottery</i> (Princeton 1997)
ARV	J.D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> , 1st ed. (Oxford 1942)
Boardman, ABFH	J. Boardman, <i>Athenian Black Figure Vases: A Handbook</i> (London 1974, reprinted 1991 with corrections)
Boardman, ARFH I	J. Boardman, <i>Athenian Red Figure Vases; The Archaic Period: A Handbook</i> (London 1975)
Cohen, <i>Bilingual Kerameikos</i> IX	B. Cohen, <i>Attic Bilingual Vases and Their Painters</i> (New York 1978) U. Knigge, <i>Kerameikos; Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen IX: Der Südhügel</i> (Berlin 1976)
Ransom, <i>Couches</i>	C. Ransom, <i>Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans</i> (Chicago 1905)
Richter, <i>Furniture</i>	G.M.A. Richter, <i>Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans</i> (London 1966)
Robertson, <i>AVP</i>	M. Robertson, <i>The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens</i> (Cambridge 1992)
Sparkes, <i>RB</i>	B.A. Sparkes, <i>The Red and the Black: Studies in Greek Pottery</i> (London 1996)

¹ A. Furtwängler, in FR I (Munich 1904) 17.

² See R. Lullies, CVA Munich 4, 10 and nn. 3 and 6 for summaries of scholarly opinion, including Beazley's relevant works.

³ The following works by Beazley are cited in order of their dates of publication. *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* (Tübingen 1925) 7, regarding the six bilingual amphorae here attributed to the Andokides Painter: "Nach Langlotz sind auf Nr. 1-4 und 6 nur die rotfigurigen Bilder von dem Andokidesmaler. Auf Nr. 4 und 6 scheint dies mir sicher, auf Nr. 2 wahrscheinlich, auf Nr. 1 und 3 möglich. Die schwarzfigurigen Bilder auf Nr. 4 und 6 sind von einer Hand." *ABS* (1928) 25: "...it is quite possible that [the Lysippides painter] and the Andocides painter are the same;" and 40: "And the red-figure parts? These may quite well be by the same as the black: if so, the Lysippides painter and the Andocides painter are one and the same. But this is a matter on which I would for the present suspend judgement." *ARV* (1942) 1: "The bf. vases I put

the efficacy of his "Morellian" method,⁴ and some disagree with his final conclusion. That Beazley debated the matter at all gives others cause for concern, and his final decision has not generally been accorded the authority of his other attributions. The result is an insistent, widespread uncertainty over the identity of the Andokides Painter, his role in the "invention" of red-figure,⁵ and even the appropriate methods for assessing Beazley's work.

A number of scholars have resisted this tendency and have asserted their positions unequivocally in print.⁶ Dietrich von Bothmer, in his 1966 article, "Andokides the Potter and the Andokides Painter," which traces the careers of the potter and the painter, indicates his agreement with Beazley that the Andokides Painter and Lysippides Painter were two distinct artists.⁷ In tribute to Dr. von Bothmer, and in support of this position, I wish to present here some brief observations which, I believe, should help settle the debate.

The prevailing uncertainty has resulted, first of all, from the absence of a detailed analysis of the vases in question prior to the 1978 publication of Beth Cohen's *Attic Bilingual Vases and Their Painters*,⁸ and, secondly, from a growing dissatisfaction with arguments based on style, a reaction that set in after Beazley's death in 1970.⁹ A review of the literature supports this assertion.

Most of the vases now attributed to the Andokides Painter¹⁰ had already been grouped together by

together in *ABS*. 25 and 38–41, under the heading 'Lysippides painter' (from a love-name on one of them). I pointed out that they were by the same hand as the bf. parts of the Andokides painter's 'bilinguals'; and that the rf. parts might well be by the same. I am now convinced that this is so: that the 'Lysippides painter' is the same as the 'Andokides Painter'." *The Development of Attic Black-figure* (Berkeley 1951) 75: "A good many other vases can be assigned to the Andokides Painter besides the signed ones, and the list of his works is very varied; it includes black-figured vases, red-figured vases, vases half in black-figure, half in red-figure, and one vase in a unique, experimental technique—like red-figure, but the figures reserved on a white ground instead of on the native hue of the vase." *ABV* (1956) 254: "And the red-figure portions of these seven vases? They in their turn are by one artist: is that artist the Lysippides Painter? In *ABS*. I said that he might well be, but I would not decide. Later (in *ARV*.¹ and elsewhere) I made up my mind that he was: I have now come to the conclusion that he is not." *ARV*² (1963) 2: "In *ABS*. I said that [the Lysippides Painter] might be the same as the Andokides Painter—the painter of the red-figure portions of these vases—but I would not decide. Later, in *ARV*. and elsewhere, I made up my mind that the two were the same; but in *ABV*. I came to the conclusion that they were not, and I revived the name of 'Lysippides Painter' for the man who painted the black-figure portions and the all-black-figure vases that go with them." *The Development of Attic Black-figure*, second printing, corrected (Berkeley 1964) 120 (Addenda): "I now confine the name 'Andokides Painter' to the painter of the red-figure work, and take the bf. parts and the bf. vases to be by another, whom I call the Lysippides Painter..."

⁴ See Robertson, *AVP* 2–6 and Sparkes, *RB* 90–112 for a summary of the controversy.

⁵ See, for example, D. Williams, in T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey eds., *Looking at Greek Vases* (Cambridge 1991) 103–104, B.A. Sparkes, *Greek Pottery: An Introduction* (Manchester 1991) 97, and Robertson, *AVP* 12–14. See Cohen, *Bilingual* 106–10, on the theory that the Andokides Painter had not been trained as a black-figure vase-painter, especially 106: "...it is apparent that the Andokides Painter had not been trained in the old technique: his earliest vases are farther from black-figure than later works. He began his career in vase-decoration employing a technique of his own invention." On the theory that the Andokides Painter had perhaps been a "colorist of relief sculpture" who may have worked on the Siphnian Treasury, see Cohen, *Bilingual* 110–17, and *Agora* xxx 82; in opposition, Williams (supra) 105, and Robertson, *AVP* 11–12.

⁶ Supra n. 2 and see M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975) 653 n. 107; Robertson, *AVP* 297 n. 13; and Cohen, *Bilingual* 1–3, and 105 n. 3 for summaries (selected) of scholarly opinion prior to 1992. See also *Agora* xxx, 83, in support of Cohen, on which see below.

⁷ D. von Bothmer, "Andokides the Potter and the Andokides Painter," *BMMA* 24 (1965–1966) 201–12.

⁸ Cohen, *Bilingual* 1–193, 246–54.

⁹ Sparkes, *RB* 107–12.

¹⁰ Seventeen vases are listed by Cohen as having been painted by the Andokides Painter in their entirety or in part. The group includes fourteen amphorae of type A and three cups, some of which are represented only by fragments. They comprise, in Cohen's general chronological order for each category, the following vases. *Red-figured amphorae*: New York 63.11.6 (*ARV*² 1617.2 bis; with black-figure on white ground on the lip); Berlin 2159 (*ARV*² 3.1); Louvre G 1 (*ARV*² 3.2); Basel BS 491 (*ARV*² 3.4 as Swiss private; *Add*² 149); Leipzig T 635 (*ARV*² 3.3); Orvieto, Faina 64 (*ARV*² 3.5); Taranto-Reggio (*ARV*² 3.6 and 1617). *White-ground amphora*: Louvre F 203 (*ARV*² 4.13). *Bilingual amphorae*: Boston 01.8037 (*ARV*² 4.7; *ABV* 254.2); Bologna 151 (*ARV*² 4.10; *ABV* 255.5); Louvre F 204 (*ARV*² 4.11; *ABV* 254.1); London B 193 (*ARV*² 4.8; *ABV* 254.3); Munich 2301 (*ARV*² 4.9; *ABV* 255.4); Boston 99.538 (*ARV*² 4.12; *ABV* 255.6). *Red-figured cups*: Budapest 51.28 (*ARV*² 1617; *Add*² 150); Centre Island, private collection (Cohen, *Bilingual* 247). *Bilingual cup*: Palermo v 650 (*ARV*² 5.14, 37.1; *ABV* 255.7, 256.21).

the end of the nineteenth century, based on a corpus of signed vases,¹¹ although the distinction between Andokides the potter and the Andokides Painter had not yet been made. The bilingual vases were of particular interest, and, with Furtwängler's observation that the pictures on the two sides of one of these vases (Munich 2301) really were quite different,¹² the problem had been formulated. The question was subsequently taken up by a number of scholars, some of whom wrote extensively, and usefully, on the subject; but no one (until Cohen) attempted a comprehensive stylistic analysis, vase by vase, of all the works involved. This included Beazley, who had listed the vases attributed to the Andokides Painter¹³ and the Lysippides Painter¹⁴ without providing detailed justification in print, such as he did for the work of several other painters.¹⁵ This left the field free for speculation. Perhaps the most familiar remarks are those of John Boardman published in his widely used handbooks.

