EVALUATION OF ATTIC VASE PAINTING IN THE CONTEXT OF ART OF PAINTING

ÜFTADE MUŞKARA
Assist. Prof., Kocaeli University, Faculty of Fine Arts,
Department of Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Properties
uftade.muskara@kocaeli.edu.tr

SERPİL ŞAHİN
Res. Assist., Kocaeli University, Faculty of Fine Arts,
Painting Department

ABSTRACT

The attribution of vases to particular individual hands based on the signatures of painters or potters on the vases, the connoisseurship, obtained too much importance especially in the case of Athenian black figure and red figure pottery. It is because; through close examination of details of style it becomes possible to establish the interaction between “artists” and a sequential chronology for vases of black figure and red figure techniques. But some scholars have raised doubts on the limits of such studies. Re-examination of our perception of artist in connection with the attribution studies for Attic figured pottery and the idea supporting connoisseurship are necessary. Determination of figured pottery from a canvas painter’s point of expertise could illuminate the limitations and real context of attribution studies.

Keywords: Attic vase painters, attribution studies, the connoisseurship, Morellian method.

ATTİK VAZO RESMİNİN RESİM SANATI BAĞLAMINDA DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ

ÖZ


Anahtar Kelimeler: Attik vazo resamları, atıf çalışmaları, Morelli yöntemleri, vazo resimleri uzmanlığı.
INTRODUCTION

Archaeological remains are the material sources that help us to reconstruct history of mankind, especially for prehistoric times. Archaeological objects are important to understand everyday life, political and cultural interactions, social and religious activities. However, our understanding through material remains is still connected to our perception of today. Particularly, acceptance of some remains as works of art is generally biased with contemporary concept. This concept of modern is more advanced than ancient and our sense of aesthetics lead us to be amazed and admire some of the painted vases more. While decorated fine pottery is appreciated and highly demanded by art collectors and museums of art and archaeology for their "artistic value"; undecorated, coarse ware, which was used for household purpose arouses lesser interest. As a consequence of this demand, the object of "art" could lose its meaning as an archaeological remain and its connection to the original purpose as gaining too much importance and finally becomes detached to its context. "The artists" of these vase paintings have been drawn similar attention and studied in every detail. Attribution of vases to particular individual hands based on the signatures of painters or potters on the vases, the connoisseurship, obtained too much importance especially in the case of Athenian black figure and red figure pottery. It is because, close examination of details of style also makes it possible to establish the interaction between "artists" and a chronology for vases of black figure and then red figure techniques.

Wilhelm Klein, Paul Hartwig and Adolf Furtwängler were pioneers of attribution studies regarding to black figure vase painters (Alexandridou, 2011: 3). The major role was certainly played by Sir John Beazley who was able to identified tens of thousands of Athenian painted vases to artists, schools, manners etc. (Morris, 1994: 36). Therefore the study of attribution and connoisseurship in Athenian figured vases are almost directly related to Beazley. Many scholars believe that his method was derived from Giovanni Morelli who used a method based on various details on paintings to classify Italian Renaissance painters in the nineteenth century (Alexandridou, 2011: 3). However, according to some scholars, for instance Oakley (2009: 605) insists "Beazley, who never mentioned Morelli in his work, does seem to have derived his approach from German scholars, such as Hartwig who, along with other German scholars, followed a long tradition starting in the late 1840s of making attributions to add to the lists of signed vases". Morris and others also mention Beazley's position within Hellenist tradition and suggest that he considered ancient art as an antidote to the corruption of industrial development (Morris, 1995: 37).

Regarding to attribution studies and Beazley's method many articles were written by both who admire his work and who discuss the problems in this field of "archaeology". Perhaps the most famous mutual debate was between Whitley (1997) and Oakley (1998). However, the articles and books on figured pottery and attribution studies generally, not if always, are based on art historic point of view.
The aim of this study is examination of the perception of attribution studies in figured pottery and of the idea supporting connoisseurship through a painter's point of view. Determination of figured vases from a canvas painter's expertise could illuminate the limitations of attribution. The main approach is to evaluate how far one can go and how much is acceptable in attribution studies from this perspective. In this article, the vases of the Amasis Painter were analysed to reach an overall situation assessment for attributions.