From *Athenian Black Figure Vases: A Handbook* (1974):

Five of the vases signed by the potter Andokides are by one hand—the Andokides Painter... Other red figure vases and bilinguals can be attributed to this artist. It would seem reasonable to suppose that only one man was involved, whatever the technique, but Beazley changed his mind twice about this and in the end preferred to attribute the black figure work to a second artist, the Lysippides Painter. There is a clear general congruence of style, and although exact comparisons of detail between the techniques is not always easy, such a fine artist might have gone out of his way to vary detail and composition even when the scenes on a single vase were superficially replicas. If so he was very thorough on some vases. Indeed, it looks as though this could have been the artist's intention, since the problem arises most acutely with some bilinguals [Munich 2301]¹⁶ and not with many of the attributed all-black-figure and all-red-figure vases where the work of a single hand is more clear [Louvre F 204; Moscow 70].¹⁷ So the Andokides Painter did paint black figure and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that he and the Lysippides Painter are one and the same.¹⁸

From *Athenian Red Figure Vases, the Archaic Period: A Handbook* (1975):

From [the Andokides Painter's] hand we have at least fourteen amphorae and two cups, and half of these also display the black figure technique—six amphorae are 'bilingual'...; one cup exterior shares techniques.... The black figure work can be recognised on a number of other wholly black figure vases attributed by Beazley to the Lysippides Painter. He changed his mind more than once about whether in fact two artists or only one was involved, deciding finally for two, but this is a solution which many other scholars have found it difficult to accept.... The difficulty arises when comparisons are attempted between similar scenes executed in the two techniques. Three of the bilingual amphorae present virtually the same scene on each side. On the Boston amphora with Herakles and a bull the corre-

¹¹ R. Norton, "Andokides," *AJA* 11 (1896) 1–41. Five signed vases are now attributed to the Andokides Painter: New York 63.11.6, Berlin 2159, Louvre G 1, Louvre F 203, and Palermo v 650. See *Agora* xxx, 81, and Cohen, *Bilingual* 3–8.

¹² *Supra* n. 1.

¹³ First in *Attische Vasenmaler* (*supra* n. 3) 7–9.

¹⁴ First in *ABS* 38–41.

¹⁵ For instance for the Berlin Painter, the Pan Painter, and the Kleophrades Painter: *Der Berliner Maler/The Berlin Painter* (Berlin 1930 and Mainz 1974); *Der Pan Maler/The Pan Painter* (Berlin 1931 and Mainz 1974); *Der Kleophrades Maler/The Kleophrades Painter* (Berlin 1933 and Mainz 1974); *The Berlin Painter* (Melbourne 1964); and related publications including: "The Master of the Berlin Amphora," *JHS* 31 (1911) 276–95; "Citharoedus," *JHS* 42 (1922) 70–98; "The Master of the Boston Pan Krater," *JHS* 32 (1912) 354–69; "Kleophrades," *JHS* 30 (1910) 38–68 (and see citations in the 1974 English editions of the monographs listed above). See D.C. Kurtz and J.D. Beazley, *The Berlin Painter* (Oxford 1983) for Beazley's drawings from vases by the Berlin Painter. See also Sparkes, *RB* 94–100 for an assessment of Beazley's achievement in his publications on these artists.

¹⁶ Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 161; here Pl. 79a–b.

¹⁷ Boardman, *ABFH* figs. 162–63. Boardman compares the red-figured depiction (attributed to the Andokides Painter) of Herakles and Cerberus on the bilingual amphora Louvre F 204 and the black-figured depiction (attributed to the Lysippides Painter) of the same subject on the black-figured amphora Moscow 70 (*ABV* 255.8).

¹⁸ Boardman, *ABFH* 105.

spondence is close....¹⁹ On the other vases the differences are so great that either a different hand was at work, or our artist was very deliberately covering his traces and demonstrating differences. The red figure on the other bilinguals so closely matches the black figure of the 'Lysippides Painter' [Louvre F 204; Moscow 70]²⁰ that identity seems assured; so the Andokides Painter did paint black figure, but did he paint all the black figure on his bilingual vases? As in all such problems of attribution the answer lies in study of detail and in study of theme and composition. On the latter score identity is almost total—similar preoccupation with certain Herakles scenes and similar treatment of them.... With the details of drawing the answer is less clear. Many features are alike—helmets, trees, animals, ornaments—but the minor anatomical details which so often prove decisive in attribution present problems. Knee caps are favoured for display of pattern. On the black figures they are rendered usually as a swelling Cupid's-bow shape: on the red figures by two long hooks....²¹ But on [Boston 99.538]²² the red figure knee resembles the black figure and when we reflect on the difference of technique the divergence is explained.²³

However inadvertently, these comments presage the deconstruction of the "Morellian" method of stylistic analysis, on which the entire system of attribution had been based. "General congruence of style" despite discrepancies in detail, "preoccupation" with certain scenes and "similar treatment" of them despite consistent deviation in the rendering of the components, and reasonableness of approach seem here to have superseded rigorous analysis based on the close observation and comparison of detail, the way in which elements are combined in a composition, and the overall effect achieved as a result. The suggestion that the Andokides Painter changed his stylistic signature completely in order to "cover his traces" negates the principles by which the corpus had been built up. Finally, the difference in styles is explained by the exigencies of the two different techniques, a popular but unsubstantiated claim advanced by proponents of the *Einheit* of the two painters.²⁴

These and other theories were addressed in Cohen's definitive study, *Attic Bilingual Vases and Their Painters*,²⁵ which presented a thorough analysis of the entire group of vases attributed to each artist. Examined were the painters' drawing styles, means of rendering detail, preferences for kinds of objects, choice of themes, types of compositions,²⁶ and more generally their artistic personalities,²⁷ which she was able to evaluate as a result of her analysis—and which she found to be very different. Cohen was able to place in chronological order the vases attributed to each painter and to establish a relationship between the two discrete groups of vases with reference to the bilinguals.²⁸ This enabled her to show that the black-figured works attributed to the Lysippides Painter by Beazley constituted a viable corpus painted by one artist and that the Andokides Painter had not painted any of these black-figured scenes. She understood that many of the similarities in composition and detail stemmed from the influence of one artist on the other during the period of their collaboration.

¹⁹ Boardman, *ARFH* I fig. 8, and *ABFH* fig. 164 (Boston 99.538).

²⁰ Boardman, *ABFH* figs. 162–63. *Supra* n. 17.

²¹ Boardman, *ARFH* I fig. 5 (Budapest 51.28), fig. 9 (Orvieto, Faina 64).

²² Boardman, *ARFH* I fig. 8.

²³ Boardman, *ARFH* I 15–16.

²⁴ H. Marwitz, "Zur Einheit des Andokidesmalers," *ÖJh* 46 (Vienna 1961–1963) 10–104; and elsewhere.

²⁵ *Supra* n. 8.

²⁶ On the distinctive artistic conventions that serve to identify the works of the Lysippides Painter and those of the Andokides Painter, and the ramifications of these conventions, see Cohen, *Bilingual* 10–12, 15–16, 19, 29, 43–44, 59–67, 70, 76–83, 88–89, 92–101, 106–13, 120–31, 137–40, 142–48, 153–81, 186–91, 250–53, *inter alia*.

²⁷ Cohen, *Bilingual* 43–44.

²⁸ What follows is, in brief, Cohen's general chronology of the vases attributed to the Lysippides Painter; in the interest of saving space, Cohen's alphanumeric designations only are given; vase identifications can be found in her volume: A1–A14 (A: black-figure), D1 (D: red-figure with subsidiary decoration in black-figure), B1–B3 (B: bilingual), A15, B4–6, A16–20, B7, A21; the series of bilinguals begins after the period of production of the early black-figured amphorae. For the Andokides Painter: D1, C1–C3 (C: red-figure), E1 (E: other), C4, B1, C5, B3, E2, C6–C7, B2, B4–B7; also, Cohen, *Bilingual* 118 (for Swiss read Basel, for Budapest E1 read E2, and add C6 in the cups category); the series of bilingual vases begins at the end of the period of production of the red-figured amphorae, after Bothmer (*supra* n. 7) 212.