**ATTIC FIGURED VASES WITH SIGNATURE AND VASE PAINTERS**

At the end of 7th century BC, Athenian black figure potters and painters began to take possession of the market that Corinth had held for many years. (Boegehold, 1985: 27). By the middle of 6th century a market for Athenian pottery painted by black figured technique was established throughout the Mediterranean.

Although the fact that some of the painters and potters have signed their work, the most of them seem not to have signed their vases. Moreover, even the painters or potters who used their signature could have left some vases unsigned. In order to define the corpus of individual painters and their works, the methods borrowed from those of Morelli, Berenson etc. were applied to Greek painted pottery (Robertson, 1987: 19).

Regarding to the potters whose names are known from their signatures and the painters who were identified through attribution studies by connoisseurs, there are curious questions. One is related to the original meaning of the signatures: *epoisen* and *egrapsen*.

The known signatures are rather incised on vases than are painted on them mostly employing the verb *epoisen* and some *egrapsen* (Cohen, 1991: 49). There are approximately seventy-five preserved examples of such vases with the verb. Although the meaning of the verb *epoisen* generally is accepted as “made” and the verb *egrapsen* as “painted”, the original meaning of these verbs have been debated since the 19th century. Beazley mentioned that two explanations were offered for *epoisen* signature: the one relates the verb to the potter who makes the vase and the other relates the verb to the owner of the workshop (Beazley, 1944). He overall accepts the first explanation. Meantime, some scholars connect the signatures to more expensive and highly prestigious metalwork (Vickers, 1985).

Second question is related to the infrequency of signatures. Pevnick (2010) in his work examines the importance of artists’ names and artistic identity for Athenian vases in the context of the vase painter who signs as Syriskos. There is only one surviving painter's signature from Syriskos and Pevnick studies why the painter chose to sign the one and not so many others (Pevnick, 2010). It is actually a common situation for other painters who choose to sign some of their vases. According to Beazley, possible explanations for this phenomenon are fashion, general temperament and mood of the artist at time of production of a specific vase and the relation of signature to the vase (Beazley, 1944: 33). Pevnick (2010: 225) in his research tends to favour the last one regarding to the crucial significance of signatures to the decoration. Lissarrague on the other hand suggests that
the signatures have been strategically placed by the painter to give the impression of speech or song and connects this arrangement with the role of the cup in a symposium (Liassarrague, 1997).

Third question comprises the extent of an artist’s area of specialization. An artist could be both the potter and painter or he could be once painter then turned out to be potter (or vice versa?). So there was not any specialisation for an artist on only one field of vase production within a workshop?

Sapirstein (2013, 2014) developed a statistical methodology to estimate the productivity in Athenian pottery industry during the 6th and 5th centuries. In his study, he included 36 painters with 150 attributions. His methodology figured out 8.2 vases for each year of activity for prolific painters. A second group including Amasis with lower activity rate indicates 4.4 vases per year. Sapirstain explains the difference between two groups as group 2 painters took extra time adding minute details to their works. Meantime, his other explanation is that some painters have been raised to the position of master potter in their workshop and let other painters to decorate their vases.

Another interesting point is that the connoisseurs of Attic vase painting named all the painters and potters as men. Dyfri Williams (2009) studied painter’ and potter’s picture son vase painting. He figured out that in almost all scenes showing potters and painters, the figures are male except for three could be female in the sixth century: the potter Aristagora, the potter Kallis, the well-known painter Douris (Williams, 2009: 309). According to Williams “women painters, but not perhaps potters, did exist in Athens, although they made no impact that is discernible to us now and were very probably marginalised by their own society”.

Shank (1996; 34) meantime underlines the problem with connoisseurship: “How expert are the experts? How refined are their sensibilities? And if stylistic attribution is such a subjective exercise, on what basis have these people been authorised the luxury of cultivating and pronouncing their expert opinion?” Neer (2005: 3) on the other hand argues that connoisseurship is not merely a search for individuals but is a form of etiology. Then he compares the methods of the field archaeologists who sort their findings to the methods of attribution. He insists that they “differ from each other only in degree not in kind”.

MORELLIAN METHOD AND ATTRIBUTIONS

Giovanni Morelli is famous as the inventor of a method for scientific connoisseurship (Rouet, 2001: 60). Morelli was the first expert who applied an experimental method of connoisseurship. The method involves the comparison of anatomical details such as hands, eyebrows and ears. Whereas the essential aspects of a composition could be imitated, the less central elements are difficult to copy. Morelli argued that artworks in major European collections were misattributed due to uninformed connoisseurs. He

1 In order to further studies for the methodology and commentary for Sapirstien’s study see appendices AJA 117 [2013] 493-510.
suggested that anatomic details reflected an individual and were indicating identity of authorship.

After the English translations of his books, Morelli’s method then received a polarized reception. His method is mostly based on an evolutionist history of painting and it is described as a system of criticism based on analysis as minute as that of the naturalist by his contemporary colleagues (Uglow, 2014: 3). According to him, connoisseurship was a scientific practice based on the form peculiar to each master and insignificant details may lead us to the truth (Rouet, 2001).

Artists, art historians and critics use various concepts to describe paintings such as space, texture, form, shape, color, principal art movements, unity, harmony, variety, balance, contrast, proportion, pattern, and brush strokes (Fichner-Rathus, 2008: 8).

It is reasonable to use anatomical details of figures for the identification of vase painters, since anatomical details on vase paintings seem to be only characteristic that could help to identify individual painters. Other features like perspective, colour and geometry, form or bulkiness, space, use of colour and tone could not be exercised for vase paintings. However, Beazley’s analysis system was not just applying Morelli’s method (Oakley, 2009: 606). From his articles it is understood that he tried to apply systems of rendering forms consisting of many details i.e. drapery, use of white and red colours, subject, ornaments, shape of vase which were as important as the anatomic details.

As Robertson (1987:19) states the application of such methods on Greek vase paintings for attributions as if vase painting were another field of exactly the same kind of late and post medieval painting should be considered with precaution. The question whether the details on a vase that have been analyzed could be peculiar to an individual and be considered as evidence to a particular vase painter or not has also been argued by other scholars.

With the identification of the Achilles Painter of Attic red figure style by Beazley in 1914, a personality as an artist rather than craftsman was recognized (Turner, 2000: 56). According to Turner, The Achilles painter was then accepted as a real historical character and his paintings were considered to be brilliant and having the high quality of all Western art; although there is no historical document on this painter’s name, social status, personality or sex. Moreover, because of the uncertainty on the meaning (or their exchangeable use in Attica) of *egrapsen* and *epoisen* as explained above, actually it is almost impossible to be “certain” of an existence for a specific painter by name.

Attribution work on Attic vases mostly emphasizes the individuals, i.e. painters rather than potters and less interested in the function, form and the archaeological context of pottery (Turner, 2000: 57). Therefore, attribution studies are biased in the favour of art history rather than archaeology. However, Beazley’s complex list of painters and chronology based on stylistic development of painters and their interaction to each other is a useful tool for an archaeologist who wishes to relate the site where he or she has been working to Greek chronology. Attic vases were scattered around Mediterranean world and
Black Sea region through trade. Therefore, this well documented import ware provides information on chronology and cultural relations as well.

Even though attribution method of Morelli’s and others are considered to be scientific, in order to accept attribution studies determine the individual characteristic of a painter, we have to assume that vase painters of Attic ware as artists who work alone or paint in a workshop as Renaissance artists, expressing their inner feelings, aware of themselves as artists and producing artwork that was unique. In fact, there is not enough evidence confirming this hypothesis.

**THE AMASIS PAINTER**

One of the most intense works on the Amasis Painter is on the exhibition "Amasis Painter and His World". Two books published associated to this exhibition are "Papers on Amasis Painter and His World" and the catalogue book by The J. Paul Getty Museum.

In the catalogue, 63 vessels attributed to the Amasis Painter are grouped according to shapes as amphorae, oinochoai, lekythoi, aryballos and drinking vessels and analysed in details with comparisons to other vases attributed to the Amasis Painter. Therefore, the catalogue of the exhibition gives a good opportunity to study the vases attributed to the Amasis Painter as a whole.