Boardman's assertion that "the Andokides Painter did paint black figure" is based on the comparison of the red-figured depiction attributed to the Andokides Painter on a bilingual amphora (Louvre F 204) with the black-figured depiction attributed to the Lysippides Painter on an all black-figure amphora (Moscow 70).²⁹ The two paintings show Herakles approaching Cerberus, who eyes him warily from within a Doric portico at the entrance to Hades. Cohen was able to demonstrate that this comparison not only does not provide evidence for such an assertion but that it shows clearly that the two painters were distinct.³⁰ The cast of characters varies, with the red-figured scene showing Herakles, Cerberus, and Athena; the black-figured scene Herakles, Cerberus, Hermes, and Persephone. On inspection, the two pictures, while superficially alike, are actually quite different in composition, mood, and the rendering of detail. Dissimilar are the red-figured and black-figured depictions of the Doric portico, which Cohen sees as evidence for the influence of the red-figure painter's scene on that of the black-figure artist:

The Andokides Painter's portico is a convincing construction: a fluted column topped by a Doric capital supports an architrave with a frieze of triglyphs and metopes. In the Lysippides Painter's Doric structure an unfluted column supports the architrave. Although it is normal for a triglyph to be placed at the corner of the frieze, here there is a metope. The triglyphs themselves are mutant forms, really diglyphs. The red-figure artist has closely observed actual architecture; the black-figure artist has merely observed the work of the red-figure one. A superficial and misunderstood imitation of the red-figure portico appears on Moscow 70.³¹

A review of the subsequent scholarly literature on the subject reveals that the reception of Cohen's elucidating study was far from enthusiastic. When her monograph³² was acknowledged at all, the importance of her contribution was generally overlooked in favor of earlier opinions. John Boardman's comments continued to be of influence, as may be exemplified by a passage from Jeffrey Hurwit's 1985 survey, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100–480 B.C.*:

Whatever made him invent Red figure, the Andokides Painter spent a lot of his time testing the relative values of black and red, often on the same vase and sometimes even within the same scene: on the exterior of a cup in Palermo he switched from one technique to the other in the middle of a fight [Palermo v 650]. These technical experiments are called bilingual vases, and that is an especially good term for a few amphorae whose Black and Red figure sides are more or less translations of each other—almost like the negative and positive of a photograph.³³

This is followed by a footnote:

That the Andokides Painter painted Black figure as well as Red is certain, that he painted the Black figure scenes on all his bilingual vases is not. The most recent defense of the position that a distinct personality, the Lysippides Painter, should be credited with the Black figure scenes is Beth Cohen's *Attic Bilingual Vases and Their Painters* (New York, 1978), esp. 1–8, 105–10.³⁴

In other publications that dealt with the subject, Cohen's conclusions went all but unnoticed—inexplicably so in the case of Martin Robertson's monumental study of 1992, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens*:

²⁹ Supra nn. 17, 20. K. Schauenburg, "Eine neue Amphora des Andokidesmalers," *Jdl* 76 (1961) 66–68, for the use of this comparison to indicate the identity of the two artists.

³⁰ Cohen, *Bilingual* 94–101.

³¹ Cohen, *Bilingual* 97.

³² Published in the series, Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts, Garland Publishing, Inc.; originally presented as the author's Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts 1977.

³³ J. Hurwit, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100–480 B.C.* (Ithaca 1985) 285–86. For Palermo v 650, see Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 160.

³⁴ Hurwit (supra n. 33) 286.

The black-figure and red-figure compositions on one vase, while sometimes quite different and sometimes the same scene with variations, are in other cases all but identical; and a peculiar rendering of Herakles squatting to tempt Cerberus to come on the lead is found in red-figure on an amphora in the Louvre by the Andokides Painter, and on an all black-figured one in Moscow by the Lysippides. There is also a cup in Palermo with the name of Andokides as *poietes* and bilingual decoration....

If this is the work of two men it shows very close collaboration of an unusual kind, and it is easier to think it the work of one. Against this is the fact that the Andokidean and Lysippidean styles look different, the black-figure being markedly stronger. That could be because black-figure was the technique in which the single artist got his training, in the other he was feeling his way. I have argued in the past for this, but I am not happy with it. The difference in style seems deeper, a matter of character, and it was this I suppose which led Beazley, after several changes of opinion, to come down firmly in favour of separating the artists.³⁵

This is followed by an endnote listing several main proponents in the debate, but without reference to Cohen's publication.³⁶ Robertson subsequently refers to "the Lysippides/Andokides partnership, or painter,"³⁷ and for him the question remains unresolved.

Brian Sparkes, in *The Red and the Black: Studies in Greek Pottery* (1996), his comprehensive assessment of the state of the discipline, barely mentions the Andokides Painter and makes no reference at all to the controversy. This is surely in deference to revisionist notions that question not only the validity of attribution but also its importance for the study of Greek vases.³⁸ Sparkes nonetheless indicates his support for Beazley's analytical method in theory,³⁹ although he seems more ambivalent about its efficacy in practice:

...now there is no Beazley to propose an attribution or to put his *imprimatur* on an attribution suggested by another scholar. This has been seen both as a problem in itself for the future of connoisseurship and has gone some way to a challenging of the whole approach.⁴⁰

The identity of the Andokides Painter has been lost in the shuffle; clearly, a reassessment of the situation is now warranted. This was initiated by Mary Moore in her 1997 publication of the red-figured and white-ground vases from the Athenian agora, where Cohen's arguments were presented—and supported—for the first time in print:

³⁵ Robertson, *AVP* 10–11.

³⁶ Robertson (*AVP* 297 n. 11) does cite Cohen, *Bilingual* but only in relation to the question in dispute and not with respect to Cohen's conclusions. Robertson, *AVP* 10: "...the question is endlessly disputed whether the Lysippides and the Andokides Painter were one man or two."

³⁷ Robertson, *AVP* 13.

³⁸ B. Sparkes, *RB* 16: "The cup [Palermo v 650] is signed by the potter Andokides. Some cups have the two techniques divided between interior tondo and exterior; and amphorae have back and front in different techniques (these are all now usually called 'bilinguals'; Cohen 1978 [Cohen, *Bilingual*]). For whatever reason (Cohen 1989 [B. Cohen, "Oddities of Very Early Red-figure and a New Fragment at the Getty," *Greek Vases in the Getty Museum* 4 (OPA 5) (1989) 73–82]; Williams 1991a [D. Williams, in Rasmussen and Spivey (supra n. 5) 103–30]), whether a personal decision by one potter or painter (the Andokides Painter, Psiax, Nikosthenes?), or prompted by outside influences (metalwork, painted metopes), the new technique increases in importance as the century closes...." Reference to the Andokides Painter is limited to this passage, with an additional mention in the information given for fig. 1:10 (the Palermo cup) in the list of illustrations at the front of the volume (p. ix): "Athenian 'bilingual' cup, with archers and trumpeter, signed by Andokides as potter and attributed to the Lysippides Painter (black-figure) and the Andokides Painter (red-figure), from Chiusi...." For arguments against the practice of connoisseurship, see 107–12.

³⁹ Sparkes, *RB* 112: "It is time to play down the search for attributions but not to jettison it altogether; not to be seduced by the attractions of exciting pastures new, nor to be carried off reluctantly by the force of novel arguments. I believe that whatever uncertainties surround the method (and they should not be minimised), it does work and has led to real results. But there are other fields to enter, and those who question the emphasis on attribution are right to point to other pressing needs that should be addressed: distribution, contexts of use, meaning and interpretation."

⁴⁰ Sparkes, *RB* 94.

The early work of the Andokides Painter is in pure red figure. Seven bilingual vases comprise most of the middle and late work of the artist, who decorated the red-figured part of each; the black-figured work is attributed to the Lysippides Painter, a pupil of Exekias. Whether these are two separate artists or a single man decorating vases in both techniques is a question that has long tantalized students of Greek vases. On at least one occasion, Beazley opted for a single artist, but his final decision was to keep the two painters apart. The most persuasive and detailed arguments for distinguishing the Andokides Painter from the Lysippides Painter and demonstrating their collaboration are those of Cohen. Her case for two painters is a very strong one; barring new discoveries or perceptions that would tip the scale in favor of a single artist, the controversy may now probably be put to rest.⁴¹

One would like to see this accomplished, and to this end some additional evidence—of a different sort—may here be of interest. The remarks that follow may be prefaced by certain of Cohen's observations regarding the "artistic personalities" of the two painters. As already mentioned, the red-figure artist knew how to depict the Doric order, although the black-figure artist seemed less sure.⁴² Elsewhere, the red-figure artist "has analyzed the mechanics of fold-representation very carefully" in the rendering of the skirt of an Amazon, while the black-figure artist "has captured the general effect...but not the details."⁴³ In another instance, the red-figure artist has demonstrated the effects of gravity, while the black-figure artist seemed hardly interested.⁴⁴ "The artist of the red-figure composition has a feeling for the appropriate description of individual substances that is foreign to the sensibility of the black-figure painter"⁴⁵ and "one man understanding what he has observed, as opposed to the unwitting use of convention by the other."⁴⁶ While not unrelated to questions of style, these observations may be considered apart from such questions, referring as they do to a difference in the *cognitive* faculties of the two artists. This cognitive difference is revealed in the artists' drawing. This can be easily demonstrated for one of the bilingual vases by reference to another Greek craft.

The bilingual vase Munich 2301⁴⁷ is a beautiful type A amphora that was once in the collection of King Ludwig I of Bavaria (Pl. 79a–b).⁴⁸ In his 1895 guide to the collection, Furtwängler identified the vase as a work of "Andokides," a potter in the forefront of the introduction of the red-figure technique.⁴⁹ It was included in the group of vases ascribed to "Andokides" (or "at least intimately connected with him") by Richard Norton in 1896.⁵⁰ In 1904, Furtwängler published a comparison of the red-figured and black-figured scenes in *Griechische Vasenmalerei* and suggested that the paintings might have been executed by two different artists in the workshop of Andokides.⁵¹ This is the vase that stands at the beginning of the controversy over the identity of the Andokides Painter.

⁴¹ *Agora* xxx 82–83.

⁴² *Supra* n. 31.

⁴³ Cohen, *Bilingual* 42.

⁴⁴ Cohen, *Bilingual* 190, on Boston 99.538: "It is instructive to focus upon the wineskins in the two compositions: the red-figure ones hang heavily, they are drawn by the pull of gravity; the black-figure ones, although more plumply filled, float like balloons."

⁴⁵ On Munich 2301: Cohen, *Bilingual* 184.

⁴⁶ Cohen, *Bilingual* 61. On the Palermo cup (Palermo v 650), Cohen states (*Bilingual* 64): "The spirals on the greaves of the red-figure warriors are in the correct place. On the black-figure side, one pair of warriors seem to have had no spirals at all on their greaves; the other pair do have spirals on their greaves, but in the wrong place. The variation in greave spirals between the two sides of the Palermo cup is not the result of sheer chance. Aside from all other criteria, these seemingly insignificant spirals alone indicate that the cup was painted by two different men."

⁴⁷ ARV² 4.9; ABV 255.4.

⁴⁸ O. Jahn, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung König Ludwigs in der Pinakothek zu München* (Munich 1854) 129 no. 388.

⁴⁹ A. Furtwängler, *Führer durch die Vasensammlung König Ludwigs I. in der Alten Pinakothek zu München* (Leipzig 1895) 14.

⁵⁰ Following Furtwängler, Norton (*supra* n. 11); for a discussion of Munich 2301, 27–30.

⁵¹ Furtwängler (*supra* n. 1) 15–18.

On both sides of the amphora the same subject is apparently depicted: Herakles reclines on an elegant Greek couch, or kline,⁵² while Athena stands at the left extending her hand in a gesture of greeting. The scene has been interpreted as the hero's apotheosis, with Herakles at rest in the dwelling of the gods on Olympus, about to enjoy the fruits of his labors in the form of a splendid feast set out for him on a table.⁵³ An undulating vine laden with clusters of grapes forms a shady arbor over the hero; and wine will surely accompany the meal, as indicated by the presence of a kylix and a kantharos. In the black-figured scene, two figures have been added, Hermes at the left behind Athena, and a "cup-bearer" at the right tending a large dinos on a stand. As has often been noted, the weapons that serve to identify Herakles—his sword, bow, and quiver—hang on the wall behind him only in the black-figured scene. The feast will include, in the red-figured scene, five rounded loaves of bread, three pieces of red meat, held in place by a knife, and perhaps five small fruits served on a plate; to the right of the plate is a small, unidentified object and a kylix. In the black-figured scene, on a smaller table, are a kylix at left, three fruits (?), not on a plate, three strips of meat, and two lumpy breads.⁵⁴ There are noteworthy differences between the two scenes in terms of composition and the rendering of detail, and these have been taken as evidence that two separate painters were at work.⁵⁵ Such stylistic distinctions are, however, not my concern here; the following discussion will relate to the depiction of the furniture.

The couches shown on Munich 2301 are a well-known Archaic Greek type,⁵⁶ with straight legs that are carved back from both sides at a point two-thirds of the way down, creating addorsed curves that form a characteristic cut-out motif.⁵⁷ At the top and bottom of the cut-out section, the ends of the curves take the form of outturned tendrils (sometimes terminating in volutes); from these issue palmettes above and below.⁵⁸ At the middle of the cut-out section are circular elements to the left and right, decorative extensions which might also have served to strengthen the leg at its thinnest part. The legs at the head

⁵² Richter, *Furniture* 52.

⁵³ Pind. *Nem.* 1.69–72. The scene was identified as the apotheosis of Herakles by Furtwängler (supra n. 51), after Jahn (supra n. 48), who thought that the black-figured scene showed Herakles but the red-figured scene Dionysos. See J.-M. Dentzer, *Le Motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VII^e au I^{er} siècle avant J.-C.* (Rome 1982) 117–18. See also T.H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art* (Oxford 1986) 98–118, for the possibility that the reclining figure in the red-figured scene is Dionysos, for ambiguities relating to the interpretation of the scenes, and for a discussion of the imagery depicted.

⁵⁴ Furtwängler (supra n. 1) 16–17; Lullies (supra n. 2) 9–10.

⁵⁵ Cohen, *Bilingual* 89–94, 180–86.

⁵⁶ The first evidence for this type of Greek couch dates from the late seventh century B.C., and the form persists into the Roman period. Infra n. 58 and Richter, *Furniture* 110.

⁵⁷ Richter, *Furniture* 58–59. Richter calls this type "couch with rectangular legs," "with carved-out incisions," after Ransom; this designation is lacking in precision and will not be used here. See also Ransom, *Couches* 20–23; H. Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen* (Berlin 1969) 151–54 (Möbelbeintypus B); and Dentzer (supra n. 53) 76–130, and elsewhere.

⁵⁸ The addorsed curves with palmettes springing from the volutes formed at the top and bottom must somehow be related to Phoenician or North Syrian antecedents, found, for instance, on ivories from Nimrud. See J. Orchard, *Equestrian Bridle-Harness Ornaments* (London 1967) pls. 7, 37, 41. The upper and lower parts of the cut-out motif, when seen as separate elements, resemble the volutes of Aeolic capitals, with large palmettes fanning out from the center. This motif is common on the Nimrud ivories; see, for instance, G. Herrmann, *Ivories from Room sw 37, Fort Shalmaneser* (London 1986) pls. 107–20. It was this kind of motif that the Greeks adapted for their painted pottery. See especially the decoration on a Melian amphora in Athens that features volutes with central palmettes, disposed in a configuration not unlike that on the legs of the Greek couches (P.E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *A History of 1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting* [London 1962] pl. 23, below). For a tantalizing design on an earlier terra-cotta object, see the decoration on the side of the model building from Argos (W. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* [London 1950] fig. 15). That the Greek couch type might have its origins in Phoenicia or North Syria is possible, but no Near Eastern prototypes have been recognized. Richter claims that this couch type, like the Greek throne with similar legs, is a native Greek invention (Richter, *Furniture* 58). The earliest scenes of Greek banqueters reclining on such couches are found on Corinthian vases of the late seventh century B.C. (H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* [Oxford 1931] 54, 118; and Dentzer [supra n. 53] 76–87). These scenes have often been compared with the banquet of Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.) on a relief from Nineveh (E. Strommenger and M. Hirmer, *5000 Years of the Art of Mesopotamia* [New York 1964] fig. 241), taken to be the earliest depiction of a reclining banqueter from the Near East. The relationship between the Greek and Assyrian representations is ambiguous, and while the custom of reclining at a banquet is thought to have come to Greece from the Orient, the origin of the custom and its means of transmission are uncertain (Dentzer [supra n. 53] 51–58, 143–52).

of the bed are normally taller than those at the foot and are crowned by Aeolic capitals, complete with palmettes that spring from the center.⁵⁹ The legs at both the head and foot are topped by abacus blocks, and sometimes the legs are supported on tall bases.