It is well known that the Amasis painter was active between 560 BC and 515 BC and there are more than 130 vases attributed to him (Mertens, 1987: 168). The name of Amasis first became known when an olpe with his signature “AMASIS MEPOISEN – Amasis made me” was found at Vulci in 1829 (Bothmer, 1985: 33). Today, there are 12 vessels known to be signed as potter by Amasis. According to Beazley, Bothmer and many other experts on the field, all these vessels were painted by the same hand. Although it is not certain, the potter also painted the vases and the painter was accepted as the Amasis Painter. The signed vases are three neck-amphorae of a special model, four olpae, a band-cup, and a cup, a sort of small bowl, a pyxis, and a fragment (Beazley, 1986: 52). Meantime, a lekythos in Malibu that has a signature of Amasis as potter happens to be painted by a different painter that is the Taleides Painter (Bothmer, 1985: 34; Frel, 1994: 14).

**VASES SIGNED BY AMASIS AND VASES ATTRIBUTED TO THE AMASIS PAINTER**

When the vases signed by Amasis as the potter are considered, 3 neck-amphorae (Bibliotheque Nationale, Cabinet Des Medailles, 222; Boston, The Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8026; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8027, Figure 1) are in accordance to each other in terms of figurative style, composition, shape and scheme of decoration and ornaments. Especially the pattern work below and around the handles of Cabinet Des Medailles and Boston (01.8027) amphorae resemble those attributed to Exekias (Berlin, Antikensammlung, F1720; New York, Metropolitan Museum, 17.230.14; Berlin, Antikensammlung, F1718; Munich, Antikensammlungen, J1295; London, British Museum, 1836.2-24.127; London, British Museum, 1849.0518.10) and the neck amphorae assigned to Botkin Class (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 98.923; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 64.11.13; New York, private collection, Figure 2). For Botkin Class,
Bothmer (1985:128) considers the possibility that they are early works of the potter Amasis. He argues that if the lekythos in Malibu were signed by potter Amasis but painted not by him, then this implication could be extended to unsigned vases that were made by Amasis and painted by other artists in order to learn more about the development of Amasis as merely potter. Yet, Malibu lekthos also suggests that Amasis identified as potter could be a different person than the Amasis identified as painter and Amasis the potter actually worked with different painters through his career.

Among the other signed vases by Amasis, the 3 olpai (Paris, Musee Du Louvre, F 30, MNB 2056; Würzburg University, Martin Von Wagner Museum, L 332, Ha 531; London, The British Museum, B 471, 1849. 6-20.5) are also similar to each other with respect to the style and posture of the figures. Moreover, the scenes are placed in a panel as in panel amphorae attributed to the Amasis Painter (Bothmer, 1985: Cat 1-15, fig 56, 57). Although panel amphorae were not signed, a stylistic unity is obvious. When this group of 17 amphorae and 3 olpai are analysed in terms of art of painting:

- **Composition of scenes:** Main figures are placed in the centre while on the right and left there are equal numbers of figures. Main figures could be one or two. Symmetrical positions of the figures are important. The reverse side on Bloomington amphora (Figure 3) the scene is almost mirror symmetric. The Amasis Painter has articulated his figures. Figures are generally consecutively aligned. They are limitedly in touch with each other, do not intersect and are not placed ahead of another. Therefore, figures in a scene are rather stable.

- **Figures:** Figures are drawn close to 8 heads tall ratio of human anatomy and have typical shoulder and upper arm contours. Fingers are longer than normal proportions. The naked figures are rather athletic and muscular, while male figures wearing himation are drawn slender.
- **Ornaments:** As other black figure vases, the floral ornaments are placed above the panels, while lateral frames are supported by glazed lines. Two vertical lines on each side of panel and double or triple lines are drawn to separate the ornamental band from the panel. A band of upright buds with dots in the interstices is generally used. The other favourite pattern of the Amasis painter, the palmette-lotus festoon is also used to surmount the panel. Above the foot a zone of rays is placed on panel amphorae.

![Fig. 3 Panel-amphora (Type B) Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, 71.82. (Bothmer, 1985, Cat. 2)](image)

According to stylistic criticism above, although panel amphorae were not signed it is very likely that along with three oplai they were painted by the same artist. Moreover, an interesting detail occurring on amphorae should deserve further analysis:

Bystanders, on the obverse of New York amphorae (Figure 4, 5) were drawn very much like their counterpart on the side B of Lausanne vase (Lausanne, collection of Nicolas Embiricos Bothmer, 1985: Fig. 56).