The legs were joined at their tops by horizontal rails, forming the frame of the kline. The frame was fitted with cording or other materials to make up the resting surface or platform.⁶⁰ On top of this was laid a mattress, and a pillow was placed at the couch's head. The textiles were often sumptuous, and were certainly colorful, woven or embroidered with patterns, as can be seen from their depiction on vases. In the Archaic period, couches were almost always made of wood, which could be painted with decorative designs and fitted with other materials,⁶¹ as is suggested by the versions on Munich 2301 and from numerous other depictions. The wood joinery is often indicated on representations of these couches, and it is shown clearly enough on some of them for the method of joinery to be understood. It is obvious from a survey of representations of Greek couches that some of the artists had a thorough knowledge not only of the form but also of the construction of the kline.

The most accurate renderings of Greek couches are those found in sculpture, both in the round and in relief. The sculptor was required to "make" the kline in stone, and to do this it was necessary that he understand the design and construction of the object. This is best exemplified in a number of sculpted reliefs and stone couches recovered from funerary contexts. A marble relief from Thasos (Pl. 80a) dating to the early fifth century B.C. shows the deceased reclining on a kline with carved legs, with a table in front (and a dog underneath).⁶² The couch is of the same type as on the Munich amphora, although the painted decoration is no longer evident. The long rail of the frame joins the leg at the foot of the couch near its top, and the leg at the head just below the Aeolic capital. One can imagine that the short rails recede back into space behind the legs; because the couch is carved in relief, the position of the short rails is not ascertainable.

A stone kline found in a chamber tomb near ancient Corinth (Pl. 80b) gives more evidence for the construction.⁶³ The legs at the head of the couch are surmounted by Aeolic capitals, and all four legs have bases in the form of paired outturned volutes.⁶⁴ This and other details must have been rendered in paint no longer clearly visible.⁶⁵ The long rails join the legs at the same positions as on the couch in the Thasos relief. The short rail that runs between the legs at the foot of the couch is placed at the same level as the long side rails.⁶⁶ The short rail that connects the legs at the head of the couch joins the legs below the capitals; above this a high rail runs between the abacus blocks and provides a support for a pillow. Both these stone examples are lacking in obvious indications of joinery, which may have been rendered in paint now missing.⁶⁷

⁵⁹ P. Betancourt, *The Aeolic Style in Architecture* (Princeton 1977) 119–20, 146.

⁶⁰ The construction of the platform of these couches is not fully understood, as no complete wooden beds of this type survive. Information can be gleaned from existing representations, however, on which see Richter, *Furniture* 53 and Ransom, *Couches* pl. 5.

⁶¹ Ransom, *Couches* 39; Richter, *Furniture* 53. Wooden couches could be overlaid with ivory and decorated with other materials in the Archaic period, on which see Ransom 40–41 for evidence from the fifth century and later. Decorative fragments from a sixth century couch recovered from a grave in the Kerameikos were of ivory, bone, and amber (infra n. 70). That precious metal fittings were not common for couches before the fifth century B.C. is evident from the Greeks' astonishment at the luxurious gold- and silver-plated couches of the Persians among the spoils from the battle of Plataea (Herodotus 9.80–82).

⁶² Istanbul Archaeological Museum inv. 1947; Richter, *Furniture* fig. 317.

⁶³ Corinth, Museum inv. A372; R. Carpenter and A. Bon, *Corinth III*, pt. 2: *The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town* (Princeton 1936) 297–301; *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 133, pl. 48a; Richter, *Furniture* 61 ("of the fourth to third century B.C."), fig. 323.

⁶⁴ For the form of these volute bases, see fig. 2.

⁶⁵ Carpenter and Bon (supra n. 63) 299: "It is natural to assume that painted volutes and scrolls must once have adorned the legs and bolster-ends; but no trace of line or color has survived on the stucco. On the other hand, the carving...has endured uninjured, and proves that every detail of the cabinet-maker's craft had been copied in stone and stucco from the wooden prototype."

⁶⁶ *Hesperia* 31 (1962) pl. 48a.

⁶⁷ Other examples of sculpture can be cited to support this understanding of the placement of the rails of the couch frame. See Richter, *Furniture* 58–61; and also the terra-cotta cinerary urn in the form of a sarcophagus, found in Cerveteri, now in the Villa Giulia (M. Sprenger, G. Bartoloni, and M. and A. Hirmer, *The Etruscans* [New York 1983] fig. 114). Two stone couches in a sixth century B.C. chamber tomb cut into the west face of

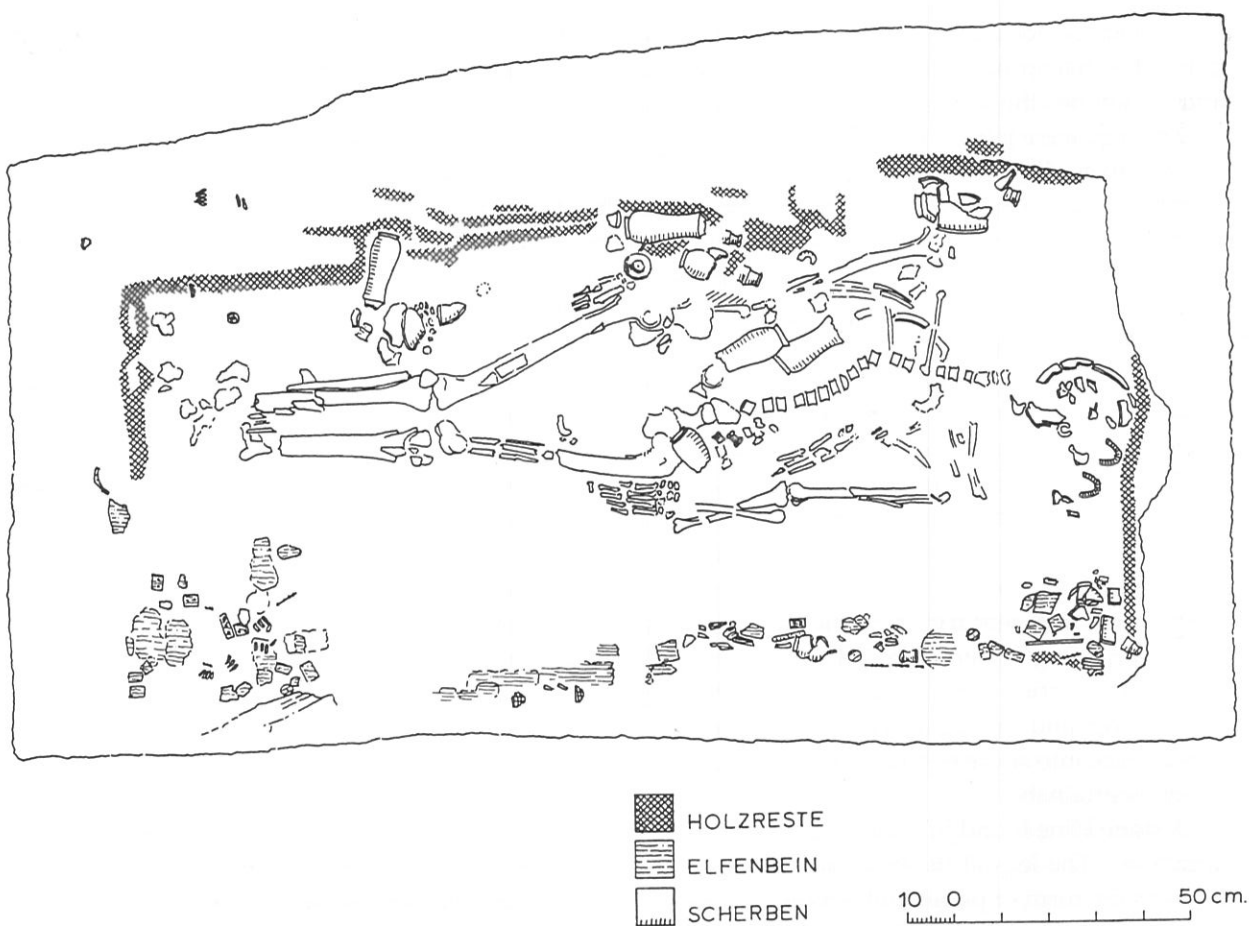


Fig. 1. Grave 3 (HW 87), Kerameikos, Athens, showing the remains of the kline *in situ* (drawing: L. Monteagudo in *Kerameikos IX*, fig. 21; courtesy, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens).