![Fig. 4 Panel amphora (Type B) New York, The Metropolitan Museum Of Art, 06.1021.69. (Bothmer, 1985, Cat. 1)](image)
Almost the same figure appears with small differences on the panel amphora of type B (Fig. 6, Fig. 7). In the symmetrical compositions, bystanders are placed on each side or on one side, all wearing clad in himation and holding upright spears.
Fig. 7 Panel-amphora (Type B) Paris Museum du Louvre F 26, LP 2873. (Bothmer, 1985: Cat. 11)

Such reoccurring figure is the naked youth on panel amphorae shown on Figs. 6-10. It is almost like the painter of these vases used a blueprint for reoccurring figures. These figures could be considered as a signature for the painter. When three olpe bearing signature the "amasis mepoisen", 17 amphorae mentioned above could belong to either same painter who named Amasis or a painter who worked and painted for the potter Amasis.

Fig. 8 Panel-amphora (Type B) Basel, Antikenmuseum Uno Sammlung Ludwig L19. (Bothmer, 1985: Cat. 6)
Among the vases attributed to the Amasis Painter, there are early and late works of the painter as the connoisseurs suggest. Early vases were such as lekythoi Tübingen, University of Tübingen, Archäologisches Institut 7434; Philadelphia, University Of Pennsylvania, University Museum, MS 4849; Paris, Musée Du Louvre, F 192 (Cp 3262); Paris, Musée Du Louvre, F 192 (Cp 3262); Paris, Musée Du Louvre, Cp 10520; Centre Island, New York, Dietrich Von Bothmer; Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 24996; Mayence University, inv. 88. Among these vases Tübingen lekythos (Fig. 11), Paris lekythos and Mayence cup are considered by Bothmer (1985) as “the nucleus of what might be styled as the earliest vases by the Amasis Painter”. First of all it happens to be almost all the "earliest" vases are lekythoi especially except the Mayence cup (type A). The anatomic mistake in Rome lekythos is a result of the wrong placement of the line by incising the thigh line to the groin and the genitals; therefore there is a confusion of the front and the back of the boy (Bothmer, 1985: 212). Same mistake can be seen on the
hybrid lip-cup in the Louvre (Bothmer, 1985: Cat 58). Anatomic mistakes and clumsy style of the figures are probably the reasons for assigning these vases as the early works of the Amasis painter. However, it is more likely that the style of “early” vases is indeed sloppy rather than clumsy. Moreover when the group of vases mention above are considered, the figures of Amasis are generally more stable. There is no way to be certain the painter of these vases and that group discussed above are the same person. In addition since vase painting is definitely different than canvas painting in terms of media and tools, it is difficult to try to accomplish such a development in style of a vase painter.

![Fig. 11 Tübingen Lekythos. (Bothmer, 1985: Cat. 39)](image)

Boston neck amphora (Fig. 12) was signed by Amasis and is considered among the latest works of the Amasis Painter (Bothmer, 1985: 132). The date of this vase is determined by Beazley as contemporary with the Leagros Group and the red-figured work by Euphronios. Meantime, Würzburg olpe with round mouth (Fig. 13) is evaluated as another late work of the same painter, the Amasis painter. It is attributed to the Amasis Painter by Beazley (1931: 261), and Langlotz indicated that the stylization of the fringed himatia wearing by two men reminded the Amasis Painter's style (Bothmer, 1985: 153). However, it is confusing that the same painter painted these two vases. Boston neck amphora was painted in a brilliant technique and careful style. The painter of Boston amphora should be considered as a master of vase painting of his time and meticulous in details. Meantime, a whole different character of the painter of Würzburg olpe could be detected. First of all, anatomically the men are unsuccessfully expressed. Especially the finger of the man who is playing flute is much longer than it should be. Very detailed lotus-palmette chain on contrary to simple chevron motive is another striking difference for a painter. Moreover, it should be expected an artist to improve its style and reach its highest towards to end of career in art of painting. Although it is difficult to trace and detect stylistic development of a vase painter, it is more convincing to believe Boston neck amphora is a late work of the Amasis painter then to believe Würzburg olpe was painted by the same painter.
STYLE OF THE AMASIS PAINTER AND OTHERS IN GREEK VASE PAINTING

The style of the Amasis Painter is considered to be conservative (Wilson, 2006: 40; Bothmer, 1985: 42). Even he adopted new techniques, he preserved established forms. The detailed incised drawings and ability to work on different scales and forms are said to be distinguishing characteristics of the painter. He was influenced by the Heidelberg Painter and the Siana cup painters in early years of his career. Moreover, it is indicated that the effects of Kleitias miniature style could be detected in his works. The preference for symmetry in his paintings is caused by Lydos.
Later in his career, the major change occurred as not applying white colour and incised lines for women flesh but instead left reserved with outlines, which was a standard convention of that time.