The kind of joinery that must have been used for these couches can be seen on representations of Greek thrones that have the same kind of carved legs with Aeolic capitals. One of the finest is the throne of the seated goddess in Berlin (Pl. 80c–e).⁶⁸ The four rails of the seat frame, placed at the same height, were affixed to the legs below the capitals by means of mortise-and-tenon joinery. The rail at the back (and presumably also the front) had tenons that extended from the ends of the rail; these were fitted into mortises cut through the sides of the back legs. The tenons ran all the way through the legs and extended slightly; their ends are represented in the stone, indicating that these were without doubt “through tenons” (Pl. 80d).⁶⁹

Many more examples of fine Greek couches are to be found in depictions on vases. While their construction is perhaps less easily understood in the painted representations, details of the ornamentation

the Phrygian citadel at Midas City (Yazılıkaya) should be noted. These were of the type here under discussion, with the four rails of the frame placed at the same height; there was an additional high rail at the head of the couch, which was supported by the tops of the legs and an intermediate post extending up between them. Tragically, the tomb was vandalized by treasure hunters in June 1997, and the legs and rails of the couches were smashed to bits. I am grateful to Veysel Gündoğu for providing me with photographs taken before the damage.

⁶⁸ Richter, *Furniture* 25, figs. 101–103; fifth century B.C.

⁶⁹ Again, many other examples can be cited, for instance, an Archaic seated statue from Didyma in the British Museum that shows clear evidence of through tenons on both the fronts and sides of the legs of the throne (E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens* [Berlin 1961] fig. 189, and see also figs. 190–91).

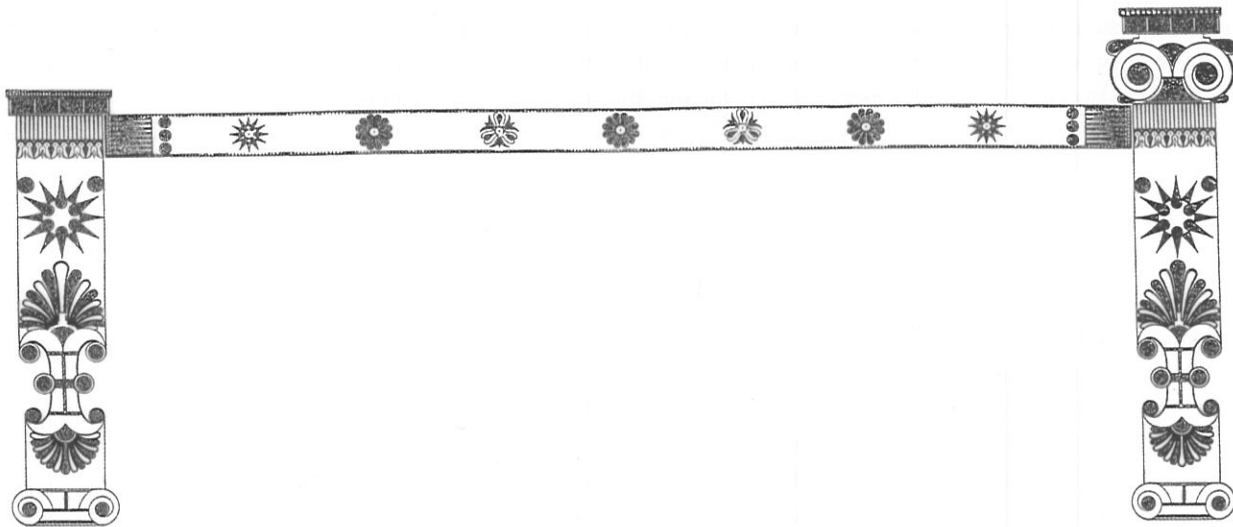


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the kline from Grave 3, Kerameikos, Athens (drawing: B. Klein in *Kerameikos* IX, fig. 22; courtesy, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens).

and joinery more often remain visible. The vase-paintings indicate that the legs and frame could be artfully decorated, as in the red-figured depiction attributed to the Andokides Painter on the Munich bilingual amphora (Pl. 79a). This beautiful kline is embellished with palmettes above and below the carved sections of the legs, large star rosettes placed above the palmettes, smaller rosettes alternating with swastikas on the long rail of the frame, and panels with ray decoration at the ends of the rail. Fragments of an Archaic Greek kline of this type found in a grave in the Kerameikos indicate the way in which such a couch might have been decorated.⁷⁰ The Kerameikos kline had been made of wood, which had completely disintegrated. However, ivory, bone, and amber fragments were recovered from the south side of the tomb (Fig. 1),⁷¹ indicating that the wood frame had been veneered with these materials on its front surface. The splintered ivory fragments have now been reconstituted, providing evidence for a reconstruction of the veneered ornamentation (Fig. 2).⁷² White ivory covered the flat areas that surrounded the decorative elements, the round bosses were carved amber, and the petals of the palmettes were alternately amber and bone.⁷³ The Andokides Painter's depiction on the Munich amphora must represent some such lavish production.

The Andokides Painter's kline was clearly constructed by means of mortise-and-tenon joinery. Beyond the ends of the long rail, on the faces of the legs, are indications of through tenons that served to join the legs to the short rails at the head and foot of the couch. Painted rectangles indicate the ends of the tenons extending through open mortises; these rectangles are filled in with a series of vertical strokes. This seemingly insignificant detail is nonetheless remarkable, as it shows that the Andokides Painter had an unusual knowledge of wood joinery. The vertical strokes indicate the end grain of the wood at the ends of the tenons: this must have been all but invisible, yet the painter knew of its existence and chose to represent it. This is an accurate depiction of the grain at the end of such a tenon: the grain of the wood

⁷⁰ Grave 3 (HW 87), circa 520 B.C. The grave contained East Greek and Lydian vessels, leading to the theory that the man buried in the grave had been, perhaps, an envoy from Ionia and that the kline had been imported from this area (*Kerameikos* IX, 60–83; U. Knigge, *Der Kerameikos von Athen: Führung durch Ausgrabungen und Geschichte* [Athens 1988] 101). See also the ivory fragments of a kline from Kul Oba, H. Kyrieleis (supra n. 57) pl. 21.2.

⁷¹ *Kerameikos* IX, fig. 21.

⁷² *Kerameikos* IX, fig. 22.

⁷³ *Kerameikos* IX, 63.

would have run lengthwise—the direction of greatest strength—along all four rails of the couch. This is standard procedure, which would have insured the strength of the rails and kept the tenons at the rails' ends from breaking off.⁷⁴ This detail also indicates the placement of the short rails with respect to the long rails on the Andokides Painter's couch; all four rails of the frame were placed at the same height, as would have been appropriate. The mattress follows the upper contour of the kline, rising up and over the high rail at the head of the couch. This supports a fine, plump pillow, against which Herakles rests as he reclines in comfort on the kline.⁷⁵

The kline on the black-figured side of the Munich amphora is the same type, with the details of the decoration and joinery indicated by incision and added color. Although not clearly visible in photographs of the vase (Pl. 79b), details were added in white, as can be seen in Karl Reichhold's fine drawing.⁷⁶ Both legs were decorated with white palmettes, such as are now clearly visible only on the leg at the left, and above the palmettes were white star rosettes. The abacus blocks at the tops of the legs were painted, at the foot of the couch with a series of white hooks and at the head with a frieze of white dentils, below which is an incised meander. The long side rail was adorned with five dot rosettes, and at the ends of the rail were panels with ray decoration. The spirals of the volutes of the capital are enlivened with white, although no palmette springs from the volute's center.

Solid white lines indicate the ends of the through tenons that joined the short rails at the head and foot of the couch to the legs; these are found in the same position on the legs as on the red-figured couch on the other side of the amphora. The long rail of the black-figured couch, however, is not drawn at the level of the tenons but substantially above them. This would place the long side rails of the couch at a higher level than the short end rails, an unlikely possibility as can be seen from the stone examples.⁷⁷ More probably, the artist did not understand the structural implications of the placement of the white lines he used to indicate the ends of the tenons. Nor did he understand the implications of his placement of the long rail, which does not join the legs at the correct point, but instead runs into the abacus block at the foot and into the side of the volute of the Aeolic capital. Although doing his best with form and detail, the black-figure artist did not understand the rudiments of kline construction, let alone such refinements as produced by the grain of the wood. Nor is he fully at ease with the upholstery: although the couch is furnished with a mattress and pillow, Herakles forgoes their comforts, resting his elbow

⁷⁴ That ancient woodworkers considered this procedure standard is shown from surviving wooden furniture. The largest and best preserved collection of wooden furniture from the first millennium B.C. is that recovered from the royal tombs at Gordion in excavations conducted by the University of Pennsylvania; see E. Simpson, "Phrygian Furniture from Gordion," in G. Herrmann ed., *The Furniture of Western Asia, Ancient and Traditional* (Mainz 1996) 187–209. This furniture, which dates to the eighth century B.C., has been undergoing detailed re-examination since 1978. The grain direction is evident and the joinery well preserved on most of the more than fifty surviving pieces. The wood grain ran lengthwise along boards, stretchers, and rails; and tenons extended from the ends of such pieces in the direction of the grain. See Simpson (supra) pls. 58b, 59a, 60a,c for examples of such tenons. There is one bed in the collection, from Tumulus P, now in extremely fragmentary condition. The form of the bed is not yet well understood, although some of the rails have been recognized. On these, the grain runs lengthwise, and tenons extend from the ends of the rails.

Excavations in the sanctuary of Hera on Samos have yielded a large number of fragmentary wooden objects dated to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.: D. Ohly, "Holz," *AM* 68 (1953) 77–126; G. Kopcke, "Neue Holzfunde aus dem Heraion von Samos," *AM* 82 (1967) 100–48; H. Kyrieleis, "Archaische Holzfunde aus Samos," *AM* 95 (1980) 87–147. The degraded condition of the wood has accentuated the grain on these pieces, making it clear that the grain ran lengthwise along boards and that—as at Gordion—tenons carved from the wood of the boards projected along the direction of the grain. See, for instance, Kyrieleis (supra) pls. 30.1 and 32.1. One fragment is part of a leg from a kline or throne with carved cut-outs, but of a somewhat different form from those under discussion (Kopcke [supra] pl. 72).

⁷⁵ A kline was depicted on one other amphora attributed to the Andokides Painter, surviving only in fragments (Taranto-Reggio: *ARV*² 3.6, 1617). Unfortunately only a portion of the long rail and the right side of the Aeolic capital are preserved. A figure reclines on the kline, the details of which make clear the proper disposition of the fragments: the rail was attached to the leg at the head of the couch at the same point as on the fully preserved example of Munich 2301.

⁷⁶ Furtwängler and Reichhold (supra n. 1) pl. 4.

⁷⁷ Supra n. 67.

instead on the abacus of the capital. Not only does the black-figure artist not know how a Greek kline was made—his hero doesn't know how best to use one.⁷⁸

A comparison of the tables in the two scenes on the Munich amphora provides additional interesting information. The two tables are of the same type, although they differ somewhat in their details. Such tables had three legs with lion-paw feet, normally secured by stretchers, as can be understood from a number of representations.⁷⁹ The table in the black-figured scene shows a single leg at the left, facing out, braced at the top by a console-like element; this element served to increase the bearing surface of the leg where it joined the top of the table. The leg shown at the right, facing front, is one of a pair that supported the right end of the table. These legs had similar braces, although the brace of the leg at the right is not visible, since it would have extended back from the leg top, in toward the table's interior (see Pl. 81a–b). The artist has indicated that the leg at the right was affixed to the table top by means of a through tenon, shown as an irregular rectangle incised in the edge of the top. But despite the painter's interest in depicting the joinery, he did not accurately reproduce the construction details appropriate to this type of table.

The correct method can be seen in the red-figured representation, where the top of the leg is pinned to the outer edge of the table top. Seven pins are visible in this case; the lower three apparently secured the brace to the leg. This basic construction is corroborated by representations of such tables (Pl. 80a)⁸⁰ and by a number of surviving table legs. A bronze leg in Palermo (Pl. 81a), when viewed from the side, shows the way in which it was once joined to a table top.⁸¹ The top had a downturned rim that was set into a slot at the back of the leg face; the leg was then affixed to the rim with pins, their heads displayed prominently on the leg's front surface. A marble leg from Delphi provides evidence for a similar type of construction (Pl. 81b).⁸² In both these cases, the top was set down into the leg, with the edge or rim of the top recessed behind the leg face. This recessed rim can be seen correctly depicted on the Andokides Painter's table.⁸³

The discrepancies in the depictions of the furniture on the red-figured and black-figured sides of the Munich amphora have nothing to do with the style in which the furniture is drawn or even the difference in technique. They reflect an empirical knowledge of the craft of woodworking on the part of the Andokides Painter and no such understanding by his black-figure contemporary.

While other types of furniture are represented on vases attributed to the Andokides Painter and Lysippides Painter, no comparison is as diagnostic as that of the couches and tables on Munich 2301. The other types depicted are much simpler—block-like tables and stools and also folding stools—which admit of less variation. The way that this furniture is used is of some interest for the present discussion: the figures seated on these simple stools look far more comfortable when rendered in red-figure, including Achilles and Ajax on the Boston bilingual amphora⁸⁴ and the figures seated on folding stools on several other vases (Pl. 81c–d).⁸⁵ It is the Munich bilingual amphora, however, that proves that the two artists are different.

⁷⁸ The couches represented on other Greek vases range from those that are depicted correctly to others that are structurally impossible renditions. See Richter, *Furniture* figs. 315–16 (for the former) and figs. 314, 319 (for the latter); see also Kyrieleis (supra n. 57) and Dentzer (supra n. 53) for additional examples.

⁷⁹ Richter, *Furniture* 66–69, figs. 347–49, 365.

⁸⁰ And see Richter, *Furniture* figs. 316, 320, 331–32, 343.

⁸¹ Palermo inv. 1449: Richter, *Furniture* 68, figs. 350–51.

⁸² Delphi inv. 5406: preserved are two legs that once belonged to the same table; see Richter, *Furniture* 68, figs. 352–55. The pins at the top are rendered in stone, giving evidence of the joinery but not being functional.

⁸³ Not only do the two artists differ in their knowledge of the way such a table was made, but also in their understanding of the food placed on it. The food on the red-figured table is arranged in a more orderly fashion and generally looks more convincing. The food on the black-figured table, however, has been seen to lack verisimilitude by Cohen, *Bilingual* 184: "The artist of the red-figure composition has a feeling for the appropriate description of individual substances that is foreign to the sensibility of the black-figure painter. This is a difference that cannot be accounted for merely by the change in technique. The strips of meat hanging over the edge of the black-figure table are long, fat, inarticulated masses—they could just as well be foptails as food. On the red-figure side these masses are clearly shown as sinuous strips of meat, weighted down by a knife."

⁸⁴ Boston 01.8037: Boardman, *ARFH* I fig. 2.

⁸⁵ Pl. 81c: red-figured amphora attributed to the Andokides Painter, Basel BS 491; Pl. 81d: black-figured amphora attributed to the Lysippides Painter, Villa Giulia 24998 (*ABV* 255.9).



Fig. 3. Sketch on the black-figured side of Munich 2301 (drawing: E. Simpson, after K. Reichhold in *FR I* [1904] pl. 4).



Fig. 4. Sketch on the red-figured side of Munich 2301 (drawing: E. Simpson, after K. Reichhold in *FR I* [1904] pl. 4).

In this regard, it is interesting to contrast the “sketches” made on the clay of the Munich vase in preparation for the final paintings. These were observed and reproduced in drawings by Karl Reichhold in *Griechische Vasenmalerei*.⁸⁶ The sketch on the black-figured side (Fig. 3) is simple and undetailed, showing parts of Athena, even less of Herakles, and only a few lines indicating the position and form of the kline.⁸⁷ By contrast, the sketch on the red-figured side (Fig. 4) blocks out the entire composition. Not only did this artist elaborate the figures, but he drew the Aeolic capital of the kline three times—experimenting with three different positions—and he sketched in the mortise-and-tenon joint that joined the long rail of the frame to the leg at the couch’s foot.⁸⁸

This investigation has confirmed Beazley’s final conclusion that the two artists were different, and has borne out, in this instance, the efficacy of his analytical method as used so productively by Cohen in her study. The implications of this conclusion may now be explored without constant recourse to the question of the painters’ identity: clearly, there is still much to be gained from the “search for attributions.”⁸⁹ Finally, the vase-painters that have been recognized and identified by Beazley and others are not “imaginary constructs” or “inventions, flat cardboard cutouts” with “no social or historical reality.”⁹⁰ They were, in fact, real men, whose artistic personalities, creative output, and professional relationships can at times be reconstructed. With regard to the “Andokides Painter” and his colleague the “Lysippides Painter,” close study of the Munich amphora has provided a glimpse not only of the hands but of the minds at work.