It is well known that one outstanding feature of the Amasis painter is his ability to work at different scales as Bothmer remarked (1985: 43).

This assumptions of stylistic determination come from the vases “attributed” to the Amasis painter who signed only some of his works as potter. As above-mentioned there are 12 signed vessels of Amasis, while all known works of the Amasis painter are around 130. Yet, it is still a theory that all signed vessels were painted by the same hand based on some analysis techniques and experts’ opinions.

The stylistic critics of the Amasis Painter and other known painters of Greek vase painting are especially important in terms of attributions. Stylistic analysis of painters is also helpful to reconstruct the development of Greek vase painting. However, if much effort were paid to the black figured and red figured phases of Greek art as a whole long term trend, it would be based on solid analysis and be more meaningful. Appointing individual painters and detecting the stylistic development of the individual painters are somehow ideal story of Greek art. Indeed, the works of individuals are almost merely based on some signatures and attributions by connoisseurs.

Even though groups, hands of different painters, similarities and differences could be analysed through traditional methods of painting, it is still a tough work to establish individual vase painters because of the nature of vase painting.

**CONCLUSION**

Black figured and red figured vase painting are well studied and well documented phases of Greek art. Figurative scenes give valuable information on Greek mythology, everyday life, clothing, garments, headdress, and Greek understanding of beauty and art. Vase painting supports our knowledge on this era of Archaic and Classical Greek. Since, relation between Mediterranean cities was intense especially through trade; the distribution of Greek vases was wide spread from Egypt to Rhodes, Cyprus, Western Anatolia, Italy. There were also local imitations of Attic vase, although the difference in fabric between original and local is obvious.

Studying black and red figured vases is therefore important to construct a sequence for Mediterranean world during the 6th and 5th century BC. Research on figured and decorated pottery is consisted of two main elements: the shape of the vessel and the decoration (figures and ornaments). Since the main purpose is to form a chronological sequence of pottery, every detail in changes of profile of vase forms and anatomical development of figures and elaborating ornaments and placement of them are analysed. General prediction is to assume that the more sophisticated is later in time. The other elements on figured pottery are the iconography and epigraphy for the signed vases.

The question here is how defining vase painters have improved the studies on black and red figured vases. There were certainly some individuals who made these vase
paintings. There were painters who developed new techniques and others applied them to their painting styles. However, it is a remote possibility that vase painters were working in their own ateliers for purely artistic purposes and aesthetic concerns. Indeed, they could have worked together in a potter’s workshop to paint for more industrial purposes. Such workshops where in a number of artists work together exist even today in Cappadocia, Turkey as gift markets. The objective of the artists who worked for gift markets is not to establish a style of their own, but to ensure the persistence of the workshop’s style.

From this point of view, while the different characteristics of for instance “the artists” Exekias and Amasis could be underlined, the differences could indeed mean different workshops. All those similarities in drawing of figures that are used for attribution could be a result of the interaction between individual painters who worked together. Such interaction could be observed undergraduate students of painting. They tend to be influenced by each other rather than by their master in an art studio during their education.

While variables such as color, depth, tone, the semblance of light and shade, brush stroke and movement of figures which are important in determining a specific artist’s work are more applicable in canvas painting then vase painting, still these are not considered sufficient enough for the investigation of canvas paintings. Much more complicated forensic techniques are applied a canvas painting to obtain confidential and accurate results. Therefore, establishing a list of painters and corpus of the painters for black and red figured vases should be approached more carefully and limitations of such a study should be realized.

The answer for the confusing problems that interpenetrating each other in the terms of vase paintings, signatures, painters and potters may indeed is simple. Grouping figured vases under “a style; a workshop or a manner” is more reasonable and understandable rather than realising vases as products of a specific individual hand and establishing the vase painters by name. By this way the “artwork” of Athenian figured pottery could gain its original meaning.
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