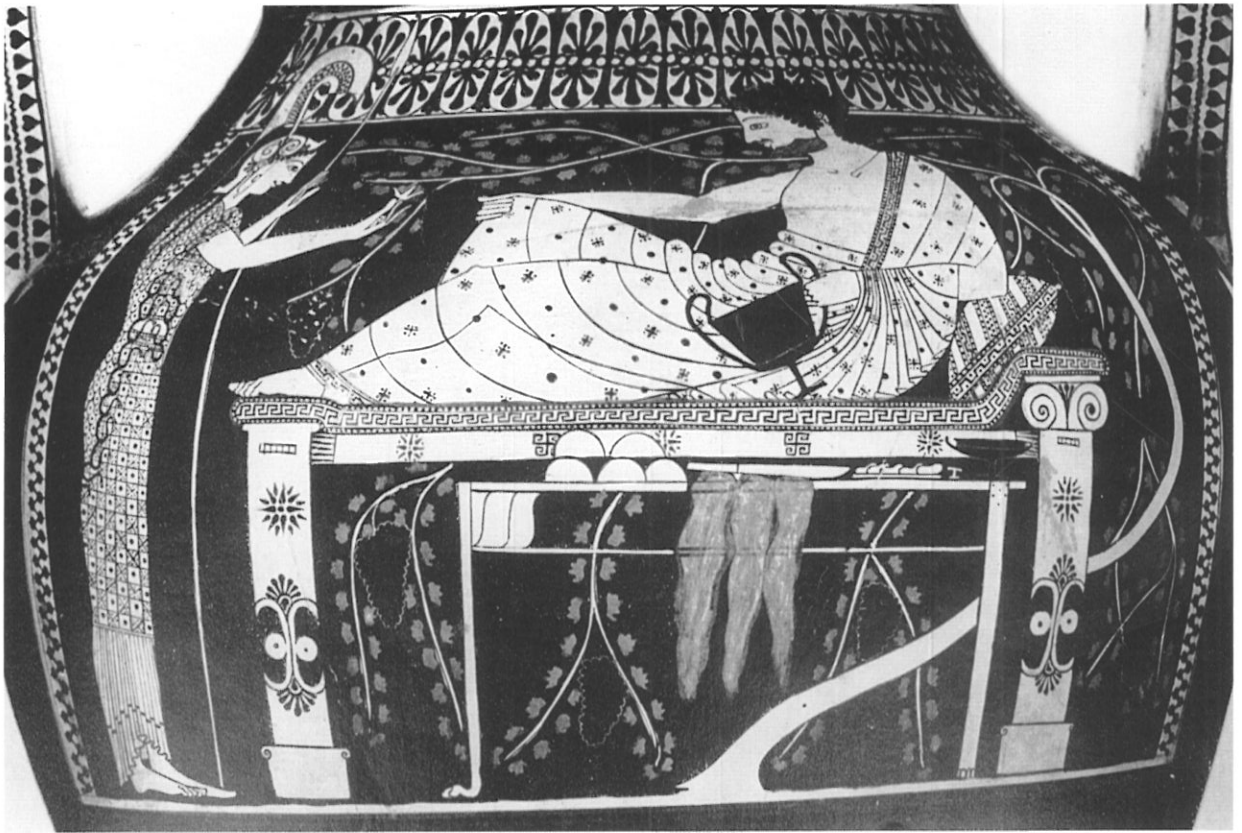
⁸⁶ In Furtwängler (supra n. 1) pl. 4; here Figs. 3–4.

⁸⁷ The top of the leg at the foot of the kline is sketched in at the same height as the top of the leg at the head; in reality, the leg at the head would have been taller—by the height of the Aeolic capital.

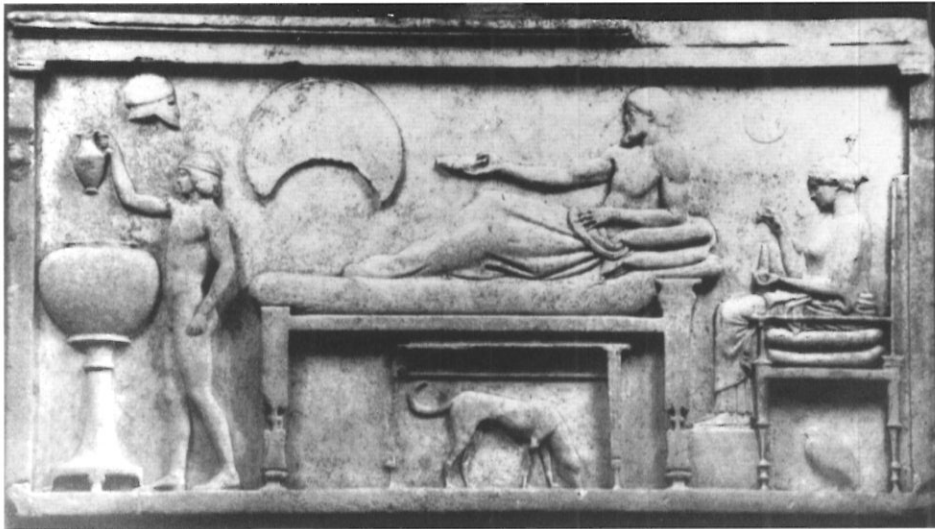
⁸⁸ A tenon is clearly shown projecting from the left end of the long rail and running through the leg at the foot of the couch. This joint would not have been visible and was never meant to have been shown in the painted representation: it is used here by the artist to position the components correctly with reference to the couch’s construction.

⁸⁹ Supra n. 39.

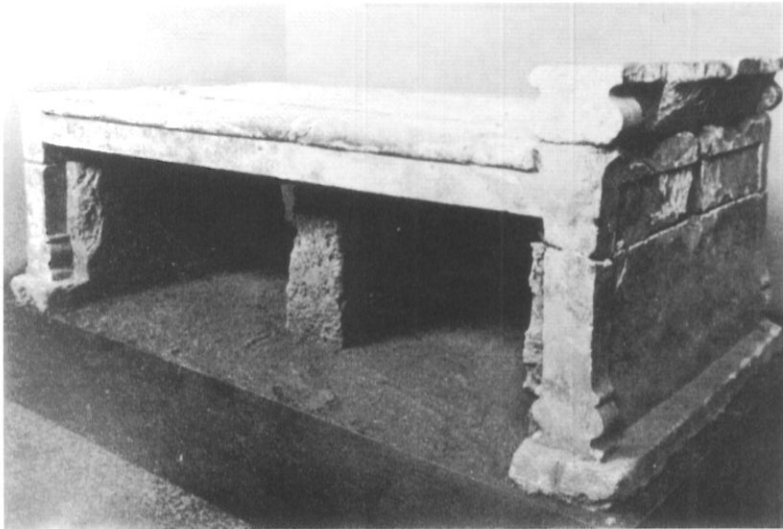
⁹⁰ Sparkes, *RB* 108.



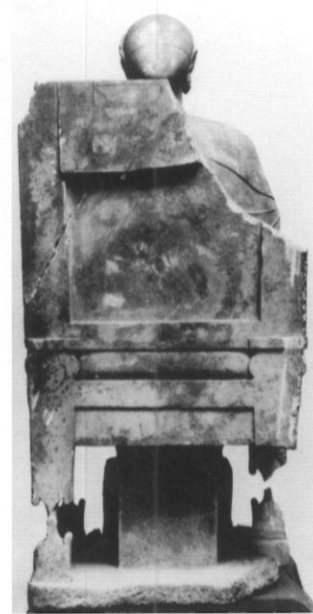
a-b. Attic bilingual amphora, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2301: red-figured scene, attributed to the Andokides Painter; black-figured scene, attributed to the Lysippides Painter.



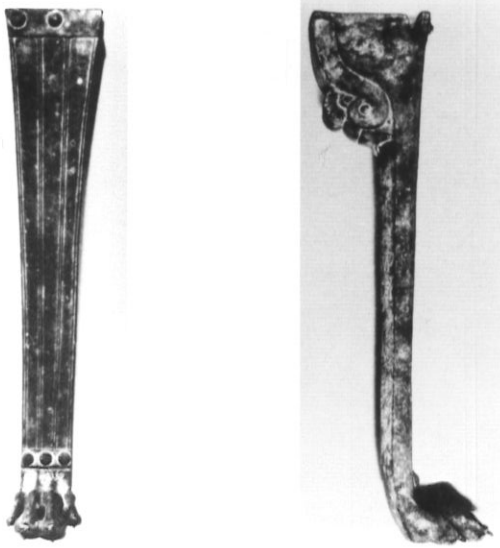
a. Marble funerary relief from Thasos, Istanbul Archaeological Museum. inv. 1947.



b. Stone kline from a chamber tomb near ancient Corinth .



c-e. Enthroned goddess, marble, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikemuseum inv. A 17.



a. Bronze table leg (front and side views), Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale inv. 1449.



b. Marble table leg (front and side views), Delphi, Archaeological Museum inv. 5406.



c. Attic red-figured amphora, attributed to the Andokides Painter, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS 491; detail, figure seated on a folding stool.



d. Attic black-figured amphora, attributed to the Lysippides Painter, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia inv. 24998; detail, figure seated on a folding stool.